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January 4, 1918

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**A Journal of Democracy**

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# The Public

A Journal of Democracy

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

New York, N. Y., January 4, 1918  
Volume XXI Number 1631

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Published Weekly by

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

Single Copy, Ten Cents      Yearly Subscription, \$2.00  
Canadian, \$2.50      Foreign, \$3.00

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

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# The Public

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXI

New York, N. Y., January 4, 1918

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## Editorial

The latest German peace proposals must be regarded primarily as another masterpiece of propaganda, planned and executed with the two-fold object of rallying the morale of the German people and of safeguarding the negotiations with Russia against either a change of front by Lenine and Trotsky or their repudiation by the Russian people. There is no question that Count Czernin's communication has strengthened the position of the Bolsheviki, that its moderate tone and its apparent repudiation of annexations and indemnities has surprised and pleased the more moderate Russians. All Russia is eager for peace, and the Czernin note saves the faces of those who are negotiating it. Yet there is no assurance in the note that Germany will not retain Poland, Lithuania and Courland, after going through the forms of granting "self-determination," whatever that may mean, and then proceed to organize all of Russia as an economic, if not a political, vassal of Germany.

\* \* \*

Identical with its effect on the Russian people is intended to be the effect of the Czernin note on the people of the Central Empires, and of Germany especially. The arrest of 300 leaders of the Independent Socialist Party in Germany, immediately following the publication of the note, tells its own story. Hindenburg and the Pan-Germanists may still control, but today they must mask their policy by resorting to the terms of the Russian peace formula. That the Government should have delayed these arrests until the publication of a peace proposal framed in moderate terms and repudiating conquest, is of the greatest significance. Whether these twin measures of suppression and at least verbal concession will accomplish their object and check the dangerous unrest within Germany is a ques-

tion not yet answered. It will depend largely on Allied diplomacy. Statesmen in Paris, London and Washington may be convinced that the new proposal has nothing of good faith, nothing of concession, behind it. But to act on this conviction and either to ignore or rebuff it would be a fatal mistake. The Czernin note should be taken at its face value. The exact intentions of the Central Powers should be developed by meeting the note in its own moderate spirit and insisting that its ambiguities be cleared up. We may know that the German Government is bluffing, that at heart it is still arrogant and bent on the military domination of Europe. If so (and we can see little indication that it is not so), the important thing is to develop that fact for the enlightenment of the German people—of those forty millions who, the Berlin *Vorwärts* says, are on the verge of revolt—and for the enlightenment of the Russian people as well. As for the latter, we can well leave sneers and abuse to that ignorant and dishonest metropolitan press which is this country's greatest curse and danger. The counsel for us to heed is that of Mr. John F. Stevens, chief American railway commissioner to Russia, who sends word via an Associated Press cable from Tokio that "The Maximalists, now in control, are much stronger than generally credited. In any future reorganization or attempts at a stable government, the Maximalists must be considered and handled rightly." And "the Russian situation is trebly important, as it involves the return of a million and a half German and Austrian effectives and gives unlimited possibilities to the German organization of Russia's resources and man power. . . . Not for a moment should the Allies relax their sympathy and help, but on the contrary they should quadruple their efforts. The best sentiment in Russia is with us, but the question is how to give in

such a manner as to maintain the sympathy of the intelligent classes and offset the German influence. We should earnestly beg the Allies not to punish the Russian people, who love their country, nor to abandon them to the Germans."

\* \* \*

As for Germany, those who scoff at a revolution there are probably right. We shall have to decide the issue on the battle-field. But it is on the battle-field that a weakened morale shows itself. If the enthusiasm and zeal of the German private soldier can be lowered even ten per cent. it will be equivalent to a great victory. Germany produced no revolution in Italy. But her propaganda so weakened the fibre of the Italian private soldier that Italian resistance crumbled before the Austro-German drive. It is for Allied statesmen to realize that the arrogance of self-righteousness, of refusal to discuss a good case, can be turned into a powerful weapon against them.

\* \* \*

There can be no doubt of the increasing solidarity of the western Allies, a solidarity that is daily becoming more definite and vocal. The force that will count from now to the end of the war is in only a minor degree the influence and spokesmanship of great personages; it is the determination of common people to see the thing through. M. Clemenceau is as always a dubious asset. But the French people are using him for a particular purpose, and are fully prepared for the inevitable day when he will be overcome by the delusion that he is their master. In England, there is unmistakable evidence of a final shift from the politics of old Europe. Trotzky did the Allies a service of the first order in the publication of all the terms of bargaining under which the different nations went to war. British statesmanship should welcome release from these terms and the consequent clarification of moral purpose for which alone the British people are fighting. Less and less is there to be noted in the expressions of leaders the discouraging ambiguity and equivocation of a few months ago. It is not that London does not understand the principles of international right; it is that the complications of a not remote past remain serious trammels.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile, organized labor has reached a clear comprehension of issues and a conscious-

ness of the part it is to play in their settlement. It therefore welcomes the moral lead, possible because uncomplicated, of America. The truth is that the official war aims of the United States are identical with the unofficial and highly censored aims that have animated the working populations of England and France since the beginning of the war. Among the statements of British leaders as to what is expected of America in 1918, published in the *New York Times*, that of Mr. Henderson speaks the language that we understand best. He says: "Without the unstinted help of America in men, money and material we could hardly hope to accomplish the great act of liberation to which we stand pledged, but the chief service which America is destined to render to the world in the coming year, in my judgment, lies in the moral and political influence she is capable of bringing to bear upon the governments and peoples of all other belligerent countries. It has already had the effect of clarifying the moral issues which the allied peoples instinctively felt to be involved in Germany's denial of the solidarity of Europe three and a half years ago. We were convinced of the essential justice of our cause then. We are more sure of it now, but it rests with America, and especially with the government of President Wilson, to make the political aims of the allied governments correspond with the moral instincts of the allied peoples, and to strengthen the latter's resolve that the overthrow of the militarist autocracy in Germany shall be the signal for the establishment of a society of nations pledged to maintain peace and democratic freedom. European democracy calls to the democracy of America, as the deep calls to the deep, to prevent the war aims of the Allies from being transformed into a program of conquest and annexation. Nothing that American soldiers can do on the field of battle can outweigh this vital service of the American government and people in making the allied victory a real victory for popular liberty and democratic ideals."

\* \* \*

We in America must not lose the full implication of this attitude. Confidence of this sort is the deadliest challenge. Our professions will be nothing more than fatuous preachments, and we will be the laughing-stock of history if we do not accomplish our work. And we are

deluding ourselves by thinking that there is unlimited time in which to do it. A three years' war! A military decision must be reached in the present year, or we of this generation will probably not live to see a durable peace.

\* \* \*

A report that may not state the whole truth is that of the Federal Commissioner of Internal Revenue, apparently showing an increase of 7925 in the number of American millionaires, or of more than 50 per cent. in one year. It is possible that the increase is not real, but is largely composed of tax-dodgers who should have been included in the returns of former years. If that is the case, then wholesale enforcement of penalties for delinquency is in order. It remains to be seen if such action will be taken. If, however, there have been no wholesale discoveries of tax-dodging, then more clear than ever is the duty of Congress to check opportunities for acquirement of unearned wealth. So great an increase in millionaires, in war times, implies a greater spread of poverty among the masses than would be the case had it occurred during peace. Diversion of wealth in huge quantities for destructive purposes must result in a reduced per capita share for the support of the people. When, in spite of these conditions, one class has increased its possessions enormously then other classes must have suffered an enormous loss. In view of these facts, the report that there will be no material amendments to the revenue law at this session of Congress, ought to be untrue. There should be radical changes. There is no excuse for taxation of labor products and small incomes when nearly 8000 individuals can accumulate in a single year far more than they could have possibly produced.

\* \* \*

It would be premature for New York City to look to its incoming municipal administration for institution of policies as progressive and efficient as those which the City of Cleveland enjoyed under Tom L. Johnson. But a good omen nevertheless is action taken by Mayor-elect Hylan which presents a remarkable parallel to action taken by Johnson on the eve of his inauguration. The Cleveland City Council had favored the Pennsylvania railroad company by passing an ordinance virtually presenting it with the lake

front. Mayor Farley, whose term was expiring, intended to sign the ordinance. But Johnson secured a temporary restraining order from the Court and took office before this expired. So the ordinance was never signed and the lake front was saved to the city. In New York City the outgoing Board of Estimate together with Mayor Mitchell were about to grant a franchise to a motorbus corporation. Mr. Hylan protested, declaring that his election constituted a popular mandate for municipal ownership, that the proposed franchise alienated property worth \$45,000,000 for a ridiculously low price, and that it would be improper in any event for a repudiated administration to take this action. But his protest was ignored, and the Board proceeded with preparations to grant the franchise,—upon which the Mayor-elect asked for and secured an injunction to prevent the grant until he took office. It may be too early to jump at conclusions, but the incident is auspicious.

\* \* \*

It is a strange confirmation of the upside-downness of our present social order that at a time when the greatest known destruction of wealth is in progress the creators of wealth should fare best. Yet this appears to be the inference to draw from the widely heralded statement that the bread-line of the Bowery Mission has been suspended for "lack of patronage." This country has seen phenomenal periods of prosperity, as the world measures prosperity, yet it could not get through a winter without the dole of bread to those out of work and unable to buy. But at a time when the world is called upon to make a supreme sacrifice, a time when consumers of luxuries, and even dispensable comforts, are called upon to limit their individual consumption in order that there may be the more for war, it is gleefully announced by the press that the bread line has been discontinued. Charity still finds it necessary to care for the sick and maimed, but there is no call to aid workers because they lack jobs. The fact should cause statesmen to reflect. It is their duty as public leaders to discover and apply the means that will prevent the appearance of the bread line with the return of peace. They must do this or make way for those who will; for the world will no longer tolerate conditions in which the creators of wealth suffer from want.

A "just-as-good" substitute for the Initiative and Referendum has been shown to be lacking by the referendum in Australia on the conscription issue. Opponents of direct legislation assert that in electing representatives the popular wish can be expressed as clearly as by indirect voting. But Australia has shown otherwise. Two years ago conscription was rejected by the people. More than a year later a parliament favorable to conscription was elected. That looked like a change in public sentiment. In any country where the referendum did not prevail, the government would have proceeded on that assumption. But in Australia it was necessary to hold another referendum. That would have been a needless formality if it were true that a parliamentary election is just as fair and accurate a method of gauging public opinion. The result, however, shows that whatever may have influenced a majority of voters in choosing a conscriptionist parliament, it was not favor of conscription. That policy was rejected by a larger majority than before. Evidently anti-conscriptionist voters had cast their ballots for conscription candidates at the parliamentary election for reasons aside from that issue. Voters do such things at all elections in all countries. The representative system without the Initiative and Referendum can not give clear expression to the popular will.

\* \* \*

New interest attaches to the subject of proportional representation because of the recent city election in San Francisco. The election of nine members to the Board of Supervisors by means of the preferential ballot, as developed in Grand Junction, Colorado, appears to have proved itself workable with a large vote and a large number of candidates. The use of the first, second and third choice votes is a distinct step in advance of the single choice vote; but it may be questioned if a short experience with the Grand Junction system will not educate the voters to the point of demanding full proportional representation. San Francisco's plan of electing Supervisors on a general ticket that gives the voter the power to express in addition to his first choice, a second and a third choice, has the merit of abolishing the primary, and of promoting non-partisanship in local elections; but it does not secure that fine adjustment of representation that is pos-

sible under true proportional representation. Last April an election was held in Christchurch, New Zealand, at which sixteen members of the city council were chosen by the proportional system. At San Francisco each elector voted for nine candidates; at Christchurch each elector voted for one candidate, but with the provision that if that candidate did not need his vote, or could not use it, it should be given alternately to any other of the sixteen candidates he might name on his ballot. In the former case no party or political group could elect a candidate without outside aid unless it polled 44 per cent of the votes; whereas, in the latter case one-sixteenth, or less than 7 per cent, was sufficient to obtain a member of the council. The successful use of real proportional representation in other countries, and in the city of Ashtabula, Ohio, should encourage political reformers to resort to the complete system.

### Business Supermen

Credulous readers of the growing number of journals and magazines given over to eulogy of our financially-great must be sorely puzzled by recent developments at Washington. For if any of our boasted national assets has emerged as dross from the crucible of our feverish war preparations, it is the superhuman efficiency that we (even the most captious of us) have attributed to our leaders of business. For a generation in this country we have nursed the cult of the Strong Man. We have paid secret or open homage to the Overpowering Personality, sitting in an inner office and pounding the desk and demanding RESULTS in upper-case type. Our business game has been this sort of game—the game of men who swore that So-and-so should "not get away with it," or who chuckled that they had "put it over" on Mr. Somebody-else. It is the mood and the motive of buccaneering predacity, and it has ruled vast areas of our national life. It has lit the fires for our worst industrial conflagrations, and has turned over to sportsmen the processes of producing and distributing a people's necessities. In this field they have vented a ruthless pugnacity that less sedentary or civilized men have devoted to polo or physical combat. It is a cult that came upon us during the days when the West was in the making and the industrial field had still to be developed. The Strong Man

gave us real service then. Then as now he preyed on the community, but his enterprise created more wealth than he seized. He spanned the continent with railroads, and carried through a thousand and one daring projects calling for a tussle with nature. Huntington, Hill, Phil Armour, Carnegie, even Harriman. The list is not yet exhausted. But today the followers of these men play, for the most part, with values already created, and in seizing for themselves they take from the community without compensating service in return. And today, when service and cooperation are the needs of the hour, we see a thousand and one petty little tyrants, each pounding his desk and insisting that his will prevail. Through all the course of our war preparations this Strong Man, this peevish little imperialist, appears again and again as sand in the bearings. Willing and anxious to help, given every opportunity by the Government, he has gone to Washington in droves—and made a mess of it. As well talk of coordinating beasts of the jungle. The habitual motive was too strong—commerce and industry were organized on no other basis, and, patriots in one compartment of their brains, these men continued to pound desks and to chuckle and to put it over in obedience to habit. Every day that passes now sees power and responsibility passing to Government officials, enlisted to correct the mistakes of the supermen of business—officials who belong in that despised classification to which American efficiency has been wont to consign politicians.

Enterprise and initiative were never so necessary. What we are seeing today is not the failure of individualism—it is the weakness of men who are strong only because they play with loaded dice, only because their fundamental inefficiency has been obscured by their enjoyment of privilege and monopoly.

## Taking Over the Railroads

President Wilson's action in taking over the railroads was the inevitable conclusion of a mistaken policy of permitting public highways to be controlled by private interests. Though done at this time as a war measure, it would soon have been necessary in any event; and would, indeed, have taken place long ago but for the phenomenal strength of the country in natural resources and incoming labor. That the public mind had

anticipated the President's action is evident from the unanimous assent of the country, and the all but universal belief that it is the forerunner of government ownership. Publicists, commercial agents, and even railroad men themselves, are freely predicting that the advantages of unification and public control will be so evident that there will never be a return to private management.

The Government has assumed a great responsibility. Not only is it charged with immediate management of the largest commercial interest in the country; but upon its success in meeting this responsibility rests in large degree the future economic policy of the country. Should government control prove to be a failure it would be a serious setback for the cause of commercial freedom. Or should there be a careless mingling of competitive and non-competitive business in a way to confuse the public mind as to cause and effect, the result might lead to the assumption by government of interests that should be left in private hands, or the surrender by government of functions that should remain in its control. The real merits of the present course will appear as we proceed; but there must be an intelligent public opinion to pass upon them if the country is to reap the full benefit.

Manifestly the new management will have to shape its course largely by the rule of trial and error, for there are lacking sufficient data to warrant the laying down of hard and fast rules. It is reassuring, therefore, to feel that the man who has taken this action, and the one to whom ultimate appeals must be made, President Wilson, has shown himself to be in sympathy with the aspirations of the common man, and has given evidence that he has a broad grasp of economic interests. It is also reassuring to know that in naming a Director General of the railroads he has chosen a man who has already shown ability to do big things. Mr. McAdoo appears to have in a striking degree the requisites for the task; boldness, energy and tirelessness. These qualities were apparent in his successful construction of the Hudson River tunnels, after other experienced men had failed. They were shown in the successful flotation of the first Liberty Loan directly by the Government at three and a half per cent, after private banking interests had declared it impossible. These qualities have indeed been shown so many times since his entrance into

politics that there would seem to be every reason for predicting his success in the present venture.

There may be some disappointment over the lack of the spectacular. The Director General's first action while awaiting the reports of experts looks to the continued operation of the road under present officials, but with the elimination of all interests that in any way prevent the complete unity of effort throughout the country. Duplication of service is to be avoided, long hauls are to be done away with wherever possible, and terminals are to be used to the advantage of the public, regardless of the interests of individual roads. Service, in fact, appears to be Mr. McAdoo's motive in this, as it was in the management of his tunnel enterprise.

Economy of railroad forces will, it is to be hoped, include a readjustment of salaries and wages. The men complain that wages have not kept pace with the cost of living; some readjustment will be necessary. The complement of a wage increase should be a salary reduction among the higher officials. If it should appear that the Administration lacks power to correct this abuse, then the railroad managements should themselves do so in recognition of the Government's guarantee of their earnings. Whatever may have been the necessity for the absurd salaries when railroad management was shaped in the interests of a controlling clique of stockholders instead of the welfare of the public, that peculiar talent is now unnecessary. Action is the more likely to be taken in this matter because of the striking contrast between the fifty and seventy-five thousand dollar salaries of the men who were unable to meet their opportunities, and the twelve thousand dollar salary of the man who is expected to bring order out of chaos. The country entrusts its financial system, involving billions of dollars, to a Secretary of the Treasury who draws less than one-sixth the salary paid to railroad presidents. Clearly this is the time and opportunity for lopping off sinecures. If railroad men have not the wit to see this they should be gently but firmly assisted.

Another feature that may have to be considered is the possible deficit. If in spite of all the economies made possible by unified management, receipts should fall short of expenditures it will be due to war conditions, rather than to commercial, and should be met like other war burdens. To attempt to meet a deficit due to the war by

higher freight and passenger rates is merely to pass the burden on to the consumer; and taxes or other charges on consumption, it is well known, fall disproportionately upon the poor who consume their whole income, as compared with the rich who spend but a part of their income. This fact was recognized by Congress when in its efforts to equalize the burdens of the war it laid taxes and super taxes on incomes, inheritances and war profits. To provide for a deficit due to war conditions by rate-increases would be to set up the same condition that would have obtained had all taxes been laid upon consumption, and there had been no income, inheritance or war profits taxes. There should be no resort to higher rates till purely commercial requirements have demonstrated the need; for it is highly important, in order to test the principle of government ownership of public utilities, that the demands of war and of commerce be carefully separated. Government control of railroads has come much sooner than had been expected because of the war; possibly it has come before public opinion was fully prepared for it; if so, there is the more reason for patience, sympathy and cooperation in this great experiment of applied democracy. It is a logical step in economic development and should have whole-hearted support.

### To Make California Unsafe for Democracy

Democracy in California is not as safe as it should be. It is challenged, if not menaced, by a plutocratic organization called "The People's Anti-Singletax League." This organization would so restrict the right of the people to rule as to make them powerless to enforce their will, when they would reverse judgment expressed on a former occasion. The method is to submit a proposition forbidding resubmission for eight years of a measure defeated by a 4 to 3 vote, for twenty years of one defeated by 3 to 2, and for all time when rejected by 2 to 1. Thus the right to correct a mistake is to be taken from the people, if the Anti-Singletax League has its way.

Although ostensibly directed against the Singletax, the measure strikes at many other proposals. It would shut out resubmission of an eight-hour bill and of a bill to legalize drugless practice, both of which were defeated in 1914 by

more than 2 to 1. It would postpone for twenty years the right to resubmit a measure providing for one day's rest in seven. Other possible results may be realized on noting its effect had it been in force in other States. In Oregon, women would still be denied suffrage, and the revenue system would still be the unjust and antiquated general property tax. Oregon voters rejected suffrage in 1906 by approximately 36,000 to 47,000. In 1908 they rejected it by an increased majority, about 4 to 3. In 1910 it was resubmitted and again rejected, this time by more than 3 to 2. Fortunately, popular rule was not restricted there as California's Anti-Singletax League would have it, else this result would have postponed resubmission until 1930. So it was resubmitted in 1912, and carried by a vote of approximately 61,000 to 57,000. A proposal to allow classification of property for taxation was defeated in 1914 by a vote of more than 2 to 1. The California reactionaries would have made this result a means of shutting out resubmission for all time. And yet a measure embodying the same principle was submitted last June and carried.

The California League no doubt realizes that while predatory interests can fool the people part of the time they cannot do so all the time. It proposes therefore to guard against a popular awakening. It would make the State safe for plutocracy.

## Rebuilding Palestine

Zionism has taken on a new aspect since the fall of Jerusalem and the promise of the British Government that Palestine shall not be given back to the Turks. Palestine is in a sense a new land. That is to say, it is undeveloped in the modern sense, and not densely populated. Much, therefore, will depend upon the kind of government that replaces the tyranny of the Turk. The commission that has charge of the work of restoration will be confronted by two problems: First, how to get hold of the land; and, second, how to find the revenue to pay the enormous cost of the reconstruction. Though the land be of very little value in its present state, it is all owned by somebody; and the mere announcement of an intention to restore the country will send prices skyward. It would not comport with the Jewish sense of justice to enrich these landowners by defraying

the cost with contributions from outside. And even if they were willing to waive this point they would have no more to show for their labor than the people of other nations where poverty has accompanied progress.

But this obstacle is by no means insurmountable. The Jew has only to appeal to the Mosaic law and his own conscience for approval of his purpose to restore the land of Palestine to its people. By applying the proven principles of political economy and taxing land values the repatriated people will have access to the land; and they will have at the same time ample revenue to meet the cost of government. The men and women who will have charge of this work will, it is to be hoped, avoid the mistakes that have been made in this and other countries, where governments and private enterprises have made improvements for the public, only to find that the owners of the land have reaped the benefit, while a large part of the cost has been laid upon producers who have already been victimized by land speculators. There is no longer any doubt on the part of informed people that government service, whether in maintaining order or in constructing physical improvements, enhances land values and not labor values. When, for instance, the commission that supervises the rebuilding of Palestine has constructed railroads, opened schools, established justice, and brought order out of chaos, it will be found that live stock, grains, fruits, and the various products of human labor will be worth no more than before. The quantity will have increased, but not the value. The land, however, being fixed in quantity, will have increased in price.

Here lies the opportunity for the Jew to demonstrate a great truth to the world by uniting the Mosaic principle of land ownership with a just system of taxation. Nor is this a new and untried thing. The Federal Government recognized in its western irrigation projects the principle of laying the cost of public service on lands benefited, by taxing the lands and not the improvements. California also applied this principle in its irrigation projects. Minnesota resorted to the same means for draining vast areas of swamp lands. It was recognized by all persons in interest that the irrigation and drainage systems would not enhance the value of houses, stock, or the contents of houses, but that they would add materially to the value of the lands

within the reach of the benefits; hence, the cost of the service was laid upon the lands, to the exclusion of the improvements on the lands. The same principle is applied in all up-to-date cities through the special assessment system, under which the cost of street pavements, sidewalks and sewers is laid upon abutting lands regardless of the improvements on the lots.

By applying this system of taxing the land values that are created by the community it will not be necessary to tax labor values. This will prevent any gain to landowners as landowners, and so stop land speculation, that curse that has strangled economic growth in all other countries. It will at the same time free industry from the tax burdens it has hitherto borne, and so stimulate labor and capital to the highest degree in the creation of wealth. It is by this means alone that the workers can expect to share fully in the advantages due to the labor-saving devices of modern science and invention.

The outlook for the rebuilding of Palestine is the brighter because the land and taxation questions have already received much attention from the Jews. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the acting head of the Zionist movement in America, recently expressed the hope that the day was near when the ideal of the Single Tax in practice would be realized in Palestine. "What a great thing it would be," he wrote, "if we could, if the ideal which goes back to the Mosaic commonwealth, which was revived by a man of prophetic genius, Henry George, and again by that real man and Jew, Joseph Fels, should at last find fulfilment in the Jewish land." It was to this cause that Joseph Fels dedicated himself and his fortune; and had his life been spared he would today be bending all his energies toward aiding the Zionists in rebuilding Palestine on a solid foundation. Such men—and there are many among the Jews—should be on the commission that undertakes this great work.

## The Tap Root of War

By David Starr Jordan

The Tap Root of war is found in the dynastic system of government. A dynasty (power-bearer, in Greek) rests on three great props or supports, force, intrigue and superstition. These are embodied in the war system, the diplomatic and secret agent system and the State Church. As the dynasty wanes, these props must disappear. Where the dynasty flourishes all these with their varied resources are at its hand. And thus arise the three great war-castes of our time, the aristocratic, the militaristic and the plutocratic, those who would bring on war for prestige, for glory and for the money there is in it. The plutocratic caste is not the product of the others. It simply takes advantage of instruments made ready to its hand. Militarism would not persist except for the demands of the dynastic system either directly, or through currents of fear induced in other nations by dynastic threats. Underground diplomacy is simply war in another form, the trickery by which war is begun and with which it is usually ended. "Capitalism" does not of itself make wars. It has no love for armies or kings, but utilizes them when

occasion serves for its own special ends. And war involves great risks which intelligent capitalism would very much rather avoid. Strictly speaking, there are no economic "incentives to war," merely excuses to justify war preparation, and to conceal its real aims.

The dynastic caste, as I use the word, includes all those who have gained power by inheritance, the will of the people not being consulted. It includes not only the hereditary emperors or kings, but all who derive authority from them or in like fashion, by inheritance. The "dynastic state" includes, therefore, all the various satellites, parasites, favorites, princes, princelings, lords and junkers who swarm around the divine prerogative of the king. Inherited power maintains itself by force, and wanes whenever not in action. Hence foreign war, either actual or threatened, is a perennial necessity. It is the "swift remedy for disunion or waning patriotism." It uproots the "noxious weeds" (democracy, socialism, internationalism, pacifism), which spring up profusely in the soil of peace and choke the dynastic garden.

In the present day, the dynastic system exists in perfect development in Germany alone. Under strong hands, notably those of Bismarck, it has gathered to itself all the accumulated resources of science, making the highest arts of peace contributory to war. Not the least of these arts is the development of philosophies serviceable for its purposes. An autocrat can evoke philosophies as well as command science. "Intellectuals" are only human after all, and the atmosphere of the court can give them aspiration processes. Titles and decorations still appeal to certain types of men. It was said that Hegel and Schelling lived not *for philosophy*, but *by it*. Philosophy as well as science may appear at times as "a milk-cow rather than a transcendent goddess."

Three philosophic conceptions are held to justify the dynastic system of today. These are the Supernal State, or Supreme Domination, "Kultur" or "Supreme Discipline" and "Social Darwinism," the Supreme call to action.

The Supernal State, of Hegel and his followers, exists as an independent entity over, above and apart from the people subject to it. It is a sublime and eternal being, which can do no wrong because above it there is no lawgiver and no master. It overarches the nation as the sky spans the earth. To its people it guarantees prosperity and justice through its own perfection. It is the benevolent shepherd who sees that his sheep are well cared for, housed, cherished and defended through no effort or anxiety on their part. In all this they are not consulted, neither are they when duly shorn.

This conception is very far removed from the democratic view of the state as an assemblage of cooperating communities held together for mutual welfare, ruled by shifting majorities to whom the minorities yield their wills but not their opinions. The Supreme State knows nothing of majorities or minorities. If the people are satisfied, well and good—but contented or not, they are duly fed and shorn.

It is claimed by German writers that this conception of the state ("Der Staat") is beyond the reach of the British or the American mind, trained in the narrow system of Democracy. The democratic state is what the people make it. Trampled in the dust of the market place, its ideals and purposes are those of the "man in the street" who alone bears aloft its banners. This

may be true, the democratic state shows all the imperfections of its human membership. And as men build up the state, the state in turn builds up men. For the democratic state is the great training school in civics, a laboratory in government, through which alone good government can be possible.

Bad as government by the people may sometimes be, lax, tyrannical, corrupt, no other government of the same people could be any better. When the people do not control, some one else does, seizing the lapsed sovereignty for his own personal advantage. No dynastic government, however orderly or efficient in appearance, was ever just in fact. A rule of privilege can be fair only on the surface. At heart it is selfish and corrupt.

In the Supreme State, the people can impinge nowhere on the authority. But it would be a futile abstraction if there were no way by which the state impinged on the people. The dynasty is this necessary intermediary. The dynasty must be absolute, else it could not be infallible, and infallibility must rest somewhere, or else the conception would not be thinkable. And whether this finally resides in the ruler or in the state itself has long been a disputed question. One or the other, the king or the state "can do no wrong." But this is a matter of words, not of fact. There is no king and no state which is either infallible or impeccable. Although in the German mind both these impossibilities must have a place somewhere. The Reformation logically led straight toward democracy, but the absolute power held by an Infallible Church was merely transferred to the Infallible State, of which the dynastic caste is the visible representative. The dynastic State must rest on superstition because the conception of any human origin would be fatal to its pretensions. A ruler may be elected, or he may be self-chosen through his own innate energy. It is plain that neither of these methods applies to any existing dynasty. The other alternatives are accident, chance, survival in the cross-currents of history, or else choice by Divine Right. The first of these is the actual fact; the second is the accepted basis of inherited power. But this term divine has no real significance today. It is part of the traditional blasphemy that "doth hedge a king."

And as a fact, the Supreme State, however exalted in theory, becomes in practice only the

cloak which hides the follies and sins of the "absolute" monarch and especially of the sycophants and satellites by which he is surrounded and smothered.

"Wir wollen den Kaiser absolut  
So lang er unsere Willen thut."

The more powerful his government in a military sense, the weaker it is in the sense of being able to carry on a consistent civic purpose. For absolutism finds its limitations within its own surroundings. All dignity vanishes from the Supreme State when we look behind the scenes to the machinery by which it wreaks its policies on the struggling millions of the nation.

The Philosophy of "Kultur" or Supreme Discipline has found its most notable recent advocate in Professor Heinrich von Treitschke.\* It involves the care and regimentation of the wards of the state, in industrial as well as in military relations. The word "Kultur" is not the same as our word, "culture." This term, taken by us from the French implies the refinement of manners and mind induced by entering into the thoughts of others.

"Kultur" on the other hand, is a social system in which each man has his place, protected in it and aspiring to no other. Each citizen does his part without knowledge of the great whole to which he contributes. The individual is a "brick in an edifice he cannot see, and of whose final purpose he knows nothing." It is the military ideal brought over into civil life. Under this system the government undertakes to train each man for a suitable vocation, essentially that of his forebears, to place him in a position of usefulness and to make sure that he stays where he is put. That is the outlook of the common man. Patient service at low wages without hope of advancement, finally rewarded by Insurance and Old Age Pension, the cost deducted from his wages, his earnings for the most part forfeited if he yields to impulses of unrest. He gives up freedom for security and his gains go to maintain the "privileged classes," those who by birth or skill have earned the right to protect and

\* The name of Professor Friedrich Nietzsche, often carelessly used in the same connection, has no place here. Nietzsche despised uniformity, had no love for Prussians and no interest in mass efficiency. His "superman" was no Prussian, but one who rose above conventions and conformities to frame his own code of action. Nietzsche was vigorous and original as a thinker, who cared little for being consistent with himself. To him the whole dynastic-military-obedience system was a relic of enslaved ages.

exploit him. The keynote to the whole system is found in the words—again in threes—, *Dienst, Ordnung und Kraft*. (Service, Conformity and Efficiency.) Every one is expected, nay forced, to serve and the impulse to service comes from above. Each one conforms to the prearranged or traditional status and methods of his class. The final result is mass-efficiency, the efficiency of regimented numbers, in industry as well as in war. This system of efficiency of service through conformity enforced from above is not confined to laborers and peasants. It runs through all the varied castes in society. A Junker is not free to grow up other than as a Junker, with the manners, ambitions or methods of his caste. Even a king is held to his rôle. An emperor may have a certain personal range of morals or expression, but even he must not "kick over the traces," lest he come in contrast with the irresistible force of "Ordnung" or Conformity.

The ideal of the doctrine of "Kultur," from the monarch to the lowest subject is that of national efficiency, mass-power, never that of individual development. In every nation, notably in England and the United States, as well as in Germany, there are men who hold precisely the same views, though they are now often disguised under the flexible name of Democracy.

Actual Democracy has its discipline as well, but of exactly the opposite type. Its discipline comes from within and its effectiveness depends on no outside agency. The ideal of Democracy is personal initiative, opportunity open to all alike. Its Public Service, in so far as it is of a high order, is ideally voluntary, the function of no caste or group, but of men and women able and willing to reach the chosen results. Individual efficiency is the aim sought and the happy-go-lucky rivalry of Democracy encourages each man to make the most of himself while he supervises the operation. In Emerson's words, "America means opportunity," and in so far as opportunity is restricted or caste domination allowed, it is not America. The highest work is done, not by a man as representative of a class, even of the highest, but by the man who sees for himself his own duty.

To take a single illustration, the work done in Belgium by Herbert Hoover and his associates, American University men, the greatest ever accomplished by men of one nation for the

people of another, could not have been conceived nor carried out nor even understood by men reared in the brass-bound system of "Kultur." It is the man which moves the world, not the class nor the mass, however perfectly either may be regimented. Industrial regimentation serves the same purpose as military from which it is inseparable. No militarism can be complete without it. It substitutes mass-power for initiative and satisfied docility for that freedom which each man must win for himself, and which is the first essential in Democracy. It is through individual freedom and self-imposed obedience that Democracy reaches its final aim of justice.

In contrast with this we have the duties, again in threes of the ideal German citizen, "*Soldat sein, Steuer zahlen, Mund halten.*" (Be a soldier, pay taxes, hold your tongue.) And as against all feministic movements incited by Democracy, we have the four K's which bound the interests of women, "*Kuchen, Kleider, Kirche und Kinder.*" (Cooking, clothing, church and children.)

Under Democracy, each man (and woman) is a ruling unit, a center of power, a member of the governing class. Each citizen is, in his degree, a "conscientious objector." In one regard or another, each of us diverges from the opinions of the majority with the more or less conscious purpose of bringing the majority to our own point of view.

The third element in the dynastic philosophy is "Social Darwinism" or the doctrine of Supreme Control. It is this which gives the philosophy of "Kultur" its motive power. It makes a series of scientific assumptions, then turns on them the "Categorical Imperative" transforming alleged facts of existence into moral duty. "Social Darwinism" is related to real Darwinism only in name. The theory of Darwinism as set forth by Darwin himself recognizes the descent of the organisms of today, men, animals, and plants from types of bygone eras, their resemblances due to common heredity, their divergences regulated and adapted through "Natural Selection." Those who have proved adaptable to the conditions of life have survived and left descendants like themselves. All living forms change from generation to generation and the unadaptable through the ages have faded away.

The doctrine of "Social Darwinism" applies the law of survival not to individuals but to races

and nations, deducing from it a national duty of assisting evolution by war and conquest. This doctrine is energetically set forth by German militarists as the prime duty of the growing state.

Darwin stated clearly that war is the chief element for the destruction of the strong, leaving a necessary heritage of weakness because in war time it is mainly the weak who survive for parenthood. In spite of this, however, certain writers who have hidden behind his name, have assumed that war is "God's great test of the nations," that all tribes or nations which are small, weak, peace-loving or backward are thereby marked for absorption, subjection or extermination.

Inasmuch as the Prussian system of discipline is the ideal of human social perfection, it is claimed that all nations must come to it in time. Those people of Germanic race (British, Scandinavian, Dutch, Flemish) will adopt it spontaneously, or with adequate persuasion may be forced within its grasp. The others must be vassals of one sort or another, holding to fragmentary or imperfect systems until their defects are realized and they can be brought into proper relations to the governing powers. The barbarous Slavs, whose day has not yet come, and the degenerate Latins whose day is past furnish material to be dominated by the races with coherent discipline and the will to power.

Here arises the necessity of the function of war. According to General von Bernhardt in a lecture I once heard, there are three (again three) arguments for war:

1. The Historical: There has always been war.
2. The Psychological: Human nature never changes and the instinct for war is in every human heart.
3. The Biological: The necessity of subduing or extermination of the weak races by the strong. According to Bernhardt, the most logical of the "Social Darwinians," law is only a device of the weak, force is the right and duty of the strong. Might does not make Right—not exactly, but Might creates need and Need makes Right. Right justifies itself by bringing Might into its service. "Necessity knows no Law," and the Supreme State recognizes no lawgiver. Besides these the strong state counts on certain sure gains, also in threes ("alle gute Dinge sind drei") territory, indemnities, prestige. And each victorious acquisition makes the next easier,

and the prestige of frightfulness does away with most necessity for actual war. Thus the partition of Denmark with the acquisition by Prussia of Schleswig-Holstein paved the way to the war with Austria and the annexation of Silesia. The conquest of Hanover made that state an integral part of Prussia, and these successive triumphs of force gave courage for the assault on France, rewarded in turn by Alsace-Lorraine.

And prestige, strengthened by each of these endeavors, falls naturally under three heads—admiration, fear and paralysis of rivals.

From the biological side, certain facts vitiate the whole dogma of "Social Darwinism." Natural Selection is the survival of individuals, not the choice of races. The "Struggle for Existence" is threefold, the rivalry with like organisms, with unlike, and resistance to conditions of life. But in fact, these three aspects of selection are resolvable into one, the effort to survive under the conditions of life. Those best adaptable live and repeat their kind. Not a single one of your ancestors or mine ever died in infancy. And the conditions of survival are not mainly those of courage, ferocity or strength. The races which endure do not thrive through extermination. The race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong, but to those who can hold together. There is a bounty on the heads of wolves, hawks and hyenas, as well as on those of Alexanders, Caesars, Alvas and Hindenburgs.

Every empire built on force has duly crumbled; they crumble before our eyes. "No nation ever lost its liberties through excess of brotherly love."

Altruism is one of the primary forces in organic life, as old as selfishness and as powerful. Combination is as primitive as competition. Every race of men which builds its future on the subjugation of other races is doomed from the beginning. As Cavour once asserted, "You can do anything with bayonets except to sit on them." The nation which finds in distorted science, a gospel of tyranny, will find the world "an angry ring" resisting its aggressions by power still greater. And the nations "trampled broad in the press" may appeal "to the great court which sits in silence, the heart and conscience of universal humanity" in perfect confidence of the final verdict.

Friction, in one form or another will go on so long as Autocracy has its hold on civilization. The era of peace will follow when the heads of a nation become servants, not masters of the people. The Dynastic System is the tap-root of war, and it must first be made innocuous as a step toward its final eradication, root and branch.

Democracy must come in fact as well as in name and it must be co-extensive with civilization. In the words of Barbusse—the French *poilu* in the trenches, "The people have been nothing; they must be everything."

## The Railroads and the New Democracy

By Frederic C. Howe

The action of President Wilson in commandeering the railroads was a war measure. It is also *the greatest peace* measure ever taken in America. For there is war within America, just as there is war without. There is war at Washington, in our states, in our cities. It is a war that divides America into two camps; a war that aligns the financiers, monopolists, public utility corporations, lawyers, the press and privileged interests in one camp and the manufacturers, producers, farmers, consumers and labor in another camp.

Government ownership ends this conflict; a conflict that makes it impossible to integrate the

talent, the press, the university and the best thought of America into our organic life. This alienation of one class is the costliest burden America has had to pay for the private ownership of the railroads. It is far more costly than rebates, overcharges or an excessive price for the acquisition of railway properties.

Public ownership makes it possible to integrate America into a real nation; a nation in which the purse of the few is no longer at war with their patriotism. It makes it possible for Chambers of Commerce, the press and monopolistic interests to think in terms of service rather than of the protection of privileged classes

whose profits and power are dependent upon their control of the government.

It is also now possible for the railroads to be *run for service*. They can build America. They can serve industry, agriculture, consumer, laborer. And the big difference between the private railroads of America and the publicly owned railroads of Europe is that American railroads are run for the railroads, for profit, in Europe they are run to upbuild the nation. The competition of a hundred different systems for traffic comes to an end. Quite as important, the struggle for long-haul traffic is over. It now becomes the motive of operation to develop short-hauls; to encourage industries near their natural market. It makes it possible for the first time for farming, cattle raising, food production, to spring up round about the cities instead of being driven by railway discrimination to far distant points. For a generation the Great Lakes, the greatest inland waterway in the world, has been strangled as a carrier by the possession of the harbors, docks and terminal facilities by the railroads. They refuse to permit water traffic to develop. For water traffic competes with railway traffic. And from Duluth to Buffalo harbors which should be filled with shipping have been almost the exclusive possession of the steel trust, allied industries, and railroads, which utilized them only to the extent that it benefited their earnings.

The same is true of the great inland waterways, the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Erie Canal and many other smaller canals, which have been in a state of suspended operation, but which can now be opened up to the carriage of bulk traffic.

We can see the effect of such a revolution in operating motive in those countries where the railroads are in public hands. In Belgium the railroads, waterways, docks and interurban systems work as a unit for the upbuilding of Belgium, for making Antwerp one of the great ports of the world. There is little thought of profits. That is a secondary consideration. Hundreds of thousands of workmen are carried out into the country daily; some of them forty or fifty miles from Brussels and Antwerp, in order that they can live in the country and work in the towns. The rate of fare is negligible; far less than that on our street cars. Denmark consciously utilizes her railroads as an agency of agriculture, the

dominant industrial activity of that little state. The farmer is given every facility to reach Copenhagen and the seaports. Steamships are run to England to get Danish produce to the markets. All middlemen, who in this country cluster about the railways, have been cut out. Together with an enlightened land program, the railways of Denmark have made that little state what she is.

The railways of Germany are used as a strategic agency in time of peace as they are in times of war. And the after-war menace of Germany is quite largely a transportation menace. Discriminations are not given to individual shippers, but preferences are made to develop industry. The shipbuilders enjoyed free trade and low transportation on iron ore, timber, machinery and supplies. Raw materials in one section are brought at cost or less than cost to the manufacturing regions. The great industrial cities like Essen, Düsseldorf, Mannheim, harbor cities like Hamburg and Bremen, are interlaced with railway and water connections, with sidings, with terminal facilities, which make it easy for new industries to come into existence, as well as to find a foreign market for their wares. The express service, parcel post service, telegraph and telephones were all integrated into the empire for the purpose of upbuilding industrial strength.

In Switzerland, Belgium and Denmark travel is encouraged. It is encouraged for educational purposes. One can buy a ticket for two weeks for a negligible sum and travel ten miles or a thousand miles upon it. It is a universal commutation ticket. And the object is to provide cheap vacations, to encourage travel.

The main factor in the development of Australia has been state-owned railroads. Every station is a receiving agency for the farmer. He can bring a dozen chickens or a hundred head of cattle for shipment to London. Station agents give receipts for the consignments, which are sent to Adelaide; cattle are slaughtered in public slaughter houses and sold by a state selling agency. There are no middlemen, no private packers, stockyard men to fix the price arbitrarily to the producer and equally arbitrarily to the consumer. In time of drought cattle are moved at negligible cost to pastures. In time of industrial depression workless men are taken over the state to work on projects of internal

improvement. During the summer months people from the interior are brought to the seacoast for a vacation.

In all these countries freight rates are very simple. They can be understood by anyone. A very limited classification of goods suffices. In this country there are hundreds of thousands of classifications. They differ in different railroads. They are not understood even by the agents. The object is to make them intricate. This makes discriminations possible. Under government ownership freight can be divided into just a few groups. This will free the whole producing world from its present ignorance as to railroad transportation costs.

Government ownership will divorce transportation from monopolized industries. The major industries, the great trusts, along with the transportation agencies, are interlocked with the great banking institutions of Wall Street. Railroading in America has become an agency of high finance. It is scarcely railroading at all. The policies are determined by directors unfamiliar with the needs of the country and interested primarily in financing, stock-jobbing and speculation. It is now possible to divorce the trusts from transportation, to free the smaller industries; to put them on a plane of equality with monopoly, and, most important of all, to encourage that quality of American enterprise and permit the resourcefulness of our people to expand; to utilize its talents with the assurance that the railroad system is open to all on equal terms. It is impossible to conjecture as to the wealth which America might produce were our mills and factories, our mines and our land, assured of a free and open, an adequate and a cheap, means of transportation. It is probable that the output of wealth in this country could be increased a billion dollars, possibly many times that amount, by providing the labor and capital of America with adequate and cheap transportation and terminal facilities. The extent to which the productive power of the country is held in bondage by inadequate transportation facilities is indicated by the fact that tens of thousands of idle men have been standing about the mouths of the mines, that thousands of automobiles have been driven to market on their own power while hundreds of thousands of loaded cars have lain at the terminals throughout the country while the freight-houses nearby were clamoring for empty cars.

Waste, colossal waste, can now be stopped. Today, empty trains cross the country to secure cargoes and pass empty trains going in the opposite direction on another road. Thousands of trains are run as a result of competition and in order to secure their pro rata traffic. Palatial passenger trains run out of New York, Chicago, Cleveland, to the same destination, each filled to a part of its capacity, when a single road should carry all-through traffic. Parallel lines from Chicago to Milwaukee, St. Paul, Omaha, Kansas City and St. Louis maintain exclusive through-service; freight is sent around Robin Hood's barn under pooling arrangements; motive power and cars are wasted in this competition for traffic, just as capital and labor would be wasted were there a dozen water plants in New York City instead of one.

There is another colossal waste in private ownership of the railroads that will be saved to us. A great part of the capital value of the railroads is land values, not only in the cities, but in the country districts. Rights of way were in most instances given to railroads for little or nothing. The government gave them 150,000,000 acres of land. These land values have been increasing rapidly. Every decade they go up nearly one hundred per cent, if we may judge by comparison with the increase in the value of adjoining agricultural land. These increasing values are capitalized. Then increased rates are demanded upon the increased land values. And when the railways are acquired the public will be called upon to pay for the value which it itself has contributed to the railroads.

Each year, too, immense sums are taken from the public in excess charges and used for betterment and extensions. It is said that billions of dollars of the present capital value of the railways has been added out of earnings. In other words, the producers and consumers of America have contributed a great part of the railway capital to their present owners. This will now be saved to the public. It can be used to build extensions, to improve service or to relieve the burdens of war taxation.

A reduction in interest rates to 4 per cent. would save colossal sums, while the closing of expensive passenger offices, the discharging of tens of thousands of competing agents, the ending of the fast freight lines, the consolidation of warehouses and terminals, the reduction in the

salaries of high-priced officials—these economies alone will run into the tens of millions, possibly hundreds of millions of dollars.

The only objection heard is that the government is inefficient. Is this assumption justified by experience? Is the government a bad administrator? That there are evils in bureaucratic administration all will admit. But is the parcels post a less efficient agency of service than the express company? The fact that in a few years' time the parcels post has become a carrier of 6,000,000 packages a year indicates that the public prefers it to the private agency. And its cost is far less. Is the Panama Canal an exhibit of wastefulness or inefficiency? Has there been any suggestion of graft? Is it not run for service and is not all America proud of that achievement? Does the post-office department interfere with our politics as do the railroads? A single official receiving one-tenth the salary of a railroad president administers the postal system with a \$200,000,000 budget and with stations in the most inaccessible parts of the country, while the hundred or two hundred railroads each maintain a great staff of highly paid individuals to perform a similar service.

But the efficiency of the government is not demonstrated by the Panama Canal or the parcels post alone. We are building battleships as cheaply as private contractors. The federal government is erecting public buildings all over the country and they are the most commanding in every community. The construction work upon the Great Lakes and rivers and harbors may be governed by pork-barrel methods but it is well done. Our forestry and reclamation service has the spirit of the army. We are spending tens of

millions of dollars on good roads. And, on the whole, it is being well done. Moreover, practically every railroad in the country has been in the hands of receivers and operated through receivers by the government. It is a fiction of the press that public ownership is wasteful, extravagant, corrupt. If we could make an honest comparison we would probably find that measured even by cost the government is more efficient than private agencies, while measured by service rendered and the burden on the community, the government service is far less costly than that of railroads or private public utility corporations anywhere.

Finally, America is the only great state in the world that does not own its transportation agencies. England and France took the railroads over as soon as they entered the war. And in any state where the railroads are owned by the people it would be difficult to find a corporal's guard willing to go back to private ownership. There are complaints and protests but no demand for the old profit-making motive. And this is the best evidence of all of the efficiency, the social efficiency, of public ownership. Moreover, in all those states where the railroads, with their ramifications into the banks, press and the business interests, have been taken out of private hands, a renaissance of public spirit followed. A spirit of service, of eagerness to enter political life, to be identified with big things, took the place of the old conflict for private profit. Psychologically this is the greatest gain of all. For it means that the mind and the talent of America is now able to think in terms of America. The freeing of America is the greatest gain of all from public ownership of the railways.

## Japanese Militarism

By J. T. Sunderland, D.D.

(Author of "Rising Japan")

The impression seems to be somewhat widespread in this country that Japan is an essentially bellicose power, aggressive in spirit, desiring wherever possible to make military conquests, and therefore dangerous to America and to the general peace of the world. Is this impression

true? Or, is it a misrepresentation, created in part by persons ignorant of the real character of the Japanese people, and of their history and ideals as a nation, and in part by enemies, German and other, who, with evil ends in view, have desired to awaken in this country suspicion and

fear of Japan, and if possible serious hostility between the two nations?

Let us look at a few facts calculated to throw light upon these questions.

Japan possesses an excellently trained army, large according to our past American standards, but not noticeably large according to the past standards of Europe. She possesses a navy nearly (but not quite) one-half the size and strength of our own before the beginning of the present war, but judging by its past records, very efficient as a fighting force. Like all the leading nations of Europe and like the United States, she has had some practical experience of war during the past generation. It is worth while to inquire in what spirit she has carried on her military operations, whether in obedience to the recognized laws of civilized warfare, or not; whether she has treated her prisoners of war humanely, or not; and especially whether her wars have been waged for purposes of aggression, or not.

In the joint military expedition sent to Peking by Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan and the United States, during the Boxer uprising in China, to rescue the imperiled legations, we are told upon what seems to be the best of authority, that while the soldiers of most of the other nations engaged extensively in looting, and committed serious depredations and cruelties upon the Chinese people, the Japanese contingent (as also the American) refrained absolutely from everything of the kind, and conducted itself in every respect in accordance with the most honorable laws of war.

In the war between Japan and Russia, Japan set a new standard of morality and honor for modern armies, in the conduct of her soldiers, in her dealings with her enemies, and especially in her treatment of her prisoners. To their amazement the Russian prisoners found themselves everywhere treated with the utmost courtesy and kindness, and fed and housed as well, and treated medically and surgically with as great care as the Japanese soldiers themselves. All reports coming from the armies in the field agreed that while in the Russian army, among both officers and men, there existed loose military discipline, much intemperance, much gambling, much debauchery, and very little effective sanitation, among the Japanese there was strict military discipline, careful sanitation, universal

temperance, and general moral conduct of a high order.

An American missionary who was present in Japan during the war with Russia has given the following testimony as to the remarkable absence of hatred manifested by the Japanese toward the Russian people. He says: "If there had been any real hatred in the hearts of the Japanese people toward the Russians it certainly would have manifested itself. And yet not once did I hear of anything to indicate such a hatred. On the contrary, I often heard expressions of sympathy for the common people of Russia and expressions of hope that the war might result in good to Russia as a whole. When Makárov, the Russian admiral, went down with his flagship I was unable to detect a single note of exultation, but I observed many evidences of sympathy for the loss of so brave and able a commander and so valuable a ship."

A similar absence of rancor, and a similar feeling of chivalry and kindness, have been manifest from the beginning of the present war with Germany. When diplomatic relations between Japan and Germany were severed, a general order was issued by the Japanese Government at once, and universally promulgated, pointing out that there should be no feeling of enmity toward any Germans individually, commanding that the greatest possible care should be taken everywhere to give full and perfect protection to all subjects of Germany sojourning within the Japanese Empire, even going so far as to direct that vigilance be taken to supervise the conduct of students and school children to the end that they might not be led away by excessive or false feelings of patriotism to be discourteous, or "to behave themselves toward the subjects of the belligerent power in any way not creditable to the high character of the Japanese people."

In the military operations of Japan against the German stronghold in Kiao-Chou, China, while the Japanese army fought hard so long as there was fighting to be done, as soon as the city surrendered, every possible courtesy was shown to the Germans, to lessen the humiliation of their defeat and to promote their physical comfort.

If the fine example set by Japan in these respects had been followed by the European nations in the present war, how different would have been the terrible record!

Contrary to the widespread impression in this country, created and persistently disseminated by jingoes and enemies of Japan, the Japanese people are, and for centuries and centuries have been, eminently peaceful in their ideals and their national life.

It is true, as we have seen, that during the past twenty-five years they have done considerable fighting; but it has all been, as they have believed, directly or indirectly in self-defence. Indeed, Japan's principal war, that with Russia in 1904-1905, was one which she felt herself compelled to wage in order to preserve her very existence. But as to her previous record, she has been beyond question, for a long period, actually the most peaceful nation in the entire world. For more than 250 years, while we in the United States had fought four wars, besides all our wars with the Indians, and while the nations of Europe had carried on conflicts almost innumerable, some of them on a vast scale and of the most sanguinary character, Japan had fought no war, but had remained absolutely at peace at home and abroad; and for a much longer time—a period of nearly thirteen hundred years—she had had only one war with a foreign people. In justice it should be said that this freedom from foreign war was probably partly due to her isolation. And yet, taking that into full consideration, her peace record must be pronounced remarkable.

To be sure, before her long era of home peace began Japan had passed through an age of turbulence, somewhat similar to the Feudal Age in Europe, and during that period there was much petty strife and bloodshed among her barons and her chiefs, as was the case in most of the European countries. But that period ended in Japan three centuries ago, and since that time, as has just been said, she has had a record of peace, both at home and abroad, which is far superior to that of any nation of the western world.

It is one of the strange anomalies of a civilization calling itself Christian that the professedly Christian nations of the West virtually compelled Japan to create for herself a strong army and navy and to show herself formidable as a military power before they would consent to grant her equal international rights with themselves, or admit her to fellowship as a first class nation. Her education, her art, her industries, the intelli-

gence of her people, her civilization older than that of many of the nations of Europe, did not avail; she had to show that she could fight; then but not before were they willing to treat her with justice and to give her a place by their side.

Said Count Hayashi, the distinguished Japanese statesman, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War: "To-day we Japanese have battleships, torpedoes, cannon. The China seas redden with the blood of our own killed and of those whom we kill. Our torpedoes roar, our shrapnel shriek, and we die and are the cause of death. And you occidentals say to us: 'Now you have won your rank; you have civilized yourselves.' Centuries upon centuries we have had artists, painters, sculptors, philosophers, literature. Were we then barbarians?"

We Americans call ourselves a peaceful people, and point to Japan as warlike. But let us look at this fact. In the years before the European war began, while we were at peace with all the world and when no hostilities threatened us from any quarter, we were expending 67 per cent of our large national income on wars past or future. What of Japan? At the same time her total expenditure for war purposes was only 37 per cent of her relatively small national income.

We call ourselves peaceful and the people of Japan warlike. But who invented the machine gun? Who invented armored ships? Who invented the submarine? Who invented the aeroplane, and called the attention of the world to it as a new instrument for human destruction? Not Japan, but America. We invented every one of these horrible engines of death that are making war a new terror on the earth. Then why do we not point to ourselves rather than to Japan, as warlike?"

After Commodore Perry had caused the opening of the Japanese ports, when the people of Japan were learning for the first time about the great Christian world of the West, they were shocked to find out how many savage wars we carry on. They wondered whether they could not do something to help us become more peaceful. A distinguished Japanese patriot and ethical teacher, Yokoi Shonan by name, actually begged his Government to send him to the western nations as an ambassador of peace to plead with them to end their bloody conflicts. "These

Christian nations of the west," he said, "have constantly been fighting brutal and bloody wars. Let us go there and teach them how great are the blessings of peace."

Japan's love for peace is not confined to the past. There is the strongest evidence that it is active today. A little while before the breaking out of the European War the Carnegie Peace Foundation of this country sent Dr. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, and Dr. David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford University, as its representatives to Japan and other countries of the Orient to speak upon the subject of peace.

Following a little after these gentlemen, as I did, I was amused as well as interested to hear the comments that were spoken in not a few Japanese circles regarding their mission. Everyone referred to them with great respect, regarding it as an honor to their nation to be visited by men of such high character and distinction. But why, the question was asked again and again, did Americans think it important to send peace advocates to Japan? Japan was already in sympathy with peace aims, and ready to do everything in her power to assist in organizing the world for the promotion of peace. Indeed, nothing did she so much desire as peace, except justice and honor. The countries where peace advocacy was needed, it was declared, were America and Europe.

Several years ago, Dr. John H. DeForest, who lived thirty-three years in Japan and obtained as thorough a knowledge of the Japanese people and of the spirit of the nation as perhaps any American has ever done, heard one of the incendiary addresses against Japan which Captain R. P. Hobson has delivered in so many parts of the United States, in which that bellicose gentleman affirmed the warlike and dangerous character of Japan and our need to arm against her. A few days after hearing the address, Dr. DeForest published in the *Hartford Courant* an "Open Letter" to Mr. Hobson, in which among other things he said:

"Please let me ask you, Captain Hobson, where did you learn all this that you say about the warlike character of Japan? Isn't your history a little loose? I should suppose that a Congressman would know that for two hundred and fifty years before Commodore Perry's visit there was no nation on earth that could compare with

Japan in the peace habit. While Europe and America were in the midst of long years of bitter wars, revolutions and mutual slaughters, there was for two hundred and fifty years neither internal nor external disturbances of peace in the empire of Japan. I take it that you neither read nor speak the Japanese language, and so have only second-hand avenues into the literature and history of Japan. So, in your hasty tour through a section of that country you could not have noticed that at the entrance of countless villages a high flag-staff stands, at the base of which is written: 'Peace be to this village.' Have you ever compared the national hymn of Japan with those of the nations of the West? For hymns to be national they must express the deepest and strongest sentiment of the nation. If, therefore, Japan is a lover of war it will certainly be expressed in her national hymn. What do we find? There is in it not a shadow or suggestion of war. We of the West have to be careful how we sing our national hymns where representatives of different nations are gathered. But Japan's national hymn is so absolutely without the war spirit that it can be sung anywhere in the world without giving the slightest offence."

There are many and weighty evidences that the national ideal which Japan has set before herself and toward which she has been steadily pressing ever since she opened her ports to the western world, instead of being a career of military conquest, is one of ever growing industrial and commercial development—a career of leadership in the East in the arts and sciences, in manufactures, in trade and in finance, similar to that of England or Germany (Germany apart from her military obsession) in the West.

True, she has proved by her recent history that her people are brave fighters if the necessity arises, as peaceful peoples are likely to be. But the declaration made by some that she has been in the past or is now a nation ambitious for war, rests on no foundation. As we have already seen, up to the past generation, she has had no war of any kind for nearly three centuries, and no foreign war for more than four times as long. Until we or some other nation of Europe can show a peace record even approximating this, it ill becomes us to point to the Japanese as a people dangerous on account of their warlike nature.

## RELATED THINGS

## Josephus Daniels

The Secretary of the Navy, civilian adviser to the President, has often been the object of scurrilous jest in the service, to the traditions and technicalities of which—exclusive and arbitrary—he is necessarily a stranger. His scope must be wide and general, his handling of affairs dependent at first upon the assistance of permanent officials and representative advisers from the line. We have read of late in the *Life of Gideon Wells* how successfully in war-time such an administration might be developed. In times of peace Robeson or Meyer was a good enough figure-head.

Why, then, the hue and cry when Josephus Daniels was first appointed! "The little dogs and all, Tray, Blanche and Sweetheart" of the press, barking at his heels? Even the editorial *corps d'esprit* seemed to have no favorable influence upon the clamor with which the choice of one of the fraternity was greeted! The reason was not far to seek. Daniels was a true democrat (not a Democrat with a big "D" for party purposes), and the Navy was essentially aristocratic. I knew him as a thorough-going "anti-imperialist," an official at a very early period of the "Anti-Imperialist League." The Navy was imperialistic—glorying in the sham fight of Manila Bay!

But in detail it was very soon felt that Mr. Daniels had assumed the responsibility of dealing with men, and not with a machine of which the cogs were soulless units. Their idle time was worse than wasted. The moral life of groups of young fellows isolated from natural influences was impaired. Education was wholesome, and might become the means of promotion to commissions. Here was an occasion for the "dry bones" to rattle, indeed, at a possible "back door" entrance into the privileged class! Louder and louder they rattled when rumors flew about that the habits of the "caste" were to be questioned, as examples to "common seamen," whose existence as souls to be saved had not been recognized. Many there were among officers in the Navy who looked with satisfaction upon the new spirit and quietly recognized the value of reformation—for efficiency. Yet powerful and numerous factors, silent of necessity, commanded

a noise to be made which set echoes flying, having little meaning at first and becoming mere idle reverberations—the burden of which was the varied orthography of Mr. Daniels' given name!

Influences of vindictiveness have been traced to personal sources in *Life* and the Boston *Evening Transcript*—a paper unaccountably swayed at times, as when it printed for many weeks installments of Von Mach's "German Viewpoint" early in the war, while its owner was acknowledging it to be the "most unpopular thing" the paper had ever done.

All is over! As you have said, the Secretary of the Navy has "made good big." What he began as good reforms for a peace establishment have told for greater value in war, and as with the President, a lover and ensuer of peace, when peace was possible, has developed into a thorough and successful organizer and administrator in a righteous war. Alliance and friendship with many naval men justified me in saying through the press many months ago that Mr. Daniels had become one of the most popular Secretaries in the Navy that the service had ever known. The turning point with the public came, perhaps, with his silent success in getting our destroyers across the Atlantic, and the last growl of the detractors was because the press had not been informed.

Perhaps the most remarkable record Mr. Daniels has made as to the reform of the naval spirit is the sanction given Thomas Mott Osborne to prove that the common sailor is no longer a pawn in the game—a mere irresponsible tool, but may be a fit subject for self-government even when an offender, sentenced in Portsmouth.

ERVING WINSLOW.

## The Pacifist

At the beginning of the year the Pacifist—that is the bulk of the American people, was in the position of the teetotaler bitten by a rattlesnake. He abhorred and distrusted the remedy at hand and he abhorred and distrusted the venom of the snake. But the serpent knew no other argument, and the man had no other immediately available. His friends, earlier bitten, had been forced to trust to the same remedy. And with many misgivings, but with grim determination, he set force against force, poison against poison, with the firm resolve that the same serpent should never bite again.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending January 2

### Railway Nationalization a Fact

Federal control of the railway systems of the United States went into effect at noon of December 28. On December 26 President Wilson issued a proclamation under the act of Congress of June 30, taking possession of the railroads and naming Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo as Director General of Railroads. The proclamation provides for compensation to the roads "equivalent as nearly as may be to the average of the net operating income thereof for the three-year period ending June 30, 1917." To this is added the following:

But nothing herein contained, expressed or implied, or hereafter done or suffered hereunder shall be deemed in any way to impair the rights of the stockholders, bondholders, creditors, and other persons having interests in said systems of transportation or in the profits thereof, to receive just and adequate compensation for the use and control and operation of their property hereby assumed.

The amount which the Government must pay under this arrangement is estimated at \$918,424,855 a year. The total capitalization of the roads, covering 344,944 miles, is \$19,681,493,092.

### The Investigations

A statement on the sugar situation by Herbert C. Hoover, Food Administrator, was made public by President Wilson on December 25. Mr. Hoover attributed the sugar shortage to exports to Europe, which amounted this year to 1,400,000 tons. Without a price fixing agreement, he said, sugar would have been selling for 25 or 30 cents a pound. Since the Food Administration was created last August, 110,356 tons of refined sugar have been sent to the Allies from the United States, and 246,133 tons of raw product from Cuba. The shortage will continue during the year 1918 since exports to Europe will continue, unless the Allies get their supply from Java, to do which would deprive us of shipping required to transport 150,000 or 200,000 American soldiers to France. He denied the charges that the Food Administration has allowed sugar stocks to remain unmoved in parts of the country, and also that sugar was left in Cuba on account of the effort to keep down prices. All sugar stocks in the country, he said, are in course of distribution. The law does not confer power to fix prices, so the Administration resorted to voluntary agreements with all manufacturers, including the Sugar Trust. But independent refiners have a majority on the committee which divides the imported sugar equitably. He admitted that the campaign for preservation of fruit had increased consumption in that direction, but he held that it would result in a reduction later on. Moreover, there has been a reduction in candy sales, and a consequent saving there. He denied emphatically the charge that George M. Rolph had tried to use his position as head of the sugar division in the interest of his California refinery. [See vol. xx, p. 1277.]

Harry A. Garfield, Federal Fuel Administrator, appeared before the Senate Coal Investigating Committee on December 26. He said that increased demand for coal caused by the war and approach of winter had led him to try to stimulate production. He found his first obstacle in labor troubles which finally were settled. He found it necessary to make prices satisfactory, and having finally stimulated production this way, the transportation problem confronted him and neutralized his efforts. The car shortage reduced production, threw men out of work and put him back where he had started. The big coal operators, he said, had assured him that they were willing to turn their property over to the Government at any time. At first the main idea was to supply the Government and the railroads. But this caused hardship to private consumers who are now receiving consideration from the Administration. Increased prices have been allowed to stimulate production, but in spite of that, he said, coal was cheaper in November in twelve American cities than it was in August. These cities are Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama, Atlanta and Augusta, Ga.; Terre Haute, Indiana; Columbus, O.; Sioux Falls, S. D.; Spartanburg, S. C.; St. Paul, Minn.; St. Louis, Mo.; Tacoma, Wash., and Superior, Wis. In addition to price increases for domestic trade an extra amount of \$1.35 a ton is allowed on export coal. He gave a qualified affirmative reply to a question by Senator Jones, as to whether this was not an unfair profit, but added that this coal must pass a test and the extra sum is compensation therefor. He also admitted that many coal men are getting larger profits than they ever got before. He declared the situation grave, and that he is taking steps to meet it which alarm those afraid of Government control.

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That men in the army training camps lack sufficient clothing was told the Senate Military Affairs on December 24 by Quartermaster-General Sharpe. A similar report on the situation in Camp Wadsworth, near Spartanburg, S. C., was made on December 26 by Major-General John F. O'Ryan, who put the blame for this on the Quartermaster's Department, which had shipped overcoats and shoes too small for the men to wear. The Senate Committee thereupon adopted a resolution calling upon Secretary Baker to suspend the usual routine in supplying the men and to allow the camp commanders to buy what is needed at the nearest points.

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The Shipping Board reported to the Senate Committee on Commerce on December 24 that of its program of 437 wooden and composite ships, ten per cent of the construction, totalling 1,353,900 tons is completed, while of 327 steel ship contracts, four per cent, totalling 3,638,400 tons is finished. For 1918 the board estimates that 5,000,000 tons will be the output. On December 28, Admiral Bowles, head of the Construction Department, appeared before the committee and asked that authority be given to improve housing and transportation conditions in order to get an adequate supply of labor for shipyards. Delay in production, he said, was due to labor shortage caused

by the conditions he would remedy. He said it would be necessary to commandeer houses, street cars and ferry boats, and to declare war zones about certain shipyards to make them habitable. Another difficulty, he said, in placing new contracts is the fear among shipbuilders of the excess profits tax. They are now allowed ten per cent profit. This, after paying the tax, is not enough. Concerning living conditions for the men, he referred to the Hog Island plant of the International Shipbuilding Company. It could use 25,000 men, but on account of poor transportation facilities with Philadelphia can only get 15,000. Another case is that of the plant at Sparrows Point, Maryland, nine miles from Baltimore. It can only get 50 per cent of the men it needs. It could increase production ten per cent if there were 15,000 dwellings at Sparrows Point. Another plant is near a summer resort, where there is housing accommodation for 6,000 men, but this is used by summer visitors only. He suggested that they should be commandeered. Questioning developed that the Government has invested \$57,000,000 in the shipyards of the International at Hog Island, of the Merchants Company at Bristol, Pa., and of the Submarine Corporation at Newark, N. J. Asked why the Government might not as well have built its own plants, Admiral Bowles answered that it could not have arranged the necessary organization. Further questioning developed that the Government has furnished these corporations with everything except the knowledge of how to run the business. The International company's profits will be about \$6,000,000.

#### The Child Labor Movement

The opposition of the National Child Labor Committee to relaxation of industrial safeguards on account of the war has been approved by President Wilson in the following letter to the Committee:

As the labor situation created by the war develops, I am more interested than ever, if that were possible, in throwing all the safeguards possible around the labor of women and children in order that no intolerable or injurious burden may be placed upon them. I am, therefore, very glad indeed that the National Child Labor Committee is diligently continuing its labors and extending its vigilance in this important matter. By doing so it is contributing to efficiency and economy of production, as well as to the preservation of life and health.

WOODROW WILSON.

The Committee has protested to Governor Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania against violation of the State and National Child Labor laws by the State Board of Education, which has authorized the issue of employment certificates to defective and retarded children under the legal age.

#### Conference on Democratic Financing

A conference on democratic financing of the war has been called to meet at the National Hotel at Washington on January 15, under auspices of the Equitable Federal Income Tax League in affiliation with labor and farmers' organizations, the National Party and

various civic organizations. The Equitable Income Tax League says in its announcement:

Too great reliance is being placed upon loans, which are unnecessary and constitute a grave injustice to the working people of the country if resorted to before the maximum taxation of products due to the war and to monopoly. Seven billion dollars can be secured by current taxation annually—at least \$3,200,000,000 from the excess profits tax; \$1,350,000,000 from heavy taxes on unearned incomes; and \$500,000,000 from taxes on unused and inadequately used land. This is \$2,000,000,000 more than the estimated yield this year of the excess profits tax, and \$690,000,000 more than the income tax on individuals is expected to provide; while a reasonable tax upon slacker lots and acres will give the Government half a billion dollars the fiscal experts have overlooked.

There will be three sessions of the conference on January 15. On the following day it will call on the Ways and Means Committee and urge its program.

#### Russia

Matters appear to be still so confused that little definite information is at hand. The Bolshevik Government is hastening peace negotiations with Germany, and is endeavoring to obtain some response from the Entente Allies and America. Much disorder is reported in Petrograd, where lack of provisions has caused food riots. Many German officers are in Petrograd in anticipation of the restoration of friendly relations between the two countries. The Petrograd Council of People's Commissaries in expressing sympathy with the Ukraine Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates promised its support in "all works of peace," such as handing over land, factories, workshops and banks to the working class. Meantime civil war continues in the south. The Cossacks and Ukrainian forces are said to have defeated the Bolshevik forces in an extensive battle on the southwestern front. General Kaledines, who resigned as Hetman of the Cossacks because of opposition to him at the front, has been re-elected by 562, out of a total of 638 votes. Bessarabia in southwestern Russia and adjoining Roumania, has declared its independence as the Moldavian Republic, to form part of the Russian Federated Republic. It is estimated that about half of the 2,000,000 population are Roumanians. Russia took Bessarabia in the Russo-Turkish War of 1878, when Roumania was made an independent principality. [See vol. xx, p. 1278.]

#### European War

Military activities were of lesser moment. Much fighting occurred on the Italian front, where the Italians with the assistance of the French have driven back the enemy on the Piave River. Isolated attacks by the Germans on the western front have made no material change in conditions. The Germans are reported to be sending large numbers of men into Flanders from the Russian front. Belgian civilians are being stripped of the little that had formerly been left them by the invaders. The British report satisfactory progress in Palestine. [See vol. xx, p. 1278.]

The peace conference at Brest-Litovsk continues. In reply to the proposals of the Russian delegates, Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister in attendance, announced that the Central Powers would accept in general terms a peace without annexations or indemnities, provided the remaining Entente nations joined. His statement in detail declared that the Central Powers had no intention of annexing territories seized during the war, that they had no intention of depriving nations of their independence, that the independence of minor territories cannot be considered internationally but must be solved by each dominant government, that the protection of the rights of minorities constitutes an essential part of the constitutional rights of people to self-determination, that the Central Powers have frequently emphasized the possibility that both sides might renounce not only indemnification for war costs but also for war damages, that as Germany is the only one of the Central Powers with colonies the return of those colonies seized during the war must be insisted upon.

The proposals of the Central Powers are looked upon as a German offer for a general peace. The offer has received no official response from any of the Entente Allies. The press, both of France and Great Britain, as well as the United States, is for the most part non-committal, but inclined to wait till some evidence of good faith has been manifested. The Pan-German press is severe in its denunciation of the concessions made by the German representatives.

The Russian delegates asked ten days' time for the purpose of getting a response from the Entente Allies. A provisional agreement was announced on the 28th covering the restoration of treaty relations existing before the war; reciprocal liberation of war prisoners, interned civilians, and the return of captured merchant vessels; and speedy resumption of diplomatic and commercial relations. The chief proposal of the German delegation was that Russia take cognizance of the proclaimed independence of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and portions of Esthonia and Livonia, and that general elections be held in these districts to determine whether they shall be recognized as separate states. The Russian proposal was that Russia withdraw her troops from all parts of Austro-Hungary, Turkey and Persia, while the Central Powers withdraw their troops from Poland, and that the peoples of Russia be allowed to decide the question of their union with either nation, or their formation into independent states.

Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, and Dr. von Kuehlmann, German Foreign Secretary, have left Brest-Litovsk for the purpose of conferring with their respective governments.

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War summaries at the close of 1917 show that Great Britain has issued bonds to the amount of \$17,000,000,000; France, \$10,540,000,000; Germany, \$18,100,000,000; Austria, \$3,700,000,000; Hungary, \$1,850,000,000. The United States has loaned to Great Britain \$1,860,000,000; France, \$670,000,000; Russia, \$275,000,000; Italy, \$225,000,000; Belgium, \$53,400,000; Serbia, \$3,000,000. The men bearing arms, according to Secretary Baker's es-

timate, number 38,000,000—27,000,000 on the side of the Allies, and 10,600,000 on the side of the Central Powers. Eleven million of the twenty-seven million, representing the forces of Russia, China and Japan, are not actively engaged in the war. German forces are estimated at 7,000,000; Austria, 3,000,000; Turkey, 300,000; Bulgaria, 300,000. France is estimated to have under arms 6,000,000; Great Britain, 5,000,000; Italy, 3,000,000; Russia, 9,000,000; Japan, 1,400,000; United States, 1,000,000; China, 541,000; Roumania, 320,000; Serbia, 300,000; Belgium, 300,000; Greece, 300,000; Portugal, 200,000; Montenegro, 40,000; Siam, 36,000; Cuba, 11,000, and Liberia, 400. The casualties, killed, wounded and prisoners are estimated to be, Great Britain, 1,385,000; France, 3,875,000; Italy, 390,000; Germany, 4,675,160; Austria-Hungary, 3,500,000.

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The loss of Allied and neutral shipping from German submarines since February 25, 1917, the beginning of unrestricted warfare, has amounted to 1,264 ships, with a tonnage of 6,371,000 tons. Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the British Admiralty, announced in July that Great Britain had 15,000,000 tons afloat, that she would build 2,800,000 tons during the year, and that the United States would have 6,000,000 tons flying the American flag in 1918. The official statement of the destruction of U-boats for the eleven months has averaged thirty-eight a month; German construction is estimated at twenty-three a month.

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The newly organized Independent Social Democratic party in Germany is reported to be almost as strong as the Majority Socialists. The Majority Socialists claimed over 1,000,000 before the war began; but the membership has dwindled to less than 200,000. Part of this decline is apparently due to men at the front, and to other causes connected with the war; but the new party claims that the major part of the loss was due to dissatisfaction with the party management.

## NOTES

—Senator Frances Griffith Newlands of Nevada, died in Washington, of heart failure, on December 27, aged 69.

—The number of immigrants entering the United States in October was 9,285; the number of emigrants departing was 4,861. The number of immigrants debarred by law was 542.

—Explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson who was so long out of communication with civilization in his voyage of discovery in the Arctic regions, sends back word of his safety from Herschel Island. He reports the discovery of three new islands north of Melville Island.

—King Ferdinand in addressing the Roumanian Parliament, which opened on the 28th, thanked the members for the constitutional reforms enacted at the last session, and for the laws providing for the apportionment of the land among the people, and for equal suffrage.

—On account of the arrest at Hamilton, O., on De-

ember 27, of union leaders, on what are held to be trumped up charges, 4,000 union men and women went on a general strike. Every industry in the city is tied up in consequence. The arrested men refused to give bail.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the ten months ending October, 1917, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for October, 1917, were:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.	
Merchandise	\$5,149,007,142	\$2,504,033,908	\$2,644,973,234	Expta.
Gold.....	360,122,588	532,482,024	172,359,436	Impta.
Silver.....	69,216,730	38,099,586	31,117,144	Expta.
Totals....	\$5,578,346,460	\$3,074,615,518	\$2,503,730,942	Expta.

The exports for October, 1917, were \$541,630,057, as compared with \$492,813,918 in October, 1916, and \$336,152,009 in 1915. The imports in October, 1917, were \$221,239,405, as compared with \$178,658,730 in 1916 and \$149,172,729 in 1915. [See vol. xx, p. 919.]

—An earthquake at Guatemala City, Guatemala, December 25, and repeated at intervals, is reported to have done great damage to property and caused some loss of life. Warning shocks enabled people to leave buildings before they fell. The Presidential Palace, Post Office, Cathedral, and all the churches, hospitals and schools were seriously damaged. A Red Cross relief ship will leave New Orleans to succor the stricken city.

—Thirty-eight persons were lynched in the United States in 1917, according to the records kept by R. R. Moton, president of the Tuskegee Institute. All but two of the victims were Negroes, and one of those was a woman. One lynching occurred in Montana; the others were in Southern States, Texas and Georgia having six each. Attacks on white women were given as the cause in sixteen cases.

—An anti-saloon measure has received enough signatures to go on the ballot in California to be voted on in November. It abolishes saloons and barrooms, forbids the sale of whisky, brandy and other strong alcoholic drinks but allows sale of wines and beer containing less than 17 per cent. alcohol, with meals at restaurants and clubs. Such sales may take place only between noon and midnight. The initiative petition for the measure has 125,000 signatures, about 50,000 more than the law requires.

—Mayor Hylan, of New York City, on assuming office on January 1, made almost a clean sweep of the heads of departments under Mayor Mitchel. Frederick A. Bugher was appointed Commissioner of Police, vice Arthur A. Woods; Congressman Murray Hulbert was made Commissioner of Docks and Ferries, and Bird S. Coler, Commissioner of Public Charities. Frank Mann succeeds John J. Murphy as Tenement House Commissioner, and Jacob A. Cantor succeeds Lawson Purdy as President of the Board of Taxes and Assessments.

—The New York State official count shows the total vote for suffrage, including that of soldiers and sailors, to have been: For, 763,120; against, 600,776; majority in favor, 102,344, of which 100,082 was given by New York City. In 1915 the vote was: For, 553,348; against, 748,332. The vote for Attorney-General, the head of the state ticket was, Merton E. Lewis, Re-

publican, 696,969; Devoe P. Hodson, Democrat, 541,385; S. John Block, Socialist, 169,364; William H. Burr, Prohibition, 26,066. [See volume xx, pp. 1108, 1280.]

—Official reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission for ten months of 1917, and estimates for November and December show gross receipts of the railroads for the year to have been \$4,188,227,185, a gain over 1916 of \$451,905,438. But the net income was less by \$91,876,153, being \$1,022,741,992. The difference is attributed to increased cost of fuel and other supplies together with increased wages. Taxes for the year were \$222,026,753, an increase of \$56,770,787; operating expenses were \$2,943,458,440, an increase of \$487,010,000; net operating income was \$3,943 a mile or 5.87 per cent of capitalization.

—A temporary injunction was issued on December 27 by Supreme Court Justice Gavegan, forbidding New York City's Board of Estimate from holding a hearing on December 28 upon the application of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company for a motor bus franchise. The injunction was requested by Henry H. Klein, acting for Mayor-elect Hylan. Had the hearing taken place the Board could at once have granted the franchise and the incoming city administration would have been powerless to interfere with it. In granting the injunction, Justice Gavegan held that the Board of Estimate was threatening to commit an illegal act, and to waste the funds of the city. [See vol. xx, p. 1184.]

—Speaking of the questionable right of Europeans in India to attempt the shape the political reform movement the *Hindu* of Madras says:

There is at least one very important interest, one body of European opinion which least merits the charge of consisting of birds of passage. . . . What we want to point out is that the Missionaries of India form a body of men who are entitled to claim that they have a real stake in the country. They have rendered vast services to the country in the matter of education and social amelioration. These Missionaries besides have large vested interests in the matter of schools and colleges and consequently can claim, if any portion of the European community can, to be heard.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Alsace-Lorraine

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Will you allow me to say concerning Mr. Post's pronouncements on the question of Alsace-Lorraine on page 1271 of the THE PUBLIC that the problem is not quite as simple as stated by you. It is claimed for instance that about half a million persons were driven out of Alsace in 1871, or at least that they so loved France and dreaded German rule that they left. Their places have been taken by so-called German colonists, sent in for the deliberate purpose of germanizing a country obdurately pro-French. The deputies as-

sembled at Bordeaux made the pathetic protest you doubtless know of in 1871. Lately the French have received the warmest welcome in those parts of Alsace that have been retaken. My own belief is that if a fair vote were taken Alsace and Lorraine would prefer to form part of the French Republic. But how is a fair vote to be taken? In 1871 such a fair vote was possible. In 1918 or later how can it be assured? Doubtless many Alsatians would go back to their beautiful land if they were assured that the hated Prussian would be expelled. But they are not actual residents. Shall their vote be taken in the various countries in which they reside?

Then there is another point of view. The seizing of the provinces in 1871 was an immoral act. Shall it now be reconfirmed?

In 1899 I was in the cathedral in Strasbourg. I noticed that the priests pronounced the Latin of the mass in the French manner, and remarked with a smile to a friend that it was a curious oversight on the part of the great Forbidders that they had not ordered the clergy of Alsace to germanize their pronunciation of Latin. This order has since gone forth. Latin prayers must now be addressed to the Deity in Germanized Latin.

Your doctrine that Alsace and Lorraine "belong to the peoples who live in them" is the doctrine that contains the possibilities of endless secessions. Lately a proposal was made for the secession of the French Canadians. Universal secessions of every human group of whatever size at any moment of discontent would bring universal anarchy. The United States has fought out the question to a contrary conclusion. The Germans have made the greatest efforts to divide the Belgians into Flemings and Walloons, small though the country already is. The effect has been, of course, that the Flemings and Walloons never were so united. I suppose the Irish would rush into the arms of England if the Prussians actually attempted to seize Ireland.

I admit it is very difficult to think clearly on these questions.

I withdraw into the realm of sentiment and hope to live to see Alsace-Lorraine French in official status, as I believe it has never ceased to be at heart.

CHARLES A. DOWNER.

Alliance Française, New York.

pretty much all the money they needed, at from four to five per cent.

I know that "big business" has been claiming that agitation against the railroads was responsible for their not being able to raise money, but the real reason was the wrecking of public confidence as well as the railroads by a few of the plutocrats who control them. The New Haven, Boston & Maine, Frisco, Rock Island, Alton, Missouri Pacific, Wabash, are only some of the more recent examples. Take the Alton, for instance, on which, a few years before his death, Mr. Harriman issued securities to the value of a hundred and twenty-five million, of which but twenty-two million were spent on the railroad and the balance pocketed by Mr. Harriman and associates. Furthermore, the railroads have been paying fancy prices for their supplies, many of which have been under the control of directors, who as individuals sold supplies to themselves as directors, at exorbitant figures, such, for instance, as steel rails sold to the railroads at from \$32.00 to \$36.00 a ton at a time when they were sold and delivered by the United States Steel Corporation in Australia at \$24.00 a ton.

When we come to the question of railroad rates, because of "rigged up" classification the small shipper is completely at the mercy of the roads and has the freight rates on his articles sometimes doubled and trebled by a juggling of classification.

Because of the above mentioned stock jobbing and rascality, railroad operation has been completely demoralized and made bad and inefficient in spite of competent and well intentioned employes. I do not mean to say that it will not be a great undertaking for the Government to take over the railroads, but I believe that the present rates are sufficiently high to permit of a good fair price being paid to all the holders of securities, to permit good wages and reasonable hours to all employes and yet yield ample revenue for good operation with plenty of good equipment, good terminals and a sufficient amount set aside for depreciation and amortization. This would seem to be proved by the fact that at present all municipally owned and operated public utilities are able to run at a profit, and charge about one half the rates that privately owned ones do.

E. J. BURKE.

Boston, Mass.

## Railroad Nationalization

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The article on Railroad Nationalization, by Mr. Ordway Tead, in your issue of December 7th, seems to me very wide of the mark. That the railroads have been unable to raise money, during the last few years is not at all because rates have not been high enough to enable them to yield attractive returns to capital, but for the reason that so many of them have been wrecked by the "Napoleons of finance" and "captains of industry" in control that the public has finally become like the proverbial burnt child. The proof of this lies in the fact that small municipalities, to say nothing of large ones, have been able to borrow

## Singletax and Liberty

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The letter of Mr. William E. Dodd in your issue of December 14 prompts me to address to you a similar complaint. I, too, am "almost persuaded" that singletax is a necessary reform, but, if I adopt the theory, am I also pledged to a belief in Victorian individualism, such as some singletaxers hold? One prominent advocate, whom I heard recently, linked singletax with the open saloon for the quaint reason (it appeared) that we have no right to curb evil by law: men must not be *made* good by social control: they must develop goodness from within their own natures. Therefore we must tolerate the drink evil because it

is the only way to produce strong-minded, temperate men. If I may analyze the argument further, it is apparently based on the pseudo-democratic notion that freedom in democracy means individual liberty "to the limit," the essence of competition being that we must be free from the restraints of public opinion expressed and secured in law. This lecturer seemed to believe that true competition and economic freedom can be assured by singletax (i.e., by law), but all other freedom must emanate from the "solitary soul," outside law. The argument was so involved that to elucidate it would require a volume. But to indicate the backbone of his contention, it suffices to say that he placed singletax and socialism in juxtaposition, because singletax promotes free competition, and socialism curbs it. I suppose he would argue that singletax controls wealth, while socialism controls men. If he did, he would be just as mistaken.

All this to a student of social psychology is a little bewildering. Is it not clear that though singletax and socialism may offer different remedies, they both rely on social control, and on salvation, not by character, but by economics?

Alton, Ill.

W. RUPERT HOLLOWAY.

## BOOKS

### The Debasement of Sex

*The Dwelling-Place of Light.* By Winston Churchill. Published by The Macmillan Co. New York. Price \$1.60.

Again we have to deplore the advent of a novel which had better have been left unwritten;—better for the reputation of the author, better for the moral health of the community, and better for the ultimate good of the publishers who assume its sponsorship. No novel-reader who desires to "see life steadily and to see it whole" will wish that writers of fiction should ignore those primary sex emotions which form the starting-points of all chivalry, romance, poetry, and even of religion, and which have indeed, as most students of evolution assure us, been chief among the forces that have propelled us along the upward path. But to realize the vast difference between the right way and the wrong way of giving the sex problem its rightful place in fictional art, it is only necessary to remember the exquisite delicacy with which Meredith, George Eliot, or Nathaniel Hawthorne have treated it, and to contrast with this the coarse realism and the disgusting suggestiveness which disfigure the pages of much modern fiction. Psychologists who have realized the all-potency of the law of "suggestion" and its power for good or evil in directing or misdirecting human judgments, have loudly condemned the modern medicine advertisement as being largely causative of the diseases they profess to cure. They describe with startling vividness, certain pathological symptoms which every reader at once looks for in himself,—and finds. Why should the same condemnation not extend to the sex-problem novel? They are made for no higher nor more exalted purpose than the liver pill,—to be sold.

The truth is, the time has come when the thinking section of the community should arise in open revolt against having its collective mind converted into a sewer-pipe through which authors may, for any reason, pour their morbid introspections and unwholesome imaginings. We have a right to expect that what we have known as the respectable press, the authorized censors of all that is offered for our delectation, will properly perform their function and prevent such stuff reaching the market-places where we buy our intellectual entertainment. In default then, of such an emphatic expression of disapproval as we should like to hear from the higher critics, the educational authorities, the sociologists, the clergy and the press, the present writer must enter an earnest protest against the continued publication of such decadent "literature" as that of which "The Dwelling-Place of Light" is typical.

In the case of the book under review, the appeal to the unwholesome or morbid tastes of its readers seems the less pardonable in that the author had provided himself in advance with ample material for a story of thrilling interest and sociological significance. The scene is laid amidst a community of cotton-mill workers in a city named Hampton, not far from Boston, and which may probably be identified as any one among two or three Massachusetts towns answering to the same description. Edward Bumpus, a man of some education and native dignity, after some buffeting by fortune, the why and wherefore of which puzzles and stupefies him, gets side-tracked by the kindness of a friend into the post of gate-keeper at one of the mills, there to vegetate for the remainder of his life. His elder daughter, a girl of refined sensibilities, vivid imagination, and a mind with an eager forward reach, is employed in the mill-office as stenographer, and ultimately as secretary to the manager, Claude Ditmar. The younger daughter is employed in a department store and "goes wrong" in a commonplace and unromantic manner. Meantime, love-passages between Ditmar and his secretary, sincere and genuine on the part of the high-souled girl and culminating in the way that is customary in realistic novels, are mixed up with the incidents of a great strike of the mill-workers which the masterful Ditmar sets himself to break. The girl's sympathies gradually go over to the strikers and she becomes interested in the teaching of one of their anarchist leaders. She is also drawn into bonds of deep friendship with some original characters who are endeavoring to mitigate the widespread distress by means of soup kitchens, and with these finely drawn new friends she becomes identified until the end of the narrative. Ditmar is shot in the course of a riot, and the strikers ultimately get their demands granted.

And so the story goes; bold in conception; strong in treatment; full of fine dramatic situations and dealing searchingly with a phase of modern industrial life appropriate to the art of the novel-writer. There is, of course, no reason why such a story should not be illumined by the touch of romance with its attendant tragedy, that underlies all human relationships; but the artist who ventures to weave it into his

picture should realize the need for the utmost delicacy of touch that the human hand can achieve. He should approach the subject with fear and trembling, setting before himself as models the highest among his professional brethren; (it is not without significance that this book is dedicated to Thomas Hardy). In dealing with the problems of sex, everything depends on the manner in which they are handled. In "The Dwelling-Place of Light" they are treated in a manner which, in the opinion of at least one reader, will constitute a perpetual blemish on what might have been a good book, and which will indeed involve its removal from the category of good books for all time.

ALEX MACKENBRICK.

## Municipal Efficiency

City and County Administration in Springfield, Illinois. By the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Price, paper, 25 cents.

The scope of this survey, made by fourteen agents of the Sage Foundation, under the direction of Shelby M. Harrison, includes conditions in the city of Springfield and Sangamon County, in which Springfield is situated. In addition to an examination into the government administration, the survey includes public schools, recreation, delinquency and correction, public health, mental hygiene, charities, housing, and industrial and work conditions. The purpose of the survey was to improve the public service by presenting data on administration functions to stimulate interest in public affairs, and to point out opportunities for economy that will affect each individual citizen to an appreciable extent, and to suggest changes in the scope of public activities and methods of carrying on public business that will eventually give both citizen and community a larger return for the money expended.

The investigators, whose work appears to have been done conscientiously and is well spoken or by men informed on local affairs, appear to have confined their work to Springfield as a going concern, without inquiring into municipal morals or community ethics. There appears to have been an effort to avoid controversial points. The result seems to be an unbiased exposition of a typical American city, setting forth its successes and its failures in a way that will profit any student of municipal government. It is to be regretted that the survey closed before the appearance of the first annual report of the City Water, Light and Power Department on the supply of electric current to private consumers. Had this report, which has since appeared, been at hand the survey could have given data on the cost of current supplied by the municipal plant that would have been as encouraging to advocates of public ownership of public utilities as the report on the supply of water. A compilation by the Buffalo Meter Company, according to the Sage Foundation's report, of the water rates in 640 American cities showed the average charge to be 27 cents per 1000 gallons, with an average lowest charge of 11 cents. The highest rate at Springfield was 14 cents, and the lowest six cents per 1000 gallons. The annual report of the Commissioner of Public Property, supplementing the survey, shows that

the city is furnishing current to consumers at 1.80 cents per K. W. H., for which it receives from consumers 3.29, netting the city from that low rate sufficient profit to pay for extensions and the rebuilding of the plant.

The report, while criticizing some features of the commission form of government enjoyed by Springfield, and suggesting possible improvements, commends the principle; and it especially urges other cities contemplating a change in the form of government to consider the city manager plan in addition to the commission form.

The art of municipal government in American cities is still in its infancy. If the people are to derive the full advantages of political and economic co-operation they must devote to municipal affairs some of the talent and attention lavished upon business. To this end the survey of the Sage Foundation is a valuable contribution.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson, 1913-17.* By Edgar E. Robinson and Victor J. West. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.75.

*Universal Training for Citizenship and Public Service.* By William H. Allen, author of "Woman's Part in Government." Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.50.

*Railway Rates and the Canadian Railway Commission.* By Duncan A. MacGibbon. Published by Houghton Mifflin Company, New York. Price \$1.75 net.

*Young France and New America.* By Pierre de Lanux. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.25.

*France Bears the Burden.* By Granville Fortescue. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.25.

*The Tender Pilgrims.* By Edgar De Witt Jones. Published by the Christian Century Press, Chicago, Ill. Price 85 cents net.

*Our Bible.* By Herbert L. Willett, Ph.D. Published by the Christian Century Press, Chicago, Ill. Price \$1.35 net.

*Sketches from the Life Class.* By Ninguno Santo. Published by the Nunc Licet Press, 920 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

*What Life Seems to Me.* By S. F. Shorey. Published by S. F. Shorey, Seattle, Wash.

*The Land Where the Sunsets Go.* By Orville H. Leonard. Published by Sherman, French & Co., Boston, Mass. Price \$1.35 net.

*Financing the War: Taxing Incomes vs. Taxing Life's Necessities.* (Leaflet.) By Lee Francis Lybarger, author of "Land, Labor, Wealth." Mifflinburg, Pa.

\* \* \*

What excuse has the revolutionary for attempting to batter down our protective barriers? At the best they come too soon. At the worst they shouldn't come at all. There's no use having them tell us what's going to happen in some remote future. That will take care of itself. Jesus came too soon and we crucified him. Savonarola came too soon and we burned him. Pearse came too soon and we shot him. Society's got to get even with those who come too soon. The man who comes too soon is an accuser. He's always unpleasant company. He talks out when he's warned to talk in. In the jury box the other eleven call him a stubborn ass. Well, so he is. . . . The man who's too soon is always a fool. The man who's just right in time and place is always wise. Over the tomb of every starved or murdered savior is that same legend: Too soon. Oh, God! will it always be too soon?—*Horace Traubel.*

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