

THE  
PUBLIC

*A Journal of Democracy*

February 22, 1919

The Triumph at Paris

By Norman Hapgood

America and the League

Published Weekly at New York, N. Y.  
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## THE ARBITRATOR

P. O. Box 42, Wall St. Station, New York City

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# THE PUBLIC

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KING GEORGE of England notes the fact that in prosecuting the war there was a common aim and a spirit of unity and self-sacrifice which "exalted the nation and enabled it to play a full part in winning the victory." The same spirit must continue. "We must," he says, "stop at no sacrifice of interest or purpose to stamp out unmerited poverty, diminish unemployment, mitigate sufferings, provide decent homes, improve the nation's health and raise the standard of wellbeing through the community." And he adds: "We shall not achieve this end by undue tenderness toward acknowledged abuses." If Englishmen will work as they fought, the industrial evils complained of will soon disappear. But will they? In the army men of all classes shared alike the dangers; will they in industry share the common burden of toil? On the battlefield Britons, whether landlord or tenant, went down together; but those who survived redivided themselves, the one to live on his rent, the other to produce the keep of both. It will be interesting to see how far Parliament will go in removing "acknowledged abuses" in order, as the King says, "that the gift of leisure and prosperity may more generally be shared throughout the community."

IN striking contrast with the complaints of American shipowners and the American Protective League are the reassuring words of Edward N. Hurley, chairman of the United States Shipping Board. Mr. Hurley, who has just returned from three months' investigation of shipping conditions in Europe, says that "he does not see any reason why America cannot compete with the principal European countries. The wage question is not a very serious

one, as England pays seamen \$72 a month, while we are only paying them \$75. The French and Dutch are paying high wages, and in Sweden the crews receive even more wages than they do on American ships." If the war has brought wages so near a level as this, it should be an easy matter for Andrew Furuseth, chairman of the International Seamen's Union, who is now in Europe, to secure an agreement at the Peace Conference that will pave the way for the adjustment of the whole matter. The question of seamen's wages appears to be very much like that of child labor when each State excused the employment of children because the other States permitted it. The nations can, if they wish, agree to raise the standard of living to a decent level for all sailors.

THE communication of Secretary Baker to the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, transmitting instructions from the President to send military railway companies to Northern Russia, contains the announcement that American and Allied troops are to be withdrawn as early as possible in the spring. Whether this move is associated with the proposed conference with Bolshevik representatives does not appear. It is at any rate the first move in some kind of determined policy. It is the beginning of the end of the famous intervention. On this there is editorial silence, and we need to recall to memory the pressure that was exerted day after day upon our Government to send our troops into Russia. The intervention has accomplished what THE PUBLIC foretold—merely an accentuation of the difficulties it was intended to alleviate. The speech of Mr. Lloyd George before the House of Commons on his return from France stated

the view of the British Government on intervention as one that regarded it as frankly impossible. He compared it with the historic and impotent attempt of Europe to crush the French Revolution.

**T**HREE is not only the geographical difficulty, but the much more serious one that the working class population, of which the armies are composed in the Allied countries, would undertake this work with the greatest reluctance. Working people have little sympathy with Bolshevism, but they have broken with the kind of *régime* that now offers itself as an alternative. The occupation of Archangel is a mere incident. The real intervention is in Siberia, where the Allies are at present compelled to uphold the course of an unqualified reactionary. General Kolchak has too many relations with those who hold the fabulously great mineral wealth of Siberia to reassure democratic people who are asked to shed their blood to maintain his type of power. Is the rest of the world to be arranged on the basis of justice to indigenous populations, while Siberia, upon which so much depends in all future dealings with Russia, is to be somehow pushed into the old category of regents for foreign exploitation? The truth is that a whole new approach must be made to the Russian problem, and President Wilson's first action in clearing the ground for this is heartily to be welcomed.

**M**UCH as the friends of President Wilson may rejoice over his achievements at the Peace Conference, it must be confessed that he has not acted quite in accord with Senatorial ethics. To begin with, he presented a plan for a League of Nations that won the unanimous approval of those charged with drawing up the specifications. At the same time, by constituting the five great Powers a membership committee, the admission of Germany or any other country to the League is made dependent upon good behavior. But worst of all, and most reprehensible from a Senatorial point of view, is his treatment of the question of freedom of the seas. Free seas meant tying the hands of England, and turning loose the unspeakable Hun. When all nations have become members of the League, however, the seas will

belong to all, and each can navigate them as its own waters. The Senators can never forgive that.

**I**T would seem that Mr. Lodge and Mr. Penrose are getting to be as adept at strategic withdrawals as Von Hindenburg himself. When the President went to Europe they were opposed to him, to his going, to his fourteen points, to his League of Nations, and to anything else he might choose to advocate. Hardly a day passes without one or the other swallowing some fiery denunciation of the day before or executing some nimble political somersault. Their favorite diet is crow and their patron is St. Vitus. They seem to have no fixed policy except to keep in opposition. Both seem blind to the fact that their positions are being steadily undermined by their own tactics. There has been for some time a small but compact Republican minority which has been opposed to the Lodge-Penrose influence on general principles. It is being rapidly augmented by conservatives who are no more friendly to Mr. Wilson than Mr. Lodge, but who feel that the Republican party must have a stronger policy than snarling at the Presidential heels.

**A**N Indian princess is seeking to recover land in Philadelphia that was given by William Penn to her ancestors. Two small bits of land that were set aside in perpetuity as sites upon which the Indians could build their council fires happen to be in the heart of the Quaker City. It is interesting to note that neither the princess nor her ancestors have done anything to contribute to the value of the land. Her technical claim to title rests upon an act of William Penn, whose title came from an English King, who in turn claimed it by right of discovery and held it by right of might. American courts may not treat the Indian claim seriously. Nor will the public conscience be shocked if the Indian princess fails to enrich herself by securing possession of land that has been made valuable by the industry of Philadelphians. And yet, if she should succeed, and thus live sumptuously upon the labors of others, would her position be different morally or financially from that of any other landowner who derives his income from the unrequited industry of his neighbors?

**I**T was a soldier who said the only good Indian was a dead Indian. The soldier saw in the red man only a fighting animal to be destroyed, and not a little of the nation's effort has been spent in that direction. But not all men are soldiers, and in the intervals between our Indian wars other men and women have recognized in the Indian a human being, responsive to all the influences that have molded the lives of other human beings. Our Canadian brethren made the discovery before we did, and so have more to show for their efforts. William Graham, Commissioner of Indian Affairs of Western Canada announces that his country has solved the Indian problem by civilizing him. The former warrior has become an educated farmer; his children go to school; he is as good a farmer as his white neighbors, sometimes a little better, because Government agricultural experts visit him periodically and see that he has the benefits of modern science.

**T**WO things have contributed to the civilization of the Indian. One was plenty of good rich land, and the other was an intelligent, appreciative guidance that enabled him to grasp the white man's way. As a consequence, the Canadian Indians are growing both in numbers and in wealth. All the Indian reserves are self-supporting. Last year they produced 400,000 bushels of wheat. And, as if to meet the white man's final test of manhood, two thousand Indians enlisted in the Canadian army, went overseas, and upheld their old warpath traditions in the war against the Hun. How different from the old American policy of treating the Indian as an irresponsible savage, to be rendered as harmless as possible until he should die off. We have been slow to learn; but we are learning, and results are already apparent in the thousands of educated, self-supporting Indians in the United States who are ranked among the best citizens of their communities. The soldier is not the best judge of human nature.

**A**DVERTISING government is one of the promising agencies of the future. Under the term publicity officials have demonstrated the worth of the newspapers as a means of getting in touch with their constituencies and making their administration understood. But

the principle has a wider application than the news columns of the press. Ideas without news value can be inserted for a price in the advertising pages. And just as the merchant has discovered that his goods can be sold cheaper by means of advertising than through personal solicitation, propagandists are learning the advantages of the same medium. The meat packers, the telephone companies, and others who have felt themselves frowned upon by the public have sought the advertising pages of the press for the purpose of educating that public to a different conclusion. The same medium has been used by politicians just before election. It is beginning to be used for campaign work.

**I**MEDIATELY after the decision of the Ohio Supreme Court, declaring unconstitutional an amendment permitting the classification of property for purposes of taxation, the friends of the movement announced that they would again appeal to the people. "A series of advertisements," they say, "have been prepared, and we plan to buy space in newspapers over the State and sell site tax in the same way that safety razors and similar articles are sold. We intend to start with a few papers of rural circulation first. The advertisements will be written for the benefit of the farmer. They will show him how site tax will help him, and ask him to join with us." And why not? Merchants have demonstrated that this is the most effective way to sell safety razors; may it not be the most effective way to win voters? Comparatively few persons attend public meetings or read the specially prepared free matter, but the cigarette makers and cold cream manufacturers have demonstrated that few can escape the advertising page.

**O**NE by one the war organizations are going. The latest casualty is the War Labor Policies Board. This board was originally organized as a purely advisory body. Nevertheless, it has reached out and seized administrative duties that were not its concern. It has been the principal avenue through which anti-labor influences made themselves felt in the Department of Labor. It had a large and costly staff of experts, who saw small parts of the labor problem intensively, and saw nothing in the large. This group of well-meaning but

highly scholastic persons knew labor only through books. Their attempt to standardize wages failed largely because labor consists of human beings. The board did good work, however, in securing the general acceptance by the production departments of the Government of a safety code for women and of rules prohibiting child labor on war contracts. Its influence on the United States Employment Service, however, was wholly pernicious. The dividing of the field machinery of that organization along State lines was admirable in theory, but practically it opened the gate to hordes of hungry State politicians.

**F**RIENTS of woman suffrage need not be downcast over its defeat. No one familiar with the situation expected it to pass at this session. The earlier vote was decisive, and the suffrage position at the time of last week's vote was weaker if anything than it was before. The margin of one vote does not express the barrier to passage, for there were at least three Senators who stood ready to change their votes if the bill had passed. The only chance for actual passage was at the time of the first vote. The President had the psychological moment then and could probably have driven the bill through had it not been for the stupidity of a small group of women. The placing of the whole question upon broad international grounds would have brought enough Senatorial waverers into line to insure passage if the militants could have been induced to suspend hostilities for a while. They did not suspend, however, and suffrage was lost. Last week's vote was a mere repetition.

**T**H E only way suffrage can win is by a change in the personnel of the Senate. Several anti-suffragists have been beaten for re-election, and there will doubtless be a favorable vote in the next Congress. The knowledge of this latter fact is the key to present militant tactics. It is charged that the Woman's Party is financed by Republicans, and those who furnish the money are not interested as much in suffrage itself as they are in suffrage as a means of increasing Republican prestige. The chief reason why suffrage did not pass at this session is that the backers of the militants want it to pass at the next session, when the Repub-

lican party can claim credit. Their plans will probably be successful. All of which reflects little credit on the political foresight of the anti-Administration Democrats.

## America and the League

**T**HE basis of a League of Nations, acceptance of which is practically assured by the Peace Conference, is the special and distinctive contribution of the United States to the world settlement. President Wilson went to Europe for one purpose, and now returns with that purpose achieved. His speech reporting the draft of the constitution will rank as one of the momentous utterances of history. What gave it force, and what made the President's mission effective, was the realization on the part of European governments that this apparently solitary prophet voiced the aspirations of a whole people. It may be that a century of security from foreign aggression, that a frontier capable of expansion to meet our utmost territorial needs, that a domestic market capable of absorbing our whole industrial output, that a rapid development capable of utilizing our whole accumulation of capital have made Americans believe that peace is the normal course of existence, and war a senseless and avoidable evil. Whether justifiable or not, we have the feeling that if the conditions pertaining to the American system can be extended throughout the world, mankind may in the future have the peace which has become firmly established among the States of this Union. There are only two principles to be applied—justice in material things, and tolerance in things intangible.

It is curious, therefore, that at the moment when we are expressing in world affairs that which is our peculiar genius, voices should be raised in criticism and negation. Republican leaders must answer the accusation that they are either seeking to create at this critical time a partisan issue, and are therefore dishonest, or else that they are essentially un-American. If it is the former, they are lacking in political foresight and adroitness, for their course is certain to bring them discredit, and, what is worse from their point of view, to split the Republican party. There are too many progressive Republicans whose hearts are in this thing. At this moment Mr. Taft is tour-

ing the country to create support for the ideals of the League. Hitherto his effort has been discounted as merely a Taft hobby. But with fourteen nations giving their official assent, and with a world-wide unanimity among the common people, his appeal to the rank and file of his party is certain to give the principles of the League their overwhelming support. The reactionaries will soon find themselves left behind, and the more extreme their statements the sooner will the repudiation come. The speech of James M. Beck before the Republican Club at the Lincoln Day dinner is the speech of a man who merely refuses to see that he is beaten. Men know that the dark stain on our history to which he referred is merely his interpretation of the world's greatest ray of hope. The result is already being seen, as in, for example, the resignation of Supreme Court Justice Ford from membership in the club. "My sense of duty to my country," he writes, "at this crucial hour forbids that I assume directly or indirectly even the share of responsibility which might rest upon me by reason of my continuing a membership after Beck's atrocious tirade and the club's manifest indorsement of it."

The chief points of criticism are that the League organization will encroach upon the Monroe Doctrine, and that America may have to assume responsibilities as a mandatory power in distant parts of the world where she has no interest. These results will follow as a matter of course. When the Monroe Doctrine is mentioned in this fashion, it means the Monroe Doctrine of twenty years ago. No such thing exists now or can exist in the future. Of all the nations that enter the League America has least to suffer in the way of sacrifice of pride and restriction of material interests. If we are doubtful, how can we expect the nations of Europe to support the organization? Criticism of this character is merely a denial of the League as such. We have already gone out to meet the responsibilities of justice. We can continue to do so.

## Internal Labor Dissension

**L**ABOR has fought for collective bargaining for years. During the war it has succeeded in advancing that right farther than ever

before. Every step of the advance has been bitterly contested by misguided employers who do not see that collective bargaining stabilizes industry. The principle has received many setbacks during past years, but none so serious as the one it received two weeks ago at Seattle from labor itself. The Seattle strike involved the repudiation of a contract, and collective bargaining rests upon the sanctity of contracts. Reactionary employers have been falsely charging for years that labor is irresponsible, and that it does not keep its agreements. A single well authenticated instance like that at Seattle goes far to lend color to charges hitherto discounted. Of course, the saner counsel has prevailed, and the strike has been called off, but labor need be under no delusion. It has lost prestige and confidence.

The Seattle strike was at root a quarrel between labor factions. One side believed in the trade-union as a business organization for dealing with employers in the matter of hours, wages, and working conditions. The other side is revolutionary in character and aimed at some spectacular advance through a general strike. It was largely under I. W. W. influences, and regarded wage contracts with employers as agreements made under duress to be repudiated when labor was strong enough. The latter element has been growing steadily because of the vindictive attitude of employers in the Northwest toward the unions, the attempts of employing interests to use the Espionage Act to settle old grudges against unionist agitators, and the slowness of the Shipping Board machinery in settling labor grievances. Gradually the discontent had swelled until the trade-union leaders could no longer control it. Shrewdly realizing that an outbreak must come sooner or later, the leaders quietly withdrew opposition and for a week and more labor demonstrated and marched and soapboxed to its heart's content. Then, having worked the virus out of its system, labor went back to work. Labor became exasperated with its employers and has shown its exasperation by going on a spree. Naturally, it has the morning-after headache and its neighbors will regard it askance for some time to come. But that is the price of sprees. It is also the price of tuition in that school in which the dullest learn.

## The War Labor Board

**T**HE War Labor Board is on its last legs. Since the armistice it no longer has the arbitrary power to enforce its awards. In consequence, there is a universal tendency on the part of employers to repudiate its decisions. Nothing remains now but the appeal to patriotism. If this did not work during war time there is scant hope of its working during peace. For no patriotism kept war contractors in line, but the knowledge that the Government had enough power over raw material to ruin dissatisfied or rebellious litigants.

When the board was founded everybody wondered at the magnanimity of the employer group. What was taken for magnanimity was plain ignorance. There were many fine phrases in the declaration of principles adopted and most of the employer group considered them as only fine phrases. They considered them glittering generalities, as they did the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence. Never for an instant did they suspect them capable of being legally interpreted as they have been interpreted. In plain English—or plain American—Mr. Walsh stole a march on the employer group. He knew that the declarations were couched in legal language, and he helped choose the language knowing in advance what the interpretation would be.

But, however delphic the principles may have been, they are clear enough now, and there is no war going on. Business interests want to get out from under.

There are two alternatives—abandon the board, or give it power to enforce its decisions. If the latter course is pursued there will be fully as much opposition from labor as from employers; for labor is unalterably opposed to compulsory arbitration, and will continue in opposition as long as compulsory arbitration carries with it criminal penalties. Labor insists that all it has gained is based upon the fundamental right to quit. Because, therefore, of legal difficulties there seems to be no present prospect of developing a system of compulsory arbitration as a civil process, although it is badly needed in the case of public utilities, where the public interest is paramount to that of either of the disputants.

In England a real copartnership of labor and

capital in the building industry is being developed with means of settling disputes. The Department of Labor is conducting an investigation now. Something may come of it in the future, but the present board offers no basis for such an organization.

## Court-Martial Justice

**S**ENTENCES of death for refusal to drill, owing to illness, or for going to the bedside of a dying father without leave; forty years for refusing to give an officer a package of cigarettes, or absence from camp without leave; fifteen years for leaving camp to visit a sick wife and baby,—these and many other court-martial decrees of like severity form the burden of the testimony of General Ansell before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. They are sentences that the General declares would find no parallel for severity except in the German, Russian, or Spanish armies.

Fortunately these revelations appear at the very moment the House of Representatives is asked to consider the bill of the General Staff providing for a standing army of 536,000 officers and men. They may make some members of Congress pause before voting for Representative Kahn's bill providing for universal military training, or for any other of the numerous bills designed to keep this country on a military footing.

This is not to say that American army officers are failing in soldierly qualities. A finer set of men it would be hard to find. But they are the victims of their own system, a system based upon a false philosophy and entrenched behind generations of precedents. Civilians who have come out of the army testify that the volunteer officers tried to put some humanity into their findings, but that the regular army officers followed the letter of the antiquated regulations. General Ansell would modify the rigor of the law by dispensing with much of the red tape and by permitting an appeal to the Judge Advocate General.

Not the least deplorable thing in connection with these cases is the fact that the men were taken by force from a condition in which as citizens they were surrounded by all the safeguards of law, and placed where they were at the mercy of incompetent trial judges. Had

they volunteered for service, as men did before the conscription law was passed, it might be said that they submitted themselves to this treatment; but when taken forcibly as an act of national self-preservation, the Government owed it to them to see that they suffered as little as possible from the inevitable hardships of army life.

What is passed will have to be dismissed as part of the horrors that are inseparable from war; but the unreasonable sentences for infractions of discipline can be corrected. The discriminating consideration given by Secretary Baker to conscientious objectors should be extended to the victims of antiquated courts-martial, in order to correct injustice at the hands of officers who fail to appreciate the conditions under which they were acting. Justice that looms so grandly as between nations is no less to be treasured at home. And though army regulations legalize the destruction of the enemy, they should not permit the breaking of the spirit of our own men.

## Deportation of Undesirables

**A**NARCHY, Bolshevism, and I. W. W. agitation are likely to be confused in some minds by the deportation proceedings of the Department of Immigration. It has long been the practice of the United States to return immigrants likely to become a public charge, morally or financially. Latterly, persons advocating force as a means of reform have been excluded. A considerable part of the prisoners on Ellis Island awaiting deportation are held under this charge.

Any person charged with such an offense should have every legal protection in determining the fact; for it cannot be too carefully borne in mind that laws may be unjustly administered. But, conceding the fact, and the legal conviction, what should be the punishment? Is a country within its rights in excluding newcomers who will not abide by its rules or laws? To say that such an exclusion law could be used to suppress all agitation for better conditions, and that it has been used to suppress the movement to organize unorganized labor is to beg the question. That charge could be made against any law; and it might in a corrupt state of politics be true. But that is a part of society and applied democracy. The fact of guilt

of a person charged with advocating physical force should be as ascertainable as other facts.

There might arise the question of expediency as to the best mode of punishment. The offender might be placed under restraint until he outgrew his objectionable notions. But if the decision be otherwise, and a man advocating force as a means of correcting what he deems to be abuses of government is met by force, he surely has no moral ground upon which to plead. Russia had a government not of law but of privilege. It contained no provision for amendment. Consequently the victims of its injustice had no recourse but an appeal to force. As moral beings the citizens of Russia could resort to force in order to set up a government of law. But in this country we have a government of law, subject to the will of the majority and containing within itself the means of its own change. Having provided the political means for changing the government, the moral right to use force no longer exists, except as the right of revolution, when force meets force.

If it be said that political changes are too slow, or that our system of representation is imperfect, it may be answered that twenty-two of our States now have the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, by means of which a majority of the people can make their own laws. Yet it happens that some of the worst examples of the use of force occur in States having direct legislation. If these radicals will avail themselves of the machinery already at hand, and will help to extend it to other States we shall make better progress.

No innocent man or woman should be deported. Every care should be exercised to prevent injustice. To this end the New York Bureau of Legal Advice and other voluntary agencies are devoting their efforts. But this having been done there is no moral reason why advocates of force in a democracy should not be returned to their former country.

One of the unfortunate developments in this deportation matter is the confusion of terms. Some foreigners use the term "anarchy" in its philosophical sense of non-resistance. "Bolshevism" to many means a form of communism. And the Independent Workers of the World embrace many who are opposed to violence. There is the more need of a broad interpretation at this time when victims of malconditions grow impatient, and feeling runs high.

# The Triumph at Paris

By NORMAN HAPGOOD

*President of the League of Free Nations. For many years editor of Collier's and Harper's Weekly. Author of "Literary Statesmen," "Industry and Progress," and "The Stage in America."*

THE triumphant quality in the outline of a League of Nations now submitted to the world lies in its combination of fundamental principle with practical restraint. It carries the nations far along the road to more ideal relations and at the same time it cautiously avoids those particular agreements and expressions that arouse most hostility. It is known that this document is in its main features the work of President Wilson, and it is an interesting fact in that statesman's career that he is constantly misunderstood on the question of practicality. He is looked upon as theoretical rather than practical, whereas he has in a high degree the interest in putting principles into concrete enactments. It is that sense of the actual which has made him so successful in a series of difficult executive positions. The misunderstanding of his nature grows naturally out of his expression. Ordinarily we see men express persistently and carefully those aspects of themselves which are not prevailing aspects. They seem to be compensating themselves for what is least developed in their makeup. Mr. Wilson, for example, talks a great deal about counsel, and nobody could take less counsel than he does. He seems to understand the relations of theory to practice in himself, for just before the plan for the Society of Nations was published he made a speech in which he said:

"I have often been thought of as a man more interested in principles than in practice, whereas, as a matter of fact, I can say that, in one sense, principles have never interested me, because principles prove themselves when stated. They do not need any debate. The thing that is difficult and interesting is how to put them into practice. Large discourse is not possible on the principles, but large discourse is necessary on the matter of realizing them.

"So that, after all, principles, until translated into practice, are very thin and abstract and, I may add, uninteresting things."

When Mr. Garrison left the Cabinet there were many interpretations. That interpretation which seems to me to go furthest towards the actual explanation is that Mr. Garrison was a person who wished to debate fundamental principles constantly and the President wished to take them for granted and confer only on methods of putting them into practice. In this particular emergency a combination was needed in the man who should take the lead in bringing about some Association of the Nations for better things. The type of man who is usually called a practical man would have failed utterly, for he understands only what has been, not what is to be. He cannot perform miracles or unprecedented things. On the other hand, there could never have been an agreement under the leadership of anybody who looked upon principle as something absolute, and did not supplement it with high-minded compromise on non-essentials.

In the document which is now before the United States for criticism there is practically no sacrifice of principle. I say practically, because I think that there is a real sacrifice in one respect, although the sacrifice is not great in amount. The place that I refer to is in Clause 19. It is a well-judged clause on the whole, but it certainly departs from a most essential principle in the following words:

"There are territories, such as Southwest Africa, and certain of the South Pacific isles, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof."

The President won at the beginning of the conferences in Paris the principle that lies as a basis for all progress, namely, that the League of Nations should be created first and that other steps should be taken in reference to the functioning of the League later. This point

was won against vociferous insistence on both sides of the water that we must have peace first and could settle the makeup of a League of Nations at our leisure. To have yielded on that question of priority would have been to throw away the whole case. It would have been to show that we had no good faith and looked upon a league as a mere holy alliance to protect the plunderings that the nations on our side had divided up as the result of the present war.

The second great contest of principle was over the treatment of the conquered territories in detail. This was the same controversy from a different angle. The imperialists, the believers in force, and the believers in continual hate, wanted to treat the conquered territories as "fruits of victory," whereas those whose imagination grasped the real Society of Nations saw that the conquered territories gave them an ideal subject matter for the League to exercise itself upon, a subject matter requiring constant functioning by the League and also requiring the application in good faith of all the talk that the Entente Nations had put out when they were less successful. All wars between great powers since 1871 and all threats of such wars have grown out of the struggle to control the less developed parts of the earth, and if this war could be settled without any nation getting the chance to increase its selfish control of such resources, it would be the greatest conceivable discouragement to the kind of national ambition that in our day is most likely to bring on war. Hence the extraordinary importance of Article 19. Although I for one thoroughly regret the yielding to local feeling represented in the sentences I have quoted, I look upon that paragraph as a whole as a monumental stride in advance. We come near enough to putting into execution the principle of trusteeship to give great promise that the behavior of the expanding nations will not be carried further in this most dangerous direction. There is in Article 21 an indication that the principle of Article 19 may be carried further, but this article is so general that we cannot look upon it as anything more than an expression of hope that the same principle of trusteeship may be added to harbors, rivers, and even railroads, on which the welfare of more than one country depends.

The third great point giving reality to the agreement is the limitation of the power of individual states to manufacture armaments. If a nation cannot prepare for war or increase its preparations for so-called defense without the consent of the League, the possibility for a sudden act by one nation under the influence of some national insanity seems to be removed. The details of this point as an administrative problem remain to be worked out, but it offers no unmanageable difficulty and if it is carried out in good faith, as seems practically certain, it strikes at the very essence of the evils that have beset us.

I put these gains first because they are curative. We come now to the question of prevention by police arrangements, a subject which is extraordinarily important, but in my opinion not quite so important as the great legislative steps I have been discussing. The United States Senate has not covered itself with glory in these recent weeks. We could concede something to the human annoyance that the Senate has felt at the President's aloofness from a body which is a copartner in treaty making and we could concede something to the related cause that the Senators are lacking in real information toward the situation abroad. Almost anybody who comes back from Paris now, if he has intellectual competence, is a most earnest advocate of coöperation in our future international relations, but it is extremely difficult for a person who has not been abroad to see with equal vividness the terrible need which stricken Europe now has for such coöperation. Even if you make such allowances, it is however impossible not to feel that many of the Senators are being spurred on by motives that do no credit to human nature. Some of these motives are partisan and illustrate themselves in the struggle by several prominent Republicans to grasp the leadership left vacant by the death of Colonel Roosevelt. Others are parochial and merely express the distrust of an uneducated villager for anything that he has never seen before. Others again have the vague instinct of the standpatter that tells him immediately when standpattism is in danger, even if the danger comes from far away. The articles which provide for the police or repressive side of the task are drawn apparently with a view to the bigotry of our

Senate. The Senate has heard talk of our not policing Hottentots and not sending our boys to die in remote parts of the earth over foreign quarrels, and although such talk comes at a poor time when our boys have been dying over a quarrel that started in Serbia, nevertheless it seemed easier to avoid this barking by Senators than to defy it. Therefore, the degree to which each nation is bound to help to police the world is somewhat softened, but is enough to make certain that no country is likely to defy the explicitly formulated agreement of the nations to become its enemy if it makes an appeal to force. Clause 16 binds each nation in the League to treat a refusal by any nation to submit its quarrels to the League as an act of war against all other members. They all bind themselves to sever all relations of trade and finance, to prohibit all intercourse, and to join in a blockade. The only part that is left too vague has to do with the actual fighting. It is left to the Executive Council to recommend when military and naval steps shall be taken by each country when it becomes necessary to suppress an offender. This may permit some of our Senators to sleep more easily. They can imagine, if it pleases them, that a proud nation like ourselves will take all the advantage that grows out of a coöperative removal of war from among human probabilities and all the advantage that grows out of not having to put our money, our time or our thoughts into great military and naval preparations, but that when the time comes to do a piece of police work, we shall beg off on the ground that it might cost us something in money or blood. The whole idea is preposterous and while it is rather an ungenerous act, especially towards France and Belgium, not to make an explicit promise of military participation, the result in practice will be the same.

All liberals should feel especially reassured by the indications that the League is expected to advance rather than to repress the progress of freedom in the world. Article 24 shows that this is no holy alliance and Article 10 is explicitly directed against external aggression, thereby making it clear that there is no undertaking to prevent revolution. The President's speech delivered at the time when the plan was put forward makes it doubly clear that the intention is to apply the constitution in the most

democratic manner. As the nations become more educated and progressive in their own methods of representation at home, they will find no difficulty in using more democratic methods of selecting their delegates for the meetings of the League, and we have good reason to hope that the President's express desire that the League will turn out to be a method not only to prevent war but to facilitate universal progress may be realized. The provision by which labor conditions throughout the world are to be considered by the League and ameliorative suggestions made is one of those clauses which may prove extremely fruitful if the different peoples are in a mood for that kind of rapid, intelligent, and sympathetic progress which will make democracy a success and prevent reliance on what in the slang of the day is called Bolshevism, by which we mean violent and sudden changes brought about by the failure of the powerful elements in the different countries to realize democracy in the industrial as well as in the political field.

Nothing is said expressly about Germany and Russia, and the word "guarantees" about the admission of states is a word mainly used as a concession to those of little faith. The number of votes, however, required to let in any state is not excessive and there is no reason to doubt that Germany will be admitted as soon as she has an obviously stable and democratic government that is willing to accept the League's constitution, and with regard to the admission of Russia there will probably be intelligence enough to decide that question honestly on the same principles applied to other nations instead of hunting for pretext to keep up hostility to Russia, merely because she is making experiments in a form of government that arouses antagonism in the West.

Such seem to me the main points in the largest-scale experiment ever made toward a legislative betterment of mankind. Thirty-three men in the United States Senate can make that wonderful triumph go for nothing. If the people of the United States are able to realize the situation with anything like the vividness with which it is seen by the suffering masses of Europe, no thirty-three men will be desperate enough to prevent the accomplishment of this unprecedented thing.

# Statesmanship the Backward Profession

By W. F. CLARK

THERE are several ways of measuring the progress or the lack of progress of professions. As we compare them with their own past or with other professions we may judge them with respect to their purposes or aims; we may compare their attainments with their professed purposes; we may judge them with respect to the methods by which they seek the fulfillment of their plans; we may ask what is their attitude toward their failures,—by what means they try to redeem or to conceal lost opportunities; and we may inquire whether such progress as they make is the result of their own vision or the result of some outward and irresistible force.

The aims of statecraft vary all the way from simple national greed (almost more truly the root of evil than is the personal love of money) to comparatively altruistic aspiration toward human good. But of this latter element there has been so little as to seem negligible when compared with the usual frankly selfish nationalistic aims of the statesmen of the world. It is even a question whether the altruistic element that has appeared in American diplomacy has not been the chief count in the charge of crudity made against us by the statesmen of the Old World.

But with these manifestly selfish aims, what are the accomplishments of statecraft? Colonies are secured at the usual cost of money, blood, and tears for the advantage of some deserving country. After years of carrying on under the white man's burden it is discovered that as often as not the colonies are a liability rather than an asset and that the methods of administration create more difficulties than they solve. A German with a love of figures suddenly discovers that Germany's colonies have never brought her a profit equal to the cost of one day's expenses in the great war. And if colonies do not pay for the cost of procuring them, if they do not finance the wars necessary for their acquisition, from the point of view of the very selfishness that inspired their acquisition they are a failure, and the responsible statesmanship has also failed.

To offset this evident failure of selfish plans it is often urged with respect to subjugated territory that "at any rate it is better off than before it was conquered." But this plea is not only a confession of failure of the original plan of profit,—it is a disappointing and inconsequential effort to rebuild the platform on which the work was done. If Egypt, for instance, is better off than when England mixed into its destinies in 1882, who is wise enough to say that Egypt would not have been better off in these thirty-six years in any case? And especially might it be asked whether it would not be much better off than at present if, without armed interference, the "forward" nations had taken a sympathetic interest in the affairs of that turbulent country.

As to the methods by which statecraft seeks its ends it is not customary to speak except in the case of conditions long past or in the instance of present enemies. Secret treaties, spy systems, intrigues within intrigues, bribes, sand bags, thefts, bombs, hand-made revolutions and all foulness mark the path of statesmanship in the past. When John Hay in Russia undertook a method of frankness and truth-telling to displace the old rottenness, other nations merely wondered for what new intrigue this was the camouflage. The justification of foul and, we hope soon, outworn methods is got of course by tearing a leaf from the book of "The Divine Right of Kings." The theory is that the ends sought, being national, are holy enough to hallow every means used for their achievement. The backwardness of statecraft here, as compared with religion, is measured by that period of years during which the adjective "Jesuit" has been used as a term of reproach. In statecraft the justification of every means to a desired end is still in vogue. Perhaps one exception is in the way of being made,—war. To be sure the world did not know that statecraft considered war an obsolete method of achieving desirable ends until it heard the outcry against Germany for using this once popular method of acquiring areas and populations. It is doubtful whether the

world *knows* it now. We feel the need of time to tell us whether all this reprobation of Germany represents progress in the profession or whether it may not be just a part of game of statesmanship.

But when we come to the next test there is no doubt of the status of war. The apparently accepted method by which statecraft covers up its inefficiency and glosses over its failures is to abandon all pretense of devotion to the Christian God and to offer many human hecatombs to Mars and Woden. Wrong it certainly was for Germany to evoke war as a first aid to her overgrown ambitions. Was it right for the Allies to evoke war as a covering for their blind and fatal ignorance of Germany's power and pretensions? Statecraft answers, Yes. "If you do not understand your enemy, kill him; if you see no intelligent issue to the rival ambitions of nations, set the battle in order, kill off the choicest youth of the world, and perhaps the difficulty will tend to disappear." Thus reasons the profession. Needless to say no other profession covers its backwardness with so costly a cloak. Men of all nations, even the Germans themselves, called attention to the economic or bloodless way of meeting the onslaught of Germany, but Ephraim, joined to his idols, continued his bloody sacrifices. The tale of the needed defense of one's country, the glory of the uniforms, the precious rewards of valor, the eternal deceit (the "Censorship") by which even the soldier was kept from knowing too thoroughly the cause for which he fought were all incredibly

shallow and threadbare. It seemed impossible to work them on this unprecedented scale in the midst of the general intelligence existing in the countries involved. But skillful staging, swift action, the tremendous issues in the balance brought about on the part of the layman a renewed though temporary tolerance for it all. We have gone through every act and scene of the outworn pageant as one last concession to the backwardness of statecraft. But in the future what?

Let us answer by applying the last of our tests, "Is the progress that statecraft is making coming from within or by pressure from without?" Statecraft has been laggard so long that it has no chance for a favorable decision here. The pressure from without is too unmistakable. The European diplomats at the peace conference began by delaying and jockeying as if they still thought that they were to make a statesman's peace. Whereas it is indubitably to be a people's peace. Mr. Wilson in his address opening the discussion on "A League of Nations" especially stresses the point that the plain people of the world are in no receptive mood toward a statesman's program. But a people's peace means open diplomacy. Open diplomacy means the pricking of the bubble of the divine right of diplomats, the pitiless exposure of the backwardness of statecraft, the stripping from it of the rags of kingship. Statesmanship progresses only under pressure. It is to be hoped that it will emerge from its present compulsion purified and humanized at least to the same degree as other professions.

## McLaughlin Sells His Land

By JAMES H. DILLARD

*Educator; President Jeanes Foundation for Negro Rural Schools; President of John F. Slater Fund; Deeply Interested in Social and Economic Conditions*

THE quotation in *THE PUBLIC* of February 1, from the Lineville (Mo.) *Tribune*, and copied through the *New York Times*, told a very interesting modern instance of reaping an unearned increment. This instance could, I suppose, readily be matched in any of the forty-eight States. I know that it could be more than matched in any of the Southern States. In the Southern States I believe it would be quite safe to say that land values, on the aver-

age, have trebled in ten years. I think this statement is true. But let us be conservative and say doubled in fifteen years. How about assessments during this time? The following instance, which has just occurred, the facts of which are fully known to me, will give a glimpse of the answer.

McLaughlin of Missouri naturally reminded me of my friend McLaughlin of Virginia, who has given me permission to tell this brief story

of his recent sale. He has owned for a dozen years two hundred and thirty-three acres of poor land in the southern part of Virginia, near the North Carolina line. About a third of the land is cleared, and in this clearing is a small, rude cabin, rented most of the time to some colored man at a rate varying from \$30 to \$50 a year.

About eight years ago McLaughlin had an offer of \$1,500 for the place, which after some hesitation he declined to accept. The place had been deeded to him in payment of a debt of \$2,000. Even if he averaged only \$25 or \$30 a year in rent, he thought he could afford to hold for a somewhat better offer, because—and this is the most interesting part of the story—because his total taxes, both State and county, for the 233 acres, amounted to exactly \$7.23.

During these eight years McLaughlin saw the place only once. He was an absentee landlord. Three weeks ago his breath was taken away by the receipt of an offer of \$7,500 for the place. In the pride of his exultation he thought he might as well try for a little more. So he wrote saying he would take \$7,750. This offer was promptly accepted, and McLaughlin has the money, perhaps a little grieved that he did not venture to say \$8,000.

Now about the assessment. I asked him if his taxes had continued to stand at \$7.23. He said that for the past few years, he did not remember exactly how many, his taxes had risen to \$9.71. This was all that the State and county, badly in need of better schools and better roads, ventured to demand of an absentee landlord waiting for his rise. He had spent not one cent in improvements of any kind; he had just waited. So he reaped his reward, having been permitted and encouraged by the ignorance, or carelessness, or kindness of the assessor to gather what he had done nothing to earn.

Here is an interesting corollary. I saw the deed, and observed that the purchase price named was "five dollars more or less." Why give any unnecessary information to some assessor who might happen to be inquisitive?

Now, what is the conclusion? I do not know about the rest of the country, but I do know that McLaughlin's story tells why the counties of our Southern States have to have poor roads and school terms of only five months.

## CURRENT THOUGHT

### Labor in the League of Nations

**I**T is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for co-operation in any international matter.

That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while Governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the manoeuvres of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and of finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not, people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help and will be among the wards of the combined Governments of the world. This is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance.—*President Wilson at the Peace Conference.*

### Supermen in Congress

**A** TEXAS Representative, Martin Dies by name, has been telling his ecstatic colleagues that "there are a hundred men in this Congress who by virtue of attainment, reading, and statesmanship are better qualified to fill the Presidency than the present occupant of the White House."

To be sure—to be sure. That seems to be the trouble with these radiant statesmen in Congress. They are all pre-eminently qualified to do some other man's job, but not their own.

No doubt, in addition to the hundred Congressmen who are better fitted for the Presidency than Woodrow Wilson, there are another hundred who would be better Justices of the United States Supreme Court than the nine less distinguished jurists who now constitute that tribunal. We take it for granted that there must be at least 200 of them who are better qualified than John J. Pershing to command the American troops in France.

An inspiring aggregation of supermen is Congress. It knows all about everybody's business except its own.—*The World, New York.*

## Ownership Conditional on Use

**A**CCORDING to a recent report by United States consular agents in Tegucigalpa and Amapala, the Republic of Honduras has adopted a system of land tenure which is liberal to both natives and foreigners, makes land easy of access, and prevents its being held out of use. All unclaimed land, according to this account, belongs to the townships—and there is an enormous amount of such land. A foreigner, after having resided in a town six months, may make application to be made a recognized resident of the town. Such action does not affect his citizenship, although it does make him liable to pay all municipal taxes. Having made his application, he may then ask the municipality to turn over to him certain vacant lands that are to his taste, and this will be done, proper records being made in the municipal archives.

This does not, however, constitute a complete transfer. "Ownership" is conditional upon the land being and remaining fenced and cultivated. The holding may be as large as the applicant requests, so long as he fences it and cultivates a reasonable amount of it. The owner may assign such holding, but can sell only the improvements he has himself made. The purchaser of the improvements, upon registering the bill of sale of the improvements and interests of the original owner, becomes the lawful owner of the land. Whether in spite of these provisions exploitation may not be possible by subrenting of the land, is not explicitly stated, nor do we know whether the relative values of different sites find expression in a tax charge by the municipality for the choicer sites or whether the differential value is the speculative profit of the first-comer.—*Survey.*

## "War Hard on the Children"

**W**HAT, every ear of it, praises God. It is the trumpet of the archangels. But amid the corn dead soldiers are lying, ours and theirs. The corpses are fresh, and do not yet cause a smell; the field smells more. And among the corpses children are wandering, lost. A woman who had decided to run away took a baby on her arm and a little one by the hand. The little one broke loose and was lost amid the corn. They were mostly two-year and three-year children. The people here have handsome kiddies, but they are so frightened that they have long forgotten how to cry; they seem to have lost their voices. They seem stupefied, and dirt and tears have dried on their faces. And some are bloodstained; perhaps they have been beaten. Our Sisters of Mercy began to wash and feed them. They were as silent as dolls. Only when they had gone some ten versts did they recollect themselves and begin to howl. War is hard on the children.—*From a Russian, in the Atlantic Monthly.*

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Rent and Price

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I think I agree with all that J. J. Murphy says on the above subject in THE PUBLIC of January 4.

The thing I object to is what he does not say. He has told an important half truth, and left the other half untold.

While it is true that prices are fixed by the cost of production on the poorest land that must be used to supply the market, it is also true that land monopoly and speculation cause much good land to be held out of use, thus lowering the margin and forcing producers out and upon poorer and poorer lands.

In this way the difference between the produce of the best lands and the poorest that must be used to supply the market is far greater than it need be. This difference is what determines the rent of the better lands. This is what Henry George calls "speculative rent," and he shows pretty clearly the influence of "speculative rent" on cost of production, and so on prices. He also shows, with equal clearness, how the abolition of land monopoly and of "speculative rent" would lower prices and increase real wages.

Let us have the whole truth. "Speculative rent" is an element in price. Many illustrations will occur to the observant reader.

C. J. BUELL.

St. Paul, Minn.

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Mr. Murphy truly says that the rent of land included in the price that the consumer pays for goods does not make the price of those goods any higher. This means that though rent is a constituent element in the price, yet it is in no way a factor in making the price.

I hear one of these thoughtful students say in reply to Mr. Murphy's contention that "rent of land is not a factor in the price of goods": But yonder stand two houses, built by the same Real Estate Company; the cost of each, to erect, was \$10,000 exclusive of the land occupied; one is on ground valued at \$10,000, the other on a plot worth \$5,000; I desire to hire one of these houses; the owners, to secure a gross return of 10 per cent on the investment, ask me \$2,000 per year for one of the houses, \$1,500 for the other; how can it be true, that "rent of land is not a factor in fixing the price," when I must pay just so much more for the house located where the rental value of the land is that much higher, though both houses cost the same amount to build?" The answer is: When you hire (buy the use of) either house, you buy the use not only of "goods," but of land, also. By "goods" Mr. Murphy means labor products,

and in either case you will pay the same for the use of the labor product, the house. The difference in total annual cost, as between the \$2,000 and the \$1,500, represents the difference between the respective rental values of the two pieces of land.

While it is true that 20 per cent, for example, of the price paid in the market for certain goods is rent, it is equally true that these goods, because produced from land that commanded that much rent, were produced at a labor cost just that much less than if they had been produced on rent-free land; therefore, the goods cost no more than if produced on rent-free land. How, then, could the price be affected by the rent paid for the use of the land on which they were produced?

Nutley, N. J.

GEORGE L. RUSBY.

## Progress by Degrees

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The one big mistake in the California Single-tax campaign, as I see it, is that the proposed change in taxation is too sudden. I have had such replies as this to the proposal on the last ballot and that of two years ago: "Well, we cannot build on vacant lots all at once." I agreed with them that the change is too sudden. Nothing less than ten years should be taken to fully change from our present tax system. One tenth should be taken off personal and improvement tax, and the amount added to the ground tax until at the end of ten years (or more if deemed better) the ground carries all the tax. Everyone will thus have a chance to get his affairs in shape to suit the changed legal condition.

It seems to me as unfair that the many small investors in real estate should be deprived of a chance at least to dispose of their holdings, or to gain time to make improvements.

I think it was your duty to give the State of California some space in your paper to help along the Singletax, even though it fell short of embodying the ten-year clause, as I see it.

Los Angeles, Cal.

F. W. KRINGEL.

## Public Schools and Bolshevism

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

About the time that THE PUBLIC, in its usual spirit of fair-mindedness, was presenting both sides of the Bolshevik question in the articles by Victor Yarros and Bessie Beatty, the inclosed pamphlet was sent to every school in Chicago—for the "instruction" of our children. And then our school board expects to instill "respect for authority" into our pupils and teachers!

Lesson IX ("The Bolshevik vs. Poor Richard") runs as follows:

Bolsheviki means "Those who want more." The Bol-

sheviki propaganda being spread among workmen and among the ne'er-do-well class of all countries teaches that all rights should be taken away from those who have been industrious and thrifty and have accumulated some property of their own. That this property should be seized by the members of the Bolshevik group and divided among themselves. This doctrine often finds ready acceptance among those who are not thrifty and have not managed to get ahead in the world.

"Bolsheviki means divide. It means divide the land; it means divide the money in the banks; it means divide the products of the factory; it means kill and destroy if those who have earned and saved refuse to have their property divided."

Either Mr. Macy Campbell is an incredible ignoramus, or else he is the weak tool of people who have their own ends to gain by willful misrepresentation.

Chicago, Ill.

MC EWEN TRASK.

## BOOKS

### America as an Ideal

*On Becoming an American.* By Horace J. Bridges. Marshall Jones Co., Boston, Mass. \$1.75 net.

M R. BRIDGES came to this country and liked it. He found our ways and institutions democratic, our ideals high and noble, our history glorious. He, therefore, applied for naturalization papers, and became a citizen; and he took the occasion to describe the thoughts and portray the emotions that impelled him to action.

America is not merely the wide stretch of territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific, nor the aggregation of a hundred million people living under one government, but rather the spirit underlying its whole history—"the spirit that begot Washington and Lincoln, that freed the slaves, that worked out salvation for the Cubans, and returned the indemnity to China. The American experiment in nation-building is an undertaking identical in all essential respects with the life work of Jesus Christ." It is to this spirit that he swears allegiance, it is to this undertaking that he will devote his energies.

Like most converts to a new faith, Mr. Bridges sees things in over-bright colors. It may be true that of all democracies ours is the most nearly perfect. It may also be true that our ideals are the purest and noblest. But when he informs us, in the first chapter, that "there is in this country no landed aristocracy, no privileged caste of monopolists authorized to stand between the worker and the fruits of his labors, or to take from him in the name of ancient privilege or consecrated wrong the wealth that his efforts have created," he gives us credit for more than is due, and shuts

his eyes to the weakest spot in our national structure.

It is quite evident that Mr. Bridges is no believer in aristocracy or privilege; he is therefore to be welcomed to America as a true friend. But it is also to be hoped that he will soon seek beneath the surface of things and find how our lands are monopolized, our captains of industry privileged, our workers exploited,—and that he will apply himself to the restoration of the land to the people, to the abolition of privilege and monopoly, and to the establishment of industrial democracy. Together with him, we entertain the "rational hope that America will take rank among the foremost nations of the world in elaborating the mental, aesthetic, and material civilization of the next few centuries." We are working to make the dream a reality, and it is not unreasonable to look forward to the day when Mr. Bridges will join us in the task.

HYMAN LEVINE.

### Nature's Wonders

*Starved Rock State Park and Its Environs.* By Carl O. Sauer, Gilbert H. Cady and Henry C. Cowles. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. \$2.

STARVED Rock State Park marks one of nature's most delightful bits of landscape that came unexpectedly upon the explorer's eye in the great prairie State. The unique rock itself and the scenes immediately about it would have been appreciated by the lovers of the beautiful in any event; but when clothed with the romantic story of the Indian tribe that sought refuge there from enemies, and perished of starvation upon its summit, it acquires a peculiar fascination.

Fortunately the State Legislature appreciated the importance of converting the land about the Rock into a State park, thus making it accessible to the many thousands of people who visit it from all parts of the country. The authors of this book have performed a fine service for the public by their simple story of how nature makes these gems of beauty in places where one least expects to find them. Visitors who wonder at the strange geological formations, or are touched by the tragic story of the Indians who perished in their midst, will find in this profusely illustrated book much valuable information.

### As Others See Us

*The People of Action: A Study in American Idealism.* By Gustave Rodrigues. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918. \$1.50 net.

THE author begins his estimate of us by remarking at some length how free from tradition we have been because of our having come into be-

ing without a history, either political or economic, the faults of which we have not had to outgrow. There have been for us, also, such vast resources as to encourage men in two things, first a dominant individualism, and second, an inventive daring. Having no past, we live for the future, and this a future all unmapped. We are inspired by a sort of Bergsonian creative urge. We don't know where we are going, but we are tense and on edge in our terrific endeavors to get there. Consequently, our whole aim is to free the individual for the greatest possible exertion, to remove from him all hindrances to effort.

The American is an individualist, says our author. His individualism dominates his industrial organization, where every man frankly scrambles for as much as he can get, not because he wants it, but because it is a symbol of his power, an evidence of his achievement as a doer of deeds. His idea of liberty is also individualistic. To him to be free means to have an open field and plenty of unrestricted competition, freedom to will things himself and to will them into being, freedom to work as no other man on earth works, freedom to struggle, each by himself, with destiny. His sole idea of social control is such control as will remove hindrances to this almost savage individualistic achievement.

One might suppose that this would produce a nation of anarhs. No, says M. Rodrigues, for there are two restraints which prevent anarchy. One is the fact that the weak are simply eliminated, and not allowed to blow things up, while the strong dominate and conserve. The second is Puritan and Protestant morality, which both involve an idealization of self-interest, and a valuation of charitable altruism.

In the realm of government, we are not and cannot become a nation. We are a congeries of individuals. Our only idea of a state is a referee to insure that we all have a fair fight. There is no coercive power in the American state. We are ruled by public opinion, which has devised a sort of Marquis of Queensbury set of rules for the scramble called "law." Our Declaration of Independence says we are entitled to "life," "liberty," and not such a static thing as "happiness," but rather the "pursuit of happiness." Our government is weak, because a strong government is not needed. Each American largely governs himself, because each is possessed, ruled, made autonomous by sharing the common indefatigable activity. Even our armies have little discipline. They need none. Each is cemented to the others by the same mysticism of energy.

In the international realm our idea is to produce an enlarged America. The League of Nations is to be a United States of the world, wherein in each nation, large or small, shall be so intent upon this energetic "becoming" that it shall cease to covet its neighbors, and abide by an interna-

tional Marquis of Queensbury rules crystallized into "law."

We have no more than a mere trace of culture, and we are quite incapable of religion. But then, what of that? We are the apostles of energy, a people dedicated to action. M. Rodrigues is delighted with us—unless the whole thing is a delicate satire.

Most of what he says appears to be true. Much of it is deplorable because it is true. Suppose we are such individualists, fed on heretofore unlimited opportunities, creative, daring, ruthless in competition. Suppose that the opportunities become constricted, and we have to live closer than we used to do, and the breadlines come again, and we continue to ignore the economic laws inevitable even for such creative geniuses as ourselves by permitting the private control of natural resources; and suppose that no one will stop in his business of becoming a creator, an individualist, a master of his destiny, long enough to think; that we blunder into war and out of it with a recklessness and spendthrift prodigality that is "typically American"; that the increasing mobs of the factories and streets have no vision except this vision of "success" which has been ours; and that we all continue to break the Tenth Commandment with exultation:—what then? If the sort of life M. Rodrigues says we are living does not result in Bolshevism,—especially now that individualistic Protestant morality is a dying force among us,—the law of cause and effect will have been dethroned from this venerable planet.

BERNARD IDDINGS BELL.

## NEWS

### Legislation

—On the 12th in the House of Representatives, the administration bill for a three-year program of naval construction was passed by a vote of 281 to 50.

—A bill has been introduced in the New York legislature empowering cities to engage in the production and distribution of foodstuffs, to mine coal and harvest ice, and to sell the same to the inhabitants.

—On the 18th the Revenue bill, which had been passed in the House on the 8th, was voted on in the Senate. No roll-call was demanded, and the vote was *vice voce*. It was cast with almost no opposition. The bill will become a law when the President signs it, which will not take place until his return to Washington. But the Treasury Department has set in motion the machinery for the collection of the tax of over six billion dollars.

—Before the Senate Military Committee on the 18th Brigadier-General Ansell, Acting Judge Advocate General, condemned the existing system of courts-martial in the army. He declared that the penalty of death or heavy terms in prison, running up to forty years, had been inflicted for what he characterized as comparatively trivial offenses. On the next day Senator Chamberlain announced in the Senate that the Military Committee would obtain from the War Department the names of those army officers who in court-martial proceedings had imposed extreme penalties upon soldiers.

—Nebraska suffragettes have just won in an eighteen months' conflict in the courts the right to vote for President and Vice-President, and for all the municipal and county officials. This right was given to them by the Legislature in 1917, but an attempt was made by Senate politicians to get a referendum petition before the Legislature in 1918. The petition would have suspended the law which gave the women the right to vote. The suffragettes began suit to prevent the Secretary of State from placing the referendum on the next election ballot. This is the suit which the women have won.

—Before the House Education Committee on the 14th, Secretary Lane urged the immediate passage of the bill to provide \$12,500,000 to be divided annually among States spending like sums for the education and development of illiterates. Passage of the measure at this session was urged by the Secretary as one of the most important duties of Congress. He also called attention to the fact that millions were spent by the Federal Government to fight animal diseases, compared with the \$200,000 set apart for education through the Bureau of Education. Destructive agitation could be coped with and American ideals understood only when foreign-born persons could speak and read the American language. The recent strike in the copper mines in Montana, he told the Committee, resulted from interference of foreign speaking I. W. W.'s with native miners. More than half the men in some of the largest industries are foreign born.

### Public Utilities

—Gifford Pinchot, president of the National Conservation Association, has condemned the bill on coal, oil, and phosphate lands, recently reported to Congress. He charged that the bill opened public coal lands to alienation, that it deprived the navy of Alaska coal, that it robbed the farmer of the use of the phosphate fields, and that it endangered the national forests.

—On Saturday the Public Service Commission for the First District of New York made answer to the suit brought by the Consolidated Gas Company several weeks ago in regard to the 80-cent

gas law, declaring that it was unconstitutional because the rate fixed by it was too low to provide the company with a fair return upon the value of its property. In its answer the commission declares that the company did not come into the court with "clean hands," because during the year 1918 it violated the 80-cent law by distributing to consumers in New York gas of less than 82-candle-power as required by the statute. That was done in order that toluol, the principal ingredient of the explosive TNT, might be extracted from the gas under contract with the United States Government.

### Reconstruction

—In the allotments for European relief, official plans provide for shipment to Germany of 200,000,000 pounds of meat per month.

—In the zone of occupation on the Rhine the Americans with the other Allies are doing their best to restore a normal economic situation and are finding occupation for the unemployed Germans.

—The liquor interests are planning a strenuous nation-wide campaign to have the prohibition amendment declared null and void. Levy Mayer is chief counsel for the distillers and is to direct the fight. It is suggested that perhaps Charles E. Hughes will be legal head of the contest in the State of New York.

—The War Camp Community Service recently estimated that the total number of nonemployed in New York was 50,000, and that the rate of increase was something like 7,000 to 10,000 a week. It also said that 20,000 officers are looking for jobs, and that of the 500 to 600 officers using the Pershing Club daily 75 per cent of them were looking for work.

—The National Civil Liberties Bureau, of 41 Union Square, New York City, is conducting a campaign of publicity for the purpose of gaining amnesty for all political prisoners. Its methods are dictated by the belief that there can be "no stronger argument for a general amnesty than an exact statement of the facts relative to the convictions under war statutes."

—The American Society of Friends has sent to President Wilson a message expressing the joy of the Friends that he is working for justice, and the prayer that strength beyond his own might be given to him to unite the people in a league sanctioning moral force as the basis of mutual international order. The Friends also appealed for complete disarmament, which, they say, is vital to all.

—Designation for entry of nearly 8,000,000 acres of public lands in the West has been announced by Secretary Lane from Washington on the 15th. Mineral lands lying within the lignite area of North Dakota comprise 773,000 acres of

the total. They can be bought for \$10 to \$20 an acre. More than 1,000,000 acres of dry-farming lands in 820-acre tracts are opened under the homestead act and nearly 1,000,000 acres are opened in tracts of 640 acres under the stock raising homestead law.

—At the American Women's Victory Conference held in Washington a resolution was adopted unanimously by the seven hundred women present, indorsing a democratic league of free nations and urging that women sit with men at the international commission which will be appointed in connection with this plan. The motion was proposed by Miss Virginia Gildersleeve, of New York, and seconded by Miss Julia Lathrop, of the Federal Children's Bureau in Washington. It was cabled to President Wilson.

—The American Free Trade League will hold a "Reconstruction Dinner" at the Hotel Astor, New York, February 27. The speakers will be Major George Haven Putnam, Prof. George Burton Adams, Rev. Charles P. Fagnani, George Foster Peabody, and Prof. Franklin H. Giddings. Charles H. Ingersoll will preside. The subject to be considered is "Freedom of trade as the sound economic basis for reconstituted international relations and as an essential factor in securing and maintaining the peace of the world."

—In an address before the College of Agriculture of Cornell University on the 14th, George E. Roberts of the National City Bank of New York declared that the improvement of agriculture was the one thing needed for the salvation of society from the economic evils that confront it. "I venture the opinion," said Mr. Roberts, "that in the last twenty years the greater part of all the gains that have been made in the manufacturing industry by inventions, discoveries, new methods, and improved organization, have been offset to the masses of the people by the higher cost of food, clothing, and shelter. The country needs not only a more scientific and productive agriculture, but the judgment and calm voice of the farmer in all affairs in these days when revolution is in the air."

### Coöperation

—An experiment in coöperative housing is being worked out by the girls of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of New York.

—Japanese in Utah, one thousand strong, have established a coöperative labor fraternity. They have a semi-weekly newspaper and are operating stores. The Coöperative Bulletin reports in this connection that the Negro also is awakening to an interest in the coöperative movement.

—The coöperative movement in America covers an extended field. In Seattle there is a wholesale center, around which cluster an increasing number of both consumers' societies and produc-

ing societies. Within the last year it has established a large laundry and has taken over two milk condensing plants; it has its own slaughterhouse, and is establishing a grist mill.

—A bit of news from Calgary, Canada, ought to be interesting to the I. W. W. and its critics. In the Drumheller valley is a company of thirty-five miners, every one of whom works in the mine, including the president. It was capitalized out of their own savings. Most of the miners are married. The output of the mine is now a car and a half a day, but the miners are looking forward in the near future, when the mine reaches capacity production, to the building of model homes and the establishment of schools and hospitals. Its coal is sold in Calgary at \$6.95 a ton. Lump coal of the first grade is sold at the mine at \$8.75. They expect to sell coal much cheaper and to pay higher wages.

### Labor

—The War Labor Policies Board was discontinued by the Department of Labor on the 15th.

—Industrial unrest continues to grow. Official figures show 31 cities where conditions are serious.

—A reduction in wages of \$1 per day in the Butte District, and \$.75 a day in Utah and Arizona mining districts have resulted in serious strikes in Butte, Montana, and Jerome, Arizona.

—Frank W. Rose, proprietor of the *Herald*, Piedmont, West Virginia, died at his home in his seventy-first year. Mr. Rose was a staunch friend of labor, and supporter of the Singletax.

—The output of three-fourths of the factory workers in the country can be trebled by adequate training, according to a report of the United States Training Service issued on the 5th instant.

—The proportion of industrial accidents has been reduced 50 per cent within the last ten years, according to the Department of Labor. It is planning to introduce special courses in safety work in technical High Schools.

—The strike of copper miners in the Butte field ended on the 17th with the decision of the I. W. W. miners and the Metal Miners' Union, independent, to call off the contest after a nine-day struggle in which miners outside these organizations refused to join.

—Telegraphic reports up to February 14 in an unemployment survey by the War Industries Board, the War Department, and the Labor Department, covering 8,412,944 workers, show 823,685 unemployed. 72 cities out of 122 show serious unemployment.

—One hundred thousand workers in the building trade struck on the 16th. The strike will tie up most of the big building operations in the country.

The men are willing to submit the issue to arbitration by the National War Labor Board, but the employers (the Building Trades Employers' Association) maintain that the carpenters' union broke their agreement, and will not arbitrate.

—At a meeting of the No. 11 International Typographical Union in Memphis, Tenn., the delegates to the Memphis Trades and Labor Council were instructed to vote against recognition of the newly organized policemen's union. This action, which has aroused considerable comment, is based on the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor, which does not recognize unions formed by patrolmen.

—Packing house employees were given a 10 per cent advance by the decision of the arbitrator, Judge Alschuler of Chicago. The advance is retroactive to November 10, and is based on the advance in the cost of living. The award also deals with a number of minor complaints. Counsel for the packers estimated that the award would cost the packers \$18,000,000 a year. About 85,000 employees will receive the retroactive advance.

—Secretary Lane of the Department of the Interior has just announced that the casualty list of the American coal mining army for 1918 is 2,575 men killed. This penalty paid by one single industry was said by the Secretary to emphasize the fact not ordinarily appreciated that the worker in the mining industry who did his full duty during the war braved peril just as did the soldier at the front and quite as willingly went to the supreme sacrifice. There has been a decrease of 282 deaths from explosions of gas and coal dust.

### Cost of Living

—Revised crop estimates indicate that there will be available during 1919, 81 pounds of sugar per capita for domestic use. There is still danger, however, of a world shortage of sugar.

—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, former Premier of Canada, and who was very active and efficient in the building up of the Dominion of Canada, was stricken with paralysis in Ottawa on Sunday.

—Furs worth \$600,000 were disposed of at the recent fur auction in New York, when the prices that were paid are said to indicate that furs will be in the premier class of luxuries during the reconstruction period at least.

—Germany could pay an annual indemnity, according to John J. Arnold, the Chicago banker, of \$8,500,000,000, by means of a tax on her raw materials. Her coal deposits alone amount to more than 800,000,000,000 tons, without counting those of Alsace-Lorraine.

—War conditions and the consequent price of coal is bringing peat into prominence as a low-grade substitute fuel. Engineers estimate that the

peat available exceeds all the world's sources of coal. A 12,000-square mile area represents the heating equivalent of 5,000,000,000 tons of anthracite.

—Reports issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that the price of milk in the United States has increased 68 per cent in the last five years. The Children's Bureau is championing the doctrine that no matter what the price of milk, it is still a cheap food, because it contains all the elements essential to growth. In a circular issued by the Children's Bureau it is said that in New Orleans 70 per cent of the children under eight not breast fed are getting no fresh milk whatever to drink, in Baltimore 66 per cent; and in Washington 45 per cent. The Children's Bureau maintains that the normal amount of milk for a child is three cups or a pint and a half a day.

## **Foreign**

—Friedrich Ebert, the new President of Germany, announced to the foreign newspaper men on the 18th that a commission was already working on the problem of demobilization and disarmament. He said Germany in future was going to have only an army of defense, and this citizen army was to be raised by conscription.

—Of the 750,000 horses used by the British army in Europe, only those that are sound and under twelve years will be returned to England. The remainder will be distributed through the devastated countries. Owing to lack of transportation the 100,000 horses and mules in the eastern theatres of war will be sold to the Arabs or destroyed.

—According to *El Universal*, the Chamber of Commerce of Mexico has proposed to hold a commercial congress in Mexico City some time in April to consider trade relations between Mexico and other nations. Invitations will be extended to chambers of commerce of foreign countries, so that they may send a representative to attend the congress.

—Portugal is still the scene of conflict between the Royalists and the Government. The people of Oporto supported by the Republican forces have restored the republic in northern Portugal, according to a Lisbon dispatch of the 14th. An official announcement from Lisbon of the same date is that Lamego has been captured from the Royalists by the Government troops.

—Paris has been feeling more and more the strenuous economic situation. It was found that the salaries of municipal workers had been raised so often during the war that a further rise is impossible, and that efforts must be made to reduce the prices of commodities. It has been decided to establish municipal barracks stores throughout Paris, in which foodstuffs will be sold direct by the city consumers. M. Clemenceau, the

Premier, told a delegation that the food would be sold at prices fixed by the Food Minister.

—The Henry George Lecture Association announces that John Z. White will lecture during the month of March in the following cities: Logansport, Ind., Chamber of Commerce, Mar. 5; Bloomington, Ill., Rotary Club, 6th; Chicago, Ill., Lake View Woman's Club, 11th; Oak Park, Ill., Men's Club, Euclid Ave., 11th; Green Bay, Wis., Rotary Club, 18th; Superior, Wis., Commercial Club, 18th; Duluth, Minn., Kiwanis Club, 19th; Minneapolis, Minn., Saturday Lunch Club, 22d; Cedar Falls, Ia., Commercial Club, 25th; Waterloo, Ia., Commercial Club, 26th; Des Moines, Ia., Rotary Club, 27th; Kansas City, Kan., Rotary Club, April 8.

Correction: The poem, "Widowed," in last week's issue should have been credited to *Punch*.

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The significant point of this letter received this morning from a professor in one of our western universities is that, though overwhelmed with printed matter of a high order (as most of us are), he has tested THE PUBLIC and feels he needs it.

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\* In this connection the prices of other publications may be interesting: The New Republic sells at \$5 per year, The Survey at \$4, The Nation at \$4, The Living Age at \$6, The Dial at \$3 for 26 numbers, and The Liberator (only 12 numbers), at \$2.

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