

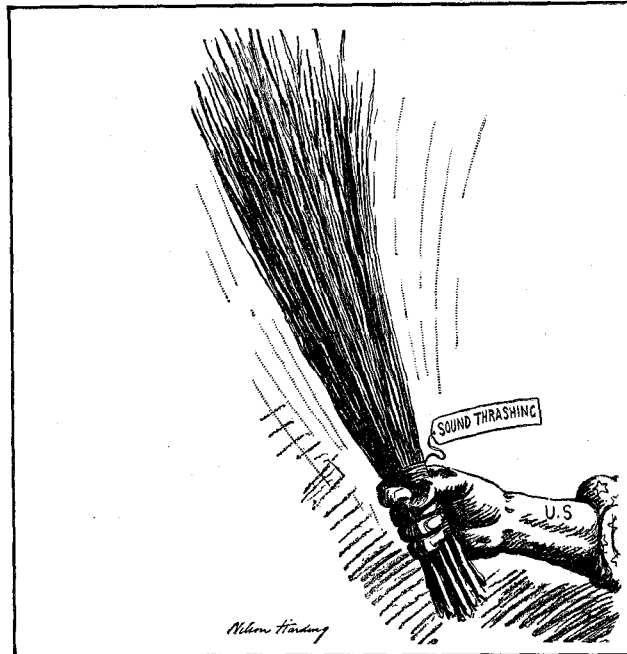
studying both our tariff and the tariffs of all other countries—studying and acting from a scientific, and never from a political, point of view. Such a board must be permanent, non-partizan, expert, with the broadest possible powers.

"The other thing that should be done at once is the creation of a Federal incorporation act. Through transportation, through electrical communication, we have completely outgrown the boundaries of our separate States, with their weak and contradictory corporation laws. Just remember this thing."

CARRANZA'S "LAST CHANCE"

IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION, Mr. Wilson received 9,116,296 votes, and 9,116,296 voters, approximately speaking, would, the Springfield *Republican* thinks, probably say to him to-day, "Give Carranza another chance." But there are editors who do not believe the First Chief deserves another chance. He has rejected the protocol drawn up by the Mexican-American Commission providing for the withdrawal of the Pershing force with certain mild conditions, and he has shown either weakness or bad faith, they think, by allowing Villa to regain power in northern Mexico. Mexico, the Nashville *Banner* now fears, can only "be made to respect the rights of the United States through fear of this country's superior power." Why, protests the Detroit *Free Press*, "one would think that Washington was dealing with a great European Power and trying to clean up some delicate and dangerous situation; whereas it is only engaged in putting over a trivial matter that ought to be ended by a sharp ultimatum with a sting in it." But President Wilson does not seem to be preparing to follow such advice as this. The well-informed correspondent of the New York *Times* at Washington expects to hear it announced before very long that the American forces in Mexico will be

other questions, no final decision to be reached on these questions until after the troops have been withdrawn." Since "Carranza's position is a delicate and a difficult one," the New York *Journal of Commerce* believes "our Government can afford to be patient."



MEXICO'S URGENT NEED.

—Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle.

And this thought is thus developed in detail by the Springfield *Republican* in the editorial already quoted:

"General Carranza's position regarding the Pershing expedition is this: Its prolonged presence in Mexico steadily weakens the *de facto* Government, already recognized by the United States, because the Villistas represent to the Mexican people that Carranza is indifferent to the occupation of Mexican territory by a foreign army; or is incapable of securing its retirement. That Villa's gain in military strength in the past two months has been due more or less to the popular success of such an appeal to Mexican patriotism is wholly probable. Granted the right of the United States, in the first instance, to pursue into Mexico the Villa bandits who had attacked Columbus, N. M.—and no one in this country condemned the pursuit—there is a good case for our Government in demanding guaranties from Carranza regarding the adequate policing of the Mexican side of the border before withdrawing Pershing's forces. But the fact is that paper guaranties would be worthless.

"It is also a fact that if Carranza should sign a protocol recognizing the right of the United States troops to remain forty days in Mexico before marching back across the border, he would expose himself to attack by his enemies at home for conceding the principle of a legal invasion of Mexico by foreign military forces, in the absence of express treaty stipulations conveying to the United States such a privilege. In Mexican domestic politics this is a very important point for the *de facto* Government to consider, altho from our American point of view the legal principle of unqualified sovereignty, to which Carranza clings so tenaciously, utterly collapsed under the strain of actual conditions and necessities when the Columbus raid took place.

"The present conditions are such that rather than indirectly promote the fall of Carranza's Government, the Administration should go to the extreme of concession and withdraw Pershing's forces from Mexico unconditionally, in accordance with the *de facto* Government's representations concerning the seriousness of its position. It is perfectly clear that such a concession can not be wrung from the President of the United States by coercion; Carranza is helpless against the Pershing expedition. It is a concession, however, which evidently needs to be made in order that the Carranza Government may be given every possible chance to maintain itself in Mexico and solve the problem of the Mexican revolution.

"The border can be protected without keeping Pershing in Mexico. The regular Army is now considerably larger than it was last spring, and it will increase gradually in size; there are Guard regiments also available. The precedent set by the



THE PROVERBIAL PREACHER'S SONS.

—Darling in the Des Moines Register.

voluntarily withdrawn, that Henry P. Fletcher, the American Ambassador to Mexico, will soon be ordered to his post, and "that despite the inability of the Joint International Commission to arrange a troop-withdrawal agreement satisfactory to both Governments, the Commission may be kept alive to consider

Pershing invasion of Mexico will be sufficient to determine the Government's future course in dealing with serious border-raids. The immediate thing to do is to give Carranza all the chance he believes himself entitled to; and to that end it may be hoped that the President will send Mr. Fletcher as Ambassador to Mexico City immediately after sending orders to General Pershing to come home."

This advice is based on the most friendly feeling toward Carranza and the most optimistic view of his prospects. But the *Philadelphia Record*, a supporter of the Wilson policies, is losing its faith in the Carranza régime. The *de facto* Government, it declares, "is gradually disproving its right to be regarded as a Government." What, it asks, is the next step for our own Government to take? *The Record* does not presume that the United States has any intention of conquering Mexico and setting up a Government of its own. "Nor is it probable that the United States will make a common cause with Villa to overthrow Carranza and set up Villa in his place." But two courses of action are open if it becomes "impossible to do anything more with Carranza."

"One is to reenforce Pershing and set him free to hunt down the bandits wherever he can find them. That would involve us in war with Mexico if Carranza should resist our troops. For six months Pershing has been standing still while diplomacy tried to settle the boundary difficulties. The United States might increase Pershing's force and wage war on the bandits, and any forces that cooperated with them.

"Or we might recall Pershing to the vicinity of the border, and establish our own patrol through northern Mexico, say, within fifty miles of the border. Our interest is limited to the maintenance of peace along the boundary. We might do that without any agreement with Carranza, or any other factional chief. We could keep the fighting, whatever there is of it, on Mexican soil instead of ours. We could keep our troops within,

say, fifty miles of the border, which would be substantial evidence that we were not trying to conquer the country.

"Either course means fighting, but it does not mean conquest or invasion of Mexico beyond the distance necessary to secure our own territory from invasion. Either would be a far more moderate program than the effort to overthrow the *de facto* Government and set up something in its place."

Speaking as a consistent opponent of the President's Mexican policy, the *New York Evening Mail* suggests a more drastic program. It laughs at the President's faith in the revolutionary leaders in Mexico, whose only motive is declared to be "a passion for power, for plunder, and for lust." As a sheer matter of self-interest, to say nothing of Mexico's needs, we must see to it that a stable Government is set up in the neighboring Republic. Mexico's bandit-revolutionists and her 13,000,000 Indians can not, in the *Evening Mail's* opinion, create a Government. But Mexico has had three dominating forces which "developed Mexican civilization" and "made Mexico what she was in the days of Diaz." These were:

"First, the Spanish conquerors of years ago; secondly, the Roman Catholic Church; thirdly, invested foreign capital. . . . The contrast between conditions in that land while those three influences dominated and conditions throughout the Carranza-Villa period marks the difference in the ultimate results of the two kinds of Government."

Sooner or later, we are told, this country must identify itself with one kind or the other. Now, "Mr. Wilson has chosen the side that has meant murder, destruction, idleness." But, protests *The Evening Mail*, "he must not be permitted to establish such a régime firmly in power by the use of American dollars." In short, says this editor: "For a Carranzista Mexico, not a dollar! For a real Mexico, millions!"

TOPICS IN BRIEF

AN ounce of preparedness is worth a barrel of pork.—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

A PLOWSHARE beaten into a sword can not so easily be beaten back again.—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

ADMIRAL DEWEY is seventy-nine years old, but still looks like a lion in a den of Daniels.—*Wall Street Journal*.

MAJOR-GENERAL WOOD very frankly uses only its initials when he speaks of the National Guard.—*Cleveland Leader*.

AN expression from Villa as to just what he is fighting for would be appreciated by Washington.—*Wall Street Journal*.

THE information that those deported Belgians are happy and contented would be more convincing if it came from them.—*Nashville Southern Lumberman*.

THAT old place in the tropical sun she used to have is beginning to look mighty cozy to Germany.—*Boston Transcript*.

ACCORDING to unofficial forecasts, the Allies' terms will allow the Kaiser to keep his watch and one or two suits of winter underwear.—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

THE net result of the campaign for Mr. Hughes seems to have been to put \$3,829,260 and Hiram Johnson into active circulation.—*Columbus Ohio State Journal*.

WALL STREET is a little calmer, but occasional shivers still run down Broad and Exchange at the thought that peace may break out again at any moment.—*Boston Transcript*.

THE Kaiser suggests holding the immediate peace-conference in some "neutral city," which lets Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and St. Louis out of the running.—*La Crosse Leader-Press*.

A good example of the topsyturvy conditions growing out of the war is afforded by the arrest of those militant suffragettes for participating in a peace-demonstration in London.—*Nashville Southern Lumberman*.

PEACE-PROPOSALS without terms are as dead as faith without works.—*Louisville Post*.

EVIDENTLY Roumania misjudged the temperature of the water when she jumped in.—*Atlanta Constitution*.

SWITZERLAND's peace-proposals are beginning to look like a chunk of her famous dairy product.—*Boston Transcript*.

IT has been a great year for all financial institutions. Even the pawnshops report a record prosperity.—*New York World*.

IT is now evident that Germany can reply to some notes much more promptly than to others.—*Nashville Southern Lumberman*.

ENTENTE Allies' New Year's resolutions seem more convincing than most.—*Wall Street Journal*.

PEACE comes roaring onward with all the meteoric rush of an invalid snail with a ball and chain attached to his tail.—*Kansas City Star*.

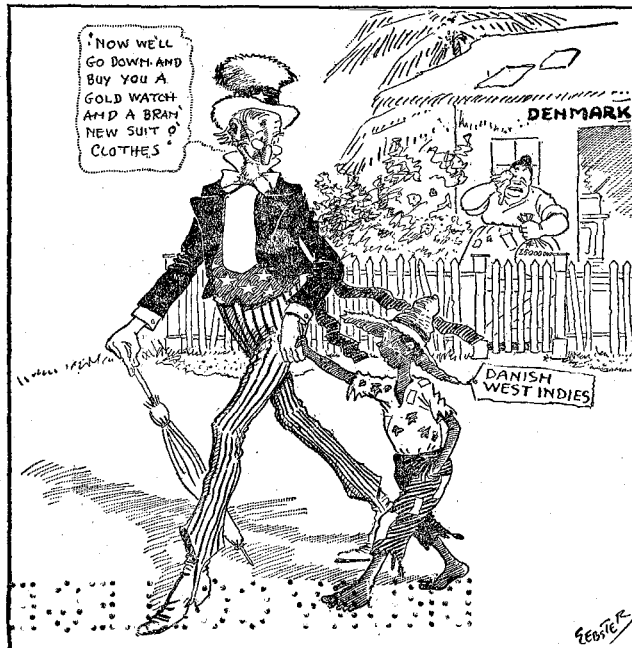
SECRETARY LANSING's postscripts to the peace-note suggest the advisability of having a woman in the cabinet to handle such matters expertly.—*Chicago Daily News*.

THE Allies consider that it will be time enough to discuss a league to enforce peace when they have finally pushed the league to enforce war.—*Boston Transcript*.

WILSON protests that his note was not intended as a demand for peace, and, judging from the Kaiser's reply, that was thoroughly understood in Germany.—*Philadelphia North American*.

ONE variety of lumber which is sure to go up is mahogany—three million feet of it have just been ordered by the British Government for making aeroplane-propellers.—*Nashville Southern Lumberman*.

THE congressmen regard that \$25,000,000 paid for the Danish West Indies as sheer waste, as it might be used for deepening creeks in their districts so as to make them navigable by motor-boats.—*Janesville Gazette*.



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BEING ADOPTED BY A RICH OLD GENTLEMAN.

—Webster in the *New York Globe*.

FOREIGN - COMMENT

WHAT THE ALLIES MEAN BY PEACE

THE SLASHING INDICTMENT which the ten Allies bring against the Central Powers in their reply to the Teutonic peace-note is but a prelude to much harsher things, if we can judge from more or less inspired articles appearing in the French and English papers. One thing seems indicated, and that is the determination of the Entente to fight on until a positive decision is reached, and their confidence in final victory is only equaled by the similar certainty on the part of their adversaries. From every quarter this note of determination to continue the struggle is sounded. In the Russian Duma, Professor Milukoff, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, thus voiced the popular determination to overthrow the German forces both within and without the Empire:

"We must say loudly that we won't give up the fight until our aim is reached. The moral support of the entire nation will give weight to our decision. In the interior, as elsewhere, a complete change is necessary before the objects mentioned in the Emperor's ukase can be achieved."

The views of London are as emphatic as those of Petrograd, for we find *The Evening Standard* writing:

"It is now quite time that belligerents and neutrals understood the true situation. The Allies believe they can inflict very shortly a crushing military defeat on Germany. She will then be offered peace on the lines of restitution of Alsace-Lorraine, relinquishing of her spoils, the loss of her colonies, and the payment of suitable indemnities, while her allies will have to meet the minimum demands of Russia and Italy."

More detailed is the summary of what the Allies intend to do when, to quote the words of Sir Hedley Le Bas in the *West-*

minster Gazette, "as victors they dictate and do not negotiate," which we find set out in the *London Spectator*. This influential weekly, which so often voices the views of the English governing class, is not, in any sense of the term, an inspired organ; none the less it has a curious habit of foreshadowing with remarkable precision the position subsequently taken by the Government. *The Spectator* sketches these stiff demands:

"The peace-terms are to start from the *status quo* before the war, thus including the evacuation of the whole of northern France, Belgium, and Luxemburg, and of all lands taken from Servia, Roumania, Russia, and Montenegro.

"Alsace-Lorraine is to be restored to France. The Danish portion of Schleswig-Holstein is to go to Denmark; and Posen, Polish Prussia, and Austrian Poland are to be added to the new subkingdom of Poland which the Czar has pledged to create.

"The Slavs of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., are to be created into a new kingdom.

"Bohemia to be an independent state.

"The Roumanian section of Transylvania is to be added to Roumania.

"The whole Austrian Tyrol, plus Trieste, Istria, and other portions of Austria which are Italian in blood or feeling to be added to Italy.

"Turkey to yield Constantinople and the Straits to Russia.

"The Armenians to be put under Russian tutelage.

"The Arabs to be freed, while Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia are to be under external protection guaranteeing tranquillity.

"The German colonies to remain in the hands of the Entente. Moreover, a money indemnity for the ruin Germany has done in Belgium, France, Servia, Montenegro, etc.

"Regarding shipping, Germany to make reparation in kind for all ships of commerce destroyed ton for ton, neutral shipping to



THE ULTIMATUM.

PEACE—"This year, however, I will not be kept out."

—*Die Muskete* (Vienna).



FROM BETHMANN-HOLLWEG'S SPEECH.

"Germany after the war will be at peace and, with folded arms, will be borne upon the shoulders of her present enemies."

—*Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd).

TWO DIVERGENT PEACE-PROPHECIES.