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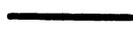
Public

A Journal of Democracy

A War Labor Program



Reform and The Constitution



On The Trail of The Packers

Published Weekly
New York, N. Y.

April 6, 1918

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The Public

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXI

New York, N. Y., April 6, 1918

Number 1044

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that announcement of the latest loan intervened between the date when this editorial was written and the date when it came from the press. The issue was filled with statements of fact and editorial matter calculated to strengthen the resolution of any person who might read it for wholehearted and determined prosecution of the war. It contained among other things a leading article prepared at great pains showing the almost complete collapse of anti-war Socialism and the discrediting of Socialist leaders who still withhold their support. THE PUBLIC received no notification from the Post Office Department as to why the issue was held up, and at the time of writing the reason given above was merely the conclusion of its editors.

* * *

Last week's issue of THE PUBLIC was declared unmailable by the Solicitor of the Post Office Department at Washington because it contained a short editorial on the subject of bond issues and the excess profits tax. This editorial was written before the announcement of the latest Liberty Loan, and was based on a telegram to Mr. McAdoo from Professor S. H. Clark of the University of Chicago, now a government employe and a worker for the Liberty Loan. THE PUBLIC merely indorsed and reiterated what Professor Clark said. No reader of THE PUBLIC can doubt for an instant that it would avoid any action that could reasonably be expected to interfere in any degree with the successful prosecution of this war. Its policy with respect to the Government's finance program has been to withhold discussion or criticism during the progress of Liberty Loan campaigns, and this policy was inadvertently departed from by reason of the fact

The opinion of military experts is practically unanimous that the tide of battle in France will turn this week. The Germans are no longer advancing; they are endeavoring to establish themselves on their present lines with a view either to defense, or to make further concentrated efforts in the region of Arras, or in the direction of the Paris-Amiens railway. In the latter region their furious onslaughts seem to be adequately met by the French. It is generally believed that the Allied reserves have not yet been called upon to defend any portion of the line, and are therefore free for a counter stroke. In general, the ground gained by the Germans can hardly be taken as a measure of the situation. The price paid in the destruction of their effectives is more than compensation. It remains, however, to see whether they can cover the remaining few miles between them and their first objective. The menace is as real as ever, but

both French and British are increasingly confident of the outcome.

* * *

The achievement of Allied unity of command through the appointment of General Foch as commander-in-chief has carried with it the promise of complete co-operation on the part of American forces. General Pershing's unreserved offer to subordinate his action to the general plan has met no criticism in this country similar to that which has previously hampered the same arrangement in the case of England. And it is not merely as an army that our offer holds good,—smaller units are to be placed in the great British and French organizations. What this indicates is that petty military pride is to be put aside in view of the needs of the situation. For quick action we are to avail ourselves of French leadership. To prepare a private soldier is a speedy matter in comparison with the time required for the education of an officer. In England, during the first years of war, the soldiers were growing stale under intensive training while their schoolboy officers were learning their job. What our Government has done is the ultimate test of our promise to assist in every way possible.

* * *

And this assistance is needed now. The German bid for a decision this spring and summer is unmistakable. The leisurely war, which some of our militarists contemplated, is suddenly concentrated into a battle for triumph or defeat. And the reason for this haste in reaching a decision is not difficult to find. The war is now in a race against *famine*, which will, before the close of next winter, hold all Europe in its clutch, and this will be true even with the war ended. Curiously, our people are unable to see far ahead. The great effort of a year ago to increase our agricultural output is being fatally relaxed. It will be necessary for us to save our Allies not merely by military means against the Germans, but by a supreme endeavor against the other enemy, which is soon to overwhelm Europe.

* * *

Senator New's attempt to amend the draft act to provide for training boys between 19 and 21 was merely the fight for compulsory universal military training in a new form. The War Department asked for an amendment permitting the

registration of men who have reached 21 since the passage of the act, and the Indiana Senator—there with Jim Watson as first fruits of Mr. Will H. Hays' talents as a campaign manager—prevented compliance with the War Department's urgent request for prompt action by insisting on his amendment. The War Department has neither the uniforms, guns, nor officers for training boys who could not be utilized for from one to two years. Its opposition has been clearly expressed. Yet day after day Mr. New succeeded in delaying action while he and his accomplices sought to organize and manipulate the nation's anxiety over the German offensive and its universal desire to see the adoption of radical emergency measures. Second thought convinces anyone that the New amendment would obstruct and delay America's full participation—that the mere urging of it in this stubborn fashion was holding back the mobilization of the second draft army. But these cunning Tories—intent on fastening a Prussian institution on the country for purposes that have no relation to this war—are counting on a hysteria that will compel action before there is time for a second thought. The German offensive gave them their one great opportunity. It was an attempt to take advantage of a passing wave of martial enthusiasm for a purpose hostile to the fulfillment of the very purpose toward which this enthusiasm is directed. The defeat of the New amendment is far from conclusive. Several senators voting against it as inopportune nevertheless favor the principle, including even Senator Borah. Here again, all is left to the influence of one over-burdened executive, Baker being absent, and to the uncertain understanding of the popular will that prevails in Congress. We have no agency except Wilson with the courage and the intelligence to say "No!" Legislative agents of the American Federation of Labor remain silent and even condone a measure that if successful will go a long way toward blasting labor's hope of a better world. For let us make no mistake. This issue of universal compulsory military training as a permanent institution has become the keystone in the arch of economic imperialism and bellicose nationalism that our most powerful privileged interests are striving to erect. Once the nation passes under that arch, America and the world are in for a disheartening repetition of all the horrors now upon us.

The Labor Program

The Labor Policy Board appointed by Secretary of Labor Wilson to formulate an agreement governing industrial relations during the war has rendered a report that meets and in some respects exceeds our expectations. There is to be no outright prohibition or penalizing of strikes, as in England. But they are to be eliminated during the war by the creation of machinery for prompt mediation, conciliation, and, where necessary, arbitration of disputes as they arise. Submission to this process will in effect be compelled by public opinion. The Board urges creation for this purpose of a National War Labor Board of twelve members, five to represent the employers, five the employes, and two the general public,—one of the latter to be chosen by each of the two groups. The Board would not only settle controversies directly by mediation and conciliation, but would appoint local committees or boards, and would also make use of the mediating machinery of the Department of Labor. If the Board should be unable unanimously to agree upon a decision, then an umpire whose name would be drawn by lot from a list of ten nominated by the President would hear and finally decide the controversy.

Because the report expresses the best judgment of representative leaders among employers and labor representatives, it seems fairly certain that the Department of Labor and the President will accept it and carry out its program. Whether the Department contemplated a standing board of this sort is a question. The Department has a remarkable record of effectual work in the field of mediation and conciliation during the past six months. The number of disputes that failed of settlement prior to an actual walk-out has steadily and rapidly decreased, in marked contrast with the record for the early months of the war. But the new plan contemplates a full use of the machinery of the Department that has made this record.

Because we are at war and can brook no obstruction or delay in our essential industries, the acceptance by labor and capital of a board of this sort seems natural and inevitable. Yet fifteen months ago it would have been regarded as a radical innovation and would have met with strong opposition from both sides. Organized labor has zealously guarded its freedom to strike,

while many employers have shared labor's distrust of any governmental agency that might in time develop coercive and compulsory powers. The agreement is a victory for the commission idea advocated by Professor Commons of Wisconsin, and it is more than a passing victory because the Government will be loath to abandon any measure of control over industrial disputes that it once assumes. Labor's opposition to the setting up of governmental machinery that would discredit strikes even if it did not prohibit them has arisen from a distrust of politicians as men usually drawn from the upper or middle class, and from its belief that employes in an industry or shop where union membership is punished with prompt dismissal must organize secretly and strike first, negotiating later. But recently there has been encouraging evidence that this need not be so. In the Chicago packing houses an organization was formed in spite of the opposition of the employers; demands were formulated and presented; and the packers were compelled to recognize the organization and acquiesce in arbitration proceedings, the result of which has been a victory for the men. And there was no strike. The other objection is fully answered by labor's confidence in President Wilson.

Coming to the principles agreed upon by the Labor Policy Board, by all odds the most important is the declaration that "the right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort." This is, for America, an almost revolutionary declaration. For wages of common labor have been notoriously far below the level of the amount upon which scientists have agreed as the minimum necessary to maintain a family in decency and comfort. That minimum has rapidly increased until now it stands somewhere between \$1,200 and \$1,400 a year. It is fairly uniform for all sections. It is a figure that can be accurately determined by any wage board, and it has already been determined by repeated investigations since the beginning of the war at a figure that will mean substantial wage increases in industry after industry. This declaration means that any underpaid body of workers can obtain redress if they will organize and present

their claims to the proposed National War Labor Board. The insertion of these clauses can undoubtedly be credited to Mr. Frank P. Walsh, who insisted on a health minimum in presenting the case of the Chicago packing house employes to a federal arbitrator just before he took up his work with the Labor Policy Board. In the light of this agreement, labor's acceptance of what will amount almost to compulsory mediation and arbitration need mean no sacrifice and may mean great gain. Certainly employes beset by the impulse to organize and calculating the risks would be more encouraged by the prospect of submitting their grievances to a Board governed by this principle than by the prospect of facing the great economic, political and physical power of a hostile corporation.

The agreement recognizes and affirms the right to organize, and the employers are pledged not to deny, abridge, or interfere with its exercise "in any manner whatsoever." And this pledge is specifically applied to organizing activities in non-union shops subsequent to the signing of the agreement. This is all we could ask from a board on which the employers are representative of the strongest non-union and anti-union employing interests in the country. It is well that they are. An agreement with employers converted to the principle of industrial democracy might have promised more; it would not have been worth the paper it was written on. The employer members of this Board were selected by the National Industrial Conference Board, a comparatively new organization that acts responsibly for numerous associations of employers embracing in their membership practically all the anti-union or open-shop concerns in the country. It is a fruitful opportunity for the American Federation of Labor and the various international unions to approach the unorganized employes of these firms, suggesting organization and calling their attention to the assurance of their employers that "The right of workers to organize shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever." Good faith now requires that the Steel Corporation and its many disciples in the open-shop policy shall issue new orders to foremen and to employes of their spy and detective services.

Other important provisions of the agreement are that the unions shall discontinue all methods

that tend to delay or limit production; that existing standards and safeguards shall not be relaxed; and that women replacing men shall receive the same pay.

One omission there is that seems to THE PUBLIC unfortunate. This is the failure to include a specific agreement against the refusal to employ union men. If there is such a clause anywhere in the report, a diligent reading failed to discover it. Yet one of the prevailing causes of friction in the shipyards is the complaint of the unions that many large yards discriminate against union men and in some instances even employ detectives to weed out union members. The situation at the large Newark yards has been about as bad as it could be in this respect. Newark is a great center for skilled mechanics in every line. Union organization there is strong. A bitter feeling exists among these union mechanics against the Submarine Boat Company and the Federal Shipbuilding Company, subsidiaries, respectively, of the Bethlehem and the United States Steel Corporation. The union men charge that they are refused employment and that the shipbuilding corporations are determined to do what they can to weaken unionism in the Newark field. This would be in line with the peace-time policy of these corporations. With the present need for skilled men and for enthusiastic co-operation, it is intolerable. Many Newark unions have voted to quit work for one day and join in a parade of protest. Enough belligerency to win a battle, enough energy to build a dozen ships, is being wasted in the controversy.

The Irish Question

In printing an article last week expressing some sympathy with the Ulster view of the Irish question, THE PUBLIC did a heterodox, even a sensational, thing. And this even although the writer condemned in strongest terms the stupidity of the English policy and the lawlessness of Ulster. For America has been more than tender to the cause of Irish nationalism. It has been a question that has permitted of no discussion in this country. But the situation in Ireland today requires something more of American opinion than a good-natured, sentimental and uncritical indorsement of the demands of the disaffected portion of Ireland's population. Here again we

must abandon a formula in our attitude about European affairs and substitute open-minded thinking. And this thinking must begin with a fresh examination of the facts. Above all, we must get away from the bad old habit of personifying a whole people under the personal pronoun feminine, and thus loading up our concept of that people with all manner of historical prejudices. We hear that "England" has done this or failed to do that. "She" is responsible, and we are asked to regard "her" as an unchanging, immortal entity whose character and deserts are to be judged by what "she" did ten or twenty-five or fifty years ago. Now, when we stop to think we know perfectly well that England is just a great aggregation of human beings, homogeneous only as to race and divided on lines of economic interest and of temperament into opposing groups. The England of 1914 that passed the Home Rule bill was not the England that waged the Boer war; the England of to-day, with its Labor Party and its quickened liberalism, is not the England that in 1914 permitted a few fanatics and junkers and militarists to obstruct the carrying out of the Home Rule bill. And the England of next year, when the latest franchise reforms become operative and labor shall have proved its strength, will not be the England of to-day, with its Smiths and Milners still in office. Yet some of our best democrats—men who ought to know better—persist in regarding England not as a struggling, blundering, evolving democracy, but as they would regard a country ruled, like Germany, by a self-perpetuating dynasty and clique.

It is against the tyranny of a historical, traditional, conception of the Irish question that THE PUBLIC wishes to protest, and it was to raise the question to the level of fresh and free thinking that we last week risked offending our good friends among the Irish-Americans. If anything, we have spoiled our fellow-citizens of Irish descent with too ready acquiescence in all their inherited prejudices. They enjoy a tremendous popularity, and we have been more than tolerant toward what has become almost a cult of hyphenated Americanism. Anglo-Americans who, on all times and occasions, should extol the virtues of England and the English, and demand acquiescence from whatever Americans of other origin happened to be in their company, would be quickly set down as insufferable. We have acquiesced in any amount of this sort of thing because first,

we love the Irish, and, second, because we made allowances for days of oppression and for the instinct of men not quite sure of their ground to assert themselves. But Irish origin has surely established itself on a firm enough footing to call for the modifying of an attitude that is unfriendly to free discussion. It is also to be said that politicians of one kind and another have built up in this country a wicked and unwholesome vested interest in the Irish question as a sure means of mobilizing Irish support. Whenever a politician of a certain type has wished to get "the Irish vote," he has rhetorically twisted the lion's tail, and men and women to whom Ireland is no more than a half-forgotten old wives' tale have responded with their emotions and their votes. Anything like a real settlement of the Irish question would be a calamity to these men—just as the abolition of poverty would deprive thousands of charity agents and welfare workers of a livelihood. Certainly no people's cause ever called forth so much rhetoric and sentimentality with so little to show for it in the attainment of real freedom. And we cannot always forget, in considering the problem, that the Irish, no more than English, always are innocent of misusing authority. We cannot forget that, like the English, the race seems to be divided into those who are passionate libertarians and leaders in democratic movements, and those who themselves bow the knee to power, performing valiant service to the oppressors of men in the guise of policemen, detectives, and agents.

The needed thing, as THE PUBLIC sees it, is to clear the air as much as possible of old prejudices and passions, to remember always that both the English and the Irish are just blundering humans, striving toward freedom and democracy according to their lights, and in England just now taking great forward strides. Surely there must be points of contact and understanding between the England of the Labor Party and the Ireland of Redmond and—even the Sinn Fein.

The Breaking of the Truce

Having devoted the past three months to the throwing of stones and stink-bombs at the Administration, Republican leaders now make a great show of resentment because the President has expressed a preference for the election of a man who supports his policies in the Wisconsin Sena-

torial campaign. President Wilson undoubtedly knew, when he urged Mr. Davies' election, that the Republicans would seize upon his letter as an excuse for dropping all pretense of non-partisan support. He also knew that the Republican attack could not become more vicious, more unpatriotic, more unfair, than it has been these three months past. For the most part, we can welcome the dropping of pretense and a return to frankness. President Wilson and the executive departments have been admirably nonpartisan. Messrs. Hoover, Garfield, Stettinius, Crowell, Pershing, Scott and Willard are Republicans he has honored. What we must hope for is that the outbreak of open hostilities will not cloud the judgment of men like Borah and Johnson,—that their criticisms will be confined to things that need it, and not become part of a chorus designed to discredit those major policies on which the hope of the entire democratic world depends. The political situation in this country is far from satisfactory. There are states where Republican votes will be asked and obtained on the basis of dissatisfaction with our war tax program or Mr. Burleson's conduct of the Post Office Department. How to keep Republican strength built on this foundation from supplementing Republican strength of the sort expressing itself through Lodge and Penrose is the question. In Congress the party discipline is not so strong as to prevent progressive Republicans supporting the Administration. What we must all fear is the effect of party discipline in 1920. We cannot trust our progressive Republican leaders until we have assurance that they will go into the next national convention and make a finish fight for the international and economic policies for which Mr. Wilson stands, and that if defeated they will not acquiesce in the nomination of a Roosevelt and sweep their followers into line. Too many of them did that in 1916, and Mr. Hughes came perilously near election because of the support given him by men like Raymond Robins and Hiram Johnson. The election of 1920 may well be the most crucial in the history of America. It may decide whether we are to be an aggressive nation dominated by great financial interests intent on economic imperialism, or a democracy capable of living up to that which we have given the world through the leadership of Woodrow Wilson. The American people are no longer partisan-minded. THE PUBLIC cannot be

quite sure that the next Democratic candidate will be a man on whom democracy can depend. But it is fairly certain that Mr. Wilson's influence will decide his choice, and that he will be a worthy successor in the field of international and economic statesmanship. Among Republicans, there is, first, the rather remote chance that a progressive can win the nomination without a fatal measure of compromise, and, second, a troubling lack of evidence that even the best of progressive Republicans are understanding democrats in the international field. Mr. Johnson has split with Roosevelt on many domestic issues. But he has a sheer pugnacity that might be as dangerous in the international field as it has been useful at home. The plain truth is that our choice in either party is exceedingly limited. By scanning the names of prominent Democrats we can appreciate the isolation within their own party of statesmen like Mr. Wilson and Mr. Baker.

The Packing House Inquiry

Testimony is now being taken by the Federal Trade Commission for a report on the Chicago meat packers that should be one of the most illuminating and helpful documents ever contributed toward the solution of our economic problems. The packers have been exposed and muckraked repeatedly, but never with the thoroughness now being displayed by Mr. Francis J. Heney, attorney for the Commission. Most of the earlier investigations were made with criminal proceedings in view, in the days when the country had not yet lost its fatuous reliance on putting people in jail as a solution for our ills. We can be pretty sure that Mr. Heney and the Commission contemplate no such action this time, and it is earnestly to be hoped that they do not. Not that the leading packers do not deserve prosecutions,—all the evidence seems to indicate that they do, that their policies have involved a moral turpitude, a callous contempt for the public welfare, a willingness to conspire and intrigue, that violates even the standards of conventional morality prevalent in the business community. The objection to prosecutions is not only that they get nowhere with men of the high pecuniary prestige of the Swifts and Armours, but that even if they did it would be too easy a solution. Mr. Heney is famous as a prosecutor, but as long ago as 1910 he vowed that he

would never prosecute again. In San Francisco he came to see that the Ruefs and the Calhouns were merely the product of a system that permits private monopoly of necessary public services, and that only by "changing the system" could we put an end to exploitation and corruption. And Mr. Heney shares this understanding with the other men who presumably will have a share in the writing of the report—Mr. Basil M. Manly, who has acted as special examiner for the Commission, and Mr. W. B. Colver, one of the most active of the Commissioners.

With the Commission's report in prospect, there is no need to attempt here more than a summary of the disclosures brought out by the testimony and letters introduced at the hearings in Chicago and elsewhere. These show a small group of men in absolute control of the processes by which a great nation and its foreign customers are supplied with meats and the by-products of slaughtering. They control these processes from the ranch to the kitchen. Producer, consumer and every intermediate agency feel the heavy weight of this control and pay tribute to it. With the great accumulations of money it has built up for them, they have reached out to other fields, endeavoring to bring under a like control poultry, canned vegetables and fruits, fertilizers, and fish. They have gained control of great banks and chains of banks, and erected themselves into one of the dominating financial groups. They control chambers of commerce, commercial clubs and newspapers in half a dozen cities. Great communities look to them for decisions that will make or break their prosperity, and delegations of leading citizens from these towns go to Chicago on bended knee to ask for favors. Cattle growers in every state are at their mercy. They control railroad systems, terminals, stock yards, and the facilities for feeding live stock that have arrived at the markets. By secret agreement they fix the number of cattle to be purchased and the prices to be paid. The cattleman takes what they are willing to pay or faces the alternative of shipping his stock back to the ranch at ruinous expense. Profits from the sales of meat and of by-products are supplemented by every petty gouge for which their secret ownership of stockyards and auxiliary services give opportunity. Stockmen are forced to sell "canners" and slightly defective animals for a song, and the difference between the purchase price and the

actual value of these exceptional animals alone spells large profits. Five years ago Armour & Co. had a capitalization of \$20,000,000 and a surplus of \$84,000,000. Last year their profits alone were more than thirty millions, while those of Swift & Co. exceeded thirty-four millions.

What the country has paid in other ways is beyond computation. True, there have been great gains in efficient operation, in standardizing and in utilizing by-products. But these were the work of the operating force, and there is no assurance that they are other than the normal and to-be-expected gains that American ingenuity would have given us in any case. Offsetting them, we have seen the disappearance of the small local slaughter house, and there is no way of telling whether this is a proper economic development or the result of unfair methods of competition, by which butchers who bought of independent local houses were put out of business. There are plenty of farm authorities who say that all through the East and Middle West the small average farmer has quit raising food animals because there was no local market and the cost of shipping less than carloads on the hoof to distant packing centers was discouraging.

While Mr. Heney was examining witnesses and reading letters in a court room in the Federal Building in Chicago, Mr. Frank P. Walsh was bringing out the facts regarding the human element in the packing industry in a court room at the other end of the hall. These latter proceedings were the federal arbitration of demands for higher wages and better working conditions, formulated and presented by packing house employes newly organized with the help of President Fitzpatrick and Secretary Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor. And the revelations here were as illuminating as those of Mr. Heney. They showed a brutal disregard and indifference on the part of the great packers toward the welfare of the many thousands of men, women and children on whom the conduct of the industry depends. Real wages had steadily decreased since the packers smashed the union in 1904. It was proved that a great majority of the employes had been working for about two-thirds the minimum sum which scientists have found to be necessary for decent and healthful family existence. Housing conditions in the stock yards district were so appalling that even the Federal Judge who acted as arbitrator summed

up the situation with the one word: "Terrible!" The packers' method of hiring men was typical of their refusal to accept any responsibility for the welfare of the community. Great crowds of men gathered each morning at 6 o'clock before the gates of the stockades, and those who seemed huskiest were tapped on the shoulder and told to "come on" by the employment agents. This is what open shop employers and their friends on the federal bench call the workman's "right of contract." Men were taken on by the hour instead of the day, and dismissed summarily at the pleasure of the foremen.

The achievement of Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Nockels and Walsh in procuring an agreement that provides collective bargaining and recognition of the employes' organization is a notable victory for the cause of industrial democracy. It sets in motion a process that will go on and on, and it is therefore the best answer we could hope to get to questions raised by disclosures of bad labor conditions. But collective bargaining power is of avail only when the employer is in the market for men and dependent on their services. Of what avail will it be when the packers, in order to maintain profits, must curtail production and thus commit sabotage, as Professor Veblen calls it? Union organization can dictate terms of employment; it has never yet succeeded and can never succeed in forcing an employer to maintain operations and to give employment when he does not wish to, when business expediency bids him curtail production. It is this form of business sabotage that organized labor must put an end to if it is ever to secure regularity and security of employment. It is a business practice that involves highly-developed cooperation between a group of competitors who are thus not competitors at all, except when it comes to dividing the spoils.

And so we come to the common interest of the packing house employes, the stockman on his ranch, and the consumer of meat, in a remedy that will free them of private monopoly control and its extortions. On the first step we can all agree. The terminals and stock yards must be placed under public control, and operated on terms fair to all. Understandings and private agreements between the traffic managers of the great packers and the railroads must be broken up, and freight rates re-examined for the purpose of eliminating schedules that favor undue con-

centration of the packing industry—the arbitrary building up of live stock markets according to the will and the self-interest of the great packers. This is only the first step if monopoly control is to be destroyed. Land adjoining the stock yards must be made available for competitors on large or small scale, and on fair terms. The current investigation has shown that the great packers have taken care to acquire ownership of all available packing house sites in the neighborhood of the yards. They must be made to relinquish it. Government purchase at the current monopoly prices would throw too great a burden on prospective competitors who might lease land from the Government. A program of drastic taxation of land values in the vicinity of the yards would accomplish the result. What is more, it would end the extortion of other landlords who otherwise will take in rents what the packing house employe gains in wages. It would encourage the intensive development of modern home districts at the same time that it opened opportunity for competing packers, and thus strengthened the bargaining power of the organized employes. With the field free for the development of terminal yards and packing plants in smaller centers, packers in the established centers would be required to offer a fair price for cattle or see their supply fade away, to be absorbed by smaller independent plants springing up nearer the source.

The difficulty with this program is that progressive measures follow the line of least resistance. Mr. Hoover has shown us how the exigencies of the day impel a governmental agency to accept the established order and to make the best of an existing situation by a resort to price fixing and government control. That way can never be satisfactory short of full government ownership and operation. Our experience with regulation of railroads and public utilities has been one of duplicating overhead expense, dividing responsibility, and setting up a constant friction between public and private interest. The packers have standardized and stabilized the industry. Their ramifications are too many, their power too great, to be broken up by mere supervision. We must either strike at the privileges on which their power rests or take over the entire industry. In the latter event, government operation of the great central plants might be placed on a fixed profit basis until would-be com-

petitors had been given their opportunity to demonstrate that integration and government monopoly is not the right solution. Government operation offers the simplest remedy because it could be encompassed by the action of a single governmental agency. What the Commission probably will recommend is government ownership and control of terminal yards and a high degree of government supervision and price-fixing for the whole industry. This is merely a guess, based on no special knowledge. If such a program is adopted, it will tend toward government operation of the entire industry. Those who believe there is a better remedy face many difficulties. They must convert both state and city legislatures in communities where the packers wield tremendous political power. And they must give labor an assurance that the free operation of the law of supply and demand will be effectual in placing the industry on a stable basis, without those fluctuations between curtailment and intense activity that spell insecurity for the workers. Here again they are handicapped. For their program rests its promise on the effects of its full adoption by all the community. Opportunity would indeed then be opened so widely that the loss of employment in one industry would not spell disaster. They must face the fact that fundamental changes are upon us, that the people are demanding prompt action that will socialize the processes on which life depends. Only a very wide and active propaganda will prevent us from taking the road of the Socialists, because it is the road of least resistance in a nation where the taxing power is distributed among conflicting jurisdictions.

These differences are after all not so important. The important thing is that the impulse to eliminate unearned income, to establish economic justice and freedom, is abroad in the land, that it is rapidly becoming an impulse of dominating force, and that eventually it will achieve its aim. In the meantime every democrat needs an open mind, and a friendliness toward experiment.

Stabilizing Labor

The question of wages is not the only difference between capital and labor in war industries; and in many cases where it appears to be the bone of contention it is really a means of adjusting

compensation for the lack of other things. The more discomforts labor is called upon to endure the higher the wages go to balance the disadvantages. One of the most vexatious problems has been that of housing, particularly in connection with shipbuilding. The necessity of access to navigable water has for the most part taken men out of reach of houses already in existence. And so grave is the need for relief that the Government is considering the building of houses as a part of its war preparation.

Various plans to meet this need have been proposed, extending all the way from haphazard land speculation schemes to flat Government subsidies. Perhaps the best plan yet proposed to meet the practical situation is that presented by Lawson Purdy, former president of the New York Tax Department. Mr. Purdy has laid before the housing directors at Washington, as well as before local boards and commissions, a proposal that where new housing has to be constructed a limited dividend corporation be formed, to which the Federal Government shall contribute four-fifths of the capital, and local capital, one-fifth. The Government is to receive four and a half per cent interest, and the local capital is to draw a dividend not exceeding five per cent. The rent should not be more than one-fifth of the prevailing wage, nor more than ten per cent on the actual cost of the building. An amortization charge of two per cent would pay off the Government's claim in approximately twenty-seven years.

Sufficient land should be acquired by purchase or condemnation proceedings to build a complete town unit, including not only dwellings, but stores, theaters, and other necessary public buildings. The cost of five-room two-and-a-half story cottages of brick or concrete with modern improvements would run from \$2,500 to \$3,000. If the rent averaged \$25 a month, or \$300 a year, it would be apportioned as follows:

Taxes 2½%	\$45.00
Insurance, repairs, etc., 2%.....	60.00
Five per cent dividend on one-fifth capital	30.00
Four and half per cent interest on four-fifths capital	108.00
Two per cent amortization.....	48.00
Contingencies	9.00
	<hr/>
	\$300.00

When amortization has been completed that amount and the interest paid to the United States, \$156, would be available for the various public needs that modern civilization is creating. As rents and wages are now abnormal a decrease may follow the war. In that event the difference between the lower rent and what now prevails should be charged to war expense by the Federal Government, and be deducted from its capital investment. Rents of theaters, stores, and other commercial buildings should be fixed on the competitive basis. Title to the houses would remain in the corporation.

The purpose of this plan is to meet a pressing situation by practical means adapted to actual conditions, and to meet it in a manner that will fit into the ways of peace as well as the needs of war. It begins now the decent housing plans of the future. Without undue expense to the Government it provides the workman not a shack or temporary shelter, but up-to-date accommodations that are conducive to the cultivation of the spirit of self-respect. The rent is not high as compared with present wages. Should wages fall, the rent will be reduced by marking off the excess capitalization as a part of war expense. The workman will have a home as permanent as a title in fee, yet subject to community management, with an ample fund for the carrying out of all those public activities that have come to be recognized as essential to modern progress.

Mr. Purdy lays particular stress on the feature of community control. Private ownership, he says, would lead to confusion and opposition to general plans. Re-selling to outsiders and to strange and antagonistic interests would result in the chaotic condition of the average city of the present. The city is coming to be looked upon as a unit. The individual and the family should have the utmost freedom of movement, but the outer expression of their lives should be in reasonable harmony with their neighbors'. Just as we now recognize this negatively by prohibiting the owner of a lot in a residence district from building a factory, so we are coming to recognize it positively by community building plans in which each part is made to fit into an artistic whole. We are coming to limit the erratic actions of the individual owner as the hotel proprietor restrains the conduct of his guests.

The fatal defect of the ready made or artificially created town lies in the fact that it is

neither commercial in the sense that it is competitive, nor cooperative in the sense that it is community managed. The plan proposed by Mr. Purdy is essentially cooperative, and is community managed. He lays particular stress upon this point. The men are to have representation in the management of the community as fast as the amortization discharges the debt to the Government. The retention of the one-fifth interest in the corporation by local capitalists is a matter to be decided in individual instances. Men who have had practical experience in this field urge this provision as a means for keeping labor and capital in touch with each other. The one-fifth holding of stock would not seriously invade the rights of the four-fifths held by labor, and the dividend, limited to five per cent—it might be less under unfavorable conditions—could not excite the envy of the workers. Yet it would give the holders a financial interest in the venture that would be conducive to the growth of a broader community spirit.

Such a plan is designed to achieve results similar to those obtained in some of the newer villages and towns in England that have been designed to meet war conditions, and at the same time prepare for the future. The idea is to have one family, one house. The houses are designed architecturally and the grounds laid out in a way to secure the variety and beauty that have been so painfully lacking in American cities, and particularly in the parts housing the workers. As population increases and the city grows the land values that accompany such growth accrue to the people as a whole, and not to a few individuals who may have acquired title to the land, so that progress will not be as a wedge driven into society, raising some and crushing others, but as a wedge driven under society and raising all.

It is encouraging to know that plans involving these principles are well received by local communities, and are being favorably considered by the Housing Directors of the Shipping Board and Department of Labor at Washington. It is a matter for congratulation that sound economic principles are coming to be so generally accepted. Men and women of broad vision now realize the grave mistake made by the American people in adopting a system of land tenure that permits a few to monopolize the values created by all. The present housing problem presents a rare opportunity for correcting this error.

On the Trail of the Packers

By George P. West

As interesting as the disclosures showing the extent and method of control of the meat supply by the Chicago packers is the story of how the Federal Trade Commission came to undertake the investigation now under way. It is a devious record in itself, showing the methods by which the packing house combine reached into the National Capital and the Trade Commission itself and for month after month succeeded in blocking any effectual action looking toward relief of the stockmen and consumers who suffer from its arbitrary power. And there was something decidedly dramatic in the final frustration of their efforts and the chance coincidence of a joint exposure, in different courtrooms of the same building in Chicago, of the way of private monopoly with labor and its way with producer and consumer. What Mr. Heney overlooked Mr. Walsh put into the record, and vice versa, and their frank cooperation in the task of exposing the packers' record of brutality and intrigue will appear reprehensible only to the packers and their flunkies. For once the packers' influence with the Chicago press proved futile, and day after day the news dispatches gave to the people in vivid flashes the truth about private enterprise when it captures control of a great basic industry and vests in a handful of men arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of great multitudes of their fellows.

It is a story of team-work by a few very interesting men—men already known for their courage and ability in serving the public interest. It begins with a meeting of stockmen—leaders in the national association—at San Francisco several years ago. They were invited by Mr. William Kent, then representing the First California District, to visit his home under the shadows of Mt. Tamalpais, across the bay in Marin county, and there they talked over their uphill struggle against the Chicago packers. Mr. Kent's father had been both a stockman and a packer in the Chicago field, and his son knew the business from the remotest upland pastures of Nevada to its most intimate ramifications in Halstead and La Salle streets. He might have been one of them today, except for a streak in him that Art Young

would describe as "the cosmic hunch" and the packers as soft-headedness. Whatever it is, it is responsible for the fact that he is both one of the greatest landowners in the country and a single taxer; a wool-grower on a large scale and a foe of Schedule K; owner of large holdings in Mexico and an ardent proponent of President Wilson's Mexican policy.

Mr. Kent came back to Washington after this meeting, and began to "plug," as he would say, and plug hard, for a bill introduced by Congressman Borland of Kansas City providing for an investigation of the packing industry. There began then the packers' long campaign of reaching and persuading and coercing, and attempting these things without success, but with enough success to prevent favorable action on the Borland bill, to the intense satisfaction of Congressman Mann of Illinois, Republican leader in the House and one of those on whom the packers most relied. But it was not Mr. Kent's first battle of the sort. Back in the days when he and Finley Peter Dunne and a few others were fighting Bath House John and Hinky Dink Kenna for control of the Chicago city council, he had cut his eye teeth in this sort of combat. In those days, too, he had learned something of the packers and their methods. One of them had asked him to join in bribing an assessor, and he had helped to force another to pay for water that had been filched from the city through illicit connections with the city mains. With a quiet determination and persistency he stuck to the task, which involved the introduction of new bills and resolutions and the defeat of the packers' plan to shift the proposed investigation to a bureau in the Department of Agriculture where they could count on the friendship of the bureau chief, a Mr. Brand. It was during this period that the packers' attorneys and agents in Washington wrote the letters predicting criminal prosecutions if the investigation took place and reporting their progress with certain public officials who would "listen to reason."

Besides enjoying the help of Congressman Mann, Mr. Brand of the Department of Agriculture, and a swarm of others, the packers had friends in the Trade Commission itself. The

Secretary of the Commission, Mr. L. L. Bracken, has admitted that he handed to one of their agents a copy of a confidential complaint filed with the Commission by the stockmen. At this time, Mr. Edward N. Hurley, now chairman of the Shipping Board, was chairman of the Federal Trade Commission. Whether Mr. Hurley took the side of the people or the side of the packers will appear later.

Despairing of action by Congress, Congressmen Kent, Borland, Garner and Doolittle called on President Wilson in the early days of January, 1917, and urged him to order an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission under the general authority provided by the act creating it. Mr. Kent later embodied the main points of the conversation in a letter to the President, and the President sent this letter to Chairman Hurley of the Trade Commission. Mr. Hurley's reply has not before been published. It is noteworthy that his letter exactly follows out the packers' program as outlined in their correspondence captured and made public by Mr. Heney. This was, first, to avoid in every way inquisitorial powers by whatever committee or governmental agency might be chosen for the investigation; and, second (to quote a letter from one of their attorneys made public by Mr. Heney), "to so combine the question of the packers' investigation with the more comprehensive scheme mentioned by Fisher that the whole undertaking will appear so colossal as to be unattractive." Mr. Hurley's letter falling in with this program is as follows:

"Office of the Chairman,
"Federal Trade Commission,
"Washington, January 18, 1917.

"The President,
"The White House.

"My dear Mr. President:

"Your letter of January 10th, enclosing letter to you from Congressman Kent, dated January 9th, regarding the proposed investigation by the Federal Trade Commission, of food, and especially of meat, and supplies, and their cost, has been received. The suggestion in Congressman Kent's letter that the Trade Commission proceed under paragraph (d) of Section 6, indicates that the investigation is aimed at present high prices and immediate relief therefrom. The Department of Justice is entrusted with the enforcement of the anti-trust laws and has existing facilities which it can presently use to determine whether or not there is a violation of these laws. If the purpose, then, is immediate relief, the Department of Justice is the proper body to make such an investigation.

"If, on the other hand, the purpose of the proposed investigation into the cost of food products is to gather data and material which would be a basis for a complete economic study, then an investigation on a scale much larger than could be properly carried out by the Department of Justice seems obviously necessary. A general investigation, however, by any one administrative department of the Government along lines previously adopted seems to me at this time inadvisable. Probably two years, at least, will elapse before the investigating body could compile and publish such a comprehensive report. If abnormal war conditions prevailed during the entire course of such an investigation the cost figures and other facts gathered would have little value when applied to normal conditions. Furthermore, were the war to end after the investigating body had gathered half of its data, it seems unnecessary to say that the final compilation of cost figures and other facts, the first half based on abnormal war conditions, and the second half based on conditions of a period of readjustment, would be absolutely valueless.

"Artificial causes of high prices, such as the manipulation of cold storage plants, might be regulated by the National Government in so far as interstate shipments are concerned, but a Federal law would not be as effective as individual action by the States.

"The cost of practically all necessities of life, such as coal and clothing, have been rising in cost proportionately with food products. A separate investigation of meat products would merely touch one factor in the high cost of food products, and an investigation of the high cost of food products, which in itself is a matter of great ramification and detail, would merely touch one factor in the high cost of living.

"The appointment of an ordinary investigating committee, I fear, would not bring any real relief. It is so large a subject, involving all the fundamental principles of supply and demand as well as artificial manipulation, that I am convinced that the only kind of an inquiry that would be at all effective would be the one made jointly by the heads of Government departments which have the authority to adopt, and put into effect, any remedial suggestions that may result from the inquiry itself.

"The trouble has been in the past that a voluminous report is invariably made at a time when public interest has subsided. The report is then submitted to the heads of Departments, or to Congress, at a time when there is a decline of interest. Moreover, action is then asked from officials who have not the benefit of first-hand information and who do not care to wade through a report.

"The Department of Agriculture deals more directly with the cattle raisers and the wholesale distribution of all food products than any other branch of the Government. The Department of Commerce has a direct relation with the middle-man. The Department of Interior has authority over such fundamental questions as the development of water power, which, I believe, would lead to a lowering of the cost of living, placing water power in competition with coal power, and thereby re-

ducing the coal bill. All these departments have certain authority, which, if used to the fullest sense, even in an advisory capacity, might result in the adoption of fundamental improvements in our national system of costs.

"The Federal Trade Commission is entrusted with the regulation of trade products with the view to keeping competition free and open, so that competition may regulate prices, and the Department of Justice is the medium for the enforcement of the anti-trust laws.

"My suggestion, therefore, is as follows: If you could see your way clear to appoint a Department committee, which would invite various interests to appear in a friendly way and make their suggestions, such a committee might be constituted by the assistant secretaries or other representatives of the Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce and Department of the Interior, with one member of the Federal Trade Commission, and an assistant attorney general.

"The moral influence in the presence of the assistant attorney general doubtless would be helpful.

"Whatever might be learned in this matter, and I believe a great deal could be learned by a small departmental committee of this kind, could be applied immediately.

"It would not be necessary to ask Congress to give special powers to the Committee. It has been my experience that most men asked to cooperate with the Government will do so without force, except in some rare instances.

"Very respectfully,

"(Signed) EDWARD N. HURLEY."

Mr. Hurley's letter was forwarded to Mr. Kent. It seemed to him so absurd and such an obvious attempt to shift the issue in the packers' interest that on Jan. 26 he wrote the President as follows:

"House of Representatives,
"Washington, D. C.,
"January 26, 1917.

"The President,
"The White House.

"Dear Mr. President:

"I have received a letter from Mr. Tumulty, enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to you by the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission of the date of January 10, 1917.

"I feel sure that under the pressure of your duties and burdens, you did not have time to read this communication or it would not have been forwarded to me.

"Permit me to quote the concluding paragraphs, which follow nearly two pages of reasons why someone else ought to act or fail to act:

"The Federal Trade Commission is entrusted with the regulation of trades products with the view to keeping competition free and open, so that competition may regulate prices; and the Department of Justice is the medium for the endorsement of the anti-trust laws.'

"It is our contention that the Federal Trade Com-

mission was given authority to subpoena witnesses, and examine books so that it might learn how to keep competition free and open and to know whether or not it is free and open. If not given these powers for this specific purpose, why should there be a Federal Trade Commission and why should such powers have been granted it?

"My suggestion, therefore, is as follows: If you could see your way clear to appoint a departmental committee, which would invite various interests to appear in a friendly way and make their suggestions, such a committee might be constituted by the assistant secretaries or other representatives of the Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce and Department of the Interior, with one member of the Federal Trade Commission, and an assistant attorney general.

"The moral influence in the presence of the assistant attorney general doubtless would be helpful.

"Whatever might be learned in this matter, and I believe a great deal could be learned by a small departmental committee of this kind, could be applied immediately.

"It would not be necessary to ask Congress to give special powers to the committee. It has been my experience that most men asked to cooperate with the Government will do so without force, except in some rare instances.'

"This toothless, clawless, unarmed and unarmored method of conducting what is in the nature of a contest between a lot of disorganized meat producers and consumers on two sides of the field as against the entrenched packers, whom we have no hesitation in declaring to be law breakers, would be laughable if not tragic. If the Federal Trade Commission is constituted for the purpose of having the lamb lie down inside of the lion, it would seem that it is superfluous. There are plenty of means of securing information more or less accurate, such as the packers are willing to put out, but we have been hoping that through the authority of law we could have the meat business investigated to the end of obtaining a full comprehensive knowledge of conditions of production, manufacture, distribution and costs, which investigation can never be possible except under the authority of law, with ample powers granted the investigating body.

"The alternative to this is Secretary Houston's proposition that the Market Bureau of the Agriculture Department be granted full investigating powers. The Secretary frankly stated that he preferred that the Federal Trade Commission should exercise these powers in that portion of the field of investigation which could not be penetrated by the ordinary courteous investigations of the Market Bureau.

"You know how averse I am to bothering you with such detail, but I am sure on reading Chairman Hurley's letter that you will wonder with me what the Federal Trade Commission is for.

"Yours truly,

"(Signed) WILLIAM KENT."

This correspondence was not put in the congressional record or published at the time, for

Mr. Kent had reason to believe that other members of the Commission were not in sympathy with the attitude of Chairman Hurley.

A few days later Mr. Hurley resigned from the Commission to take up other work and the investigating work was enthusiastically indorsed by the other members. The President sent in an order directing the investigation, and this action was heartily indorsed by Secretary Houston, who, from the beginning, had recognized the necessity of inquisitorial powers in the investigation and believed the Federal Trade Commission was the proper body to do the work. And Congress finally appropriated \$250,000 to finance this and similar investigating work, after further attempts to obstruct.

But Mr. Kent's work was not done. The success of an investigation depends entirely upon the courage and ability of the man who conducts it. Ten years earlier, Kent had been one of the most stalwart supporters of the San Francisco graft prosecutions and of Mr. Heney, who conducted them. In 1910 Mr. Heney, just recovered from the wound inflicted by a revolver bullet in the court room during the trial of Ruef, took the stump in the First California District for Mr. Kent in his first campaign for Congress. Heney was the man for the packing house investigation, and Kent knew it. It was an easy matter to persuade Commissioners Davies, Colver, Murdock and the rest. Mr. Heney was put on the job. And he has had the active assistance of one of the best little two-fisted investigators ever produced during our long fight for economic freedom in this country—Basil M. Manly, formerly

director of research and investigation for the Commission on Industrial Relations. Mr. Manly at Chicago forged still stronger the link by which Mr. Walsh's advocacy of the eight-hour day, decent wages and industrial democracy in the packing houses supplemented and was supplemented by Mr. Heney's disclosures at the other end of the hall.

All this has driven the packers into a fury comparable with that of a nest of rattlers suddenly exposed and disturbed by a blast of dynamite. Already they had planned extensive publicity campaigns. A certain periodical had devoted many pages to a eulogy of Mr. Armour that fell little short of deification. Today the newspapers from coast to coast are carrying quarter-page display advertisements paying tribute to the patriotism of the packers because many of their employes have gone to war, or denouncing the crude and ungentlemanly methods of Mr. Heney. These advertisements are calculated to take the edge off the enthusiasm of editorial writers about to comment on the disclosures. They are expected to soften the blow that will fall when the Trade Commission makes public its report. "Print what you have to," they say every day to the editors, "but don't go out of your way. We are helping to pay your wages. Just try to be reasonable."

It will be interesting to watch, during the ensuing months, the pages of certain popular weekly and monthly periodicals for articles on the Chicago packers and their contribution to the winning of the war. It will be an interesting exercise in the methods of up-to-the-minute publicity.

International Economic Functions

By Ordway Tead

With what I take to be the fundamental thesis of Dr. Slaughter's article* on "America's Advantage" I am in complete agreement. He speaks recognition of the fact that a league of nations which shall have vitality must be based on economic interests and functions. Implicit in his thesis is the simple but central truth that no association can successfully exist *in vacuo*, with nothing but good intention to float it, with no

specific and graphic job to perform, with no purpose which compels adherence. A league of nations must have functions to perform—functions the importance and essentiality of which daily impress themselves upon the minds of common people in the enleagued nations;—or which are at least capable of being dramatized on occasion in order that popular support may be rallied to the perpetuation of the league. Nor is the present notion of that function clear or adequate. It

* See *The Public*, March 23, 1918.

is not enough, as Dr. Slaughter has constantly in mind, that the purpose of the league be "to keep the peace." Peace is not and never has been in the world of realities, a be-all and end-all of life. America would not be at war if it were. But problems of actual physical maintenance can always evoke response for their solution. In the European situation before the war this imperative was dominant: "The manufacturer . . . must sell his wares for the necessities which he himself is unable to produce. . . Opportunity to sell commodities and purchase food is certain to be an individual and national desire." In other words, for reasons of self-preservation there are certain economic problems to which each nation is alive, to the solution of which each will rally, not only because it wants to, but because it must. Ideal and material considerations join hands to strengthen the case for any proposed course of conduct which looks to preservation and prosperity. And further, it is conceivable that these problems of national maintenance can best be attacked by some international organization to which certain powers are delegated.

So far the argument runs plainly. But the conclusion regarding American internal economic policy which Dr. Slaughter draws from his analysis appears to run counter to his underlying position. He says: "Our power to bring about a league of nations is conditioned by our power during the next fifty years to maintain our own economic sufficiency. That sufficiency can be expressed in a simple formula: Agriculture and Industry must balance themselves." The reason given for this statement sounds plausible: By maintaining economic self-sufficiency we remain in a position to work in and for a league of nations disinterestedly,—or rather in the interests of world peace.

But disinterested action of this sort is impossible. It is impossible not because sufficient moral energy might not conceivably be summoned, not because the American spirit is lacking in appreciation of idealistic considerations. It is impossible because in the international economic integration which is irrevocably going forward, America has special interests vital to the maintenance of its people, which require attention in international councils at once these exist. Our isolation as respects our desire for raw materials and for markets for our goods (even assuming only the present volume of manufacture) is al-

ready a bygone condition. Economically we are already deeply involved in the modern world's interdependence. So that the interests which are to be served by representation in a league of nations are—or can be made—interests which are prejudicial to no class, favoring no privileged few—but are rather broadly contributory to the end of producing goods in sufficient quantity and at moderate cost. This fact of our dependence on the rest of the world for goods essential to well-being would therefore make our assumption of disinterestedness in world politics not only naïve but untrue. In short, we have national interests whose claims necessarily merit immediate attention in an industrial parliament of the nations.

And,—this being the foundation of my own position,—only by action in international affairs in line with our own interests can we contribute positively to the creation of a successful world organization. This is true of the other nations no less than of ourselves. For all of us the economic are the permanent interests in this sense, that without the means of sustenance no other interests can for long be attended to. We have tried organizations built on good will. They give rise to the cynical "scrap of paper" attitude toward human obligations. We must now attach our zeal for construction to this idea, that the activities and good intentions of life are, broadly speaking, limited by economic necessities and interests. This is by no means an acceptance of a crude "economic determinism"; it is rather a recognition of the various forces which must inevitably condition human behavior,—an effort to face the world realistically. The break with the past which this attitude involves is not great. As in internal affairs "our national government is the expression and not the cause of our national unity," so also in the world economy its government will be the expression of a vital service to be rendered, a felt need which is being met.

Were we to follow literally the suggestion of equating our own agricultural and industrial output we would, as I see it, be striving to maintain an isolation more artificial and belated than our political stand at the outbreak of the war in 1914. We would be losing our one most urgent reason for striving to get a world organization upon its feet. We would endanger our ability to think realistically about those facts of economic interdependence which must be dominant in the minds

of those who are building a truly functional organization between the nations. We would be adopting a pose of disinterestedness to which we can honestly lay no claim. And finally if we should do no better than make our agricultural products equal in value the manufactures which we turn out, we would have no assurance that we were doing our rightful part in contributing to the world's food supply.

If, however, the contention of the writer is that not simply in America but throughout the world there must be a serious effort to increase food supplies and raw goods more rapidly than finished goods, the case is sound. But I do not understand this to be the position. Had it been, he would have dwelt upon the "American advantage" from a slightly different angle. It remains true under any analysis of the situation that the obstacles in the way of farming must be removed. Land taxes must be made equitable; credit must be obtainable at low cost; monopoly in the fertilizer, seed and farm implement industries must be socially controlled. But an adequate conception of the way for America to be of service in the initiation of international government inevitably demands far more than attention to the land problem.

Is it not true that—taking the problem of wheat for the moment—the carrying forward of the essentially safe and American idea of democratic control demands an international wheat commission representative of the producers and consumers of the world's supply, a commission which should, as an organized part of a league of nations, gauge the world's needs and apportion the production in accordance with the fertility of the several available areas? The notion that demands can be estimated and that production can be carried forward in relation to them is not so new but what the time has come for any international organization which is to have significance to start at work to make an actuality of it. Of course the idea cannot be realized *instantly*. Industries will have to be treated separately and successively over some decades. But the idea of world organization of the productive resources of the globe in accordance with actual human wants remains as basic to the working out of a genuinely useful international body. This is, indeed, one of the key problems of such a body, to be solved by it as the price of its continuance. To cripple this idea at the start by the attempted mainten-

ance in the next fifty years of an American economic self-sufficiency would seem to be the surest way of removing the projected league from the world of *Realpolitik*.

The many attendant policies which the creation of an effective worldwide scheme of social control over economic resources entails, it is beyond the province of this article to discuss. But if America has any advantage in working in this direction, it is the advantage of being able to create an internal organization which will fit in with the outlines of such a plan of international economic regulation as we have here hinted at. Our existing agencies of social control of economic resources must be conserved and their functions clarified and broadened for post-war service. In the field of finance we potentially have opportunity for a large measure of control in our Federal Reserve system, in the new War Finance Corporation and in our rural credit laws. We have in the realm of industry the War Industries Board, the Shipping Board, the fuel and food administrations and the railroad organization,—all working to achieve national and humanly beneficent ends. Immediately between these we have the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission and the War Trade Board, seeking to regulate production and distribution in the interests of the whole people.

Some of these organizations are new—the war's heritage of new, sound functional organizations. And all have in them the germs of a method for making the popular will effective in the economic world.

Obviously we cannot hope to run a world system of production and distribution if in each of the administrative units—the nations—the basis of operations is still one of profiteering and aggressive expansion. We must begin to set our own house in order that we may have the proper structure and attitude with which to deal cooperatively with the other units. But neither problem is to be solved separately. National industrial issues find a full solution only in international correctives. America has therefore a further advantage in that from our diverse forms of political and industrial organization we can draw suggestions for experiments on an international scale. Some one has, in the last analysis, to come forward with a plan, crude and inadequate though it may be at the start, for international regulation of investment and production in the

several industries—extractive and manufacturing. America can do this. Organization has been our *forte*. We shall forward the interests of a stable peace best if we encourage international industrial interdependence, if we control for human

ends our "private" agents of production and distribution, and bring forward for immediate adoption plans under which the economic functions of an international organization can be competently exercised.

The Pending Amendments and Others

By Joseph C. Allen

The adoption of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth amendments has destroyed the superstition that the Constitution of the United States cannot be altered except through a civil war. We are likely now to be flooded with amendments, to make up for the long time when we did not dare attempt to make changes in the old Constitution. The prohibition amendment is now before the States for their final action upon it. Within a month after the passage of this one by Congress, the women's suffrage amendment had passed the lower house. Others, and probably some of them very important, are likely to follow close upon these.

It may too, before long, be brought home to us, that there is a dangerous uncertainty in our method of adopting amendments. The Constitution does not specify any time for States to act upon them, nor does it say that a rejection by any State is final; but it declares, in Article V., that when an amendment has been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, it is by that fact adopted. So if a legislature votes in one year not to ratify an amendment, this action, in the opinion of a number of good authorities is not final, but a new vote may be taken year after year, as long as the measure is pending in other States. If however, either on the first vote or any other, the decision be to ratify the amendment, that action will be final. Such, in both particulars, is the opinion that is given in Cooley's "Constitutional Law." There is then, though the matter is as yet uncertain, at least a dangerous possibility that Constitutional amendments will be adopted through the fickleness of legislatures, when they are not really desired by the States that ratify them.

It may be useful then, to consider some of the amendments that we already have, which have for one reason or another proved unsatisfactory.

For in this way we may learn of mistakes that should be avoided in amendments we may adopt in the future.

It need hardly be argued that the Twelfth amendment, which prescribes our method of electing the President and Vice-President, is a botch, for everybody recognizes it as such. It is doubtful if it is, on the whole, an improvement on the original plan of the Constitution. It was framed and adopted hastily—hurriedly we might better say—to meet an emergency; but that emergency might have been met in another way without an amendment. Its fundamental fault is, that it nominally re-enacts the original plan of indirect elections, although that plan had utterly failed of its intention. The Twelfth amendment should have abolished the Electoral College, and if we were to re-write it to-day, that is what we would do.

Turning back now to the first ten amendments, we find in these a bill of rights, which was demanded by the people at the time the Constitution was adopted. Most of the guarantees there laid down are acceptable to-day. But it would perhaps be better if most of these popular liberties were put directly in charge of Congress, which is, at least in its lower house, a body representing the people of local communities and jealous of the people's rights. Our rights would then be such as we want for ourselves, and not such as our ancestors wanted for us.

Among these guarantees, we find in the Fifth amendment that no person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself. In consequence, commissions that are investigating phases of large business in which the law may possibly have been violated, are hampered or thwarted because they cannot receive the testimony of important witnesses without jeopardizing any criminal action against them. Why should not the common-

law right of an accused person, not to testify, be considered simply as a policy of the State, which may be set aside when the public interest so requires? One has no more natural right not to testify against himself, than he has not to testify against a near relative, a dear friend, or a benefactor. If this were only a common-law right, it could be limited or altered by statute. But because it is now in our Constitution, it has to be followed rigidly.

The Sixth amendment guarantees to an accused person a public and jury trial. This is well in most cases, but there should be some exceptions. No good is done to the accused person or to anybody when the crime charged is rape; and out of consideration to the victim, as well as for public decency, such a case should be tried secretly. There would be fewer lynchings if this were the rule. Here again we might alter the common law, if a constitutional amendment were not in the way.

Going back again to the Fifth amendment, we find in it a clause forbidding the United States to deprive any person of property "without due process of law." And in the Fourteenth amendment we find a similar clause, enjoining the States individually from doing this thing. In the latter case the provision was intended for the protection of Negroes; but its chief use has been instead to protect corporations. The courts have ruled that legislation which deprives a corporation of a reasonable profit is in violation of either the Fifth or the Fourteenth amendment. And the courts themselves, rather than the legislative bodies, have the decision as to what a profit must be in order to be reasonable. In this way legislation, either by Congress or State legislators, has been declared by the courts to be unconstitutional, and when new measures of this sort are passed their validity is doubtful, and a tedious testing by judicial process awaits them. It is a discouraging and almost impossible task, to legislate constructively and effectively under such restrictions.

The right of a man to his property is particularly valid in natural justice, as against other individuals. But his right to it, as against the nation of which he is a part, is a different matter. The rich man's income is due in part to the nation's protection, and to favorable conditions that society has created. Now what society gives, society may take away. Whether a corporation should have its profits reduced, and to what ex-

tent, is not a question of justice but of public policy, and should be determined, not by the courts, but by the law-making body. It is not generally to the public interest, that business should be discouraged. It certainly would be injurious to the public welfare, to have our large businesses subject to all sorts of interferences from our forty-eight State legislatures. But these businesses should on the other hand be subject to regulation by our central law-making body, Congress. The clause in the Fourteenth amendment, enjoining State legislatures from depriving corporations of profits, though intended for another purpose, is good by inadvertence. But the clause in the Fifth amendment, forbidding Congress to do the same thing, is, perhaps equally by inadvertence, bad. But there it is as a part of our Constitution, and we cannot modify it by statute, as we might do if it were merely common law.

The first section of the Fourteenth amendment bestows citizenship on Negroes. This is human and just. The next clause enjoins States from abridging the "privilege and immunities of citizens." In the Reconstruction days, it was probably necessary to protect the Negroes' rights as citizens against encroachment by the States; and it was perhaps at that time more expedient to afford this protection by a definite mandate of the Constitution, than by acts of Congress. But, that exigency being passed, it is unfortunate now that this clause forbids us to deal with racial problems in an elastic and progressive manner. It would be more favorable to the Negro development, as well as to the harmonious relations of the two races, if segregation and other like problems were regulated by the States, their action, however, being subject to revision by Congress, but not to the rigid rule of the Fourteenth amendment. This amendment, both as to segregation and in a number of other respects, has been nullified in the South, and will continue to be nullified, notwithstanding Supreme Court decisions. If these racial matters were, however, put into control of Congress, that body would be responsible to pass laws on the subject that are enforceable, and then to see that they are enforced.

The same amendment, in its second section, requires that the congressional representation shall be decreased for any State that denies the right of any of its male inhabitants to vote, unless it be on account of crime or rebellion. And the

Fifteenth declares that the right to vote "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any States on account of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude." It would probably be agreed now by the majority of people, North as well as South, that the Fifteenth amendment is at least premature. The South has been compelled, for the sake of saving its civilization, to evade and practically nullify this amendment. Various methods have been employed—sometimes even fraudulent ones—to accomplish this result; and when a "grandfather clause" or other method to discriminate against the colored citizen as a voter is declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, some new device is sure to be employed in its stead. The South is indeed compelled to nullify this amendment, and the North tacitly gives its consent. And in thus consenting, the North also consents to ignore the companion clause of the Fourteenth, requiring that the Congressional representation be reduced for States that discriminate against the Negro. This, however, is not a dignified position for Congress to take. Nor is it wholesome for States to be compelled to use questionable evasions of the Constitution, and sometimes even fraud or violence, in order to save their civilization.

These amendments or clauses that we have found to be detrimental have, with the exception of the Twelfth, been expressions of social or political or legal doctrines. And they have been detrimental because they commit us to the views of our forefathers, and also because they tie the hands of Congress and our State legislatures. A large amount of legislation has to be reviewed by the courts because of these amendments; and some of it is restricted in its scope, or modified as to its intent and meaning, or pronounced unconstitutional. Thus we have "judge-made law." The fault, however, is not with the judges, but with these amendments. The kind of amendments we need are such as give more power to our State legislatures and to Congress. Such on the other hand as commit the nation to a doctrine and a policy, and diminish the powers of Congress, we do not want.

The prohibition amendment is, on these grounds, one that should be refused a place in our Constitution. If it were adopted, it would commit the nation, from this time onward, to a doctrine and a policy that future generations might

think to be unwise. It would add new complications and give us more "judge-made law." It would convert Congress and the State legislatures, so far as this matter is concerned, into rubber stamps to "enforce this article by appropriate legislation." But we have seen, in the cases of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, the rubber stamp quite fail to work. And there is still more danger in the case of this prohibition amendment, of such a failure, because there are to be two rubber stamps—Congress and the State legislatures—to "enforce this article," instead of one; for this double responsibility provides an easy method of shifting the blame.

To plead thus against the amendment is not to argue against prohibition, but only to protest against this way of bringing it about. This is a matter of policy, and should be dealt with by legislation, rather than by a specific amendment. Furthermore, national prohibition has not yet been tried, and so will be an experiment at first. We should at least then, have prohibition by statute first, before we adopt it by amendment. This is not because statutory prohibition may be easily reversed. There would probably be less danger of reversing it, than there would be of nullifying the amendment. But a statute law may be modified—made more or less drastic as may seem wise, more workable—as time goes on; while an amendment is fixed for all time.

The women's suffrage amendment is of a different nature, and is free of the objections that have been urged against the former measure. But unfortunately it would have to be read, in connection with our Fifteenth amendment, as bestowing the suffrage, without discrimination, on Negro as well as white women of the South. Those States where the Fifteenth amendment is now practically nullified, would certainly nullify the women's suffrage amendment in its relation to the Negro vote. And if we do not mean to prevent those States from nullifying this amendment, it is hypocrisy to adopt it.

If, then, we would secure women's suffrage in an honest way, and without still further complicating our racial problems, we should first of all repeal the Fifteenth amendment, with the similar clause of the Fourteenth. If, while doing this, we at the same time gave Congress ample powers to protect the rights of Negroes and deal generally with the relations of the races, our colored people would be better off than they are

now and with better prospects. That clause of the Fourteenth amendment should also be repealed, which forbids States to abridge the rights of any citizens. And Congress should be given the power to define and enforce the rights of citizens. In this way the rights of colored men would be put under the protection of Congress. And finally, Congress should be given the power to determine "the qualifications requisite for electors." This would put the matter of the Negro within the authority of our national legislature. But it would do more than that. It would enable Congress to establish women's suffrage throughout the nation by statute, instead of having it by a specific amendment.

As to national prohibition, that could be obtained in the same way, and through the same amendment. The new powers to be bestowed upon Congress should include full control or abolition of the liquor business. Thus, without attempting to force our policy upon posterity, we should make Congress able and responsible to enact our present will in this matter.

Meanwhile it should be remembered that, whenever an amendment is proposed to the States, the chances are unfairly in its favor because a rejection may be reversed but a ratification is final. Those accordingly who believe it to be unwise, should oppose it by all honorable means in their power, in season and out of season. And Congress should never pass an amendment merely for the sake of submitting it to the States, but only on the firm conviction that the change will be satisfactory to posterity as well as to us. And State legislatures should never ratify an amendment until they have been clearly informed, by the votes of the people, that it is endorsed by the popular sentiment. The dice are loaded; we should take care when and how we play with them.

RELATED THINGS

Across the Barriers

The creation of an international free press would doubtless help powerfully toward mutual understanding and real disarmament. I hope that **THE PUBLIC** will be the first exponent of that truth, and will demonstrate it as the ancient philosopher demonstrated motion: by marching for-

wards. It must not be forgotten, however, that, to carry out the conception, two things are indispensable: 1st, the unity of language; this offers no great difficulty as in our days many people, in every country, can write English sufficiently well to make themselves understood; 2nd, a continuous flow of conceptions and views in connection with our ideals; for it is quite useless to speak, even internationally, when there is nothing to be said.

In spite of its sorry look, this last remark is not a truism; it is a much needed observation. A small incident led me, not long ago, to realize its necessity. I was going home at night, in the semi-darkness which wraps Paris now, when I descried a little hunchback who, with a piece of charcoal, was writing on the wall of a public building: *Ils ont préférés la guerre à l'Esperanto.* ("They have preferred war to Esperanto.") So busy was he that he had not heard me, and was surprised when I accosted him.

"What are you writing there?" I asked him.

"The truth!" said he boldly. "What I think, what is my innermost conviction."

He stood there, not very high but unflinching, the piece of charcoal in his hand, visibly awaiting the crown of martyrdom.

"And do you really think," I asked him, "that the use of Esperanto would have prevented the war?"

Yes; he thought so; nay, he was sure of it. His heart told him so. Nothing like Esperanto to prevent wars. As soon as nations can speak to each other, they will realize the folly of carnage.

"But," said I, "we French are talking to each other a great deal; sometimes, perhaps, too much; we understand perfectly well what we say; and as a direct consequence of that free and plentiful intercourse, we have so far spent half our time in civil wars; and better not to look at tomorrow."

He agreed. But the cause of that was . . . was. . . He could not find what it was.

"The cause," I told him, "is that, with all our talk, we have said nothing, or said too little, or said badly, what we ought to have said completely and quite well. A language is a vehicle; it must carry something. When an idea has been completed in its accuracy, all the tongues of the world will give it wings. Is it not so in mathematics? And why should it not be so in morals, in sociology, in politics?"

"I see it now," sighed he. "I see it so clearly; nothing definite has ever been uttered as to these matters. What a pity! We are all so full of good intentions! Poor Esperanto!" He dropped his piece of charcoal. "I believed so strongly in Esperanto!"

Yes, good intentions and strong beliefs—and words, words, words. With a very few exceptions, such has been our stock-in-trade till now.

But we are entering upon a new phase of the universe. An opportunity is offered to us which will not present itself again. Let us make a great effort. Have a look all over the world; hardly a scrap of wisdom, hardly a shred of comprehension. And the faint light is not sufficient; we must open the gates of to-morrow to the sun of Reason.

Intentions must go, and realizations stand in their place; beliefs must disappear, and Knowledge must rise; opinion must become the masterpiece of every man's mind; and that individual mind, under the rays of Truth—compelling through her mere evidence—will offer the magnificent spectacle of Liberty in the midst of Order.

GEORGES DARIEN.

Paris, November 16, 1917.

CORRESPONDENCE

Alsace-Lorraine

To the Editor of *THE PUBLIC*:

Mr. Schroeder's argument, that it would be a piece of slave-raiding to take Alsace-Lorraine and give it to France without inquiring into the wishes of the living Alsace-Lorrainers by a local test vote, is good. I have been arguing for the same point, that all annexations and retentions ought to be decided by a local plebiscite wherever possible. I argue on the ground that war has actually gone out of fashion and is no longer practised on earth except for one single purpose, to determine the jurisdiction over a territory which two powers want; and that if by a sufficiently conspicuous precedent we make it a part of international law that jurisdiction shall not follow from victory in war but shall be determined by local plebiscite regardless of victory, then war will cease because its only surviving motive will be taken away. Also, that nothing else, no League to Enforce Peace nor anything of that sort, will end war unless there is provided some way for setting things right when it is found that the government whose title is good in international law is one whose rule is intolerable to the population. Mr. Schroeder's argument on the same side is also good; and yet—

And yet, if part of the people want to go with France and part want to go with Germany, how does it make such a difference in essential righteousness which part is enslaved? Many people seem doubtful which way the vote would go; there is therefore a chance that it may be close. Suppose the vote is five to four, which is not thought so very close: then if you act on the vote you are enslaving the four to the five, while if you act contrary to the vote you are enslaving the five to the four. It is only a difference of twenty-five per cent in the number that are to be enslaved; the one settlement is at least four-fifths as bad as the other. That is not what you can call an issue of eternal righteousness.

The fact is that in the existing social order the merit of the ballot is not that its decisions are justice, nor that they are so very much nearer to justice than different ones might be, but that it is a safety-valve; it serves as a substitute for fighting. That is what I want to make more use of it for, to end war. To get justice and liberty you need to allow individual choice; if John Doe wants to have German allegiance and Richard Roe wants to have French allegiance, let each have his way, even though the Doe party and the Roe party live so intermingled in the village that a burglar breaking into a stranger's house cannot know, unless he has inquired beforehand, whether it is a French policeman or a German policeman that he has to be afraid of.

The world is not ready for that, certainly. The principal reason is, because the world is not ready to think of it. Like several other reforms, it will be found surprisingly practicable whenever people decide to go at it and try how to work it. Meanwhile we had better make the best of the social order we have; and the best is to leave everything as fully as possible to the majority vote of the people most directly concerned. That is not liberation of the world, but it is the next step toward liberation, and it will insure the melting down of all seventy-six-mile cannon into railroad material.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Ballard Vale, Mass.

The Price of Cotton

To the Editor of *THE PUBLIC*:

Cotton goods have advanced to such prices that it is well worth considering seriously the reasons causing these prices and the limit to which they may go.

Standard qualities are now from 400 to 500 per cent higher than they were in 1914, yet the price of raw cotton is only 150 per cent higher.

The visible supply of raw cotton is very little below normal, and it is generally conceded that as much or approximately as much acreage will be planted in cotton as usual with the difficulties of exporting continuing to increase.

It is generally conceded that the cost of raising cotton has advanced proportionately to the cost of manufacture. The reason for the apparent disparity between the advance in raw and the advance in the finished product is not hard to find,

There is more than enough raw cotton to supply the demand and there is not enough of the manufactured goods. Extraordinary Government requirements have created a relative famine in goods available to the public; and jobbers, retailers, and speculators are in a wild scramble for all that the Government leaves.

The speculation in cotton goods is a crime and must be stopped. This should be the first remedy applied. The margin of profit to the spinner must next be regulated. This is not so easy a matter, as there are many sound reasons for allowing the spinner extraordinary margins. His risks are many, and there is a certainty that readjustment of industrial conditions after the war will cause more actual loss to the manufacturer than to any other branch of trade. The mills must protect themselves against this eventuality. Many mills have voluntarily, and for purely patriotic reasons, and at great expense, readjusted their machinery to suit Government work. Many others have been forced by the Government to make these changes. However, there is no reason why the Government should not fix the difference between the price of middling cotton in the South and the prices they pay for their standard requirements. There are many reasons why no fixed price should be established for either raw cotton or cotton goods.

Should the price be fixed now it would have to be based on present conditions and would of necessity be high. Should the crop about to be planted turn out a normal one, there would be an oversupply of raw cotton and a probable decline in its value of perhaps 10 cents to 15 cents per pound. This would make the difference between the raw and manufactured product (now much wider than it should be), just that much wider, and condemn the whole system.

Both planters and manufacturers have grown rich at present prices and at the expense of the Government, and of the people. It is only fair to state that this profit has been thrust upon them and they are willing to give, and are giving it back to the Government in one form or another.

A normal crop of cotton can be raised under present war conditions for less than 15 cents per pound. The present price of middling cotton is 33 cents per pound. You cannot fairly fix the price of raw cotton, for we cannot know what the supply will be. Its normal production has, however, not yet been seriously curtailed. We must fix the relative price of the manufactured product, for its production has been seriously affected.

C. W. B.

The Average Business Man

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I have read an article entitled "The Average Business Man" appearing in the March 16th issue of your publication, and want to endorse the analysis made therein of our Commercial Clubs and Chambers of Commerce.

In the State of Indiana, particularly in our larger cities, the Commercial Clubs and business men's or-

ganizations have been taken over by Public Utility interests and their subservient allies, the politicians. This has happened in recent years. Prior to eight years ago these organizations required little supervision and attention on the part of the politicians, but when the Citizens' League of Indiana (a non-partisan organization) organized these Clubs in a movement for "better city government," which was to be accomplished through a New State Constitution providing for "Home Rule for Cities," the "Interests" got busy, and within a period of two years the activities of practically every commercial organization were sewed up tight. As a leader in The Citizens' League movement I was in constant communication and contact with these organizations, and I watched them drop out one by one. Today, in Indiana, the Board of Directors of every Commercial Club is made up of local representatives of privately owned street car, electric light, gas and water companies, railroad attorneys, leading politicians, political office holders and a few, a *very few*, business men whose business welfare lies with the above mentioned "Interests."

This same condition applies to the new development in Club life, as represented by such organizations as Rotary Clubs, Quest Clubs, University Clubs, One-Hundred-Percent Clubs and Retail Merchants Associations, which are to be found in every city.

Articles of Association for Commercial Clubs usually include the following: "To advance the growth, beautification and material welfare of the community." In practice, these articles are now amended to read "To advance the growth, beautification and material welfare of the *Public Utilities*."

Business men "jolly" themselves with the thought that their town is a live one if judged by the activity of their various clubs and organizations, but fail to realize that the only live ones in these organizations and the only ones who are *doing anything* are those who have been delegated to represent the Public Utility interests; they do the steering.

My experience in political reform work has taught me that business men, as a whole, are the most easily "bamboozled," and generally speaking the most uninformed on affairs connected with the political and economic functions of their government. Leaders of organized labor as a rule are statesmen compared with them.

THEO. T. THIEME.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

BOOKS

The Larger View

Philosophy and the Social Problem. By Will Durant, Ph.D. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.50.

A rare treat lies in store for the thoughtful reader who is privileged to meet with this book, especially if he be possessed at once of the philosophic temper, the white passion for social reform, and the sensitiveness to good literature. It contains little of merely ornamental writing. It is terse, epigrammatic and forceful. It is pervaded by a feeling of earnest for-

ward-reaching purpose, and yet conveys much instructive information as to the growth and development of philosophic thought in the past, particularly in its relation to social life. It would be difficult indeed to over-praise this book, as it seems to reach the high-water mark in the art of literary expression, that of providing out of the language that is used by common men, graceful form and clothing for the truths that have unveiled themselves in the author's mind.

What must we do to be saved? This despairing cry has, for countless generations gone up from the nations of the earth, rising in a shrill crescendo to the point at which it was drowned out by the roar of cannon, the cries of the dying and wounded, and the mourning lamentations of the bereaved. "The Social Problem," which means at bottom the sphinx's riddle of the persistence of poverty amidst increasing wealth—has vexed the souls of the righteous in every country of the world, whether protectionist, free-trade, monarchical, republican, autocratic or democratic. Endless solutions have been offered, but still the problem remains to meet us and vex us again when we are once more free to follow the arts of peace. The final solution, Dr. Durant seems to suggest, will only be found when philosophy, which means the study of experience as a whole, is brought into that vital relation with sociology which constitutes its only real *raison d'être*, and when all the light that may flow from the total, organized, synthesized wisdom of humanity is brought to bear upon the health of the social organism. The opening paragraph strikes a significant note in the words, "History is a process of re-barbarization," and lays bare the obvious truth that former civilizations became rich and corrupt, cultured and weak, refined and rotten, and thus invited the barbarian invasions that brought them new life and vigor. Re-barbarization has hitherto been the only way to rejuvenation. The problem that now faces us, Dr. Durant says, is how to rejuvenate a civilization without re-barbarization.

But another question or series of questions have troubled the pragmatic mind of the plain man since plain men began to think, and may be expressed thus: "What has been the actual life-value of philosophy to society during past ages? Has it served only to titillate the intellectual palates of idle men, or to provide spiritual confectionery for those who had succeeded in escaping their due share of the labor by which human life is carried on? If so, what ground have we for believing that philosophy has a message of deliverance for us now, or that it is competent to solve the problem that has baffled us so long?" Dr. Durant's reply to this begins by conceding the point to the objector, and admitting that philosophy has suffered just because of its divorce from life, and needs rejuvenating by being again related to the social problem, in which like the electric current, it may find its earth-circuit return. When Philosophy joins hands with the constructive effort that more or less blindly seeks to re-mould our institutions nearer to our heart's desire, we may hope that "even within our own lifetime may come at last the forging of an effective *natural ethic*; an achievement which might be

the most momentous event in the history of the world." Such, severely epitomized, seems to be the line of thought that chiefly inspires this notable book.

The criticism that will most readily occur to the average reader will be to say that the solution of the social problem is the natural work of science—economics, eugenics, physics, chemistry, statistics, etc., rather than philosophy. Dr. Durant anticipates this by pointing out that the study of science always tends to specialization, and that the specialist rapidly becomes myopic and unfitted for taking those comprehensive and stereoscopic views of things by which social problems can be understood in all their relations. "The man who sets out to know everything about one thing will soon know nothing about anything else. Efficiency will have swallowed up the man." Dr. Durant's idea seems to be, that Philosophy when it comes to itself and fully realizes its part in the order of things, will focus the scattered rays that come from all the sciences and blend them in the white light of Wisdom—the concentrated result of the experience of the race. Another consideration to which the author does not refer is that the sciences are not all at the same stage of advancement, and for this discrepancy the philosopher is best fitted to make due allowance. Since Bacon revealed the true basis of correct reasoning, most of the sciences have adopted the inductive method, only theology and political economy having lagged behind. Theology, however, is fast reconstituting itself under its new name of "religious psychology," and political economy rechristened as the "science of economics," is abandoning its old unsupported theories and taking to the study of facts with a view to making new generalizations from which accurate deductions may be drawn. Under these rapidly changing conditions we may discover a new use for philosophy. In the words of the author, "If philosophy has any meaning, it must be as life becomes aware of its purposes and possibilities; it must be as life cross-examining life for the sake of life; it must be as specialized foresight for the direction of social movement; as reconstructive intelligence in conscious evolution."

In the penultimate chapter we have the outline of a scheme for the organization of intelligence by the erection of a House of Intellectual Peers to be called "the society for social research." The members are to be chosen from among professors, physicians, inventors, and even politicians; keeping carefully clear of those "afflicted with academitis, overfondness for theories, or other occupational diseases." "An inspired millionaire" is also suggested as a convenient financial prop to the association. The object of the society will be to seek information, to collect and collate facts and to lay them before the public. For this purpose a contract will be made in advance with a few leading papers in each city for an entire page on the first day of each month, where the results of the previous four weeks' work will be advertised. "Such a society," our author says, "will be a sort of social consciousness, a mind of the race. It would make social planning possible for the first time; it would make history

conscious." It is impossible in a few words to make such a proposal seem as reasonable as Dr. Durant succeeds in doing, but it is not to be supposed that he is unconscious of the difficulties and objections to be met with. In the final chapter, entitled "The Reader Speaks," these possible objections are set forth in their strongest form as though from the lips of the reader, and are duly replied to by the author.

A few more words are required in grateful recognition of the lucid digest given in the earlier chapters, of the teaching of Socrates with his passion for wisdom; the idealism of Plato, haunted by the vision of Beauty and Harmony; the inexhaustible Baconianism of Bacon; the altruism and mysticism of the God-intoxicated Spinoza; and the tumultuous thinking of the mentally afflicted Nietzsche. For these alone the book would be valuable, and their value is enhanced in their being made the bases of an argument from which there stands out a great hope for the future of the world.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

to guess that the appointment of a French Commander-in-Chief does not hurt his feelings.

He has evidently tried to be fair to everybody concerned; he has kind words for some of the Sinn Fein leaders, whose revolt he deplors, and language not entirely complimentary for Irishmen as prominent as Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Moore and Charles Stewart Parnell. His style is bright and lively and his book should hold the attention even of readers who may begin it with no sympathy at all for Ireland and little patience for any present consideration of her problems. His views as to certain British blunders may in time come to be accepted by most Englishmen as quite correct, unwise as it may be to open discussions with our British allies on such questions just now. After the war it may be different. When the German peril is past candor may be safer than it is at present. If we do happen to hurt each other's feelings we may hope, at least, that the recollection of the Great War will keep us from coming to blows.

WILLIAM E. MCKENNA.

Ireland and America

The Irish Issue in Its American Aspect. By Shane Leslie. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917. Price \$1.25.

The author describes this book as "a contribution to the settlement of Anglo-American relations during and after the great war." It is certainly desirable that Anglo-American relations during the war—whatever may be the case later on—should be such as to insure cordial cooperation against Germany. Anything that hampers England injures America, and it is the belief that Irish agitation, whatever its justification, does hamper England and deprives it of American sympathy which it might enlist under other circumstances. Even if it is true, as Mr. Leslie says, that the "rightful solution of the Irish problem is as vital to England today as it is to Ireland," American efforts are less likely to aid in bringing about such a solution just now than they are to cause resentment in England and give aid and comfort to Germany. In plain words, while we are at war with Germany and allied with England we will do well to mind our own business, which does not include the solution of Irish problems. This probably is the prevailing American view, and there is reason to believe that it is the view of most American citizens of Irish birth and ancestry. To subordinate American to Irish interests or to jeopardize American interests by attempting to serve Irish interests seems to them plainly wrong.

To say this, however, is not to dismiss Mr. Leslie's book as unworthy of attention. No one who reads it will suspect him of any wish to give aid or comfort to Germany. He has evidently been pro-Ally since the beginning of the war. Even as between England and Germany he prefers, to use his own language, a British army of occupation to a German army of invasion. There can be no doubt that he is for America first. He will probably not be displeased if one ventures to say that he has a soft spot in his heart for France and

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending April 2

Congressional Doings

The House on the 26th passed a bill granting permanent increases of from 10 to 20 per cent in the salaries of virtually all postal employes, providing for postal savings stamps, appropriating \$300,000 for experiments in motor truck service, and setting 24 cents an ounce as the maximum rate for delivery of mail by airplane. The Liberty Loan bond bill passed the House by unanimous vote on the 30th. During consideration of the bill the general plan of raising great sums by bond issues without increasing taxation was attacked by Representatives Keating of Colorado, Huddleston of Alabama, Democrats, and Green, of Iowa, Republican. Majority Leader Kitchen said in reply that he believed taxes should be increased 25 per cent, and probably would be, but possibly not at this session of Congress. The bill as passed gives authority to Secretary McAdoo to issue \$8,000,000,000 in certificates of indebtedness, to issue \$4,500,000,000 more Liberty bonds, in addition to the \$3,666,000,000 now authorized, but unissued, fixes the rate on the third bond issue at 4¼ per cent, and authorizes the loan of an additional \$1,500,000,000 to the Allies. The Senate adopted on the 1st the conference report on the Administration bill establishing a War Finance Corporation with \$500,000,000 capital and power to issue \$3,000,000,000 of bonds to assist war industries. The amount of bonds named is a compromise between the four billion asked by the Administration and the two billion fixed by the House. The Senate also passed a bill authorizing the condemnation of land needed for war purposes and empowering the President to commandeer street railroads and inter-urban roads to shipyards engaged in Government work. A resolution was passed by the Senate calling upon the War Department to give the number of staff officers stationed in the District of Columbia. This is in re-

sponse to the criticism that a large number of officers and young men of draft age are engaged in non-combatant work in Washington.

Labor and Mediation

A comprehensive program has been agreed upon and submitted to Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson by the six representatives of capital and six representatives of labor, with former President Taft and Frank P. Walsh representing the public. The report recommends the creation of a National War Labor Board of ten members, before which disputes between employers and workers are to be brought. If a settlement cannot be made voluntarily, an umpire is to be appointed, whose word is final. After laying down rules for the guidance of the Board, the report notes agreement upon the following points: That there shall be no strikes or lockouts during the war; that the right of the workers to organize in trade unions and bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized; that the right of employers to organize in associations of groups to bargain collectively is recognized; that employers shall not discharge workers for membership in trade unions; that workers in the exercise of their right to organize shall not use coercive measures of any kind. Present conditions are recognized as follows: In establishments where the union shop exists it shall continue, and union standards as to wages, hours, and other conditions of employment shall be maintained. In establishments part union and part non-union the condition shall be recognized by both sides. The report closes with these two statements: 1, The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared. 2, In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

* *

Striking features of the report are the supplemental statements of Ex-President Taft and Mr. Walsh. Mr. Taft, as the public representative chosen by the employers, expressed the highest gratification over the agreement between the representatives of the employers and of the workers. "Personally," he said, "it was one of the pleasant experiences of my life. It brought me into contact with leaders of industry and leaders of labor, and my experience gives me a very high respect for both. I am personally indebted to all of the board, but especially to Mr. Walsh." Mr. Walsh said: "The plan submitted represents the best thought of capital and labor as to what the policy of our Government with respect to industrial relations during the war ought to be. Representing capital were five of the largest employers in the nation, but one of whom had ever dealt with trade unions, advised and counseled by ex-President Taft, one of the world's proved great administrators, and of the very highest American type of manhood. The representatives of the unions upon the board were the national officers of unions engaged in war production and numbering in their ranks considerably over 1,000,000 men and women."

Labor Delegates to Go Abroad

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, of which Samuel Gompers is president, announced as the delegates of organized labor to go to France and England to make clear to the workers in those countries the attitude toward the war, of labor in this country, the following names: James Wilson, president of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, is to be chairman of the labor delegation, and John Frey, of the International Moulders' Union, secretary. The other members of the party are William Short, president of the Washington Federation of Labor; Miss Melinda Scott, of the Straw Hat Trimmers' and Operators' Union; Miss Agnes Nestor, president of the Glove Workers' Union; William H. Johnstone, international president of the Machinists' Union; George L. Berry, president of the International Pressmen's and Assistants' Union; Martin F. Ryan, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, and Chester M. Wright, of the International Typographical Union.

Food Control

Under the Food Administration's control of licensed mills and distributors the Government will hereafter take approximately 50 per cent instead of 30 per cent of the output. Retailers who fail to deal squarely or exact extortionate prices will be cut off from further supplies. At a special meeting in Washington 500 leading hotel men from all parts of the country pledged themselves to abolish absolutely the use of wheat products until the next harvest. The Food Administration now employs about 3,000 volunteers and approximately 2,340 paid officials.

Packing Companies' Employees Win

Judge Samuel Alschuler, arbitrator in the case of the workers against the Chicago Packing Companies, rendered on the 30th, a decision granting the eight-hour day, double time for Sunday work, time and a quarter for the first two hours on week days, and time and a half for succeeding hours; twenty minutes for lunch where plants are operated by three eight-hour shifts; wages for hourly wage workers to be increased from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour, piece workers to receive proportionate increase, and all cases to be adjusted so the wage will not be less for eight hours than it formerly was for ten hours; wages to be the same for men and women doing the same class of work; no change in the guaranteed time in effect Nov. 30, 1917, except that Swift & Company are required to make their guarantee forty hours, the same as the other plants. The arbitrator also handed down a form of working agreement that provides for hearing of grievances, either through the employes personally or by representatives selected by them. Employes may not be discharged for trade union membership or activities not carried on at the plants. The principle of seniority is established for all employes below the grade of foreman. The companies are to furnish proper lunchrooms, wash rooms and dressing rooms, and employes are not required to join company sick and death benefit associations. The workers won all their points except the full wage

increase, which is less than they had claimed. Leaders of both sides expressed satisfaction with the award. [See current volume, page 411.]

Railroad Management

Members of the Railroad Administration's Board of Adjustment, who will pass on disputes over rules of contracts and employment conditions arising between railroad managements and the four leading railway brotherhoods, were announced on the 1st. Each side will have four representatives on the board. The members are: E. T. Whiter, assistant general manager of the Pennsylvania Lines, West; John G. Walber, secretary of the Bureau of Information of Eastern Railways; J. W. Higgins, executive secretary of the Association of Western Railways; Dr. C. P. Neill, manager of the Information Bureau of Southeastern Railways; L. E. Sheppard, vice president of the Conductors' Brotherhood; F. A. Burgess, assistant chief of the engineers; Albert Phillips, vice president of the firemen; W. N. Doak, vice president of the trainmen.

President Wilson issued on the 1st, a proclamation vesting in the Director General of Railroads, W. G. McAdoo, authority under the new railroad legislation, to arrive at agreements concerning compensation to be paid to carriers during Government control, and to carry out other negotiations, the decisions and agreements made to be subject to review by the President.

American Shipping

Chairman Hurley of the United States Shipping Board, in a statement regarding American shipping, said: "The total amount of our steel construction on March 1 was 8,205,708 deadweight tons. This was made up of 5,160,300 deadweight tons under contract with the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and 3,045,408 deadweight tons of requisition vessels. Of this total steel construction, 2,121,568 deadweight tons, or approximately 28 per cent, has been completed." A vessel of 8,800 tons was launched in sixty-four days. Three 9,400-ton vessels were launched in one afternoon. Thirty-six ships were launched in March, having a tonnage of 232,786. Eighteen vessels were completed and delivered during the month. A new corporation known as the Atlantic & Pacific Shipbuilding Company is undertaking to build on the Pacific Coast 150 wooden ships of 3,000 tons to be equipped with Diesel engines and sails. The Emergency Fleet Corporation on the 30th awarded an additional contract to the American International Corporation for 60 vessels of 7,500 tons each.

Russia

The Bolshevik Government appears to be assuming more permanent and rational form. Members are manifesting a friendlier attitude toward America and the Allies. The Russian forces and Ukrainians have recaptured Odessa, and are making a show of resistance to the Germans who are still advancing in Ukraine. The Cossack leader Bogaevesky has surrendered to the Bolsheviks, and advises his followers to give up guerilla warfare, which, he says, results only in loss of life and terror to the peaceful population. The two men sent to investigate the report that German and

Austrian war prisoners in Siberia were armed and ready to seize the railroad, Captain William Webster of the American Red Cross and Captain W. L. Hicks, a British officer, report that from the Ural Mountains to Chita they saw nothing to justify such rumors. They met Major Walter Drysdale, American Military Attaché at Peking, who had inspected the prisoners from Vladivostok to Chita. He had found only a small number of armed prisoners. It is announced from Moscow that the Allies are cooperating with the Russians to protect the Kola and Mourmansk coast to keep the way open to Archangel. They are also aiding in protecting the railroad which is threatened by the Finnish and German forces. Large stores from the Allied Governments and the United States are reported to be at Archangel. Dissatisfaction of the Russians and Ukrainians over the German peace terms is increasing. German officials demand 85 per cent of Ukraine's grain. Demands are also made of bankers for German loans. The harshness of the conquerors is said to be causing revolts among the populace. Minister of War Trotsky has issued an appeal calling upon the people to cooperate in the organization of an army to defend the revolution. The Council of Commissioners has asked the United States to permit John F. Stevens, head of the American Railway Commission, to come to Russia immediately to assist in the reorganization of the Russian railways. [See current volume, page 412.]

European War

The German offensive on the West Front continued to gain ground until the 31st, when it had practically come to a stand, and the Allies had begun to make small gains by counter-attacks. The close of the first stage of the battle found the Allied line—which had extended southeasterly from the Scarpe River, near Arras, to a point northeast of Soissons—bent back to a point slightly west of Montdidier, making a triangle about forty miles deep on its base and fifty-five miles on its western side. But though much territory was given up by the Allies, the line remains unbroken at any point, and the war critics express confidence that it will hold. The Germans are reported to be bringing up heavy guns and reinforcements for the purpose of renewing the battle. The Allies are said to be marshaling their reserves for a counter blow. Practically no official details of the battle have been issued as to the number of men engaged or the extent of the casualties. The Germans claimed on the 1st that they had taken 75,000 prisoners and 1,100 guns. The German forces engaged are estimated from three-quarters of a million to a million and a quarter, and the casualties from 250,000 to 300,000. The losses of the Allies are not given. American troops have been placed at the disposal of the Allied command, and are advancing to take part in the battle. Elsewhere on the Western Front there has been cannonading and raiding, but nothing approaching a battle. In Finland the Germans are pushing forward in cooperation with the "White" troops to drive out the Russian or "Red" Guard. The German Government is protesting to the Russian Government that it is not fulfilling its treaty obligations. In southern Russia the Germans continue

their advance eastward. Poltava has been taken, and they are approaching Kursk, a city of 83,000 population, 280 miles southwest of Moscow. Turkish forces are reported to be approaching Sebastopol from the east. The British forces in Mesopotamia defeated the Turks at Hit, on the Euphrates River, northeast of Bagdad, taking 5,000 prisoners, and advancing eighty-three miles up the valley. In Palestine they have cut the Hedjaz Railway east of the Jordan, which imperils the Turkish forces in the region of the Dead Sea. [See current volume, page 412.]

* *

General Ferdinand Foch, Chief of the French General Staff, and the French military member of the Inter-Ally Supreme War Council at Versailles, has been made Generalissimo of all the Allied forces in the western theater of war. This places him in general command of the British forces under General Haig, the French forces under General Petain, and the American forces under General Pershing. The American forces now available are said to be over 100,000, and are rapidly increasing.

* *

A shell from the long range gun that has been bombarding Paris hit a church in that vicinity, killing fifty-four women and wounding thirty-seven who were at service. Stray shots have killed and injured a few persons in different parts of the city. It is reported that Pope Benedict has protested to the Berlin Government against the bombardment of Paris, and especially against the destruction of churches and the wholesale massacre of people.

* *

American casualties from the beginning of the war to April 1, as reported by the War Department, are: Killed in action, 233; killed by accident, 163; died of disease, 789; lost at sea, 257; died of other causes, 45; total deaths, 1,487; wounded, 817; captured, 22; missing, 58; total casualties, 2,384. Total casualties for week, 224.

NOTES

—The Federal Prohibition Amendment was ratified on the 26th by the Massachusetts House by a vote of 145 to 91. The resolution now goes to the Senate.

—Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the explorer, who has been in the Arctic since 1913, plans to come back next fall, and return to the Polar region with a new expedition in 1920.

—Anti-conscription riots in Quebec led to the calling out of the troops, and a clash in the streets, in which four civilians were killed, and a number of civilians and soldiers wounded. One hundred men charged with rioting were arrested.

—One hundred and twelve leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World, charged under the Espionage act with plotting to destroy industries and otherwise hamper the war, were put on trial in Chicago on the 1st. They pleaded not guilty.

—Tammany Hall has so amended its rules and

regulations that men and women are to be equal in numbers and power on the executive board of the New York County organization. Provision is made for the election of women to the board from every Assembly district of the city.

—The Greek Budget Committee has voted against the grant of a pension of 500,000 drachma (\$97,500) annually to former King Constantine. Although such a pension had been promised by the Allies, it is considered as forfeited by his intrigues in Switzerland, conducted with German gold.

—President Wilson telegraphed Governor Stephens of California, asking executive clemency for Thomas J. Mooney, now under death sentence for connection with a bomb explosion in San Francisco in a preparedness parade on July 22, 1916, which caused the death of ten persons and injured forty others.

—Railway earnings for January show a loss under Government operation of \$2,227,000, as compared with positive earnings of \$67,000,000 in January, 1917. The loss is attributed by railway men to the unprecedented bad weather this year. Western and Southern roads reported small profits; only the Eastern lines showed losses.

—Six thousand brewers, saloon keepers, restaurant keepers, tailors, bakers, junk dealers, and others for whom a license from the city is required, will lose their right to do business in Chicago after May 1 when the new ordinance passed by the City Council refusing licenses to all persons not citizens of the United States goes into effect.

—John G. Oglesby, acting governor of Illinois, has named April 6, 1918, the anniversary of the entrance of the United States into the war, as Liberty Day, to be observed by the people of the State by the display of flags and appropriate exercises in the schools, "to the end that the lesson of Liberty may be more deeply instilled in the minds of our children."

—The New York City Woman Suffrage party has revoked the rule of non-partisanship that has prevented its members and officials up to the present time from engaging in political activities as Democrats or as Republicans. The Suffrage party itself will remain a non-partisan organization, but its members are now free to join other political parties.

—The new provisional Government of Portugal announced on the 29th the liberation of all political prisoners, restoration to all suspended newspapers of the right of publication, and the reopening of all political clubs. Announcement was also made of the conditions governing the election of a President of the republic, seventy-seven Senators, and 155 Deputies.

—When Thomas Mott Osborne, prison reformer, entered the naval service last August as custodian of the Portsmouth prison there were 300 inmates; now there are nearly 2,000. He is building by prisoners' labor a new prison without barred windows or enclosing walls. Under the old system 40 guards cared for 170 men; now 4 guards have charge of 1,400. There have been 283 young men restored to the navy who are making good.

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**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT,
CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT
OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,**

of The Public, published weekly, at New York, N. Y., for
Apr. 1, 1918.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.
Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and
county aforesaid, personally appeared Stanley Bowmar, who,
having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says
that he is the business manager of The Public, and that the
following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true
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The ROLL of WORKERS

WOMEN TO THE FRONT!

By JANET L. BROWNLEE

Assistant to the Dean of Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Everyone listed below sent in, in February and March, one or more new subscriptions to The Public or has co-operated in other ways.

THE PUBLIC is doing a wise thing in trying to put 5,000 Liberal Women Who Read on its subscription list, and it is making the effort at the right time. The Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage and the Federal Amendment for Prohibition are in sight, but there are many economic measures, national and international, that must be better understood before we can know what fundamental democracy is. These economic questions and all questions of current interest are discussed fairly and intelligently in THE PUBLIC. I hope for the good of our country in these troublous times that the campaign may result in the addition of far more than 5,000 new names to the list of your subscribers.

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