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A Journal of Democracy

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**The New Minnesota Despotism**

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New York, N. Y.

**April 13, 1918**

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# The Public

A Journal of Democracy

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The incident created by the statement of Count Czernin that France had made various approaches to the Austro-Hungarian government for the purpose of opening peace parleys, met by the retort of Premier Clemenceau that "the Count lies," modified later by "a diluted lie is still a lie," is important merely because of the feeling of all the Allied peoples toward this mode of procedure. It is merely one of the expiring acts of the old diplomacy. A statesman may well be in terror of the accusation that he has thought by underground methods to commit his people to any proposal. The incident is not even capable of creating a moment's distrust among the Allies of France. To make peace and to settle the terms of peace is no longer the function of any government acting in ways kept secret from the people.

\* \* \*

At no period in the whole course of the war has its issue come to clearer consciousness than at this moment, when the eyes of mankind are

fixed on the battle-line in France. It was the merit of President Wilson's Baltimore speech that it stated this universal consciousness in a way so simple and conclusive that there can never be, during the remainder of the war, any confusion of thought or intention. No one can imagine any intermediate stage between German triumph and German defeat. The military machine must be broken and discredited before the world can have a chance to live. It is no longer possible for German military strength to be supplemented by political propaganda. When a question of German intention arises, the only need is to turn the eyes to Russia. If that famous Reichstag resolution of July 19 is brought forward, we have now from the *Berlin Gazette* a full explanation, since it tells us that the resolution has achieved its end by influence abroad and at home, and has had such influence in Russia that every one there was ready for peace. "But it is not an unchangeable program or offer by which the Reichstag has bound itself in regard to the enemy."

\* \* \*

It is none the less probable that the Czernin speech is the prelude to a general peace offensive, and the card that will be played will be the great moderation of the terms proposed. Let us hope that President Wilson's statement of the issue has made it clear that there can be no terms of any kind antecedent to the defeat of the German military machine. If it has fallen to America to re-emphasize unity of aim, it is also falling to her to exemplify unity of action. That American troops are to be embodied in the French and British organizations is the final proof of our readiness to co-operate. And at last the Germans are becoming conscious of the value of that co-operation. Captain Persius is quoted as saying:

We were at first a good deal persuaded to underestimate the participation of America in the war. We begin now to note a change of opinion. It is beyond doubt that it would be well to curb at the present time the more or less fantastic vagaries of persons discussing the submarine war. We cannot for the moment estimate when the United States will have ready the millions of men which her population will permit her to raise, but it is certain that America will in the very near future succeed in amassing armies which in any case will constitute a very valuable aid for our enemies.

\* \* \*

There is no reason as yet to be disturbed by the announcement of joint Japanese and British intervention in Vladivostok. The action has been defined as purely local, with the intention merely to protect life and property. The larger question remains open for further consideration. It is, however, an occasion for a real effort to secure the confidence of the Russian people by adequate explanation and a frank declaration of intentions. America could play a useful part by securing guarantees from her Allies and giving reassurance to the Russian people.

\* \* \*

Prompt and enthusiastic response to the Government's appeal for subscriptions for the Third Liberty Loan will be increased by the statement made public this week by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, in which he declares for a policy of supplementing the loans by increased taxation. His support of this policy probably assures favorable action by Congress. Said Mr. McAdoo: "We are going constantly to have to appeal to the country for money to carry forward the war. There are two ways of raising money: One is taxation, and the other is bond issues. I believe that a fair equipoise between taxation and bond issues is the fair way of financing this war. I can say frankly that I don't think we have that equipoise now; I don't think we have applied taxation strongly enough. I think that the thinking men of America will realize later that a larger measure of taxation is not only necessary to finance this war, but it is the soundest thing that we can do for ourselves. We are not going to effect the essential economies, we are not going to prevent the waste which I think is one of the most crowning examples of America's prodigality, unless taxation is applied more heavily. When you apply taxation heavily, people must economize, and it has a wholesome effect upon the body politic

in a time like this when prices are mounting and when the great difficulty is to keep things within reasonable bounds. Now, I don't want you to draw wrong inferences from what I say about taxation, because I don't make the tax bills; I merely can make suggestions." This is the sort of talk the American people want to hear, and they will respond to it by giving Mr. McAdoo full and enthusiastic support.

\* \* \*

Aid in opposing universal military training and service came from an unexpected quarter of the Senate during the debate on the New amendment for training all boys between 19 and 21. Senator John Sharp Williams proved himself, in that respect at least, an understanding democrat. "A nation which lives in peace times under universal military compulsory service is a nation of slaves to exactly that extent," he is reported to have said in an account of the debate appearing in the *New York Evening Post*, which continues: "Senator Williams said there were two roads to peace: One, to let Germany have her way, and the other, to whip the Teutonic junkerbund, to whip the military caste, and the House of Hohenzollern, if possible, and then to say to the entire world, 'The world is not only safe for democracy, but it is safe for liberty.' He expressed the opinion that to decide upon such a momentous policy before a decision is reached in the war would result in placing the United States on a par 'with Prussians, Austrians, and Bulgarians,' and he added the hope that universal service in the future might be escaped through a decision against nations employing it." Senator Williams here puts himself in exact accord with the views strongly expressed by President Wilson, Secretary Baker, and Premier Lloyd George. Why should there be any doubt, among sincere democrats in this country, as to which is the right side of this issue? It is a work of the first importance at this time to endeavor to convert to this view such men as Senator Borah of Idaho, and too many others who have nothing in common with the interests that are pushing the propaganda of universal service for purposes that threaten the future of democracy in this country.

\* \* \*

Announcement of three candidates for the Republican nomination for the United States

Senatorship in New Jersey may not mean much to the casual reader, but to those who know something of men and affairs in that State there is promise of a most interesting campaign. Governor Edge may be expected to stand upon his record; and that that has been carefully looked after may be judged from his thoughtfulness in appointing to the unexpired term in the Senate a man too old to stand for re-election. Austen Colgate, the second candidate for the Republican nomination, has announced a platform declaring the paramount issue to be the successful prosecution of the war, in which there must be neither halting nor turning back. Among the minor issues named are the adoption of a system of universal military training, the "granting of homestead rights to all honorably discharged soldiers and sailors," the free, earnest, and unprejudiced consideration of the question of government ownership of railroads and other utilities, and the "adoption of a scientifically prepared tariff law which will adequately but not unreasonably protect American industry from a trade invasion after the war." George L. Record the third candidate, has still his complete platform to announce; but if one may forecast the future by his course in the past, it may be safely assumed that the document will outline public policies of a nature to set citizens to thinking before they vote. Mr. Record has already declared himself in favor of higher taxes on wealth and fewer bonds; and when it comes to questions such as the "granting of homestead rights" upon public lands too poor to tempt private settlement, instead of putting to use the good land that is held idle, he is likely to have something to say that will be worth hearing.

\* \* \*

Senator Sherman's attack on Mr. Post in the Senate debate on the sedition bill Monday calls for little comment. Mr. Post's crime is his connection with THE PUBLIC, which terminated several years ago. According to Senator Sherman, THE PUBLIC speaks contemptuously of the constitutional forms of government of the United States in nearly every issue. "This paper," he is reported as saying, "is the exponent and mouthpiece of every governmental fad and bubble." Our readers will know that Senator Sherman has the same kind of knowledge about the matters discussed in THE PUBLIC that he has displayed regarding the direction of the paper.

## About Mr. Gompers

Mr. Gompers' letter, published on another page of this issue, gives THE PUBLIC a welcome occasion to purge our attitude toward him of any harshness or unfairness that may have crept into it as a result of our eagerness to see American labor take its part in formulating a sane but radical program of fundamental economic reform. There is a wholeheartedness and a sturdiness about Mr. Gompers that are magnificent. He is not working for the Allied cause with his fingers crossed. No one who has heard him talk or followed his course since the war began can doubt that he is stirred to the depths by the German challenge to democracy and freedom. Always a master politician, he has recently proved himself one in the best meaning of the word by calling in labor leaders who are not strictly "Gompers men" and placing them in positions where their influence and cooperation are made to function harmoniously with the purposes of the country. There is, in his letter, more than a hint that his mind is opening to new methods,—to the need of re-shaping labor's course along more fundamental lines. As for his wrath, it moves us not at all, for it is his habitual response to criticism and part of the same sturdiness that makes of him an appealing figure.

Nor can there be the slightest doubt that Mr. Gompers during the past year has piloted trades unionism through troubled seas to some very notable and important successes. On Oct. 19 last THE PUBLIC said: "Mr. Gompers has been criticized in these columns, but his support of the Government, his generalship in taking advantage of the situation to advance unionism and international democracy at the same stroke, place him far above those radicals whose contribution to the crisis has been negative and dejected denunciation of those in power." The difference between Mr. Gompers and the orthodox American leader of dogmatic Socialism in the past year has been the difference between a statesman and a man afflicted both with egomania and myopia.

What, then, is our criticism of Mr. Gompers? It is that under his influence the American labor movement continues to rely so entirely on trades unionism in a day that challenges every democrat to join with his fellows in formulating and carrying out a program of more fundamental economic reform, and in a day, too, when labor

must lead the way, in cooperation with other democratic forces, or we are lost. To say, as THE PUBLIC did in its issue of March 23, that "he apparently is entirely satisfied with the present economic situation in this country" is to do Mr. Gompers no injustice among those who have followed his many controversies with persons and groups (not all Socialists) eager to supplement trades unionism with other remedial measures. It would have been more accurate to have said that he is entirely satisfied, apparently, with the rate of progress and the general trend in this country. There have been some humorous or pathetic instances of Mr. Gompers' discomfort and resentment when confronted with Government statistics showing that even in organized trades wages have not increased and have even gone down in this country,—wages here signifying what the economist calls "real wages,"—the margin between income and the cost of living. He asserted before a Congressional committee two years ago that he would resign and declare his whole life-work a failure if this were so. Our criticism, then, is that Mr. Gompers' policy has taken inadequate account of the rapid and uninterrupted trend toward concentration of economic power in the hands of the few and of the necessity of checking this process by radically changing the tenure on which natural resources are held in monopoly control and used for private and anti-social ends. It is that Mr. Gompers apparently sees no relation between the effects of the prevailing economic order and the danger of future wars, and that he is not adequately mobilizing the moral and political forces of labor against the building up in this country of a great vested interest in the exploitation of the natural resources, not only of America, but of foreign lands. It is that he apparently believes it possible and desirable to waive all these issues and suspend thought on them during the period of the war, although the tendencies to be counteracted were never so active, never so augmented and encouraged by the exigencies and circumstances of the times. Archbishop Lang, member of the House of Lords and official spokesman in this country on a mission for the Church of England and the British Government, told the reporters in New York that the difference that struck him most forcibly in this country was that in England the people are thinking and talking of the coming social and economic

reconstruction almost as much as they are of the war, while we are not. Now, we would not have Mr. Gompers lay down his work of rallying labor's support for the Government, or harmonizing and adjusting conflicting industrial interests, in order to undertake a rhetorical and political crusade for reform. But we would have him look in that direction. And we would have him divert to it some of the energy he now expends in opposing any trend in that direction. Indeed, we believe he would succeed far better in his immediate task of rallying labor if he showed more friendliness toward the common man's growing impatience with things as they are, and if he helped to direct this impatience into channels where it could push forward a program of fundamental reform which all fair men could indorse. The failure of the Federation to offer anything to our unskilled and migratory laborers that would ween them away from I. W. W. influence is a specific instance of Mr. Gompers' apparent inability to get results outside the field of trades unionism, and among men and women who are impatient with the nibbling process which is his whole strategy. British labor has come to a realization that society must re-examine the very foundations of the social order and then set in to build them anew, faces to the future. And the Archbishop of York is as confident as President Wilson in his letter to New Jersey Democrats that this is a task not only compatible with the prosecution of the war, but a task that must be accomplished if we are to be worthy of the men in the trenches. Said Mr. Wilson in the letter referred to: "Every man with any vision must see that the real test of justice and right action is presently to come as it never came before. The men in the trenches, who have been freed from the economic serfdom to which some of them had been accustomed, will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view and a new impatience of all mere political phrases and will demand real thinking and sincere action." And he went on to speak of "the days of political and economic reconstruction that lie ahead of us."

We do not wonder that Mr. Gompers resents the implication, which he read into THE PUBLIC'S editorial of March 23, that he is not "supporting the President." He has, of course, given the most loyal and whole-hearted support to the President in rallying labor for the war and doing his ut-

most to advance the war's prosecution. When we said that "President Wilson has no party and no large organized group on which he can depend," we referred not, of course, to his policy in declaring war on Germany, for manifestly the whole nation is behind him in that, and, under Mr. Gompers' interpretation, both the Republicans and the Democrats could rise up in indignant denial. We referred, rather, to Mr. Wilson's policy of deliberate friendliness toward every democratic movement the world over, to that policy by which he has given a rebirth to the enthusiasm of British labor and British liberals for the prosecution of the war; by which he is endeavoring to hasten the rehabilitation of Russia by understanding the Russians instead of denouncing them; by which he has purged the Allied cause of every ungenerous and ignoble and selfish motive; by which he has resisted universal compulsory military service in this country, and by which he is endeavoring to steer us away from the shoals of aggressive nationalism and economic imperialism after this war; the policy, finally, by which he is looking ahead and preparing to find a common ground which he can share with and from which he can help to direct those "economic and social forces" which, he sees clearly enough, are bent on "revolutionary change."

To give him this support is merely a task of leadership and organization. For the people of America are overwhelmingly with him. But the metropolitan press, very powerful financial interests, and a large number of Congressmen and politicians in both parties are not. Just now universal compulsory military service as a permanent institution is being urged with such vehemence and with so highly organized and generously financed a propaganda behind it that there is serious danger of its adoption by Congress. Yet advices from Washington are that when the New amendment looking to this end came before the Senate Mr. Gompers' legislative representative refused to take a stand against it. It was beaten only by the votes of Senators who complied with the wishes of the War Department, although several of them explained that they favor the principle of universal service and will support it at a more opportune time.

Just one more minor correction. Mr. Gompers says "it is absolutely untrue that American labor has at any time 'churlishly rebuffed' the

workers of England." What THE PUBLIC said was: "Between churlishly rebuffing the workers of England and accepting any plan they may evolve for meeting German working-class representatives there are many stopping places. Mr. Gompers within the past ten days has found one of them. He has sent a cordial cablegram to the British Labor Party. And we predict that the American Federation of Labor will give a cordial greeting to any delegation that comes to this country from that Party and its affiliated organizations in other Allied nations."

If Mr. Gompers will but permit the American Federation of Labor to come together next June, or any other time within the reasonably near future, and get together behind a few legislative proposals dealing with the fundamental causes of social and economic injustice,—proposals such as the Walsh commission formulated three years ago and for which the rank and file are more than ready,—THE PUBLIC will be the first to rise up and call him blessed. The time is almost gone when the aspirations of the workers of America for a better and a juster social order can be buried in the meeting-room of a hand-picked Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Gompers, more than any other man, deserves credit for making of the American Federation of Labor a powerful instrument for advancing democracy by orderly process. Now let him use it. He has saved the labor movement from many an ill-considered policy, from many a fallacy, from many a hair-brained proposal. He has now an opportunity to prove that in thus watching over his flock he has not succumbed to a habit of blind and unvarying resistance. For the time has come for labor to enter a field of wider skies and greener hillsides than any it has ever known.

## Save the Children

The campaign launched by the Children's Bureau to save 100,000 children this year awakens a strange response in *The Journal of Heredity*. The Bureau has taken the pains to collect a considerable amount of data that seemed to show a certain relation between poverty and infant mortality. Manchester, New Hampshire, for instance, has 193 deaths per thousand children under one year of age, whereas other cities have a record as low as one hundred per thousand. As all the data gathered followed pretty closely the

wage line, showing a rising mortality as wages sank and a falling mortality as wages rose, the Children's Bureau felt warranted in drawing the inference that children whose parents had sufficient means to command good housing conditions, wholesale food and expert nursing had a better chance of surviving infancy than those whose parents are deprived of these things.

Not so, says *The Journal of Heredity*. Longevity depends upon ancestry. A child inherits a certain amount of vitality; when that is gone the child goes. Children of short-lived people are destined to die the first year. If by care and coddling these weaklings are taken through the first year, they die the second year. The *Journal* is particular to call the attention of the Bureau to the fact that no data were gathered to show what became of the children in the better circumstanced families who survived the first year. It had no data of its own to submit, but was quite confident that its contention would be borne out by "refined statistical methods." To prove that such would be the case the figures of Dr. Ploetz are submitted, covering the deaths of 3,210 children of royal personages, where the items of sanitation, food, and care do not figure. This investigator found that of children whose parents died between the ages of 26 and 35 thirty-two per cent. died under five years of age; whereas of children whose parents lived to the ages of 76 to 85 only 23.6 per cent. died under five years of age. "Nature," says the *Journal*, "is weeding out the weaklings, and in proportion to the stringency with which she weeds them out at the start there are fewer weaklings left to die in succeeding years. To put the facts in the form of a truism, part of the children born in any district in a given year are doomed by heredity to an early death; and if they die in one year they will not be alive to die in the succeeding year, and vice versa." The conclusion to be drawn is that baby-saving campaigns accomplish less than is thought. But to the question, "Do we, then, discourage all attempts to save the babies?" it answers: "Unqualifiedly no! The sacrifice of the finer human feelings, which would accompany any such course, would be a greater loss to the race than is the eugenic loss from the perpetuation of weak strains of heredity."

It may be doubted if the cause of eugenics is best served by arguments of this sort. That too

little attention has been given to the subject is quite true; but extravagant claims made in its behalf, and disparagement of the efforts of those who would ameliorate social conditions are scarcely things to gain it wider attention. To persons of average comprehension it would seem that the logic of *The Journal of Heredity* would apply to environment as well as to heredity. Children of short-lived parents tend, other things being the same, to die earlier than children of long-lived parents. Granted; but do not well-cared-for children tend, other things being equal, to live longer than those suffering from neglect? Heredity may be given ever so much weight, and eugenics may be credited with every possible merit, yet environment cannot be ignored.

Eugenics as applied to human beings is in its initial stages, but as applied to animal culture it has been raised to a high degree of accomplishment. Stockmen are able to breed size, weight, speed, endurance, appearance, spirit, disposition in horses. Cattle, sheep, hogs, dogs, chickens, what not, are bred to a desired end. But who has heard of a breeder who made hard the conditions of infancy in order to weed out the weaklings? He may himself weed out the weaklings to prevent their breeding, but he gives every care and attention to those that are allowed to live. Is there so much difference between the young human baby and the colt, calf or pup?

To breed animals the utmost attention is given, not only to the selection of parents, but to the care and food given the young. Stock may have ever so fine a pedigree, yet if it be put out in bad weather, or be deprived of sufficient food, it will fall short of its possibilities. Is not the same true of babies? Granted that the child in the slums from weakling parents has less chance of life than the child of healthy and strong parents, it is nevertheless true that the weakling can be strengthened by intelligent care, and the strong child destroyed by neglect. Even supposing that the "refined statistical methods" suggested by the *Journal* should find that the efforts of the Children's Bureau to save the infants under one year of age had resulted in a slight increase in the death rate among children of older age, might that not also be corrected by greater care and attention among the older children?

It would not be necessary to carry this saving work among children very far before it reached school children, so many of whom the school

authorities are finding to be undernourished. It is no answer to the plea of the Children's Bureau for wholesome child conditions to say that the babies of kings and princes also die. Nor does it suffice to say that some of the undernourished school children come from rich families. Both are due to abnormal conditions, for "they are as sick that surfeit with too much, as they that starve with nothing." Let the Children's Bureau press home its work. Suppose it is not all fundamental, granted that much of it is merely ameliorating, it nevertheless is a fact. And if economic conditions are such that new victims take the place of those that have been rescued, that fact, too, will be made apparent, and society will be compelled to go to the root of the evil. There is no lack of room for the earth's inhabitants. Little of the land is used fully, and much is not used at all. And the power of man over the elements is greater than ever before. Meantime, while society is finding a way of adjusting man to his environment and cultivating the science of eugenics, everything possible should be done to relieve the hard lot of the present generation of children.

## Trying to Tax Shadows

Certain members of the New York Legislature offer a dramatic illustration of the old saying that man when in difficulties will try all the wrong ways out before adopting the right one. The present dilemma of the legislators is the need of more revenue. Taxes are high, and expenses are still mounting; some means must be found to meet them. Since the present laws have failed of their purpose, they should be amended. All this is perfectly clear to the men charged with legislative responsibility, and they forthwith proceed according to the rule of trial and error, always trying—and usually in error. It might be suggested that a little more study of the fundamental principles of taxation would simplify the problem.

The immediate undertaking of the legislators is an attempt to put a higher tax on the owners of intangible personal property; that is, upon stocks, bonds, mortgages, money; in a word, credits. Failure in the past to secure satisfactory results led to modifications of the New York tax laws that attempted to tax alike both tangible and intangible property, and fairly substantial results

were obtained. By making a low rate on intangible property, and allowing deductions for debts, the amount of revenue obtained was greatly increased. But this has never satisfied a certain class of men who declare there is no difference between a farm and the mortgage on the farm, between a factory and the stock representing its ownership, between goods and the credit on the merchant's books, between a substance and its shadow. Hence, they have seized upon the present need for revenue as an excuse to amend the laws governing the taxation of personalty.

The New York Tax Reform Association is sending out a statement calling the attention of the citizens to this mistaken course. Bills introduced in the Senate by Mr. Boylan, and in the Assembly by Mr. Wells, repeal the provision of the present law, which provides: "The owner or holder of stock in an incorporated company liable to taxation on its capital shall not be taxed as an individual for such stock." Another amendment requires the listing of all personal property that, without deduction for debt or exemption, is worth \$5,000 or over. Others of this series of amendments require the assessment of personal property where located, and the taxation of buildings during construction. All of the amendments are shown conclusively by the Tax Reform Association's report to be futile, unjust, and destructive of the purpose intended.

It is almost like slaying the dead to show again that stocks, bonds, and money are not in themselves property, but evidences of ownership of property; yet the Tax Reform Association repeats the explanation for the benefit of the groping legislators. "Shares of stock," says the report, "represent the proportionate interest of the individual holder in the property of the corporation. When that property is taxed to the corporation, either its assets, or the amount available for dividends, are reduced by the amount of the tax paid, which therefore comes pro rata from each shareholder. To put another tax upon the individual shareholder simply means that he pays twice the tax that an individual owner pays on a similar property." To make the point clear even to the legislative mind the report continues: "The injustice is most evident by comparing two cases of the ordinary small business; one a partnership and one a corporation with only a few stockholders. The

property of the firm would be taxed once. The incorporated business would be taxed twice on its property—once to the corporation and again to the individuals composing it.”

The futility of attempting to list personal property is equally clear. All experts and authorities agree upon this point, and human experience from the remotest periods of history confirms it. The attempt to tax personal property where it is located, rather than where it is owned, is puerile. The taxation of buildings during the period of construction is merely adding to the injustice of taxing them at all. For not only is it proposed to punish a citizen with fines for bringing wealth into the country, but so eager are the lawmakers to inflict the penalty that they must needs fine him while he is bringing in the wealth.

All this legislative muddling comes through a failure to apply the fundamental principles upon which the laws of taxation, if they are to function, should be based. It has been repeatedly shown by the Tax Reform Association, and by the highest authorities in economics, that taxes on industry are added to prices, and are paid by the consumers. Taxes on movable things either drive them away, or raise their cost to the users. If money in New York were taxed two per cent, and the law were strictly enforced, interest would rise two per cent. If the present attempt to tax stocks and bonds is successful the men who wish to start factories or other business enterprises will have to pay that much more for the capital they borrow, and necessarily will have to add the increased charge to the price of their goods. As New York business is in more or less competition with the businesses of other States and countries—not all of which are so foolish as to tax the thing and its shadow—there will be a tendency for them to move to more favorable locations. Those that cannot move will be crippled; and new enterprises will not be started here.

It would be uncharitable to say the men at Albany do not know this. It would also be a reflection upon their intelligence to say they do not know that whereas taxes on movable property, or labor values, tend to drive it away, the same taxes laid upon fixed property, or monopoly values, cannot be escaped, and must be borne by the owner. These legislators know that increased taxes on capital in New York State will

drive it out of the State, that heavier taxes on mortgages will make it harder to borrow money, that more taxes on buildings will make rents higher. There is not one man among them that does not know this. Neither is there one man in the Legislature at Albany but what knows that higher taxes on the vacant lands in the cities and State will not drive away one square foot. They also know that a heavier tax on this vacant land will not be added to the rent or the price; for there is no tenant, and the price is already too high to enable any one to use it with profit. Not only do the legislators at Albany know this, but every land speculator in the State knows it.

That is where the whole trouble lies. Taxes on land values cannot be shifted. Hence, the men who have been allowed to capitalize these values are protesting against any tax that will prevent them from realizing a profit on that capitalization. There is no pretense that this capitalization is based upon labor put into the land, for the land is vacant. The owners have merely seized upon the values that come with the growth of population and the service of government, and capitalized it, not at what it was worth at the time, but at what they thought it would be worth when there should be a greater population; and they are now “holding” it till they find capital and labor brave enough to attempt to use it. While they are waiting the taxes are eating into their speculative profits, and they have appealed to the Legislature for relief. They are asking that the taxes on land values be shifted to labor values. They would tax business twice, or double, as the Tax Reform Association has shown, in order that they may escape altogether. The Legislature may grant this request, but if it does so its members cannot plead the excuse of ignorance.

This is not a time to dally with grave responsibilities. The world is engaged in a life-and-death struggle for freedom. Every resource should be used to the utmost. To encourage the holding of valuable land idle was serious enough in time of peace; to put a premium upon it now when the whole world is looking to the United States for food and supplies is the height of folly. Idle acres and vacant lots mean unsupplied human wants. Idle acres at this time mean hunger and starvation in Europe and hardship and privation here.

## Napoleon and the Baltic Block

By Lewis Mumford

While Allied publicists have agitated themselves over the threat of a Central Europe the German dynasty has kept its diplomatic eyes on the main chance, and it is gradually becoming apparent, despite weak Teutonic misgivings, that this main chance is altogether a more imposing spectacle than the red rash which seemed so infectiously spreading from Berlin to Bagdad. Germany's tactics with Russia have nothing to do with Naumann's conception of a spinal European policy. In order to find their intellectual sponsor one must look back to the penultimate emperor of emperors, who was a Ludendorff and a Hohenzollern in one. For Napoleon, unlike Napoleon's God, is no longer on the side of the biggest battalions; and he has lately been promoted to privy councillor on the staff of the ruler of all the Germans. To appreciate Corsican diplomacy in 1806 is to hold the key to Prussian diplomacy in 1918.

Those who hold the naïve notion that military victories are gained only by force of arms probably do not realize that Napoleon's military triumphs had always a diplomatic side. What they will have even greater difficulty in believing is that without his diplomatic policies his talents in soldierly strategy would have been wasted. Yet when the Corsican's achievements are examined through glasses which cut out the virile colors of the swash-buckling tradition one comes almost to the point of believing that his subjugation of continental Europe was all through diplomacy—and not through arms. Military dominance comes to be no more than the seal on the accomplished fact. The fact itself is always of a diplomatic and political character.

Turn to a description of the Napoleonic period, such as Seeley's "Life and Times of Stein," and these generalities are stiffened with relevant illustration. The central political condition for two decades was that a nation, whose name shall be censored, had its hand raised against every other hand in Europe. Napoleon had attached that nation to the rubric of "Dominion, with annexations and indemnities." He had suc-

cumbed to the paranoid idea of ruling Europe from Versailles. By the time he had humbled Prussia, in 1807, it seemed as though this widely laid plan would be successful. What was the basis of this remarkable extension of empire?

At first glance the Napoleonic formula seems capable of reduction to the hoary imperialist maxim, *divide and rule*. But the application of this is necessarily barren until the conqueror has settled on what shall be divided and in what manner he shall rule. The factionalism which Napoleon took advantage of had two aspects. There was the difference in aim between the anti-imperial allies, which led to Russia's desertion of Prussia at the treaty of Tilsit: a difference which Napoleon promoted by his policy of robbing Peter to placate Paul, when both Peter and Paul were ostensibly allied enemies. An equally powerful weapon were internal differences in the enemy countries, between conservative and revolutionary. Here Napoleon was wont, in the role of the *Playboy of Democracy*, to back one of the contentious bodies against the other and make the grateful victor subservient to his ends.

Now it is a mistaken compliment to the powers of empire to suppose that it can incorporate a nation by merely humbling it at the point of a sword. The power to slaughter a head of beef does not imply the ability to assimilate the food it provides without the intervention of a tedious process of preparation. Hence the three steps in the Napoleonic method. First separate your cow from the herd: then kill your cow: and finally dismember it. It is only when all these have been put through that your nation is ready for the imperialist processes. There is no use of detailing here the particular vagaries of the Corsican's outdated adventure. Every student of history knows the political crazy-quilt that the map of Europe became: and nobody can offhand remember any particular characteristic of it. The natural attitude may be to take comfort in Napoleon's eventual failure, and to seek further parallels in the contemporary situation. But a little reflection will show that the advance

of a century has placed the exponents of diplomatic militarism in a more advantageous position. And if Brest-Litovsk is a more redoubtable Tilsit we must not be too sure that Waterloo is not another nine years away. In which case the details of the Teutonic strategy will bear a keener appraisal.

Since Russia does not stand on the road to Bagdad, now that the last sentimental affiliation with Serbia is gone, why should Germany so violently prostrate her neighbor? This question has inevitably risen to the minds of the people who take the Central Europe project more seriously than the Teutonic diplomats. The answer is not apparent if one believes that Germany equipped herself before the war with a definite and continent scheme of imperialization; but it becomes plain when one refers to the principle of the main chance. A Prussian hegemony might be attained either by consolidating the existent empire, as Naumann urges, or by disrupting other empires. The shortest way to the first aim is probably through the accomplishment of the second. On this basis the proper attitude toward Russia swiftly defined itself. The Russian Revolution had cut the cow from the rest of the European herd: if there were any doubt about this in the minds of the revolutionaries the Allies settled them through their policy of congealed aloofness, combined with their proclamation of faith in the sabre alone. Thus the first step in the Napoleonic formula went with the help of the Allies in Germany's favor: and the processes of slaughter and dismemberment irresistibly succeeded. Germany did not want a United Russia as a friend when she could have a disintegrated Russia as a subject. What follows must deal with the instrument which Germany has seized upon for making Russia's subjection real, her dependence upon Germany complete, and her economic alienation from the Allies permanent. In short, we have to appraise the possible ties of the Baltic Block. For it is in terms of a Baltic Block, a union of disaffected nationalities under Germany's benevolent, anti-democratic surveillance that Germany's scabrous diplomacy in the Russias is to be gauged.

Plainly the concept of a Central Europe has moral and esthetic qualities: it satisfies certain subjective yearnings for unity and for symmetry whose presence cannot be ignored in a

Kantian *Realpolitik*. But the idea of a Baltic Block not merely affords these inner gratifications but furthers a scheme for making the Russias a prostrate agricultural hinterland at the Western Allies' expense. To a country which has always chafed commercially for lack of a year-open seaport with direct access to the high seas, Germany is about to add the further disability of putting the remaining ports in a complete circuit which shall be responsive only to currents sent from Berlin. It remains to be proved whether this plan is not superior to any paltering friendships that might be patched up between an autocratic dynastic establishment and a revolutionary Congress of Russian Soviets.

The promotion of "national independence" in Estland, Courland, Livland and Finland has implications which the attempted separation of Belgium into Flemish and Walloon provinces does not carry with it. Economically the position of the high western hinterland would not be changed by any national transformations in the low countries of the North Sea: or rather, it would be changed only so as to favor more completely that hinterland, which is Germany. The case of the Baltic littoral puts this just the other way about. To control the Baltic provinces is to control Russia's already meagre commercial outlets from Riga to Helsingfors. A hold on the Baltic ports means that Russia can be throttled in war and hampered in peace, and finally isolated, as the lately published secret document foresees, from the western seapowers. A block of Germanic subject-nationalities around the "East Sea" would not be merely a gratifying political entity: it would amount to a blockade. Central Europe has no such triumphant possibilities to offer, though the Mesopotamian valley were instantly fructified from the Gulf of Aden to the Mediterranean.

At the moment I write Germany's command of the Baltic is not yet absolute; for the last link in the circuit has yet to be soldered. The district of Petrograd, still nominally in the hands of Great Russia, gives that hapless nation its last hold on affairs within the world polity. But every indication points to the fact that Germany has no intention of permitting this piece of insulation to remain. By "every indication" I mean the continuance of the German military advance, despite loud protestations on the part of Trotzky and Lenine that this violated a declared peace.

And I mean the redrawing of the line of demarcation so as to take into account, for strategic purposes, the result of this belated advance. And I mean, resulting from these two conditions and capping them in importance, the withdrawal of the Russian administration from Petrograd, and the virtual abandonment of that stronghold of bureaucracy to its fate. Does anyone doubt that in a district like Petrograd, containing large numbers of Germans and Esthonians, the death by chance-hap of one of these beloved subjects will fail to bring down German forces of occupation, for the amenable reason of restoring law and order? The last move in the game of encircling the Baltic will thus be made: and revolutionary Russia will be economically frozen in Archangel, with perhaps five months in the year during which to carry on the normal commercial processes.

Theoretically the Baltic block is perfect. It cuts the Allies completely off from one of the main sources of staple foods, such as eggs and wheat; it broadens Germany's agricultural base in a region already successfully cultivated by German landed proprietors; it reduces Russia to a mere hinterland which can, in event of a German peace, be made completely tributary to the German system. At a single stroke it extends the Teutonic imperium, reduces Russia to impotency, cripples the staple-importing Allies, and terrorizes the Scandinavian neutrals. Nevertheless, huge practical problems remain, to tarnish the lustre of this ideal program. For the final resolution of this feat of diplomatic chemistry one reagent is above all others necessary—Time. Time alone can develop a difference between a paper program and an economic fact, between a

clever scheme of statecraft and a going system of administration and government: and even should half a decade or more be granted by the prolongation of the war, it is still doubtful whether Germany can at this date summon up resources to deal with this infinitely complex problem of imperial control over regions geographically differentiated and economically at odds.

German hands are clumsy with fatigue; they may fumble with the administrative problem. German military resources are strained with exertion; a setback on the western front may mean a sudden, disastrous collapse of the whole diplomatic fabric. German victories in the east are not exchanged at par in the west; hence the German Peace, which would secure the new Baltic expansion, is still in the insecure heaven of aspiration. Finally, it is conceivable that the Allies will not be content any longer to fight her redoubtable enemy with the antiquated sword of naked force, when they can bring into use the double-edged weapon of force-plus-diplomacy. The Allies may, under President Wilson's inspiration, try to face the Russian situation, instead of being outfaced by it; and rather than to relapse into a state of cynical despair they may endeavor to reconstitute a set of political conditions which might after the war give them something really to despair about. In that case Germany's Napoleonic strategy would prove no better than an empty, theatric gesture: for the factional incompetence which Napoleon profited by would be thrown out of Germany's side of the scales, and the principal factor that weighs at present in Germany's favor would have been removed.

## Excess Profits Taxation, the War Finance Corporation and Reconstruction After the War

By F. H. Hankins

One who gives only moderate attention to the drift of opinion among the nations at war realizes that next to the actual winning of the war the foremost problem is after-war industrial reconstruction. This is a problem of unlimited scope and involves the primary issues of both

internal politics and international relations. It may be discussed primarily either from the viewpoint of the social economist interested in problems of internal welfare or from the viewpoint of the publicist interested in the basis of a lasting piece. In internal politics the fundamental

problems have come to center about the relations of the capitalist and laboring classes. We seek answers to such questions as: How shall we secure the highest industrial efficiency so as to meet successfully international competition? How may the hostility of labor and capital be modified? How may we best raise the standards of living and welfare of the mass? How may we most efficiently proceed with plans of city building, housing, industrial education, highway construction and other needs of internal development? At the same time we wish to avoid the future development of international friction, and to this end we seek answers to such questions as: How may the spirit of nationalism be diluted and the spirit of internationalism intensified? How may the wild scramble for speculative advantages in the newer areas of the world be controlled? How may our coming imperialism with its inevitable and irresistible demands for armies and navies be avoided?

It is of more than passing interest to consider the possible relations of two war-finance policies to these profoundly important questions. The excess profits tax has already proven a powerful instrument of public finance; it can be made an equally powerful instrument of social reconstruction. In the public bookkeeping which this and other income taxes have brought into operation, there exists a basis for the determination of normal net profits for the vast majority of the country's businesses. The Government's proposal to give the railways a return equal to their average for the three years preceding the war furnishes a valuable precedent. Any scheme for standardizing profits would naturally retain a considerable degree of flexibility so as to encourage continued improvements and expansions where clearly desirable. The main point would be to make a beginning of standardizing profits and asserting with more or less vigor the claim of society on unusual surpluses.

There would at once have to be met the objection that this would kill the spirit of business enterprise. In this it can be replied in part that there is a sort of high-finance, speculative profiteering, that ought to be completely wiped out of existence as purely exploitative and wholly non-contributory to social welfare. Blue sky laws are helping to cultivate the opinion that every venture should justify itself in advance on grounds of probable social utility. Any

dampening effect to socially approved business could only result from undue contraction of investment returns. It would be a delicate but not impossible problem to determine by trial and error methods plus statistical analysis when such effects were being experienced. But with the gradual socializing of the business conscience an increasing reliance could be had upon business technicians as over against the mere financial manipulator. It is becoming more and more true that business is controlled by men who find their greatest pleasure in the display of talent rather than in the profit balance. Moreover by special exemptions and differences in rates of profits taxation new businesses could be encouraged; competition could actually be made keener and monopoly powers and privileges forced to pay a portion of their tribute to a fund for social improvement. This should encourage invention and increase the industrial dynamic.

Moreover there are other advantages. Nothing has so clearly exposed the rift in our economic lute as the increasing unwillingness of labor during the war to work for the profits of employers. They have been ready to work for the nation, for society, for democracy and humanity, but not for increased profits for a limited class that assumes sovereignty and overlordship. Labor still fears to let itself out, to perform to capacity, because of the time-honored policy of rate cutting. Now a standardizing of profits would mollify labor's opposition by limiting profits to a generous return for enterprising ability. It would thus release the latent energies of labor—shown by scientific management experiments to be the biggest half of all labor power—and would make easier the establishment and maintenance of standard rates for labor itself. A standardizing of profits and of wages would tap immense reservoirs of latent labor power, as well as stimulate invention and managerial improvements, and in consequence secure the greatest quantity of goods at the lowest cost.

The relation of the proposed war finance corporation to our internal and external problems is not less potent. There are two radically opposed ideals of national greatness. The predominating mode of thought measures this greatness in terms of ocean tonnage; volume of imports and exports, quantity of profit disbursements in January and June, proportions of foreign markets held by our merchants, zones of

special influence, and other similar marks of Capitalism and Imperialism. Over against this is set the ideal of a nation great in the realization of democracy in social and economic life, as well as in civic and political life. This involves a high state of culture and intelligence for the common man, high standards of living, beautiful cities, low birth rates and low death rates, the elimination of artificial supports of class superiority, and the securing for all of an opportunity to develop innate powers and capacities to their utmost. The former ideal demands an abundance of cheap labor, the preservation of low ideals and brutal standards among the working class, a large stream of profits, security of investments and property at home and abroad, unrestrained freedom in seizing and exploiting the wealth of nature and society, and armies and navies to make the world safe for the speculative buccaneers who "develop" backward areas of the earth. This is the ideal toward which the forces long dominant in America will drive us if shrewdness, prestige and money have their way. In many respects the foundations are being laid today. We see the development of numerous "international corporations" acquiring immense banking, mining and engineering interests abroad; we are creating merchant fleets which will require national subsidies and immense exports to make them profitable and navies to make them safe; we are organizing our war advantages in numerous markets for the after-war struggle in international trade; we are in danger of having thrust upon us a system of universal military training in order to heighten the international prestige of militant capitalism.

Now all this development so full of momentous consequences for the future should be brought under social control. We need a national policy of social and industrial engineering. Is it possible for a democracy to do anything but drift along under the stimulation of hazy ideals and class interests? The German aristocrats have *built* a nation according to a well-conceived plan; Japan appears to be doing the same, and largely on the German model. We do not like the German plan, but we have none of our own consciously worked out. If we prefer the traders' ideal above sketched we need only continue drifting and we shall sooner or later again awaken to a nightmare of international rivalry, suspicion, hate and war.

But if we prefer the ideal of greatness won through the perfection of the life and personality of all citizens then we must adopt extensive policies of internal development. The war finance corporation combined with profits taxation furnish possible instruments of social salvation. By means of them the profits of big business can be in fact divided into three funds. One of these would consist of that portion of profits turned back into the public treasury. For this there will be immense need after the war not merely to pay the public debt and its interest, not merely to reconstruct our railways, not merely for irrigation, reforestation, highway construction and similar policies of material conservation and development, but especially for the policies we should adopt for the conservation of life and the development of the latent abilities of the population. From the standpoint of social economy it would be a profitable investment to spend immense sums on housing and city planning, unemployment insurance, health conservation, child development agencies, educational reconstruction and expansion, and scientific research.

The second portion of the coralled profits would be represented by that part to be invested in corporations whose interests are primarily domestic, and the third portion by that part of which foreign opportunities were opened. Both of these should be under control of some such governmental agency as the proposed war finance corporation. For one of these portions the purpose would be to insure symmetrical development of our industrial system under the motive of social utility rather than private gain; and for the other the purpose would be to control the forces that make for imperialism and to see that the future development of backward areas is primarily in the interest of their inhabitants and thus of mankind rather than of the profiteers. The great speculative opportunities are no longer in our own West, but in South America, the Orient, Africa. If left to self-interest alone an undue proportion of our free capital will seek these richer advantages to the detriment of our internal development. Is it not reasonable to demand that the flow of investment capital be brought under a degree of social control in view of the tremendous consequences for the entire country, and indeed for the world that follow therefrom?

## Food Conservation and the Billboard

By Morris H. Glazer

The United States Food Administration has launched a campaign to win the war. The paramount issue is the conservation of food, and to this end the Administration has undertaken to show the American public that "Food is Fuel for Fighters!" The tremendous electric sign on Thirty-fourth Street in the great metropolis stands as a colossal nightwatchman lighting the path to victory. Pennsylvania Avenue of the capital city also cries out in the night the national slogan. The polychrome posters that decorate all public places are enough to convince one that the art of America lies in her advertisements. We have gladly defaced our parks and boulevards with bold billboards announcing our food program. Perhaps we have not defaced our beauty spots; we have perhaps rather given them a patriotic touch of color. The unity of spirit and singleness of purpose are evidenced by the millions of pledge cards, home cards, buttons, and miscellaneous signs, tokens, and insignia scattered abroad in urban and rural districts.

This method of bringing home to an independent but willing people the exigencies of the present crisis has tapped, to no slight extent, the country's resources. An army of men and women, skilled, unskilled, professional, have participated in the concatenation of processes necessary to pass the slogan around. Men have mined coal in Ohio, they have made steel in Pennsylvania, felled trees in the Northwest, and manufactured pulp in New England; cartoonists, artists, printers, carpenters, electricians, ironworkers, painters, clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers—all have helped to pass the slogan.

At the same time, laborers have also been wanted in munition plants, to build ships, and to manufacture motor trucks. The discrepancy between the demand for labor and the labor supply has forced the government to use arbitrary methods in bringing mechanics and men with technical experience into the work most necessary for the prosecution of the war. The shipyards along the Atlantic coast and the Gulf are short-handed. The manufacturing centers in

Michigan and the East have work for all those now engaged in pursuits not directly productive for the demands of victory. But does the disadvantageous distribution of the efforts of men and women in this country benefit the food situation? Lumbermen and steel workers must eat our bread and beef whether the ultimate fruit of their toil takes the form of a save-food sign or an airplane.

Food for our fighters is being saved, no doubt. We are learning to economize, and to economize where it will mean most. But in gaining this economy we are at the same time engaging in an unparalleled program of advertising that entails the diverting of thousands of workers and millions of dollars. Men who might be manufacturing munitions, building ships, making airplanes; material that might be consumed in producing these articles; money and food that might be sustaining the employees of war industries—all these are being utilized in educating the public to the need for saving food. We are saving; and we are spending in order to save. There may be a balance on the right side of the ledger, but is this give-and-take method the most effectual way of saving food and of conserving our resources for the production of war necessities? Could this matter be handled more effectively, and in such a fashion that the war industries would not be curtailed by the competing activities of food conservation?

The seriousness of the present struggle still remains a fiction to many in this democratic country. Isolated from actual scenes of horror and privations, their imaginations have not kept pace with a conflict that sees no immediate termination. Would the realization that there is an absolute need of every unit of strength, at home as well as abroad, be better taught by rule of rod? The British were in the conflict fully a year before they began putting all their resources under strict regulation. Have we profited by their blundering? We have been in the war a year now, and inefficiency and bungling are still the unbroken rule of the official world. The people will save if the government saves for them. They will eat less wheat, fats, beef,

and sugar, and more corn, oats, rye, fowl, and fish, if they are given more of the latter and less of the former. They will eat sparingly if the glutton's portion is put under the ban and a war portion substituted in its stead. Is such procedure beyond the principles of a time-honored democracy?

The appeals for wheatless and meatless days have doubtless been complied with in a degree. Still the quantities of meats and fats that serve one banquet or one Sunday dinner may more than counteract the abstinence of a month. England has become accustomed to two ounces of bread per day, and finds this regulation no hardship whatever. She has not complained of the substitutes allowed her for fats and beef. She has learned that she must temporarily forego certain luxuries in order that she may the more quickly resume normal living.

We are beginning to realize that war has a new meaning under modern conditions. War now means more than struggling nations, casualty lists, and explosives. It means also Re-

construction. It means change, adaptation to sudden and urgent demands. And the side that best meets these new conditions wins out. It is true, such adaptation to new exigencies may go counter to ancient standards and sacred catch-words; but these latter are powerless to meet the exigencies of a new order. The old order did not tax us to the limit as the new order does, with its requirement of efficient production and efficient consumption; it demands that the old catch-words be put aside because they block swift and decided action.

Do the old standards hinder the immediate introduction of a more positive method of conserving food? Will the American people look with disfavor upon such a method as England has adopted? Can the resources—food and labor—used in advertising food conservation be made available for the more important war industries? Does such an advertising campaign as the Food Administration has adopted save resources in the long run? Can we best insure victory with a such a program?

## The New Minnesota Despotism

By Ray McKaig

Past Master, North Dakota Grange, now Field Secretary, Nonpartisan League

The Farmers' Nonpartisan League, which is sweeping over the thirteen northwestern states, for several months has been under a barrage fire of disloyalty. Its pamphlets, hundreds and thousands, have been passed upon by the federal government and circulated through the mails. Though all its official papers can have the Burleson approval, one-cent stamp put upon them and sent to the boys in France, yet arrests of League workers and officials are freely made by Minnesota local politicians upon the charge that the League's literature is seditious.

Though such men as Carl Vrooman, George Creel, William Kent, have approved from time to time of the Nonpartisan League's loyalty; and other men like Judson King, Walter Thomas Mills, are lecturing in behalf of the League, yet politicians who see their own political death claim that the League is pro-German, disloyal, and should be universally condemned. Several

Minnesota county attorneys have suddenly leaped into spotlight publicity by issuing warrants of arrest for President A. C. Townley.

There is a fundamental clash of interest between the federal and the Minnesota governments. The federal government sees nothing seditious in this Farmers' League, and at their big gatherings sends official representatives. The state politicians, dreaming terrible dreams and seeing things, arrest organizers and have forbidden and broken up over a hundred farmers' meetings. The subsidized press, shrieking aloud their own claims of loyalty, poison the minds of the citizens about the disloyalty of the Nonpartisan League.

Whom are we to believe—the Minnesota politicians (Minnesota being, by the way, the only northwest state attempting to break up the League) or the federal government? No League organizer or League official has yet been arrested

by the federal government. Ex-Congressman William Kent, on the Federal Tariff Commission, as a representative from the Washington (D. C.) government, strongly commended the Farmers' League. Governor Burnquist of Minnesota as strongly condemns the League of labor and farmers and refused to sit on the platform at this state convention where Mr. Kent addressed the farmers.

Here is apparently the reason: The League is against corporate greed. The "steel trust" mines more iron ore in Minnesota than all the rest of the Union put together. The lumber barons, having devastated nearly the whole Northwest of virgin timber, are looking with longing eye upon what little is left. The grain gamblers and the millers' trust of the Northwest, who have preyed upon the Dakota farmers and the Minnesota grain growers, and have gouged both consumer and producer, headquarter in Minneapolis. The packers' stronghold is in South St. Paul. Minnesota politics for years have been dominated by that four-headed political monster.

The Nonpartisan League's platform lays down the gage of battle to this group of despoilers. Public ownership must come. As the United States Steel Trust and the Pennsylvania Railroad have cast their blighting shadows over Pennsylvania politics, so the shadow of this four-headed organization has withered political manhood in Minnesota.

Recently the Farmers' League coalesced with federated labor. At the Minnesota convention held March 21st the "skinned classes," both city laborer and producers from the soil, got together. A ticket was selected from city and country, irrespective of party. Ex-Congressman Lindbergh, who made a startling expose of the money trust of America, is the gubernatorial choice. Men of equal loyalty and ability are named on the ticket. The Republican party will be gobbled up, or used as a vehicle on which to get to the state capitol.

Now, one can see why the Minnesota politicians are beating the tom-tom of disloyalty to scare away the citizens from such a Farmers' League. Eventually, this same tom-tom will be used to announce the sad death of these same politicians.

So strenuous is the fight that there are fourteen counties in which no Nonpartisan League

man is allowed. Minnesota, at the last legislature, gave its Public Safety Commission police power. The daily subsidized press of Minneapolis and St. Paul echo the alarm of the millers' trust and the grain gamblers, and every issue comes out with more charges of disloyalty against the League. Garbled extracts from speeches of the organizers are printed. As an illustration, at a recent farmers' meeting a resolution was passed unanimously that "we, the farmers, pledge our lives and fortunes to the cause of justice and equality which the League espouses." The press came out a few days later denouncing those farmers for "pledging their lives and fortunes to the Nonpartisan League," never showing that the farmers pledged their lives and fortunes to the "cause of equality and justice."

"Words, words, nothing but words." Charges of disloyalty! And nothing but charges.

The town of Lakefield, Minnesota, forbade the farmers holding a meeting. One League representative spoke there just the same. He was convicted of unlawful assemblage and sentenced for three months. The papers, in unfair headlines, declared he was convicted of sedition and sentenced to three months.

If despotizing the Minnesota government will awaken the farmers and the workers, it is well worth the cost. To repeatedly forbid farmers holding their own meetings, to drive farmers out of the city limits, to turn the fire hose on 600 of them when they want to meet—even though committee after committee waits upon the governor and demands in vain that he call off the dogs of persecution, stiffens the backbone of the farmer and wonderfully increases our League membership.

Thousands of farmers, because of this persecution, joined. They had been doubtful of the ability of the League to put it across. Persecution has strengthened the organization; 48,000 farmers now belong in Minnesota. I have seen old-time farmers who have fought in the Civil War not allowed to hold a meeting in a town. Mad is no name for it. They despise these politicians who are drunk with power.

To have a few politicians act as judges upon the loyalty of the farmers is an insult. The farmers of America in any state are loyal. They would be the first to reject treasonable teaching, and in their wrath would tar and

feather any such suggestor. The farmers are not nincompoops, children, fools that need guardians. They are well qualified to judge for themselves.

Profiteering, they claim, must stop. President Wilson must be backed up in no half-hearted way. The war must help establish democracy abroad and democracy here. The government must take over more industries—terminal elevators, packing plants, telegraph lines, and other public utilities. The arms of President Wilson must be held up in his fight against criminal autocracy in America. Monkey-wrenches thrown into the government operation of railroads to discredit government ownership should be dealt with as we deal with traitors. The farmers are giving wonderful support to the war.

This fundamental difference between the federal government and the despotized Minnesota state government, is, one under Wilson's leadership is throttling profiteering; the other is rallying the politicians to its defense.

In President Wilson's book called "The New Freedom," which is a text book of the Nonpartisan League, he describes very vividly that the people are going to drive out the "beasts that prey." These beasts that prey are the profiteers. In this present hour in our national crisis no class of men in this country are rallying to the defense of President Wilson so rapidly as the American farmers.

Although I am the Secretary of the Republican Central Committee of North Dakota, I am convinced today that it would have been a national calamity if Hughes had been elected president. Mr. Wilson recognizes, more so, I believe, than Hughes could have ever done, that this war will be fought in vain unless industrial autocracy in this country is driven out.

At this hour Mr. Wilson is appealing to the country for national help to drive out these beasts that prey. At this moment we feel it is just a little time and then the government will take over the packing industry of America, and the oil trust, and commandeer those vast exorbitant profits.

In this fight against industrial autocracy in this country, such weeklies like Leslie's, and that once progressive paper, *Collier's*, are now sharpshooting at the President, trying to destroy his political influence. A horde of snipers, daily newspapers and weeklies are trying to sharp-

shoot our leaders by vilification and innuendo. First it was Daniels, then Baker, and now President Wilson. Even some of Mr. Wilson's own party leaders are trying to betray him. The old standpatters in the Republican ranks are jockeying for position to block the plans of the administration and then make the blockade a campaign issue to get back into power.

Small wonder then that the farmers of the northwest view with suspicion these sharpshooting campaigns, the subsidized press, and the partisan politics. It is only a repetition in another way of the Minnesota fiasco of government, despotizing the press and peanut politicians when the effort is made to free our country from industrial autocracy.

Keep up the fight, Mr. Wilson. The farmers are for you.

## RELATED THINGS

### Giving the Churches a Chance

Truth is mighty and must prevail, but those Canadian sociologists who are trying to adjust practical conditions to fundamental principles are taking no chances. They are taking care to see that the truth is brought to the attention to the various Christian denominations, both in conferences and in individual churches. Their success in securing a favorable response has been such—the Presbyterians and Methodists of Canada having adopted their resolutions—that they are urging other churchmen to appeal to their brethren with such an address as the following:

We beg to call your attention to the unfortunate disparity between the religion we teach and the social conditions which we maintain. What if Christ were to come to this city and ask us the question: Where is that brotherhood which I came to establish? Where is the dominance of the Golden Rule, the Law of Equity and that love which man should show to his fellowmen?

In face of the fact that every city is divided into palaces, gorgeous at one end, and misery, degradation, want and hardship in the beggars' alleys at the other end; in face of the fact that those who produce the abundance of wealth obtain only scarcity; in face of the fact that we treat this earth not as a gift of God to His children to be divided with equity, but as a manufactured article to be bought and sold; in face of the fact that we impose heavier taxation on the man who blesses the country with his industry and a lighter taxation on the man who holds the land for the

purpose of trying to despoil his fellowmen by extortionate speculation, what answer could we give to these questions? What account could we render of our stewardships.

The law of brotherhood demands service for service; the law of honesty demands service for service, and the division of labor which now exists gives enrichment for enrichment. Between the man who turns a desert into a garden and makes it rejoice with the abundance of its products that there may be seed for the sower and bread for the eater, and the man who holds land as a desert producing nothing himself and allowing no one to produce, there is an infinite difference.

When a man in our largest city may draw from a single acre of land a rental equal to the product of a hundred farms upon which men have given the toil of their lifetime, and when this rental is to continue age after age, increasing as the population increases, is there not a terrible miscarriage of that religion of love and equity, which we call upon mankind to observe?

Is it not unquestionably true that so long as we allow one part of society to charge the other part for the occupation of the face of the earth, we divide society into two distinct classes, compelling one part to do all the work and then enjoy but a fragment of what they produce, while the other part may enjoy all the benefits of civilization without bearing any of its burdens. This is not brotherhood but lordship and servitude.

In order to assist in the education of public opinion, so as to lead to the reform of this system, we ask you to pass and publish the following resolution:

*Whereas*, There is an infinite difference between the use of land for building, for raising crops and for other purposes of production, and the use of the land for extortionate speculation,

*Therefore, Be it Resolved*, That we earnestly urge that the method of taxation be so amended that no man will have his taxes increased for using his land honestly but that the tax will be increased upon the value of the land so as to remove the temptation to use it for extortion.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Mr. Gompers Speaks

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

In consequence of duties which brooked no postponement, I was unable until now to write you in connection with your editorial contained in your issue of March 23rd in which you again make a number of misleading and entirely baseless accusations against the American Federation of Labor as well as against me personally.

The circulation of such mis-statements is damaging both to the American labor movement and to the holy war for democracy in which we are all engaged.

It is absolutely untrue that American labor has at any time "churlishly rebuffed" the workers of England. On the contrary, we have succeeded in forming the most friendly relations which will be maintained

in spite of all the efforts of interfering mischief-makers to cause trouble between us. On the other hand, your prediction that we shall give a "cordial greeting" to any British labor delegation that comes to this country will prove to be well founded.

Out of your inexperience and lack of information regarding the labor movement you offer us the gratuitous advice to affiliate with the Socialist International. Your advice is doubly misleading. You ignore the fact that we are affiliated with the international labor movement in spite of the fact that a large part of the unions are out and out socialistic. You further ignore the fact that the Socialist parties of Europe contain very large and important non-labor-union elements with which there is no ground whatever for our affiliation. On the contrary, we regard all of these non-labor-union socialists as either mistaken fanatics or a group of politicians attempting to lure labor in the direction of Bolshevik suicide. We have not and shall not affiliate with the political Socialist parties of Europe no matter what the all-wise "intellectuals" may attempt to force.

You give us the strange advice that American labor needs to cooperate with British labor. We recognize this need not in theory but in practice. You, on the other hand fail absolutely to see that there is an equal need for British labor to cooperate with American labor. We are always ready to listen to their plans for social reconstruction, many of which have long been favored and declared by the American Federation of Labor (a fact which you strangely forget). But we demand that they shall give an equal hearing to our policies of avoiding the clap-trap and demagoguery of the political Socialists.

Not satisfied with endeavoring to create a conflict, where it does not exist, between British labor and American labor, you endeavor to portray another conflict which exists only in your imagination—namely, between myself and President Wilson—although you know that there has been between the American Federation of Labor and the Administration, especially since the war, both in home affairs and in foreign relations, the closest sympathy and support. It is you who take flat issue with the President. You say: "This war must become a holy war for democracy." It is the position of the President and of the American Federation of Labor that this is a holy war for democracy. You say that labor must be "in the political vanguard." Practically the entire press of America and the overwhelming majority of the American people recognize that labor is in the vanguard.

In view of the enthusiastic support of President Wilson by organized labor, a support recognized by the President in person at the Buffalo Convention, you proceed to make the infamously untrue statement that President Wilson has no party and no large organized group upon which he can depend. Not in all history has organized labor given more whole-hearted support to any government. Surely you must know that it is the fact of this support that has led to the most vicious attacks upon the American Federation of Labor on the part of the Socialist Party of the United States and of the European continental socialists.

As I have been repeatedly reelected to the presidency of the American Federation of Labor your characterization of my whole political philosophy as "cynical opportunism" is far more than a personal insult. It reflects upon the judgment, wisdom, and integrity of the American Federation of Labor. Nor can you find the slightest justification in anything that I have ever said or done for your amazing statement that I am "entirely satisfied with the present economic situation in this country."

As Chairman of the Committee on Labor of the Council for National Defense, a liberal plan of co-operation between employers and workers for the period of the war was drawn up at the very beginning of the great conflict. No country engaged in the war has been more successful in avoiding unnecessary industrial conflicts during the war period, and at the same time secured such economic and sociological improvements for the workers.

But the Administration of President Wilson and the American Federation of Labor have not been satisfied with this temporary working arrangement. Night and day during the past year we have worked to secure more permanent and efficient machinery for the settlement of labor disputes. For the past month a committee representing employers, appointed by employers' associations, and a committee of representative organized labor men, appointed by me, have met and agreed upon principles upon which the best conditions of labor can be secured, and a plan to carry them into effect perfected. This agreement was published in the newspapers on Sunday morning, March 31, and I do not hesitate to say has evolved more efficient machinery, laid down more efficient principles for the prevention or settlement of labor disputes than those evolved by any other nation during the war, and all of this without compulsion but by voluntary agreement.

The services of the American Federation of Labor, in this matter, one of the most vital elements of the whole war, have received full and fair recognition from practically the entire American people and press—with a very few exceptions, of which you are a conspicuous instance.

In justice to the influence of your publication, in justice to the American Federation of Labor, and in justice to the holy war for democracy in which we are engaged, you should not only publish this letter but also that you are morally obligated to withdraw your false and misleading statements.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President, American Federation of Labor.

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

It is impossible to avoid, at such a time, personal discrimination between the attitudes of those who speak as standard bearers of opposing opinions of influential groups. At this fateful hour of Armageddon, a body of British laborers has shown signs of war-weariness and a weakened courage. For this there is such sympathy as is consistent with a deep conviction that a little further perseverance will be its own great reward. Those brave and loyal leaders, who believe

this, with intense conviction, like Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, and Gompers and Walling, are issuing thrilling, mighty appeals, such as are inspired by the critical battle grounds of France, for renewed concentration, devotion and effort, to rally in support of the cause of democracy, human brotherhood, labor's security and welfare, and social service. Some of the adherents of the latter have been singularly cold to the great attack upon its very foundations, but nothing has shocked its many friends so much as his deliverance, who steps forward with a suggestion, calculated to benumb the war spirit and aid a defiant enemy, by encouraging an approach to him through "negotiations," by delegates to a "conference," intended to expose them to wily seductions to "chop and change" the irreducible peace terms (there only to be made with a democratic German government) already repeatedly and distinctly stated.

The President of the United States, the Premier of Great Britain, the spokesman of the Federation of Labor and of the true Socialists have been effectively heard. The "horn of Roland" (which Mr. Kellogg calls "swash-buckling") has echoed, not in vain; the Englishmen have foregone their passing doubts and fears, and buckled to!

The "avvocatus diaboli" is left without a client!  
ERVING WINSLOW.

New Haven, Conn.

## Real Estate and Income

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The explanation of singletax given by J. H. in THE PUBLIC for March 30th is comparatively clear, but he fails to state definitely that this reform involves the confiscation for public use of all land without compensation to the present owners. In Books VII and VIII of Progress and Poverty there is no concealment of this fact, and the "simpler, easier, and quieter way" is adopted in preference to direct action in order to avoid "a needless shock" to the present owners.

Mr. George says: "Let the individuals who now hold it still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call *their* land. Let them continue to call it *their* land. Let them buy and sell, bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent."

The real estate owner is to be deluded into thinking that he still owns the land while he is being deprived of it by a process of lingering torture, and is finally left only with the buildings upon it, tax free, it is true, but of doubtful value when obliged to produce the increased land tax. The necessity of protecting his investment in these improvements compels him to continue as owner of the land against his will and forces him to work at raising revenue for the State at "much less than the cost and loss involved in attempting to rent lands through State agency."

This may be a just punishment for the owner of real estate who, under our present laws, is seldom free

from the taint of misdemeanor and from accusation of oppression of the poor for the purpose of obtaining the exorbitant net return of 4 per cent.

Mr. George claims that the appropriation of rent by taxation "will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals, and taste, and intelligence, purify government and carry civilization to yet nobler heights."

If singletax will accomplish that program, modest though it be, let us adopt it immediately regardless of the protests of real estate owners; but if there are grave doubts of its success, singletaxers would outdo the socialists in confiscating without compensation wealth in the form of land, unjustly acquired though it may have been, and leave untouched and untaxed wealth in the form of personal property which may also have been unrighteously acquired.

The pertinence of relating facts regarding the recent decrease in land values, while the State requires an ever increasing revenue, is that such facts are contrary to established precedent and demonstrate the impossibility of determining the result of experiments with land, such as singletax.

The criticism of uncertainty applies to all reforms and a preponderance of evidence should be sufficient for us all, so let Mr. J. H. submit the proofs to establish the probability of the triumph of singletax in order that we may abandon all other agitation and devote ourselves only to this panacea.

WILLIAM FLOYD.

New York.

## Scientific Management

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Your issue of March 16, which came to hand late, seems to give further evidence, on page 325, that you scowl upon scientific management as a tool of privilege for the suppression of the laboring classes. My friend, Mr. Edward L. Lincoln, wrote to you recently on this point, and the truth is that if scientific management were of the character you seem a little disposed to give it, neither he nor I nor many others with ideals for the future would be trying to further it.

May I suggest that you should consider scientific management as a purpose, rather than as a device or a fixed method? Many make the mistake, just as I believe you do, of taking the reverse view. That may be because the instruments of scientific management, time-study, routing, planning, and all the rest, may be also used for the very dirty purposes of driving labor if the management of the plant be so disposed; but if a shop make use of these instruments to drive, it has nothing of scientific management, only a mean travesty on it. Tools effective for good are just the ones most productive of evil when in evil hands.

Perhaps another reason for the fear of scientific management on the part of earnest democrats is the fact that it has been argued for the most part on the

plea that it pays. But how else could you have interested a profit-minded business man in the matter? To the far-seeing democrat, interested beforehand in the square deal and the elimination wherever possible of privilege, however, the big thing about scientific management is not that it pays, but that it is the only sound way under present economic arrangements to find the right distribution of responsibility between management and men, to establish fairness and the square deal, to equalize opportunity within the shop. How it goes about this is matter for more extended discussion, but the thorough student of the matter must not miss the point that this is the object, and this more than anything else is the accomplishment.

Now, Taylor was extremely alive to the limitations of his doctrines in practice. He insisted continually that no shop had achieved scientific management until those on the management side had experienced a "complete mental revolution" respecting their obligations toward their employes, which meant recognizing that they have duties to perform and functions to fulfill which they never before thought belonged to them—which they had been in the habit of shifting upon the working people. He gave it as his experience that in respect of this mental revolution, the hardest men to reach were always those already at the top. It was always comparatively easy to convince the working man, but usually almost impossible to convince the managers. And the reason has already been stated, namely, that scientific management means the taking of unfair burdens off the working men and placing them on the men at the top, on whom they belong. That, will you not agree, is the opposite of driving.

I believe, therefore, that scientific management is the greatest possible force for real democracy in industry short of fundamental economic and social reform, which might insure that the men of the best instincts should have the best chance of reaching the top. But it is far more a matter of the disposition and the heart than of time-study and efficiency charts. The final test is the "complete mental revolution" on the part, mind you, of those at the top.

ARTHUR B. GREEN.

Erie, Pa.

## The Great Inequality

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I offer the following brief answer to A. P. Potter's question. What are our inequalities in association, to be remedied by the reign of equality in association. There is but one great and controlling inequality in association, the private holding of land without full public requirement of its rental value, to be used for public purposes. Neither tariff interferences with trade, private ownership of public utilities, private manipulation of money or large control of financial operations, the ownership of factories and machinery, or patents—none of these are worth talking about as inequalities in association beside the one main inequality.

Tariff interferences with trade, private utility ownerships and exploitations, juggling financing, machinery or process monopolies—all of these are to a large extent compensated for by a reduction in the value of locations in the country. Abolition of all of the apparent inequalities except the primary and all-important one would simply make locations in the country more valuable.

It appears plausible to favor improvements in various directions other than singletax, but analysis shows that the plausibility is only that and nothing more.

Unless the natural law of rent is fully appreciated and unless measures are taken to allow it to work for communal advantage, all else is largely a waste of time and effort.

GEORGE WHITE.

Long Branch, N. J.

## The De Witt Clinton Teachers

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I enclose a copy of a letter to Dr. Finley concerning the reinstatement of the three teachers dismissed from the DeWitt Clinton High School. We appreciate the friendly and just treatment you have given this case in your columns.

CHAS. B. STILLMAN.

To Dr. John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education, Albany, N. Y.:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers urges upon you the importance of the reinstatement of the three teachers dismissed from DeWitt Clinton High School. We are for this war, as our endorsement of the position of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, and our "Statement of Principles" show. Disloyalty in the ranks of American teachers could not be tolerated, and we would be particularly anxious to purge our own membership of any disloyal taint. But careful study of the stenographic report of the proceedings in the case of the dismissed teachers has convinced us that the only taint of Prussianism is to be found in the autocratic methods of the authorities involved who could bring themselves by misrepresentation to arouse public hysteria to cover their reactionary attempt to create an atmosphere of intimidation and servility in the schools.

This war has been made possible by the schools of Germany and it is disquieting to realize that our type of school system and school administration has been largely copied from Germany. To quote from the report of the Committee on Education unanimously adopted by the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor—"When consideration is given the effective part played by the Prussian school system in the development of the habit of instinctive, unthinking obedience on the part of the masses of the people, the vital importance to American institutions of breaking away from Prussian methods in our school system is driven home." And again—"It is timely to insist that while actual disloyalty to our country cannot be tolerated in our public schools or anywhere else, the public

must carefully assure itself that charges of disloyalty, or of any other nature that may be peculiarly effective at the time, are not cloaks under which official superiors may attempt to secure retaliation for a self-respecting lack of subserviency on the part of the teachers under them."

For maintaining the unity of our national spirit, nothing is more essential than the holding of the home lines for democracy. In these home lines the schools and the teachers hold the most important salient. Every unrebuked assault on the spirit of democracy at home gives a fresh vantage point to those who would weaken our morale by questioning the sincerity of our war for democracy.

In the interests of simple justice, and of an American spirit of democracy in our schools in this time of crisis when we most need it, we confidently appeal to you as a liberal in a period of liberalism to right a grave wrong.

CHAS. B. STILLMAN,

President American Federation of Teachers.

## Alsace-Lorraine

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

In the March 23 issue Mr. Theodore Schroeder opposes the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. He fears it would "duplicate unnecessarily the suffering of 1871." In his view "we should not blindly assume that all or even a majority of the children of forty-seven years ago who are still living and those born since (very many of whom are now middle aged men and women reared under German influence) are anxious to adopt France as their political parent."

Has Mr. Schroeder ever heard of Saverne? Or that notwithstanding the "German influence" to which he refers, exerted mainly by means of bayonets and jails, whereby the French tongue was outlawed, more people spoke French in Alsace-Lorraine in 1914 than in 1871? Or that the German troops on their way through Alsace-Lorraine at the beginning of this war were warned by their chiefs that they must consider themselves "in the enemy's country" and act accordingly? Or that wholesale executions took place at that time of "men and women reared under German influence," but who unhesitatingly gave their lives for France by betraying their sympathy for their beloved mother country and their hatred against the alien oppressor? In fact, what does Mr. Schroeder know about Alsace-Lorraine except the teachings of the German propaganda which he makes his own?

He urges a plebiscite. Who would vote at such plebiscite? The East Prussians and other Huns imported by Germany into Alsace-Lorraine? What right have they there? Mr. Schroeder concedes that "from the viewpoint of a real estate lawyer the title of France is perfect" but deprecates the notion that Alsace-Lorraine is to be restored to France merely because she is "the legal owner." But by what right, human or divine, are intruders to vote on the fate of the country, to whom the traditions of Alsace-Lorraine mean nothing, who are there merely as exploiters and oppressors? Is it because they bought the lands which a section of the French population in order to remain

French in nationality was compelled to relinquish as an incident of its exile? Would the German regiments in Alsace-Lorraine participate in the vote? As also the numerous office-holders sent into the country by the Kaiser? On the other hand, what opportunity would Mr. Schroeder give the exiles who await the expulsion of the Huns in order to return to their homes to participate in the plebiscite?

Then what of the interest of all France in the reintegration of Alsace-Lorraine into the national body politic? What has Mr. Schroeder to say about that? Does he consider that none is concerned in the problem except those who happen to be physically within given boundaries at a given time, whether a piece of a country is to be restored to it or not? Has not the whole country something at stake?

In the instance of Lorraine, does not Mr. Schroeder know that its seizure by Germany resulted in France being deprived of her main supply of iron ore, and in Germany's supply being increased to such extent that Germany was enabled thereby to launch her invasion of France with an overwhelming preponderance of steel output in Germany's favor? Cannot he conceive that by reason of this one factor more than any one other, Germany has been enabled to enslave Belgium, Northeast France, Poland and vast portions of Russia in addition to all Alsace, but a small part which the French have recovered, and most of Lorraine? Cannot he understand that today American soldiers are shedding their blood on the fields of France because American freedom is threatened by a power whose strength for aggression has been increased enormously by its possession of the Lorraine ore deposits, so much so that it has dared to attempt the subjugation of the whole world? Does he not perceive that on that account every lover of freedom has a vital interest in the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France? President Wilson does.

MAURICE LÉON.

New York.

## Grazing Land

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Referring to the letter of Earl Black, of Oscuro, N. M., in reference to a grazing tax and that the cattlemen would be exempt from taxation while the homesteader would be under such a burden, and calling attention to his complaint on this matter, I would like to call attention to the fact that range cattle occupy public land and that the head tax now placed on these cattle is really a land tax.

While the owner of the cattle does not own and possess the land in the ordinary sense, the ranging cattle take possession of it for him, so that the head tax now imposed by the Forest Reserves is really a tax for the use of land and will satisfy the objection that he makes.

In other words, the head tax is really a floating land tax.

Cattle on this range are now subject to such a tax levied by the Reserve Department, and in addition to this they are also subject to the county and state personal property tax. It is only the last that would be

repealed, and should be. The head tax charged by the Forest Department can then be equitably divided between the state, county and national governments.

In case his range is not under the jurisdiction of the National Forest Departments the county and state taxing body can then do the same thing.

Camp Verde, Ariz.

N. A. VYNE.

## BOOKS

### A Real Biography

W. E. Ford: A Biography. By J. D. Beresford and Kenneth Richmond. Published by George H. Doran Co., New York. Price \$1.35.

This book is in a very real sense, a human document. It pulsates with living thought and warm feeling. And it is much more than a biography; it is a testimony to the incommensurable power of friendship, "that mysterious cement of the soul, sweetener of life, and solder of society." For it is borne in upon the reader, that the spontaneity, the gracious though not servile admiration, the deliberateness and strength of the characterization, are indicative not only of absolute sincerity on the part of the authors, but of large reserves of unexpressed feeling. In the writings of each as they follow one another, the suggestion is conveyed of an artist with a full brush who knows his subject with that intimacy that accompanies affection, and who is under no necessity to guide himself with outline drawings. Unlike most biographies which the average reader opens with little hope of either entertainment or enlightenment, the interest of the book grows with each leaf that is turned. And the points of interest are many, apart from that of the character portrayed. There is a little of foreign travel and scientific research by the way; some valuable reflections on the subject of sociology evoked by a prolonged residence in the island of Palma; and there is not lacking the touch of romance without which no "life" can be complete. And last but by no means least, is the interest that attaches to the collaborators in the writing of this excellent book. It has been said that when Peter writes of Paul, he usually reveals as much of his own character as of that of his subject. Those gifted writers have not only achieved their purpose of erecting a worthy literary memorial to their deceased friend, but have incidentally and perhaps inevitably, written something of their own inner lives into the book; and the impression is left on our minds which we could wish were true in every case of young men starting out in life in pursuit of the ideal, and being drawn as by a spiritual force of gravity toward those who can best aid them on the path of attainment.

And who was this W. E. Ford?—is the question one naturally asks. Was he known in London society? Did the *Morning Post* make frequent mention of him? Did his name decorate the prospectuses of financial concerns floated in London? Did he invent anything, do anything, or say anything, to entitle him to immortalization as the subject of an exceptionally fine book?

His biographers would probably reply that not what he did, or the little that he said, but what he *was*, constituted his claim to recognition. And therein lies the supreme significance of the book. We are apt, like the fool, to keep our eyes upon the ends of the earth in the search for great men, and to overlook those by our sides. Like Carlyle's "Bobus Higgins, Sausage-Maker to His Majesty," we can "understand and worship the fame of talent, the power, cash, celebrity or other success of talent" but the talent itself we never see. We "will never vote for or promote any talent, except what talent or sham-talent has already got itself voted for." W. E. Ford was, we gather, a student and scholar by nature, a tutor to one of his biographers, and later on, a school master with original ideas on the subject of education, and died at the early age of 43 in Japan while engaged in collecting data for a work on the history of civilization. But here once more the gods had sent us an original man, and but for those two disciples with understanding hearts, the world had never heard of him. A man with both an inlook and an outlook—a man who saw, not through the eyes of others but by the power of his own vision.

A dreamer of the common dreams  
 A fisher in familiar streams,  
 He chased the transitory gleams  
 We all pursue;  
 But on his lips the eternal themes  
 Again were new.

The book is well planned. Part first, "A Personal Impression," is written by Mr. Beresford, and tells of his first chance meeting with Mr. Ford in a little inn at Shepperton near London, over a meal; of the conversation that ensued, and the intimacy that slowly but steadily ripened from that day in 1897 onwards. Part second, is from the pen of Mr. Richmond and is entitled "A Biographical Study" and may be regarded as the principal part of the book, being that part in which we get the outlines of his life and are permitted to accompany the author and his subject on their trip to the Canary Islands and part of the continent of Europe. Part third contains "A Few Notes on Ford's Philosophy" to which both authors contribute, and this completes the work.

To formulate "Ford's Philosophy" in a few sentences would be futile if it were possible, which it is not. The authors themselves do not attempt more than to present a few of his opinions on scattered subjects, political, ethical, æsthetic and speculative. It does not indeed appear that he propounded any revolutionary theories or attempted to shift the base of our ideas as to how things came to be as they are. His genius rather lay in extending the power of his thought into dark corners, and illuminating by the knowledge already at our disposal, problems that have hitherto seemed neither capable of solution nor worth the worrying about. For example, during a conversation at Palma in which the influence of natural beauty on men's minds came under discussion, he elucidates the subtle connection which few people are ready to admit, between æsthetics and morals, and concludes by saying,

"It is more blessed to give than to receive. That isn't morals, it's æsthetics. We all understand it to mean that it's finer—it's more beautiful. And if people have got a sense of beauty, they carry it out, simply and naturally. They prefer Give to Get, as a matter of taste." Considerations of space forbid further quotation but we heartily commend this book to all who like such reading. These, we know, are many and would be more, if the quality of biographical writings could be maintained at the standard of this one.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

## How a Prisoner Escaped

Outwitting the Hun. By Lieut. Pat O'Brien. Harper & Brothers, N. Y., 1918. \$1.50.

There is many a major-general in this war who will never be as famous as Lieutenant Pat O'Brien. An American by birth, he thought his country too slow in entering the war, but instead of staying at home to criticise the Administration he enlisted in the Royal Flying Corps. After a short but active campaign he found himself, severely wounded, in a German hospital. Escaping, later on, from a moving train bound for Strassburg, he made his way across Luxembourg and Belgium, and after many days of hardship and danger, reached Holland. The moral of it all, he says, is that despair is folly. Not that he was always hopeful—he had moments of despondency, but they passed away and he struggled on.

He tells us that the men of the German Flying Corps are chivalrous, but in this they are the exception to the German rule; that sanitary conditions in the prison camp at Courtrai were excellent but the food was poor and scanty; that the peoples of Luxembourg are pro-Germans; that the Dutch he met were extremely kind. And he knows things that he is not at liberty to tell us. He dismisses the idea that Germany will be conquered by starvation.

His narrative is worth reading and the moral is worth remembering—despair is folly.

WM. E. MCKENNA.

## To a Repentant City

When I consider how o'er desolate sands  
 Pale monoliths loom up amid the waste,  
 Then heavy grows my heart, and bitter taste  
 The tears that fall. How vainly are the hands  
 Of mortals cunning. In all ancient lands,  
 Rise bleak, deserted fanes, by time defaced,  
 That dumbly show with what o'erwhelming haste  
 Shall ruin raze what now in splendor stands.

But thou, O city of the thronging shores,  
 Hast heard another call than that of gold:  
 O'er alien deeps come mystic words of old,  
 Sounding their whispered warning at thy doors:  
 And if thou hearest, thou mayest yet bring in  
 That lovelier, nobler Rome that might have been!

RICHARD WARNER BORST.

The Princeton University Press will publish this spring the following titles: "A B C of the Federal Reserve System," by Edwin Walter Kemmerer; "Financing the War," by A. Barton Hepburn, and the letters of B. Stuart Walcott, a member of the Princeton class of 1917 who joined the French Flying Corps and was killed in his first combat with a German plane, December, 1917.

Among other books to be published this spring by the Princeton University Press are "Wasp Studies Afield," by Phil and Nellie Rau, reports of experiments and observations in America conducted in the same spirit as those by Fabre, in France; "Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence," by E. Baldwin Smith (No. 6, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, a series supervised by Allan Marquand); and "Crime Prevention," by Arthur Woods, former Police Commissioner of New York City. Other volumes scheduled for early publication by this house are: the third volume of "Early Egyptian Records of Travel," by David Paton, and "A Lithuanian Etymological Index," by H. H. Bender.

## Books Received

**American City Progress and the Law.** (Columbia University Lecture.) By Howard Lee McBain. Published by Lemcke & Buechner, 30 West Twenty-seventh Street, New York. Price \$1.50.

**Creating Capital.** By Frederick L. Lipman. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1918. Price 75 cents net.

**Higher Education and Business Standards.** By Willard Eugene Hotchkiss. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.00 net.

**The Next of Kin.** By Nellie L. McClung. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1917. Price \$1.25 net.

**In Our First Year of War.** By Woodrow Wilson. Published by Harper & Bros., New York. Price \$1.00.

**The Finished Mystery.** Studies in the Scriptures, series VII. Published by the International Bible Students' Association, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1917.

**The Sturdy Oak.** A composite novel of American politics by fourteen American authors. Edited by Elizabeth Jordan. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1917. Price \$1.40 net.

**The War and the Bagdad Railway.** By Morris Jastrow, Jr. Published by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, Pa., 1917. Price \$1.50.

**W. E. Ford.** A biography. By J. D. Beresford and Kenneth Richmond. Published by George H. Doran Company, New York, 1917.

**The Irish Issue in Its American Aspect.** By Shane Lealie. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1917. Price \$1.25 net.

**Miss Amerikanka.** By Olive Gilbreath. Published by Harper & Bros., New York, 1918. Price \$1.40 net.

**Outwitting the Hun.** By Lieutenant Pat O'Brien, of the Royal Flying Corps. Published by Harper & Bros., New York, 1918. Price \$1.50 net.

**Three Acres and Liberty.** By Bolton Hall. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.75.

**The United States and Pan-Germania.** By André Chéradame. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918. Price \$1.00 net.

**Universal Service: The Hope of Humanity.** By L. H. Bailey, author of "The Holy Earth." Published by Sturgis & Walton Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.25.

**Your Vote and How to Use It.** By Mrs. Raymond Brown. Published by Harper & Bros., New York, 1918. Price 75c. net.

**The Temple: A Book of Prayer.** By Rev. W. E. Orchard. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.00 net.

**The Substance of Gothic: Six Lectures on the Development of Architecture from Charlemagne to Henry VIII.** By Ralph Adams Cram. Published by Marshall Jones Co., Boston, Mass. Price \$1.50 net.

**The Nemesis of Mediocrity.** By Ralph Adams Cram. Published by Marshall Jones Co., Boston, Mass. Price \$1.00.

**Drink: A new and Revised Edition of "Drink and Be Sober."** By Vance Thompson. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.00 net.

**America After the War.** By an American jurist. Published by The Century Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.00.

**American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship.** By Sidney L. Gulick. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918. Price \$1.75 net.

**Co-operative Credit for the United States.** By Henry W. Wolf. Published by Sturgis & Walton Co., New York, 1917. Price \$1.50.

**Greater than the Greatest.** By Hamilton Drummond. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Price \$1.50 net.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending April 9

### President Wilson at Baltimore

President Wilson spoke at Baltimore on the 6th in behalf of the third Liberty Loan. He urged that the bonds be taken as a practical means of carrying on the war to preserve the sacred rights of free men the world over, for Americans "may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own." He protested that he had not judged the purposes of Germany intemperately, and had tried to discover her real purpose. He had been frank, and had asked the same treatment. "We have ourselves proposed no injustice," he said, "no aggression. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. . . . For we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord." The avowal of Germany's purpose, he said, comes not from her statesmen, but from her military leaders. They have had their way in Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine, in Rumania; but, he said, "they are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride." Should such a policy prevail, "everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind. What then are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely proposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer." In conclusion the President said:

Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible for us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

### European War

The great battle of Picardy, which had come to a stand at the end of the first stage on the last of March, was resumed with modified energy on the 4th. At-

tacks in force were made along the western side of the new salient at points above and below Amiens, but with small effect. Slight gains were made by the Germans southwest of Chauny, where the French fell back a short distance to the Ailette River. All these slight gains of territory by the Germans were made at the cost of a destructive loss of manpower. The exceptionally heavy artillery fire now in progress over a wide front is taken to indicate a new attack by the Germans. Very little detailed information has been given out regarding the battle. General Foch, now in command of all the Allied and American forces, expresses confidence that the Germans will not gain their point. The comment of German papers that have come out of the country express amazement at the cost of the battle to Germany, and are striving to reassure their people. There appears to be a feeling that they must win this battle or lose the war, and the delayed advance is prompting many explanations. Elsewhere on the battle fronts the news is very vague. Answering the Russian protest against the landing of German troops in Finland Germany has issued an ultimatum demanding in fulfillment of the Brest-Litovsk treaty the disarmament of all Russian warships in Finnish waters by April 12. Two Russian warships in the Gulf of Finland, according to reports from Petrograd, were fired upon by a larger force of German ships, and their commanders blew them up to escape capture. It is believed that Germany is making preparations to capture Kronstadt and the whole Russian fleet. Nothing definite is reported of army movements in Ukraina or Mesopotamia. The Turks are said to be advancing in the Caucasus. [See current volume, page 444.]

\* \*

American forces are now going forward as rapidly as ships can be got to carry them. Instead of holding them for further training in France, and the formation of divisions, they are distributed by battalions among the seasoned troops of France and Great Britain. Assurances are given that General Foch will hold unseasoned troops in the reserve until they have had opportunity to fit themselves for the task before them. The latest call for men in this country embraces 150,000 of the 800,000 who were to have been distributed over nine months. This call of 150,000 men will go into camp in five days, beginning April 26.

\* \*

The loss of ships by mine and submarine for the week fell to 6 vessels of over 1,600 tons, and 7 vessels under that tonnage. The question of shipping is still uppermost in all plans for war preparations. Japan is cooperating by commandeering merchant ships of her own countrymen and leasing them to the United States.

\* \*

Secretary of the Navy Daniels, speaking in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 6th, said the United States now had 150 war vessels operating in the war zone. The Secretary said he was not free to give the toll of submarines destroyed, but as an evidence of naval activity he instanced the work of one detachment of destroyers for a period of six months. These destroyers steamed

1,000,000 miles in war areas, attacked 81 submarines, escorted 717 single vessels, guarded 86 convoys, and spent 3,600 days at sea. He claimed that the American navy had been of material aid in reducing the toll of U-boats.

### Russia

A small force of Japanese and British marines was landed at Vladivostok on the 5th, following the murder of a Japanese subject. The Japanese admiral reported to his Government that the Russian authorities in Vladivostok were unable to maintain order, and asked for further orders. Official telegrams from Tokio say the landing of Japanese and British forces at Vladivostok was a purely local affair, and has no relation to a Japanese intervention in Siberia. The landing followed the pillaging of Japanese business houses, during which three Japanese were killed. The Moscow Government has made emphatic protest. Peace negotiations between Russia and Ukraina are to be conducted at Smolensk. The Department of Agriculture and Council of National Economy are making preparations for the approaching planting season by putting implements and seed in the hands of the peasants. Every effort is being put forth to secure a large crop. Famine is reported in parts of Ukraina. A German special correspondent of the Cologne Gazette warns his readers against expecting much food from the country for the present. Industry, he writes, is completely disorganized. Leon Trotzky, Minister of War, says all the enemies of the Bolshevik Government have been crushed, but that it cannot consider its power lasting because of the disorganized condition of the country. The time for organization and constructive work has arrived, he says, and it is necessary to raise the output of the working man and to dismiss undesirable elements. It is announced that the Russian Government is sending a delegation to the United States to liquidate Russia's war orders with American firms, and to arrange future trade relations. Russia was given a credit by the United States of \$325,000,000, of which \$187,789,000 was drawn against. [See current volume, page 444.]

### Congressional Doings

As the nation enters upon the second year of war Congress is increasing its efforts to finish its war legislation. The House is pushing the Draft Extension Bill, and the Senate is trying to come to a conclusion on several bills aimed at German spies and agents, curbing mob law against disloyalists, and stamping out propaganda. The selective draft for men reaching the age of 21 since June 5, 1917, passed the Senate. This bill is expected to add 700,000 names to the roll. Conferees of the House and Senate agreed on a bill providing penalties of twenty years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine for acts intended to injure or destroy war materials and utilities. Among the things mentioned are: Arms, munitions, live stock, clothing, food supplies, railroads, electric lines, canals, engines, machines, vehicles, vessels, dams, reservoirs, aqueducts, water and gas pipes, structures, electric, wireless, telegraph, and

telephone plants. The legislation also penalizes willful manufacture of defective war materials, including their ingredients.

Many military bills are now being disposed of by both House and Senate. In answer to numerous requests for a public hearing on the Irish question, Chairman Flood, of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, said there would be no hearing on that question at this time.

### The Third Liberty Loan

The campaign for the third issue of Liberty Bonds began throughout the country on the 6th, to continue four weeks, until May 4th. The bonds bear 4¼ per cent interest, and mature in ten years. The amount is \$3,000,000,000 and over subscriptions. They may be had on an initial payment of 5 per cent, 20 per cent on May 28, 35 per cent on July 18, and 40 on August 15. They may also be had on a weekly payment basis. It is hoped to make the subscription to the bonds as general as possible. Eight thousand speakers are working directly and indirectly under the Washington Speakers' Bureau, and the largest number of salesmen are enlisted that ever furthered a single enterprise in this country.

### Some By-Elections

Unofficial returns from the special election in Wisconsin to fill the seat made vacant by the death of Senator Paul O. Husting, give Irvine L. Lenroot, Republican, 142,527 votes; Joseph E. Davies, Democrat, 132,203; Victor L. Berger, Socialist, 96,802. Questions of loyalty entered into the campaign, and much bitterness was created by the strife between the friends and opponents of Senator La Follette. The comparatively small Republican vote, and the exceptionally large Socialist vote, are attributed variously to the German vote, to the La Follette following, and to the President's indorsement of the Democratic candidate. In the Chicago municipal election the Republicans lost two members of the City Council, and the Socialists one, while the Democrats gained three. The new Council will have 46 Democrats, 22 Republicans, and 2 Socialists. Members of the Socialist party claim they were badly handicapped by the war issue.

### War Industries Board

The reorganized War Industries Board, of which Bernard M. Baruch is chairman, announces a program to place the resources and industries of the nation on a sound basis that will remove the cause of delay and confusion that has prevented the United States from doing its full duty in the present crisis. According to the announcement issued on the 7th war needs are to be considered first when the available supply is not sufficient for both military and civil requirements and non-essential industries will be curtailed or converted in whole or in part into war industries if the emergency demands. Surveys have been started to give the Government a comprehensive grasp of the resources of industries in order that they may work in accord, and

in order that there may be adequate shipping facilities. The rulings of the Board are limited only by the review of the President.

### Adjusting Shipbuilders' Wages

In order to allay the unrest at the yards, and to stop the shifting of men from place to place the Shipbuilding Adjustment Board rendered its decision on the 6th, prescribing wages, hours, and other conditions in the shipyards of the North Atlantic Coast. The new rules will go into effect April 22. The inequalities in regard to wages and conditions in the various yards were such that one yard reported a daily loss of 200 men. The Board has undertaken to consider all the factors involved, in order to make an adjustment equalizing conditions, not only as between the several yards on the Atlantic Coast, but as between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

### New Aids to Baker

President Wilson sent to the Senate on the 6th the nominations of Edward R. Stettinius and Frederick F. Keppel, both of New York, to be Assistant Secretaries of War. These are two new offices to carry out plans for placing the War Department on a better basis for conducting the war. Under the new plan Secretary Baker will be relieved of most of the administrative work of the department and the army, and will be freer to devote himself to questions of policy relating to the conduct of the war. The administrative work will be in charge of Benedict Crowell, the present Assistant Secretary, who is acting Secretary during Mr. Baker's absence in Europe.

### A Deplorable Outbreak of Lawlessness

A mob at Collinsville, Ill., a mining town about eight miles east of St. Louis, hanged Robert P. Prager in a frenzy of madness. The victim was charged with being pro-German, and with having said things disloyal to the country. It is reported that there were rumors that he was secreting powder in the mine for the purpose of blowing it up. Governor Lowden, of Illinois, has taken the matter in hand, and is prepared to act on the finding of the coroner's jury.

### War and Probation

Delinquency among young girls has been increased by the war, according to the annual report of the Probation Commission for 1917. During the year ending June 30, 1917, 21,847 persons were placed on probation by the courts of New York, an increase of 13 per cent. over 1916. While 6,820 children under 16 were dealt with on probation during the year, more than twice as many adults were dealt with. Of all the cases placed on probation, 76 per cent. completed it with improvement; 13 per cent. returned to the court for sentence, and only 5 per cent. were lost from oversight. The Commission recommends the employment of efficient probation officers, men and women, in every city and county in the State.

NOTES

—The thirty-third annual meeting of the National Editorial Association will be held this year on June 3 at Little Rock, Arkansas.

—A resolution fixing the minimum salary of New York municipal employes at \$1200 has been introduced in the Board of Aldermen by the Socialist aldermanic delegation.

—All woolen mills in the country were directed by the War Department on the 5th to hold their looms at the service of the Government until July 1, in order to secure adequate cloth for uniforms.

—More than \$300,000 resulted from the campaign to send American women doctors abroad to care for women and children in the war stricken regions of Europe. The "Battalion of Life" is the name under which they will go.

—Massachusetts is the eleventh State to ratify the Federal prohibition amendment. The Senate adopted the amendment on the 2d by a vote of 27 to 12. The House took similar action on the 26th by a vote of 145 to 91.

—August Eckstein, of the Port Newark shipyards, drove 1,967 rivets in a day of nine hours. This is almost double the highest number known in this country, and required four helpers instead of the usual two to supply the hot rivets.

—Governor Edge, of New Jersey, announced himself on the 5th as a candidate for the Republican nomination for Senator. Two other candidates, George L. Record and Austen Colgate, will contest the nomination. Alexander Simpson is thus far the only avowed Democratic candidate.

—Owing to sickness in the former Imperial Russian family, now at Tobolsk, the Red Cross has petitioned the Bolshevik Government to give the family ordinary rations instead of the soldier's allowance. It has been decided to give the family 300 rubles a month which, before the depreciation of the ruble, would be equal to \$150.

—Captain Bowen Colthurst, who was found guilty by a court-martial, in June, 1916, of the murder of three Dublin editors, Francis Sheehy Skeffington, Thomas Dickson, and Patrick McIntyre, and confined as a lunatic in Broadmoor "during the King's pleasure," has been released and is now in a private hospital.

—T. J. S. Harrison, Irish Nationalist, defeated Milroy, Sinn Feiner, for Parliament for East Tyrone by 1,800 to 1,219. The election was called to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Captain William A. Redmond to contest the seat that had been held by his father, the late John Redmond, for Waterford. Captain Redmond won his seat also in a contest with a Sinn Feiner.

—Americans are returning to the sea, says Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union. This is the result of the Seamen's bill, which gives to sailors the same rights that are enjoyed by

men on land. American sailors on the Pacific have increased from less than one per cent to more than ten per cent; on the Atlantic the increase has been from less than ten per cent to over twenty-five per cent.

—In view of a debt of \$1,000,000, and a monthly deficit of \$5,000 in the city of Little Rock, Arkansas, the local trade unions have petitioned the city council to amend the occupation tax so that three-fourths of the revenue or three mills raised shall be levied against the privilege of land ownership, and be apportioned according to the assessed valuation of all lots, exclusive of improvements, and one-fourth or one mill against all other businesses and occupations.

—Children's Year is to be the name borne by the twelve months from April 6, 1918, to April 6, 1919, according to the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The Bureau proposes to take a physical valuation of the children of the United States with a view to aiding those who are subnormal. By a system of weights and measurements each child will be compared with certain standard types, and pronounced departures from these standards will receive special attention from experts who will attempt to correct the deficiencies. Parents who wish to enter their children in the national test should communicate with the local chairman of the Child Welfare Committee of their State Council of National Defense.

**The Public**  
A Journal of Democracy

Founded, 1898-1918, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE THACHER POST

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**Women's Trade Union League of Chicago**  
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Schiller Hall, 64 West Randolph Street  
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BY MRS. JOHN B. SHERWOOD

Before the days of this tragic world war, Mrs. Sherwood toured Europe and secured many beautiful pictures. Among the most beautiful are those of Venice and Mrs. Sherwood wants the members and friends of the Women's Trade Union League to share in these lovely scenes. She has generously offered to show the pictures and tell the story of Venice and how it came to be the city built in the sea.

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# Free Under the Heel

**P**RESIDENT WILSON in his speech on the anniversary of America's declaration of war, used a striking sentence to describe the German idea of freedom, as shown by recent events in Russia and Rumania. "The people of conquered provinces," he said, "are invited to be free under Germany's dominion."

Practically all the journals of the country are a unit in urging the prosecution of the war, and THE PUBLIC is proud, in this instance, to be "with the crowd." It, however, aims to perform an additional service: to develop an understanding public opinion that will, after the war is won, uphold President Wilson's ideal for the reconstruction of the world.

It is safe to say that after the war 99% of the powerful journals now supporting President Wilson will marshal all their forces to assail the new social order for which he stands. And it was with all this in mind that THE PUBLIC began its drive this month for 5,000 subscriptions from liberal women of influence. The vote women will have after the Federal Amendment is passed (as it will be) is not enough. That is only a starting point. With the vote women (and men) can be free yet still be under the heel of ignorance!

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Washington, March 3, 1918.

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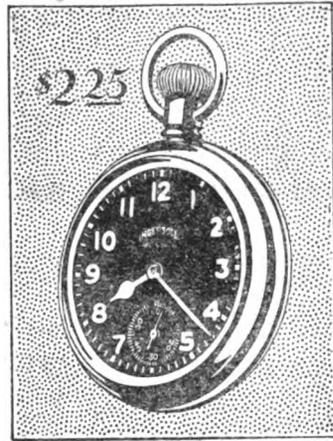
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