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What About the Packers?

William Kent

The Newspapers *versus* President Wilson

Mr. Gompers and the British Labor Party

Published Weekly
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April 27, 1918

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By EARL BARNES



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The Public

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXI

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Number 1047

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The pause in the fight on the western front gives an opportunity to see and estimate the events that are taking place elsewhere. Attention naturally returns to the eternal puzzle of Russia. There is apparent confirmation of the report that Allied forces have been landed on the Kola Peninsula to protect the Murman coast and keep the railway to the Arctic from being cut by the Finnish White Guards. To shut off Petrograd from the White Sea is a natural ambition of Finland's new ally. As the Murman railway lies well outside Finnish territory, an attack upon it from the west would mean a departure on the part of Finland from the policy of defense and the beginning of aggression upon Russia. The element of surprise in the fact that the Allies and Bolsheviki have found any point where they could co-operate threw doubt upon this report when it first came from the London *Times* correspondent at Petrograd in the first days of the month. It is obvious that another reason for conflict between Russia and the Central Powers has developed in connection with Finland. And while it is a minor affair, no opportunity for assurance to Russia of Allied sympathy and support can be disregarded.

It is curious that after generations of unyielding resistance to the Russian attempt to absorb her, Finland should at a stroke deliver herself, bound politically and economically, as a vassal state of Germany. The ancient fear of, and antagonism to, Russia has pushed her, like the other border provinces, into the bondage from which she was trying to escape. Under the new treaty there is the deceptive window dressing of a German guaranty of Finland's integrity and independence. Along with this Finland agrees not to make any territorial rearrangement without the consent of Germany. It is, however, in the commercial field that the German advantage appears. A complete equivalence of rights in commerce of German and Finnish subjects and companies is declared,—a provision which abrogates a principle to which Finland rigidly adhered in her long opposition to Russia. The treaty means, politically, a protectorate, and commercially, complete domination. It is becoming more evident that Germany means to use Finland as a starting point of further military aggression upon Russia, to complete the wall which will shut her from the outside world.

* * *

The occupation of Caucasian provinces ceded by Russia to the Turks is not an altogether simple matter. It is reported that the Georgians are offering violent resistance, which is giving occasion for German protest to the Soviet Government. This protest overlooks the fact that the Trans-Caucasian provinces have not been within the Lenine jurisdiction, having constituted themselves an independent republic under the general leadership of M. Tscheidse, famous as leader of the Moderate Socialists. At this point also a hostile relation with the Central Powers may develop well worthy of being watched by the Allied governments.

* * *

It is naturally in the Far East that good or bad

relations between Russia and the Allies will be established. Latest reports mention a strengthening of the Japanese forces at Vladivostok. Nothing could be more harmful in connection both with Russian feeling and with Allied unity than a prolonged period of doubt and suspicion as to the meaning of this occupation. Silence constitutes it a menace; and in the absence of a clear statement speculation is certain to be rife. If it is a bona-fide measure, immediately or even more remotely to combat and weaken the Central Empires, democratic opinion is prepared to see justification even with doubts of its wisdom. But if, for example, there is any motive derived from fear of Russia's repudiation of her debt, it is another matter. What liberals the world over want is assurance from a responsible source. In any case, they desire to be freed from a campaign of coercion of the kind illustrated in one of the articles appearing in this issue. There is as yet no ground for questioning the objects of Japan, but no one can deny that there is plenty of room for explanation.

* * *

THE PUBLIC has what it accepts as convincing assurance that the nation-wide propaganda for committing this country to a policy of universal military service after the close of this war has failed so far as the present Congress is concerned,—that there is not the slightest likelihood of action in favor of such a measure by the House, even if the Senate should pass it. It would be interesting and valuable to have an investigation of this propaganda and who is paying for it by a committee of Congress. Mr. Howard H. Gross, president of the Universal Military Training League, is one of the most active professional propagandists behind the movement. He wrote recently to Justice L. E. Birdzell of the Supreme Court of North Dakota for an expression of opinion, and received a reply which closed as follows: "I am heartily in favor of this war and am willing to make any sacrifice to see it carried to a successful conclusion, but I trust that one of the consequences of the termination of the war will be the placing of the stamp of general public disapproval upon the activity of your organization. Otherwise, I think that much of the great sacrifices made in the interest of civilization will have been in vain." Justice Birdzell was professor of law at the University

of North Dakota and was elevated to the Supreme Bench largely through the support of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League.

* * *

The problem of food production is rapidly passing to the stage of crisis. Only a month remains as the outside limit for seeding land in even the most northerly areas. The American people seem capable of appreciating this problem only under the menace of actual famine. They do not understand that the hunger of next winter must be averted now. It is assumed that if the war continues our Allies must have food. If the fighting in France this summer is inconclusive, the fact that food will win the war will have a ghastly demonstration. Victory will fall not merely to the side that has reserves of men left, but to the side that has an extra ration. No army or people can resist the demoralization that is entailed by extreme hunger. There is every reason to believe that the Central Powers will be in worse straits than the Allies; but there is every prospect that next winter will be a period of undreamed-of privation. Evidence is accumulating that wheat production in this country will fall far below the level of last season. The situation is one of grave emergency calling for drastic measures. It is obvious that we are incapable within a limited period of so reconstituting the basis of our agricultural industry as to give the farmer that which has been denied him for a generation—a real chance to exist. But what we can do is to take as war measures the urgent steps in connection with seed, machinery, labor, farm credit, storage, transportation, and the packing industry, which will make less menacing the imminent food shortage of next winter.

* * *

In dropping the word "Coast" from its title *The Coast Seamen's Journal* of San Francisco has broadened its name to fit the wider field it has come to occupy. The *Journal* was started thirty years ago as the organ of a handful of organized seamen on the Pacific coast, but it had the good fortune to come under the sway of men who saw in the labor cause something more than a class movement. Their efforts in behalf of seamen applied as well to all classes. Not only did they see and realize the deplorable condition of sailors—the last of the industrial serfs to be

emancipated from personal thralldom—but they saw also that institutional thralldom that bears so heavily upon society as a whole. When they spoke for the rights of the men at sea their words applied with equal force wherever liberty was lacking. It was this universal plea that carried the *Coast Seamen's Journal* to all parts of the United States and to the maritime ports of the world. Thus, it was not only the leading organ in securing the passage of the Seamen's bill, which extended to sailors the rights of landsmen, but it has been instrumental in the work of bringing both employe and employer to see that the labor problem was at bottom something more than a mere question of hours, wages and recognition. It is a question not only of adjustment of man to man, but of men to environment as well. And whatever the changes to be brought about in the relations of employes to employers, there still remains the question of legal privilege that preys upon both. It is because the *Seamen's Journal* has this broader point of view that THE PUBLIC congratulates it upon its growing worth in an enlarging field.

To Free the Meat Industry

Surely no one except the packers themselves can find fault with the program for dealing with the meat monopoly that is outlined by Mr. William Kent in an article in this issue. It embodies the necessary steps on which all unbiased men who share Mr. Kent's intimate knowledge of the industry are agreed. The country will expect nothing less either from the interdepartmental committee now deliberating on a method of handling the industry during the war or from the Federal Trade Commission, which is preparing a report covering its investigation just closed. In this connection perhaps the best testimony is that of live stock commission men at the big markets. They act as agents for the shippers in selling live stock to the packers, and they are in a position that enables them to view the problem impartially. For, while their commissions come from the growers, their only market is furnished by the packers, and they are more or less at the latter's mercy and loath to incur their ill-will through criticism. Yet under direct questioning by Mr. Francis J. Heney, counsel for the Trade Commission, they cautiously but unequivocally declared their conviction that the

packers' ownership of the stockyards at Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, Sioux City, Denver, and the other large markets was wrong and should be superseded by public ownership. Half a dozen prominent commission men could be quoted, but the testimony of Mr. E. W. Houx of Kansas City is typical. The following is taken verbatim:

Mr. Heney.—What is the effect on production of these violent fluctuations in the market?

Mr. Houx.—I think it has a disastrous effect. Men will come to town and lose a barrel of money on cattle and they can see no reason why there should be this violent fluctuation, and it naturally puts the producer at loggerheads with the packer, and he goes back with a bad feeling against them, and instead of taking a profit home he some times has a note in the bank.

Mr. Heney.—With a reduced number of cattle in the entire country, with labor fully occupied and plenty of work for every man; with a certainty that there is not enough meat to meet the demand at reasonable prices, would any producer or feeder be justified in assuming that in raising a staple product like beef, the risk and speculative element ought to be removed so that he could feel reasonably certain that if he fattened the animals he would get paid a fair profit for his time and expenditure?

Mr. Houx.—Absolutely so.

Mr. Heney.—Is that the condition, however?

Mr. Houx.—No, it is not. The producer is not getting a fair deal out of this meat business. Somebody is robbing him; I do not know who it is but the government ought to find out who it is.

Mr. Heney.—That is what we are trying to do. Do you think the ownership of the Stock Yards by the big packers has a tendency to impede competition?

Mr. Houx.—That is rather a broad question, Mr. Heney, but as an abstract principle, it is wrong because it leads a man into temptation. He may be ever so good a man, but if he is surrounded with enough influence it is mighty hard for him to stand up against that influence and it ought not to be allowed. The Government should not allow packing houses to control the Stock Yards, and banks and railroads and terminals and every facility for handling beef in this country; it is absolutely wrong.

Mr. Heney.—They start with the loan bank and loan the money to the feeder at a good high rate of interest; they control the terminal railroads over which the feeders go out, and over which the finished cattle will come back; they fix the rates on those; they fix the stock yards charges for yardage; they furnish the feed and sell it at a high price, that must be given to the animals during the short time they are in the yards; they do the weighing themselves, because they control the stock yards that run the scales. So, there is a constant temptation from the time that the thing starts until it is through with for the packer to take advantage, and the opportunity for it?

Mr. Houx.—It is in absolute conflict with the Lord's

Prayer where it says: "Lead me not into temptation," and there is no man can stand the influence that is put around him.

Mr. Heney.—Then, not being satisfied with having a reach-in on the transportation and on the feeding and on the yardage, why after it goes to the retailer they go around and monopolize the buying and the waste with their rendering plants, and at the yards they arrange it so they buy the dead animals?

Mr. Houx.—Yes, they do that.

Mr. Heney.—And they attempt to do it at a price that is perhaps a little above an average rate of interest?

Mr. Houx.—They set the price of the dead animals; you do not have anything to do with that.

And Mr. John Fitz Roberts of Omaha testified that he thought "it would be a grand thing if the stock yards could be separated from the packing-house companies."

"A man that was superintendent of the yards once told me that he was told not to be hunting around for more buyers," said Mr. Roberts. "We had buyers enough here. I helped the Yards Company fight the water works, but since we have got the water works in here I find that the municipal ownership of the water works is the greatest thing that ever came to Omaha, and I think if the Government owned the stock yards or controlled them in some way, it would be much better than it is. The Government would see the necessity of where things were needed at different markets and distribute them better."

Mr. John Grimm of Denver is president of the Silver State Packing Co. and one of the several independent Denver packers who have been practically eliminated since Armour and Swift got control of the Denver yards.

The following is from the record of his testimony:

Mr. Heney.—Mr. Grimm, in your opinion does the ownership of the Stock Yards at Denver by the two big packing companies, Armour and Swift, the control of it by them, does that have anything to do with the conditions that have been brought about there which you have described.

Mr. Grimm.—I think that is all the reason. That is the most and biggest factor of their coming in with this unjust and unfair business.

Q.—Do you think that notwithstanding the price cutting, the unfair practices in price cutting that have been described, that if the control of the stock yards was entirely free of the big packers you would be able to buy in such a way that you could still compete? Is that your idea?

Mr. Grimm.—Still do an open free business for the

feeders and for the man that invests his money in cattle, sheep and everything. The independent packing houses would stop all this manipulation. A Government stock yards to my notion, owned by the Government, would eliminate all these unfair practices, and the little men will put up a million dollar packing house, two or three of them. I owned some stock in it and they virtually busted us up. . . . They put in a couple of million dollars, but they could not compete with Swift and his unfair methods. They were not afraid to spend their money, but they could not continue. And another house, in which I was interested in a small way, they sold out to the trust, of course.

And Mr. A. A. Blakeley, president of the Denver Live Stock Exchange and vice-president of the National Live Stock Exchange, supplemented testimony to the same effect by the following cogent observation: "I have noticed the Government, or city governments, never own anything that pays, and usually the corporations don't allow them to own anything."

A striking illustration of the methods resorted to by the big packers was presented by testimony regarding the experience of R. Hurni, an independent packer at Sioux City, where Swift & Co. own the yards. After a long uphill fight, during which his business developed in spite of odds, Mr. Hurni sold out to Swift. For many years he had attempted to open a direct alleyway through the yards to his plant and to obtain switching facilities. The first was denied him by the stock yards company and the second by the city council. The necessity of carting his products to the nearest switch track cost him as much as \$30 a carload. When Swift obtained ownership of the plant a passageway was promptly cut through from the yards and the city council as promptly granted right of way for a switch track.

It is an opportunity for the Federal Government to disprove Mr. Blakeley's conclusion that "the corporations don't allow them to own anything" of value, and surely there can be no doubt of the outcome.

Patrioteering and Hysteria

President Wilson has written a letter to Senator Overman, strongly opposing the Chamberlain bill to turn all prisoners accused of propaganda, sabotage or spying over to courts martial. This assures its defeat and probably means a turn of the tide. Hysteria reached its height in Wash-

ington last week when witnesses for this bill appeared before the Senate Military Affairs Committee and talked indiscriminately of firing squads for strike leaders, Socialists, and divers others. One of the witnesses was Chairman John F. McGee of the Minnesota Public Safety Commission, who said the work of the Department of Justice in Minnesota had been "a ghastly failure" and that the firing squad should now work overtime in his State. "What we need is a court that can't be fooled with a lot of technicality and red tape," said this guardian of law and order. "You can't fool a military court." Mr. McGee's contempt for the established judicial processes of his country is illuminating, and helps to explain a situation in Minnesota that has required all the influence of the Federal Government to prevent organized workmen and farmers from answering in kind the provocations of men resorting to reckless patrioteering in their attempts to discredit organizations that threaten the privileges of the great millers, grain brokers, bankers, and steel interests. Pessimists still fear serious disorder in Minnesota if local authorities persist in baiting the Farmers' Nonpartisan League with disloyalty in the face of the fact that the Federal Government has sent emissary after emissary to address League assemblies, and that one after another has come away convinced of the League's loyalty. The latest instances are the visits of Mr. William Kent of the Federal Tariff Commission and of Capt. W. S. A. Smith of the Federal Farm Loan Board. Mr. Kent has two boys in the service and is one of the most hard-headed and canny liberals in the country. Yet he believes in the Nonpartisan League and is lending his aid to their efforts to unite the farmers on a program of economic reform. The thing for liberals to do is to discount outcroppings in the press and elsewhere of hysteria and the spirit of witch-burning, and to remember that President Wilson is on the job, together with a corps of Federal officials overwhelmingly in accord with his policy, and a majority in the Lower House, at least, who can be counted upon to block any ill-advised action. Senator Borah's service in opposing the Chamberlain bill is another thing to remember to his credit. There is a belief in Washington that "patrioteering" has passed its flood tide, and that hereafter it will become increasingly more difficult for special interests to use the loyalty issue as a club to destroy their opponents. What

the situation would seem to demand is drastic Government action followed by full publicity in the case of convicted spies. With an assurance that actual cases of spying were being dealt with, the country's common sense can be counted upon to abate hysteria and discredit those who seek to arouse passion for selfish ends.

For the Ears of Statesmen

Neither Mr. Hoover, nor Secretary Houston, nor Secretary McAdoo, nor any American interested in making this the best possible country can go back often enough to a consideration of the facts presented with such deadly simplicity and with such dire implications in an official bulletin of the Department of Agriculture issued in 1912. Said the Department in its summing up of an intensive investigation of farm land holdings:

"The lack of further opportunity for taking up desirable public lands in our Western States and the consequent rise in the price of farm lands practically all over the country has resulted in an increase in tenant farming, especially in those sections where land values have risen to the point at which it is exceedingly difficult for the purchaser of a farm to meet both living expenses and interest on his indebtedness and also make payments on the principal. It can hardly be doubted that tenant farming will further increase in this country, and that ultimately the land will largely be owned by the wealthier classes and be farmed by tenants with moderate capital."

Here, in two dispassionate sentences, we have the text for a thesis that could easily include an explanation of pretty much all that is wrong with our economic situation in America. It involves the existence of 5,000,000 migratory laborers and the appearance of the I. W. W., the gradual closing of opportunity and the gradual growth of industrial unrest, now being temporarily abated by war wages and the understanding policy of President Wilson and Secretaries Wilson, Baker and Daniels; it involves the high cost of living and the popular resentment against monopoly and special privilege and unearned incomes; it involves congestion in cities and the establishment in urban communities of the same conditions that are sapping the health of our agriculture. It involves, that is, private monopoly control of the land and other natural resources, and the use of this control by the com-

parative few to exact toll from the many, to penalize enterprise and industry; to control the opportunities and therefore the lives of the working and producing masses; to squat at strategic points everywhere and play dog in the manger, so that the community must pay huge unearned tolls or go without its necessities.

Now, when the Nation needs revenues, food, and the utmost possible freedom for enterprise and productive energy, would seem to be the time for the Federal Government to establish the theory of beneficial use for every lot and every acre and every God-given resource, and to do this by using the taxing power against those who either withhold beneficial use by themselves or permit it to others only on the usurious terms of our rental system.

Our Finance Program

The Treasury Department should herald as loudly as possible the remarkable fact that 50 per cent or more of the total net expenditures of the United States for the fiscal year 1918, exclusive of advances to Allied Governments, will be defrayed by taxation. It is remarkable not in itself but in the light of Treasury estimates, which anticipated a proportion of about \$1 of taxes to \$5 of bonds. But two things have happened. Instead of spending the estimated \$12,000,000,000, exclusive of loans to the Allies, we shall spend about \$7,000,000,000. And instead of yielding between two and three billions, according to Treasury estimates, the war revenue act and the normal revenues will yield nearly four billions. A paragraph tucked away in the April Bulletin of the Federal Reserve Board tells the story. It says:

Assuming total payments to the Allies during the current fiscal year of 5 billions, total disbursements of 12 billions, and receipts from taxation of 3.9 billions, we may estimate that of the total net expenditure of the United States for the fiscal year 1918, exclusive of advances to Allied Governments, more than 50 per cent will be defrayed by taxation.

This is a showing that no other nation has made, and we may well be proud of it, even if it resulted not from calculation, but from a material reduction in expenditures from the estimated total and a material excess in tax collections over and above estimates. For many thousands whose

thinking on the subject had been guided by the Treasury estimates this is news that will quicken their response to the loan appeals, because it will remove dissatisfaction based on the belief that we were not living up to the policy outlined by the President a few weeks after we entered the war. The fact is that we *are* living up to that policy and have made a showing in this respect far superior to that of any other nation at war.

This does not mean that democratic forces in the country will abate their demand for early action by Congress on a revision of the revenue act, as promised recently by Chairman Kitchin of the House Ways and Means Committee. There are still huge resources that have scarcely been touched. One of these is land values, which have increased enormously at the great railroad terminals, both inland and on the seaboard, and in scores of communities like Philadelphia, Washington and New York. Hundreds of millions have been added to land values without the slightest service from the owners in return. And in every farming district the land owner has reaped a golden harvest at the expense of the communities dependent on his land for food. And in the matter of excess war profits there is still no excuse for failure by Congress to segregate industries that are profiting hugely as a direct result of the war, and to take 80 per cent flat of their excess above normal profits, after due allowances for depreciation and extensions.

A New Era for Labor

The new War Labor Board is about to begin its work in Washington as a permanent organization for the period of the war. Ex-President Taft and Mr. Frank P. Walsh are still to be the joint chairmen, and the five employers and five labor representatives are the same who drew up the agreement on procedure and principles that will govern the Board's work. The Board starts off with the good will and fervent hopes of the Nation behind it, and with every indication that it will be able to apply its principles to specific industrial disputes. It is significant that the Bolsheviki of neither side have a word to say in dissent. The five employers apparently have carried with them thus far the full support of the open shop, anti-union employers whom they represent.

The prospect is encouraging that the right of

employees to organize is at last to be recognized in fact as well as theory, and that we are seeing the close of an industrial era—the era when labor organizations have had to fight with their backs to the wall for the very right to exist, so that their strategy was the hard, intense, narrow strategy of a perpetual emergency. If this is so, it means that we are entering an era when organized labor can get its breath, re-examine its principles and methods, and turn more of its attention to political action in favor of fundamental reforms. With its right to organize and bargain collectively assured, labor can afford to take a longer view of many such questions as scientific management. In the past it has had to fear always the abuse of such devices for the purpose of defeating organization and then cutting rates of pay after the men are defenseless. All these difficulties will not disappear over night, and there is many a hard turn ahead before anything like a general application of the Board's principles is arrived at. But the prospect is bright. With respect to the splendid showing of the Department of Labor in conciliating disputes during the past year, which Mr. Hugh L. Kerwin records in an article contributed to this issue, it is worth while noting that the War Labor Board is not to take up any dispute until the Department's regular normal resources of conciliation have been exhausted.

Where Mr. Gompers Stands

In his editorial section of *The American Federationist*, the April number of which is just at hand, Mr. Gompers is torn between a desire to be cordial to the British Labor Party and an antipathy to its program of economic reconstruction. He writes:

"A report on reconstruction by its sub-committee was made to the British Labor Party. The document is comprehensive, fine in spirit, tremendously hopeful in outlook. It is inspiring to look forward into the future anticipating what Labor may achieve in years to come. We gather courage for the struggle by appreciating the full meaning of the purpose to be achieved. The document which has been submitted to the Labor Party reflects the broad clarity of vision and the experience of its author. . . . There is much that meets the indorsement of the American labor movement."

Mr. Gompers then proceeds to demolish the British document as a precedent to serve for the guidance of the American movement. He writes:

"But the first striking contrast of fundamental importance is that the British proposal deals with Labor's achievements in the future wholly in political terms. The problems are formulated as political issues and the agency designated is the political party. In England the Labor Party seeks a wider field of activity, even domination of the labor movement. In the United States conditions are different. Labor's welfare and protection is regarded as fundamentally an economic problem to be dealt with by economic agencies."

Mr. Gompers goes on to point out that the American labor movement has always rejected all attempts by the "intellectuals" to dominate the movement, and asserts that "American labor resents the invidious distinction implied in the phrase used in the British document, 'hand or brain workers.'" And in conclusion he finds that "the American reader finishes the document entitled 'Labor and the New Social Order,' with a feeling of exultation stirred by the hope of what the future may bring, but when he turns to concrete problems that must be worked out today and tomorrow, and through each day that follows, he finds little practical help for real achievements. In the future, as in the past, we must trust to the economic organization of the workers. Whatever glorious reconstruction ideal may be painted by any word brush, it can have reality only through achievements by those who with hands and brains do the actual work of production."

An uninformed person might conclude from this that Mr. Gompers was one of those radical laborites who shunned association with any but wage earners and who placed all his reliance on the strike,—a labor leader, in fact, of the syndicalist school. Yet Mr. Gompers' legislative agents work actively for workmen's compensation acts, eight-hour bills, and anti-child labor bills, and against prohibition. And several powerful state federations belonging to the American Federation are working actively for health insurance by the State, although in this he withholds his approval. So it is a question rather of whether private monopoly of land, for instance, does not concern the Federation, while prohibition does, of whether labor is properly interested

in a safety appliance act but has no interest in modifying a system of property tenure which permits a few men to amass millions while a majority of unskilled laborers, organized or unorganized, have had less than enough to maintain

a family in decency and health. But discussion here is superfluous. The quotations are given to show the trend of Mr. Gompers' mind and his attitude toward proposals for a fundamental economic reconstruction.

What About the Packers?

By William Kent

It must be recognized and conceded that the packing industry is an artificial and not a natural monopoly. In many respects it represents extreme economic waste. This is especially obvious in the matter of the shipment of live animals to central points and in duplication of plant. In the case of cattle none but heavily corn-fed stock or a few ripened grass-fed range cattle from selected regions will hold up under shipment. The larger bulk of grass cattle deteriorate, both in weight and in quality, by long shipment until it becomes necessary to restore them by the feeding of grain. In many cases these same animals, if killed near home, will furnish meat of delicious flavor and satisfactory texture. The small waste in treatment of offal would be little in comparison with shrinkage and loss of quality through transportation. The whole course of the packing monopoly has been to destroy local butchering, with a minimum concession necessarily made to the economics of the situation by extending some of the plants further west. But this is not an adequate solution.

There should be local abattoirs, as found in European countries, under public, co-operative, or even private auspices, that could satisfactorily cater to local demands, receiving supplementary supplies, when necessary, by shipment from central points. It is the inability to obtain a complete line of meats, owing to packers' discrimination, that has been the large factor in eliminating this local trade.

The stockyards ownership by the packers is an outrageous invasion of public policy. The stockyards are inherently and necessarily a part of the railway terminal system, and should be so recognized. The concealment of packer ownership in the stockyards attests to the packers' realization that this is one of the most important fortifica-

tions in their monopoly and one of the sore points in the public mind. The private car system has been used as another means of fortifying this monopoly, and should at once be taken over under the railway powers of the Government. It is probable that the refrigerator car service is no more than adequate for present packer needs, but it should be extended and so distributed in its use as to cater to the legitimate abattoir trade of the country. Under such conditions the killing of range cattle at the source would be possible when coupled up with the assurance of a non-discriminatory market at the outlet.

These three matters should receive immediate consideration:

First, the acquisition of the yards as a part of the railroad equipment;

Second, the assumption and control of the refrigerator cars; and

Third, the rigid enforcement of law against discriminatory practices in the wholesale and retail meat trade.

As to the Government assumption and operation of the entire packing business, that seems to me at the present time an impossible absurdity. The packing business, through more than fifty years of steady development, has acquired a recognized efficiency in the handling and distribution of live stock and meat products. It is a skilled and an extremely technical business and one that cannot be handled except by experts without destroying the producers' market and the efficiency of manufacture and distribution of product.

Moreover, if taken over by the Government, we should be forced to pay for equipment based on bad economics and duplication of plant, and as time went on and this unnatural artificial monopoly were more and more dispersed by the

establishment of adequate local agencies, the loss of shrinkage would fall upon the public instead of upon those who have created the monster.

Nothing could be more difficult to handle from the labor standpoint than the situation that would follow the Government's assumption of direct operation of the business with the immense force of disorganized, incoherent, unskilled people now engaged in the packing industries. Recent arbitration has gone far to correct the abuses, but it would seem an extremely dangerous time for the Government to become involved in the questions that would arise in this essential industry.

After the packing business shall have been sweated down to normal proportions in consonance with correct economics, it would then be time to take up as a direct question the Government ownership and operation of the remaining factors. This might or might not prove necessary.

In connection with the difficult question of price regulation, which seems essential, we have before us two possible solutions. First, regulating the prices through a conspiracy in restraint of trade by the organized monopolistic power of the packers, and second, regulation of prices through Government purchase at the great central stockyards markets, which, though confessedly a choice of evils, as every possible action at this time must be, has many factors that commend it.

In the matter of price regulation, there must be established, not absolute prices, but a scale which recognizes differences in quality. The fact that the minds of buyer, seller and commission man usually meet on the question of quality, if unbiased by self-interest, and the fact that there are great numbers of men expert in such classification, would make it possible, granted a general price scale, to properly tag the livestock as concerns its quality. Having purchased the live-stock, the Government would turn it over to the packers to be handled on the basis of a toll, representing a reasonable charge for handling; subsequent to the manipulation by the packers, that portion of the meat required for the Government or the Allies should be taken and toll paid for its handling, and the portion distributed by the packers in the civilian trade should be carefully graded and sent through the established channels of distribution, with such

oversight and control as will prevent extortion or discriminatory prices, while the Government should be repaid by the packers for its purchases of that portion of the livestock thus distributed.

Under such a system the packers would have no interest in working down the qualities of livestock or of placing higher grade animals in a lower class. Moreover, the Government would be in position to designate the qualities of meat required in any month. In the months when grass cattle come in, the Government could well discourage the use of grain for feeding, and frankly state that standard grass cattle would furnish the basis upon which the prices should be regulated, and that little reward would be paid for grain-fed cattle in such months. Moreover, the Government could establish during the remainder of the year a standard of grain-fed animals upon which prices should be based. Illustrative of this: The extra fat, prize, heavy steer would ordinarily consume something like seventy bushels of corn. This extravagance and waste is clearly recognized by the Food Administration as unjustifiable under the present demands for corn for more useful purposes. The production of such cattle should not be encouraged. The Government might state that a class of cattle which, if put on feed in fair condition, would be finished with not more than thirty bushels of corn, should constitute the standard in the feeding month, and such standard should be sustained when cottonseed meal, alfalfa and other feeds were used with or in place of corn.

Furthermore, the Government purchase of livestock would tend to eliminate the slaughter of breeding stock needed for future production. Exigencies of drought, over-stocking and individual hard luck continually drive to market breeding animals that are needed and could find pasturage and use in the understocked sections of the country. The Government purchase would tend to conserve and redistribute this necessary element in livestock production.

If compelled to prescribe for the packers, the symptoms would indicate that it would be well to lock some of them up for the sake of example and parole the others on good behavior, commanding their services for the proper and legitimate management of the business in which they have shown enterprise, ability and cussedness worthy of wonder and admiration.

Newspapers versus President Wilson

By Edward Paul

We have all just witnessed, more or less consciously, one of the momentous battles of the war. This battle is apart from the Teuton push toward Amiens. This battle was an insidious, an insinuating one: it was the recent attempt of the newspapers to force from President Wilson acquiescence in the Japanese intervention in Siberia. We are in this war to see to it that no nation shall ever again venture to invade with impunity the soil of another nation. How could President Wilson be expected to give his sanction and the sanction of the people of the United States to an action in such discord with the aims for which we are spending great sums of money and the priceless blood of our sons? Yet our Leader has just faced the almost entire journalistic force of the Allied world, and whatever dark powers may have been behind it. Besides the moral issue involved, who could have foreseen the political results of such a relinquishment of national honor as opposed to national expediency? And this campaign of the most powerful dailies in this country was so intense and so successful that many of those who read these words can recall a feeling of impatience with the President for more of his "watchful waiting." Almost any other man would have succumbed before the onslaught.

This, then, was the great battle whose effects cannot yet be fully estimated. The leading papers of New York City, the *Times*, *Tribune*, *Herald* and *Sun*, have lent their aid in the attempt to force the hand of the President. The attitude of these newspapers in this matter has constituted a grave menace, partly because of their great circulation, which mounts into the millions, and partly because they provide the chief intellectual material upon which a large proportion of our tired business men form their contented judgments.

Whatever may be said of their mistakes in method, the Russian people throughout their revolution have been striving to institute a regime which would subordinate the rights of property to the newly realized superior rights of humanity. The Teutons fought this treasonable social order with arms, but some elements in Allied

countries fought it with the more subtle weapons of diplomatic prestidigitators. Russian leaders, moderates and extremists, have been all but overwhelmed by the press of their former allies in this struggle. At length one champion has come forth to lend them a helping hand: President Wilson refused to acquiesce in the seizure of their territories, and extended them friendly greetings on the occasion of their meeting at Moscow.

While the campaign of contumely was going on the ground was being prepared for Japan's entrance into a part of the Russian dominions. At the beginning of December our press began its excuses for Japanese failure to take a more active part in the war (*Herald*, Dec 4). Baron Bunkichi Ito followed shortly in the *Tribune* (Dec. 16) with a whole list of beneficent deeds. The *Sun* of the same day had a delightful editorial to the same effect. These praises continued intermittently up to about the first of March, when they became a regular "filler-in."

Condemnation of Russia and praise of Japan were, however, not enough to get the Japanese into Siberia. This region had to be a grave menace to the peace of the Far East, which peace Japan alone was in a position to protect by force of arms. As early as Dec. 12 the *Times* informs us that Japan has been called upon to guard the immense stores at Vladivostok; indeed, "Authentic news of action by the Mikado's troops reaches Washington." Dec. 23, however, the *Tribune* says, "No troops in Vladivostok, Japanese officials assert." At any rate, we feel by Christmas that all is not safe at Vladivostok. In another month this daily has, "Jap officers urge sending army to protect Siberia. . . . Fear Teuton invasion." Thus the desire to occupy the city has grown to more ambitious bounds.

These three threads are consistently followed throughout the month of February. The Bolsheviks are cursed even when they are dying in considerable numbers before the imperialistic invaders. At the same time the Japanese are being praised unstintedly for having insisted on taking Kiaochow and for patrolling the Mediterranean. And finally, chaos is being prepared journalis-

tically in Siberia, ready to burst out when the diplomatic negotiations between Japan and the Allies shall be so far advanced as to provide leverage to move the President.

On the last day of February the *Times* informs us that "Japan sounds Allies on Siberia. . . . Allies considering it" (as though they had not been considering it for months!). On March 1st it has, "Action by Japan is expected soon. Control of Siberian road by Americans and Japanese seen as heavy blow to Germany." Its editorial is very helpful: "Siberia as well as Russia in Europe is now at the mercy of the German armies, unless Japan holds herself in readiness to land troops at Vladivostok and assume control over the Eastern section of the Siberian railroad." The following day this same newspaper, basing itself on the *Daily Mail*, affirms that "Stress is laid on the fact that the British and Japanese Governments hold that Japanese intervention in Russian affairs is not to be construed as an unfriendly act." As a news item it states, "Washington willing for Japan to act in Siberia. . . . Cabinet understood to concede Tokio Government rights to safeguard its interests." This form of journalistic coercion is peculiarly crafty and effective. At the same time the *Tribune* gives delectation to imperialists with this: "Petrograd under Bolsheviki is given up to riot and murder."

Still Mr. Wilson has not hurried to save Siberia. The *Times* continues as though all were decided: "Allies await Japan's guarantees on Siberia." In its editorial this paper goes as far as to prepare us for Bolshevik opposition: "Any protest from the Bolsheviki against protective measures at Vladivostok would be equivalent to tearing off the mask; it would be a demonstration that, professing dislike for the capitalistic governments of the Entente nations, they were really acting in the interest of the Teutonic autocracies."

March 4 the *Sun* has: "Four Siberian cities are seized. Bolsheviki afford another reason for Japan to act in the Far East. Grain field menaced. German capture of the railroad would prove staggering blow to the Entente." It also preens itself on the "much prominence" given in London papers to *Sun* editorials for American acquiescence.

March 5 the *Times* asserts: "Japan to occupy Vladivostok. Russians may resist incursion.

Allied request to Japan. Action by Britain, France and Italy. America quiescent."

March 6, however, we learn that America is not quiescent: "Wilson won't assent to intervention by Jap forces in Siberia; note said to have been sent to Tokio. . . . Might antagonize Russians." The *Herald* prepares us for more than Vladivostok: "Japan to penetrate Siberia for 2,800 miles to prevent vast food supplies in Siberian area from falling into Germany's hands." The *Sun*, having preened itself deliciously, goes further, with "Concurrence of America in Siberian expedition not necessary."

March 7 the *Tribune* goes on that assumption: "Wilson not to act on Japan's Siberian plan. Tokio, through Allies, knows America doesn't favor intervention in Russia." So, indeed, are we secondary. The *Herald* queries editorially what we would do with a similar menace in lower California or Mexico? The *Sun* reassures us that the London *Times* believes that the Japanese government "regards the whole matter from an exalted standpoint."

March 9 these newspapers begin on another tack: besides the menace in Siberia, India is now at stake. "Germany boasts an open route to India. . . . Allied diplomats fear for India. New threat to world peace seen in German-Turkish gains in the Caucasus. Jap invasion, it is held, would deter Teuton designs in Central Asia," says the *Times*.

March 10 we learn that "Russians enlist to help Japanese. Exiles organizing in Eastern Asia to join proposed Siberian move. . . . Britain greatly moved by the menace to India, despite Wilson's attitude" (*Times*). In an editorial, "A free route to India," the *Tribune* accuses us that we "balance and quibble." The *Herald's* editorial, "Is it to be another 'too late'?" says, "The only opinion in Russia worth considering at all is that of the sane element, however small, which would welcome action by Japan. . . ."

March 11 the *Tribune* informs us that "The Bolsheviki are using heavy guns under the direction of a German officer." The *Herald*, in an editorial, "War prisoners free to act," shows "nerves"; as to the estimates of the number of German prisoners in Siberia, it states they "run as high as one million." ("Capt. Wm. Webster of the American Red Cross and Capt. W. L. Hicks, a British officer, who were authorized by

the Bolsheviki authorities to go to Siberia to investigate reports that large numbers of German and Austrian prisoners of war were being organized and armed, 'found' at some places small numbers of Austrian Bolsheviki have enlisted in the Red Guards." *Times*, April 1.) It also slurs the President in another editorial, "Is it to be another 'too late'?"

March 13 the *Tribune* tells us "The Cossacks forced to retreat. Siberian position worse. . . . The accuracy of the Bolsheviki firing during the fighting is taken to indicate the co-operation of former German prisoners." The *Sun*: "Lvoff to aid Japanese in Siberian drive. Prince is in Peking awaiting landing of Mikado's troops at Vladivostok." The *Herald* assures us that "Faith in Lvoff is fully warranted," as he belongs to that "sane element however small." The *Times* has an editorial entitled "The President to Russia," which says: "President Wilson's repeated assurances of good will and interest which this country entertains toward the people of Russia have been treated contemptuously by the Bolsheviki." The American consul at Moscow has reported that applause greeted Wilson's message. The purpose of the misstatement is evident: the greater the mistrust and hatred engendered against the Bolsheviki, the greater will be the chances for public acceptance of the Japanese intervention. Also there is a form of subtle coercion here—a desire to make the President look cheap in his rôle of helper to a struggling commonwealth.

March 14 the *Tribune* has "Germans seize Odessa; route to India opened." Its editorial, "Via Odessa," is ludicrously hysterical. The *Times* also indulges in an editorial, "Our friends in Siberia."

The Siberian menace and the menace to India have rather flashed in the pan—so far. They now take a new start. March 15 the question arises—will the Soviet Congress ratify a peace treaty at the sword's point—an incontrovertible act of treason? According to the *Times*, "Balfour expresses trust in Japan's loyalty in carrying out any decision arrived at"—which is rather oracular. The *Tribune* has a curious juxtaposition: "Japan to act if Russians ratify peace. Trotzky declares war will go on," nevertheless!

March 16 we apprehend that "Russia ratifies peace; Japan to act" (*Tribune*). Its editorial, "Farewell Russia!" says of Japan that "Her

tactics are prompt." The *Herald* prods Wilson in an editorial called "No time for 'watchful waiting.'" The *Sun* has more of the psychological coercion: "United States swinging to Japanese plan. . . . Sees intervention to protect peace in East may be necessary. . . . Soviet's rebuff to Wilson's plea shows pro-Germanism is dominant still."

March 17 the crowning necessity for immediate intervention; the *Tribune*, for instance, states "150 Japanese in Amur slain by Bolsheviki." In reality, one was slain. Its editorial, "Prospering peace with Japan," says: "It (Japan) has repeatedly offered to send not merely its fleet, but its army, to the aid of the Allies." The *Herald* has recourse to Professor Ladd, who affirms: "Barring Russia to Japan is helping Germany win."

March 18 the *Herald* apprises us that "Germans are organizing prisoners in Siberia. It is reported that the Germans are trying to organize two army corps of German war prisoners of Russia. . . . Two cavalry corps also are being formed." This is a fair start on the *Herald's* "million" prisoners. The *Tribune* has Japan at a stage of "perfected preparedness." The *Times* shows the "Allies are reluctant over delaying Japan. Tokio papers urge action, unable to understand America's 'excessive generosity' to Russia."

March 19 the *Tribune*: "Japan ready to send army into Siberia. Begins negotiations for commandeering merchant vessels. One division is mobilized." The editorial, "Whom we suspect," chides us on questioning Japan, "which has never yet broken faith." Indeed, "suspicion is the worst and gloomiest American sin." The *Herald*, elated over recognition in Japan of its editorials, makes a leader of this: "Hails editorials in *Herald*." Its editorial, "Japan Awaits the Word," demonstrates perfectly that it values more highly the esteem of Japan than the consciousness of fair play to President Wilson: "Doubtless the statesmen of Japan realize the menace. They are hesitating merely out of deference to 'watchful waiting' at Washington. It is Washington's move, and unless that move is in the right direction and promptly made, we in the United States will suffer as others have suffered from diplomatic 'too lates.'"

March 20 all is apparently decided: "Say United States won't oppose Japan in Siberia.

Tokio reports declare our position was made clear by Morris. French and British ask Tokio to act" (*Tribune*). And in the same column this: "German prisoners in Siberia win Bolsheviki's battle. Two thousand armed German prisoners enabled the Bolsheviki to defeat non-Bolsheviki in the fight at Blagovieschensk."

Still Japan does not move. March 22 the *Herald* asserts that "Japan's invasion of Siberia is awaiting word from America," and helps along the cause by adding this: "Observers say western Siberia is already economically under German control."

March 23 the *Herald* indulges in another prick at Mr. Wilson: "Japan, Mr. Satoh says, is waiting on America. It is surely to be hoped that Japan will not have to wait until the situation develops another 'too late.'"

March 24 a Japanese propagandist by the name of Kinnosuke presumes in the *Tribune* to help to force the hand of President Wilson by the most fantastic logic. The title of his article is: "China Next." Herein we find such gems as this: "With the Siberian railroad under control" (the *Tribune* said that very day, "Trans-Siberian railroad held by Germans. Capture of Irkutsk by war prisoners gives them control"), "Germans can enter China at a dozen points along the northern frontier. A force of 10,000 men, a mere fraction of the now entirely liberated Teuton war prisoners east of the Urals, would be quite ample to do this work, the work of dealing a blow that would shatter China into ten, twenty pieces—the stupendous work of throwing continental Asia into chaos." Thus at length, in dire necessity, after the menace to Siberia and to India, we have the menace to China!

March 25 the *Tribune* contributes another jewel in the form of U-boats: "Siberian peril becomes great issue in Japan. Navy preparing to meet possibility of U-boats in Pacific!" The *Herald's* editorial, "Japan Against a General Mobilization," ends with this insult and spur: "Who can blame Japan for taking that attitude? The responsibility for her 'watchful waiting,' if the progress of diplomatic negotiation has been reported properly, must rest where the habit of waiting watchfully was born—at Washington."

March 26 we learn from the *Tribune* that "Japan stays hand in Siberia to give Wilson a chance," and elsewhere: "Count Terauchi, the

Premier, informed the House of Peers that the Japanese government was not studying the question of intervention in Siberia. . . . The Premier said that the Government did not consider Siberia menaced by the presence of large numbers of prisoners of war, whose power was negligible."

It is evident that the interventionists are trying to make as graceful a diplomatic retreat as possible or trying to hush the matter up for a more propitious moment. Still we have a few belated attempts to force American acquiescence. March 27 the *Herald* prints this curious logic emanating from Senator Poindexter: "This policy on the part of Japan is disinterested, because I can readily see that it would be to the interest of Japan to conserve her forces to keep her army intact." The Senator has extraordinary clairvoyant powers. March 28 the *Tribune* tells us that "conditions in Siberia are going from bad to worse every day." March 31 the *Sun* reports that Terauchi said before the Upper House of the Japanese Parliament that if the Germans should become menacing "'this Government is resolved to take steps to cope adequately with the situation.'" The *Tribune* has another article by Mr. Kinnosuke: "Can the Kaiser Explode the Mahometan Bomb?" It is in the vein of his "China Next."

Then on April 1st the *Times* gives what seems to be the *coup de grâce* to the drive on President Wilson: "Montono denies Japan plans intervention. 'The Imperial Government neither suggested nor proposed military action in Siberia. Nevertheless, it regards with gravest apprehension the eastward movement of Germany. Japan has received no joint Allied proposal, but if such a proposal is received it will be considered most carefully.'" As to the joint proposal, if we are to consider only the Great Powers we may be certain that the absence of America was the sticking-point.

Thus we have this propaganda stretching over several months, coming to a climax in the first half of March. It is very evident that the European Allies were decided before all the journalistic guns, or the powerful ones, of the Allied world were trained on President Wilson. Whatever may have been the unseen diplomatic coercion, we have witnessed the public manifestations thereof, grouping themselves into puny catchings after straws and cutting insults of the

Administration. The menace to Siberia, to India and to China did not somehow awaken in us very serious fears when the news of the day was informing us that the Germans were concentrating their forces for one final attempt at a decision on the Western front. Yet these straws, which the newspapers clutched at so desperately, served them in at least part of their purpose,—a more or less justifiable reason for putting the screws to President Wilson in order to force him to give countenance to an action that belies our most sacred and most sincere war aim—to make the world safe from rapacious imperialism.

Recent news informs us that the Japanese have landed at Vladivostok. Precedent suggests that they may presently control at least all the territory south of the Amur River, including that portion of Siberia just north of Vladivostok which so menacingly dominates the Island Empire's western shores, and all of Manchuria, not to speak of a firmer hold on the central government of

China. The *Herald* in particular has basked in Nippon's praises of its policy of opposition to President Wilson's practicing what he preached. The public of Japan may be informed by its own great newspapers that the public of these United States was keenly in favor of their entrance into Siberia. Can those papers not quote copiously from ours? Can they not tell their readers that the delay is caused merely by more "watchful waiting" at the place of its birth? The leading newspapers may now again preen themselves on having so well served imperialism, not the American public. The dark forces behind them may rub their hands in thinking that they aided one imperialism while fighting down another. They have had their reasons for waging a great battle against our President, but let them go slow. At all events Mr. Wilson has not weakened before the attack, for which we can thank heaven we have in the White House a man of clear judgment and indomitable will to justice.

Preventing Strikes in Wartime

By Hugh L. Kerwin

U. S. Director of Conciliation

For twelve months our country has been engaged in war and for twelve months the commissioners of conciliation of the Department of Labor have worked faithfully and successfully in bringing about adjustments in hundreds of cases of industrial warfare. It was well for the country that this little trained army of industrial peacemakers was abroad in the land. The truth of this statement is made gratifyingly manifest in the contented condition of practically every body of wage earners, organized or unorganized, who have had differences with their employers and who have utilized the Department of Labor in the adjusting of such differences. Moreover, many of the foremost employers in the United States have sent to the Department of Labor letters commending its commissioners of conciliation for impartial services rendered in the settlement of controversies to which these employers have been parties.

Particularly during the past year the good offices of the Department have been invoked by in-

creasingly large numbers of employers,—and often a joint request from employer and employee has been received.

Since its inception it has been the established policy of the Department as laid down by Secretary Wilson not to interfere in a trade dispute unless requested to do so by one of three parties at interest, the employers, the employees or the public directly affected,—this in order to give the employers and employees an opportunity to settle their own differences in their own way, or to allow local agencies to bring about the adjustment. The Secretary has also urged that work continue uninterruptedly pending the efforts at negotiation, as it is much better to arrange harmoniously any grievances that may exist before the bitterness, loss of production and wages that always follow a suspension of operations.

The experience gained by the commissioners of conciliation during the preceding four years has proved of inestimable value during the past twelve months, and it has been continually

pressed home upon employers and employees that there was an imperative need for a full measure of production from mine, mill and factory to supply the needs of the country at this time. The response has shown a marked change in the attitude of the parties to disputes toward mediation. Thus, over 60 per cent. of the disputes submitted for mediation during the first few months our country was at war had reached the acute stage of a strike or lockout before mediation was requested, whereas during the latter months the pendulum has swung the other way and not more than 35 per cent have been strikes. This shows clearly that mediation is coming to be accepted as a means of preventing strikes and lockouts rather than as a last resort after work has ceased. It shows, too, the advantage of having trained men whose experience and acquaintance entitle them to the confidence of both employer and employees.

During the year ending April 6, 1918, a total of 936 trade disputes were appealed to the Department of Labor for adjudication. Of this number 440 had reached the stage of a strike or

lockout before the aid of the Department was invoked. In only 73 cases were the conciliators unable to adjust the differences along lines acceptable to both parties to the dispute. (Even in the cases which the conciliator is unable at the time to adjust, a settlement is frequently reached later along lines previously proposed.)

A better measure of the vital importance to the country of this work of mediation is found in the number of workers affected. In the cases referred to the Department of Labor 966,554 workers were directly affected and 1,066,737 were indirectly affected in the sense of being so closely connected with the operation of the plant that a strike of some of the workers would result in the idleness of others. The number of days of work saved to industries through the efforts of conciliators of the Department is thus measured by tens of millions. Two million men on strike for ten days, or whose strike might be prolonged for ten days if already on strike, but for the efforts at mediation, would mean a stupendous loss to production.

Mr. Gompers and the British Labor Party

(By a Member of the British Labor Party)

The great gulf which is fixed between Mr. Gompers and British labor is still there, in spite of the happy party in New York the other day at which Mr. Gompers flayed Mr. Paul Kellogg, presumably (for there is no contrary evidence) with the assent of the labor delegation sent by the British Government to this country. The press may play the ostrich; but the fact remains that Mr. Kellogg is a more trustworthy exponent of the present spirit and outlook of British labor than Mr. Appleton. This is no reflection on Mr. Appleton, for he is a good man; but he and his colleagues belong to the same school and stage of labor leadership as Mr. Gompers. The British labor movement has left that stage behind it; whether one judge that this is for good or for evil, one's own bias on these questions will decide.

The difference between Mr. Gompers and the

British labor movement is partly due to the fact that the latter has behind it the experience of nearly four years of war. Rightly or wrongly it has reached the conclusion that the existing order of private capitalism lies at the root of the policies which are responsible for the war. At the Buffalo meeting of the American Federation of Labor in November, Mr. John Hill, a fraternal delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, said: "That this war generally arises out of the imperialistic efforts of kings and emperors for a larger portion of the earth's surface in the capitalist interests, to control an ever larger proportion of the product of the worker's toil, and that all nations shared in the responsibility for this war, that below all intrigues are the capitalist interests, and that unless we emancipate ourselves from the domination of capitalism, there will be no democracy after the war,

is the position of the English workers." What the British labor movement is quite clear about is that there can never be a settled peace on earth as long as competitive capitalism furnishes the motive of national policy; and it has made up its mind to abolish this source of trouble. It recognizes that this task, like charity, begins at home, and in its report on reconstruction, it lays the axe to the British root of the tree. The cynical readiness of the big business interests to turn the country's necessity to their own advantage, especially in the early stages of the war, before the Government interfered with the wild epidemic of profiteering, has served to remove finally any lingering sense that the good of the nation is bound up with the existing industrial order; and British labor is resolved that the existing order must go.

It has naturally less misgiving in contemplating the change in so much as the war has revealed the stupid wastefulness of the system of private capitalist enterprise. The revelation which the close industrial organization required by the war, has provided of hitherto unexplored and even unsuspected possibilities of production in British industry, has demonstrated that "big" business as we have known it is exceedingly "bad" business. The immense increase of output in all industries, through proper coordination, standardization of processes, the systematic use of scientific investigation, and a more adequate oversight of the physical condition of the worker, has made it plain that private capitalism either would not or could not make proper use of the productive resources of the British people. For instance, the ignorant opposition of the average employer to the movement for decreasing the hours of labor has discredited his judgment and his capacity for handling men, in view of such findings as those recorded by Lord Henry Bentinck in the *Contemporary Review* for February. Lord Henry shows conclusively from data drawn from the engineering, printing and textile trades that "in every case, in which experiments have been tried, the result in output has been favorable to a shortening of the working day."

That private capitalism has thus been discredited does not however mean that the British Labor Party has adopted a policy of State Socialism. The very circumstances which have revealed the inefficiency of private capitalism

have also led to a deep dislike of State control. The working of the Munitions Act has proved that the State may be as harassing and troublesome an employer as the individual or the corporation; and the British Labor Party's problem is to find a way by which private capitalism may be eliminated without introducing the policy of industrial control by the State. Here again they have been helped by the experiences of wartime. The Garton Foundation and the Whitley Committee on Reconstruction,—the one a private, the other a parliamentary body, and neither committed to "labor" views—have been led by a study of industrial conditions in wartime, to advocate measures of democratic control in industry; and the experiments in democratic control which have been made, especially in the woolen trades, have plainly demonstrated its practicability and its economic value. Out of these circumstances has emerged the doctrine of *national ownership with decentralized and democratic industrial control*, which seems to underlie the economic policy of the British Labor Party.

It appears, therefore, that the difference between the British Labor Party and Mr. Gompers is that the former contemplates a radical change in the existing economic framework of industry, whereas the latter is content to work for the improvement of labor conditions within the existing framework. Mr. Gompers adheres to the "nibbling" policy, the policy of raids upon the enemy's trenches here and there as the occasion arises. The British Labor Party stands for a calculated offensive *en masse*. It was evident that the old guerilla leadership was becoming obsolete in British labor before the war; and the trade unions were beginning to develop the large-scale strategy of the general strike. But it is now clear that the *venue* of the conflict will be henceforth transferred from the shops to the House of Commons. While Mr. Gompers still preaches his doctrine of political indifferentism, the British Labor Party has resolved upon the attempt to take control of the machinery of government. The general strike is abandoned for the general election.

Historically it is the case that political power has belonged to those who possessed economic power; and Mr. Orage, the leading advocate of the "National Guild" idea, not long ago disparaged the project of a British Labor Party

on the ground that it was useless for the workers to seek political power until first they had the economic power in their hands. But as a matter of fact, this antithesis disappears in the British Labor Party's program. Mr. Orage and his "National Guild" collaborators rightly insist that the strength of the capitalist position is organically bound up with the commodity theory of labor,—the view that a man's labor is a measurable marketable commodity separate from his personality and subject to the law of supply and demand like any other commodity. Repudiate this theory, and the capitalist synthesis naturally collapses. But something else of even greater consequence happens. Over against the commodity theory it is maintained that the worker has as direct an interest in the product of his labor as his employer, and that the only proper relation between the capitalist and the actual producer is that of partnership. The logic of this view leads at last to the doctrine of national ownership with democratic control; its immediate result is to change entirely the status of the worker. He is no longer a mere economic unit at the mercy of the chances of the market, but a partner whose claim upon profit is of a piece with that of the owner of capital, and whose full maintenance, in health and strength,—whether trade be slack or brisk—is a permanent charge upon the proceeds of industry. It is this view of the worker's status that is practically expressed in the Labor Party's demand for the establishment of a national minimum standard of life. It raises the worker above the insecurities of a fluctuating market and puts the commodity theory of labor out of commission. The worker is no longer a "hand" but a partner in the great game of production. Mr. Gompers, with all his zeal for improving the external conditions of the worker, leaves him in his old status; for that reason it is impossible to resist the conclusion that he represents an obsolescent order; and that the British Labor Party points the road of advance.

I have not touched upon the unconcealed difference between Mr. Gompers and British labor on the immediate issues of international labor policy. This is a development out of the radical divergence in economic outlook which I have endeavored to explain. Mr. Gompers still moves within the ante-bellum ideology. He finds the particularist universe which he inhabits large

enough for himself and for American labor; the strength of the British Labor Party on the contrary is that it has begun to think in universals. Its program for Great Britain is not a class-ascendancy but a living and working society, and for the world not the particularism of nationality but the generous hope of a free cooperative commonwealth.

Charles Frederick Adams

My friendship with this lovable man of great parts and unique modesty began 36 years ago and continued unbroken and intimate until I read the report of his passing last week out of a world for which he had tried to do so much and had, in fact, done so much more than most of us even try to do.

Our coming together is part of the story of the earliest days of Henry George's agitation, when the challenge of "Progress and Poverty" was producing its first reaction in the American East. We had been court room acquaintances before—I a rough-and-tumble "kid of a lawyer," and he a cultured representative of one of the aristocratic law firms of New York; but now we came together in a flash of mutual recognition of our oneness of emotion and ways of thought.

Out of some desultory editorial writing I had done a short-lived club was being formed—the "Who-Is-the-Somebody Club." It was organized to pursue a quest for the "somebody" who must be presumed to be absorbing much of the labor-produced wealth of our country, because the very statistics that showed increasing aggregates of wealth production showed no general recession of poverty among wealth producers. At the organizing meeting I wondered at the presence of my court-room acquaintance, this delegate from an aristocracy of culture; and the best guess I could make was that he was only "slumming," or else had come to argue that, notwithstanding appearances and statistics, industrial workers were really growing richer with increase of wealth in general. To my great gratification, however, when he spoke he described the "somebody" as the very social institution at which I had aimed my desultory editorials and which I had hoped the club would "spot" and hold up for public scrutiny.

With oratorical elegance and the forcible ar-

guments of an able lawyer, young Adams showed how our system of land tenure operates to increase the prices of natural resources as fast as labor's power of wealth production increases, and thereby to divert the value of increasing labor power from persons who labor productively to persons who exploit labor by manipulating its opportunities for employment.

To reforming this condition Adams had already turned his energies, and to that he devoted them all the rest of his life. It was in this connection that he originated the supremely democratic "Brotherhood of the Commonwealth," which survives him and may well come to be his monument. Long before our friendship he had developed the idea out of an old tontine experiment in France, but with a purpose of so utilizing it as to make his organization the common landlord of the country into the full enjoyment of whose profits even the poorest could enter at will. Briefly described, membership in this institutional club would be open to every one, generation after generation, upon payment of annual dues, more or less at discretion; the aggregate dues would be invested in productive natural resources, and their annual profits would be distributed in such manner as that each generation of members would share pro rata in the investments of their own generation and that the profits from the accumulated dues of generations passed away would be distributed per capita. It is fairly evident that under such a voluntary system not many generations would pass before members of somewhat advanced years would be drawing substantial pensions for their old age, all members would be drawing some income meanwhile, and most productive natural resources would be held by the institutional club for the benefit of a membership from which nobody would be excluded.

Whether this plan would have accomplished the beneficent social object of high taxes on land values is questionable, but its purpose is evidently the same; and in his advocacy of the former Charles Frederick Adams diverted no energy from his advocacy of the latter. He was a personal friend and tireless supporter of Henry George from the first appearance of "Progress and Poverty" east of the Rockies. Among those in the thick of the political fight when George ran for Mayor of New York in 1886, he was in it still through the campaign of 1897, toward the

close of which George died; and at every turn until now he has been a devoted and co-operative protagonist of the cause with which George's memory is identified.

Adams was a man of extraordinary natural ability and of cultural acquirements no less so. His legal acumen was acknowledged wherever at the bar he was known, and this was no narrow circle. His legal training comprised three distinct legalistic fields—English, Spanish and French. With the general literature also of those languages he was extremely familiar. At one time he had charge of the Paris house of Couderet Brothers. As an employe of the same house in New York he produced the only brief in the noted Philippine cases that won against the government in the Supreme Court of the United States. He was at one time in the Federal civil service at Washington and could have risen to permanent places of high responsibility but for his self-depreciatory temperament, which would not permit him to assume responsibilities that his mental qualities and qualifications eminently fitted him for.

An instance was his point-blank refusal to accept appointment as chief examiner in the classified civil service, the functions of which he had administered most satisfactorily for three months during the last illness of the incumbent. He explained his reasons to one of the Commissioners in this way: "If you saw fit to entrust those duties to a twelve-hundred-dollar clerk, the responsibility was yours, but if I were to take the appointment and the higher salary the responsibility would be mine." More might be said in defense of his refusal of a high salary in a big law office. "I got a high salary, if you please," he explained with the utmost seriousness, "but I let the firm cut it down to a small weekly stipend for the privilege of being allowed to do as I pleased—to refuse, for instance, to have anything to do with any matters of which I didn't like the law or the equities." And indeed Charles Frederick Adams was worth having in a law office on those terms; for when he did like the law and the equities of a matter, that matter got the best that was in the man, and this was more than most lawyers have to give.

It was James G. Blaine who took Adams out of the classified civil service. Blaine found him filling a law clerkship in the Department of the Interior, a trusted legal adviser there of Secre-

tary Lamar, and brought him over into the Pan-American Republic organization as his economic as well as legal adviser in that adjunct to our State Department. Adams had been there hardly more than a year when Blaine's connection ceased under circumstances that left Adams not only out of that particular service, but barred by a technicality from re-entering the classified service. After this Adams was active in progressive municipal politics in Greater New York, where at intervals he held municipal office—always under protest but always efficiently up to the point of assuming serious administrative responsibilities.

And through all, since his early manhood, when I came to know him as a friend, he has set a continuous example of devotion to democratic ideals and has inculcated rational adaptations of practical methods to idealistic ends, conduct which has gone far to make his career one of greater usefulness than he himself ever dreamed of. Shall we say it might have been more useful had he been less modest? Let us hesitate. Who can measure the social profit or loss of even one example of a competent person honestly and with self-suppression distrusting his own competency? Might not the social profit be very great if this characteristic were very common?

At all events, in that respect, as in many others, the memory of Charles Frederick Adams is one to be grateful for. Whoever knew his capabilities trusted them as he himself would not; and whoever knew his virtues loved him for them, as all who knew his personality loved him for that.

LOUIS F. POST.

RELATED THINGS

Vacant Lots and the War

One of the great incidental benefits that shine through the horrors of this war for the people of England is their discovery of the importance of the land and its use. The food shortage has brought into discredit every idle acre of land in the country, and in answering patriotic appeals to grow foodstuffs the people have not only gone back to the land, but have made the surprising discovery that health and happiness lie this way as well as security against starvation.

When Mr. Fels founded the Vacant Land Cultivation Society in London we little knew that

the time would soon arrive when it would become the inspiration and nucleus of a movement to which the Government would look as one of its chief allies in a battle for the Nation's life. Yet that is what it is today. A recent letter from Mr. John Gorman, secretary of the Society, informs me that "we quite anticipate that there will be 1,500,000 allotment holders at work in good time for this year's crops." And he adds that "based on present retail prices, these men and women will produce approximately \$75,000,000 worth of vegetables, sufficient to satisfy the needs of some 7,500,000 people. We now have a National Union of Allotment Holders which is also growing week by week, and you will be glad to know that this Society, more than any other, has been the pioneer in this work also."

It is worth while to take note of what these allotment holders are accomplishing in England, because there is every reason why their example should be followed in this country. The difficulties here are not half so great. Our cities are not so congested, and vacant lots abound within the limits of our cities, while outside there lie great tracts of valuable land held idle by owners who are waiting for the day when these tracts will be in demand as suburban building lots. The movement is already well started here, and is being organized and extended as rapidly as possible through the effective work of the National Emergency War Garden Commission, directed by Mr. Charles Lathrop Pack. Local newspapers have stimulated interest by conducting contests and offering prizes, and civic bodies have helped.

Mr. Fels founded the London Society (he had founded the Philadelphia V. L. Society in 1895) because he saw in it a means of awakening land hunger among the people and of providing a clear demonstration that many city dwellers have both the will and the ability to cultivate the soil when the opportunity is offered. The plans of the organized allotment holders of England have justified his hope that the movement would lead to a real demand for the opening of the land. During the past year many conferences and conventions have been held, and the movement has attracted the attention of British land reformers like Mr. John Galsworthy. For it is already realized that men and women who are willing to give their time and labor to land cultivation should not be dependent for their opportunity on

the sufferance of corporations or individuals who hold title to the land these men and women are cultivating, and who permit its use temporarily.

England is not the only country where the war has given an impetus to the demand for the beneficial use of land. Fru Hulda Garborg writes me from Christiania, Norway:

"We have in our country a great organization of small holders who have taken up the Single-tax program,—cautious but good and all right. There are 150 societies with 15,000 members scattered all over the country. They are people without money, but unpolitical, so they can have much influence upon the different parties. . . . Different other societies of workmen and peasants have joined and assisted the organization, and at the present time it is very fashionable to be a small holder for men, and also women, of the educated classes. We have now very little to eat, and we must cultivate the soil and raise corn. These are the words of the day. And the time for the ideas of Rousseau and Henry George is good. Now we should work for them here. It is also the best work for peace. We are now very poor, and would surely be much richer with the Singletax system."

Leaving aside the ultimate bearings of the garden-planting movement, its immediate advantages are apparent. In England thousands of city dwellers have found a new health and happiness in their work out of doors among the vegetable beds. The cost of living problem has been partly solved for them, and the demands on ocean transport have been greatly decreased. We have not yet the same incentive in America, but the time is coming when Europe will need and we shall have ships to carry to her every bushel and pound of foodstuffs that we can spare. And the work being done now by Mr. Pack's organization, by the Woman's National Farm and Garden Association, with its Woman's Land Army, and by various other active local organizations, will be recognized as a very direct and important contribution to Allied success. Before it is too late, public-spirited citizens in every community in this country should see to it that every family is given an opportunity to cultivate some bit of ground against the pressing needs and high prices of the months to come. It will mean healthful, wholesome labor out of doors, and the joy of producing one's share of the necessities on which life depends.

MARY FELS.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Ethics of Democracy

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

In his "Democracy After the War," Mr. J. A. Hobson quotes Sir James Stephen as having truly said, "The World is made for hard practical men who know what they want and mean to get it."

This nation is "fighting for democracy," but do we really know what we want? Do not the hard, practical men representing the forces of autocracy in our midst know much more clearly what they want? Assuming that the desire in the two groups is equally strong, success will go to those who best know what they want. They can best choose the means to their end.

A clearer conception of the meaning of democracy is surely one of the greatest needs for the moment. To multitudes it is but a vague phrase. Many are not at all sure but that autocracy is really more efficient and more desirable. The forces of reaction are quick to seize any advantage. The very measures we are forced to take to attain our national purpose contain grave dangers to its ultimate success. To further democracy by the highly autocratic means of militarizing our national life contains heavy risks. The hopes of the world will fade if our purposes can not be kept pure and our faith strong by a clear idea of what we want.

As a clear and forceful statement of the meaning of democracy and its implications as compared with those of autocracy I know of nothing better than an early essay, now out of print, by Mr. John Dewey, on "The Ethics of Democracy." Although in that essay the author contrasts democracy with aristocracy rather than with autocracy, that does not lessen the vividness of the conception of democracy there presented.

It is unfortunate that so able a discussion should lie buried. A few of your readers may find access to it in the larger libraries. For those who cannot I hope you will be able to find room in your columns to reprint the following passage, which is very close to the heart of the matter:

"The aristocratic ideal, spite of all its attractions, is not equal to reality; it is not equal to the actual force animating men as they work in history. It has failed because it is found that the practical consequence of giving the few wise and good power is that they cease to remain wise and good. They become ignorant of the needs and requirements of the many; they leave the many outside the pale with no real share in the commonwealth. Perchance they even wilfully use their wisdom and strength for themselves, for the assertion of privilege and status and to the detriment of the common good. The aristocratic society always limits the range of men who are regarded as participating in the state, in the unity of purpose and destiny; and it always neglects to see that those theoretically included really obtain their well being. Every forward democratic movement is followed by the broadening of the circle of the state, and by more effective oversight that every citizen may be insured the rights belonging to him.

"But even were it possible to find men so wise as not to ignore the misery and degradation beyond their immediate ken, men so good as to use their power only for the community, there is another fact which is the condemnation of the aristocratic theory. The ethical ideal is not satisfied merely when all men sound the note of harmony with the highest social good, so be it that they have not worked it out for themselves. Were it granted that the rule of the aristoi would lead to the highest external development of society and the individual, there would still be a fatal objection. Humanity cannot be content with a good which is procured from without, however high and otherwise complete that good. The aristocratic idea implies that the mass of men are to be inserted by wisdom, or, if necessary, thrust by force, into their proper positions in the social organism. It is true, indeed, that when an individual has found that place in society for which he is best fitted and is exercising the function proper to that place, he has obtained his completest development, but it is also true (and this is the truth omitted by aristocracy, emphasized by democracy) that he must find this place and assume this work in the main for himself. Democracy does not differ from aristocracy in its goal. The end is not mere assertion of the individual will as individual; it is not disregard of law, of the universal; it is complete realization of the law, namely of the unified spirit of the community. Democracy differs as to its means. This universal, this law, this unity of purpose, this fulfilling of function in devotion to the interests of the social organism, is not to be put into a man from without. It must begin in the man himself, however much the good and the wise of society contribute. Personal responsibility, individual initiation, these are the notes of democracy. Aristocracy and democracy both imply that the actual state of society exists for the sake of realizing an end which is ethical, but aristocracy implies that this is to be done primarily by means of special institutions or organizations within society, while democracy holds that the ideal is already at work in every personality, and must be trusted to care for itself. There is an individualism in democracy which there is not in aristocracy; but it is an ethical not a numerical individualism; it is an individualism of freedom, of responsibility, of initiative to and for the ethical ideal, not an individualism of lawlessness. In one word, democracy means that *personality* is the first and final reality. It admits that the full significance of personality can be learned by the individual only as it is already presented to him in objective form in society; it admits that the chief stimuli and encouragements to the realization of personality come from society; but it holds, none the less, to the fact that personality cannot be procured for any one, however degraded and feeble, by any one else, however wise and strong. It holds that the spirit of personality indwells in every individual and that the choice to develop it must proceed from that individual. From this central position of personality result the other notes of democracy, liberty, equality, fraternity—words which are not mere words to catch the mob, but symbols of the highest

ethical idea which humanity has yet reached—the idea that personality is the one thing of permanent and abiding worth and that in every human individual there lies personality."

RICHARD B. GREGG.

Washington, D. C., April 17, 1918.

An Unnoted Centenary

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

On April 18, a hundred years ago, there occurred an event of the utmost significance. Few people ever heard of it because our histories are mainly silent thereon.

On that day President Monroe issued a proclamation telling our citizens of the "Rush-Bagot arrangement."

Who was Rush? Who was Bagot? What the arrangement?

Rush was an American statesman; Bagot a British; the arrangement, a splendid method of avoiding international trouble, a method prophetic of future world possibilities. Here's the story:

Our war of 1812 ended by both belligerents agreeing to the terms of the Treaty of Ghent—a treaty of "no annexations and no indemnities," signed Christmas eve, 1814, and good today.

Soon thereafter Monroe was advised by Adams, our Minister in London, that Britain intended putting more and more vessels on the Great Lakes, our Northern boundary. Were this done Monroe realized that this country must do the same. He therefore wrote to Adams that if Britain followed this European militaristic method there would be "vast expense incurred" by both countries, the "danger of collision," would be increased, and the rivalry in armaments would prove a "constant stimulus to suspicion and ill will"; and urged that both countries should "abstain altogether from an armed force beyond that used for revenue."

Britain for many months refused assent to his views. Adams, after talking to Lord Castlereagh on January 25, 1816, wrote that Britain's acceptance of the proposal "appeared hopeless." Monroe, however, persisted. He showed that the "moral and political tendency of such a system (the old European) must be to *war* and *not* to peace."

Finally, after much discussion, good sense triumphed over prejudice and precedent, and on April 18, 1818, Monroe had the satisfaction of proclaiming to our nation the signing of the Rush-Bagot arrangement, by which the contending countries agreed to do away with all ships of war on the Great Lakes; any already there to be dismantled; any in course of building converted into other use; and only four little revenue cutters, or patrol vessels, were to be permitted for each nation on the entire river and lake system.

Through a further "tacit understanding" no additional forts demarcate the frontier lines. The success of this American system, this Monroe Doctrine, is as obvious as it was inevitable. "Where nobody is loaded nothing explodes." The dove of peace settled on our

Northern Border and has barely ruffled her silver wings in a century.

It is the spread of this successful American system that must rescue Europe from its present recrudescence of barbarism now rushing civilization back to chaos.

Surely the centenary of such a remarkable "arrangement" is worth at least a passing remembrance and comment!

EDWARD BERWICK.

Pacific Grove, Cal.

The Attack on Creel

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

It is time that something plain and of the sledgehammer sort, were spoken in your paper as well as elsewhere, in rebuke of those wolfish mistakes who sit in Congress and find themselves on the wrong side of nearly every important question that comes up there for debate. I refer here to the gang that have lately fallen upon George Creel for uttering one of the noblest sentiments that has fallen from the lips of a public man since the entry of this nation into the war. I say this from the standpoint of a man who has sustained President Wilson in every position he has taken in our public affairs since I helped to put him where he is. That Penrose belches venom at Creel is natural—for Penrose. He is a Republican reactionary, "and verily he has his reward." That other Senators, with partisan leanings which they mistake for Patriotism, echo the mud-throwing of Penrose is also expected.

And what cause has Mr. Creel given for the opening of the vials of party wrath upon his head? He has expressed joy that that assassin of Europe, William Hohenzollern, has not had the chance to give tone and character to the young and middle-aged manhood of our country for the last fifty years, making human-slaughter the chief business of our people, saddling upon our public life that curse of all curses, an organized militia, the nursery and hot-bed of war, the powder-magazine into which any of the vicious "powers" who infest every nationality, may thrust a careless, or an intentional match and so set the world on flame.

There is not a principle of human equality or fraternity that is not outraged by this "preparedness." The form of government that the fathers set up here, and that some of us have hoped to perpetuate, would be defeated by this "kaiserism." Despotism exults when Chamberlain takes the floor, and his chief clamor is for "militarism."

This "preparedness" craze would make war one of the great industries of our people, whereas war is only a frightful exigency, a last resort, to be avoided, not invited. All the glamour and romance that have fed the ambition and dazzled the eyes of men for long, under the better spirit of enlightened manhood should become the crime of nations, and its glories be extinguished forever. When its murderous course is run, the business of humanity should be to bury its horrors, its incentives, its very spirit, out of sight, preserving only its heroisms, they being a part of man's

nature and life that the battlefield does not monopolize.

"Preparation" is war. There is no escape from this fact. Civilization has for long put the "preparation" of the pocket-pistol among the relics of barbarism. This bloody-mouthed modern "preparedness" belongs with the pistol-bearing, chip-on-the-shoulder class.

The attitude taken by George Creel is the only safe and sane one for the true American. Men who are brave enough and wise enough to take that attitude and stand four square to all the world in its defense, should be sustained, defended. If they are in places of public trust, they should be assured against removal. The power to do right must be buttressed by right thinking.

Success to George Creel! Clearness to his vision!
And courage to his soul!

D. F. ROGERS.

Long Beach, Calif.

BOOKS

Systematizing Public Accounting

The Budget. By René Stourm. Published by D. Appleton & Company, New York, for the Institute for Government Research, 1917. Price, \$3.75 net.

"The Budget" meets to an exceptional degree the needs of readers who are seeking an intelligent understanding of public accounting with a view to making it conform to the requirements of modern business methods. The American public has been slower than European peoples to grasp the importance and the advantages of the budgetary method of national financing partly through its freedom from the incubus of the ancient regime of hereditary dynasties, and partly through the abundance of its taxable resources. But the ever increasing demands of present day social requirements have shown that there is a bottom even to the American purse; and thoughtful students realize the importance of systematizing public accounting, both for its effect in husbanding public resources, and in aiding public representatives in a more efficient discharge of their duties.

The fact that this translation is from the seventh edition of M. Stourm's "Le Budget" is of itself an indication of the popularity of the work abroad, and the excellent introduction by Professor Charles A. Beard, former Professor of Politics in Columbia University, assures the reader that he is not wasting his time in taking up the book. M. Stourm is oppressed by the rapidly increasing volume of public expenditures; and while he appreciates the fact that no plan or method can wholly check public extravagance if officials are bent upon that course, he does believe that if public accounts be simplified to a degree that the average citizen can grasp their meaning, that very fact will act as a restraint upon waste and dishonesty. The mere machinery of government will not, he realizes, take the place of intelligence and conscience; but, these virtues granted, the better instrument does accomplish fuller results.

The author's brief but graphic history of European budgets, particularly in France and England, gives one a background that aids in coming to an appreciation of the subject in this country. And that the subject is coming to be appreciated here is evident from the serious attempts that have been made to introduce the budget system both in states and in municipalities. Massachusetts is now receiving congratulations for having placed herself at the head of American States with a scientific system of public accounting. How much of the present interest in the budget system of appropriations is due to war financing cannot be known, but the extraordinary demands upon public resources will certainly turn the citizen's mind toward ways and methods of stretching those resources to the utmost. Both the stupendous amounts of money required to carry on the war and the large amounts needed to rehabilitate the social and industrial world after the return of peace call for the wisest administration.

It is not unlikely that among the many changes to come out of this world upheaval will be found the adoption of the budgetary system at Washington. One of the obstacles heretofore in the way of its adoption has been the jealousy of Congress over the encroachments of the Executive. But the demands of war have from very necessity caused such an enlargement of executive functions that a return to peaceful ways may find a fuller sense of mutual appreciation between these two branches of the government. And the budget, by bringing revenues and expenditures as a whole more graphically before the citizen's mind, may well lead to that intelligent public opinion that is necessary for the efficiency of popular government. Toward this end "The Budget" is a very material contribution.

The Eternal Problem

Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule. By Charles Downer Hazen. Published by Henry Holt Co., New York, 1917. Price, \$1.25 net.

Alsace-Lorraine has been notoriously one of the running sores in the European body politic for the past forty-seven years; but the "problem" of Alsace-Lorraine, the problem that must be faced at the peace conference, is not one that lends itself to any drastic system of antiseptics or cauterization, let obtuse patriots say what they may. Because the question itself is so complicated and so pressing almost any book on the subject must be received with gratitude: and a book from Professor Hazen's able hand could hardly be received with any other sentiment. At the same time one cannot help realizing that "Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule," which is Professor Hazen's contribution to the subject, is colored from the beginning with the conclusion the author reaches in the last chapter: namely that when the "future peace is made the first article in the territorial readjustment should be one restoring Belgium to the Belgians, and to France her lost provinces, those lost in 1870 as those lost in 1914." Personally I believe there is wisdom in putting these two restitutions in the same category, for the problem

of Alsace-Lorraine is not merely that of Belgium, but it is likewise that of Switzerland, that of Poland, and that of the Baltic Provinces: but I am at odds with the high-handed simplicity of Professor Hazen's statement. Were a satisfactory ending of the war dependent simply upon effecting legal adjustments it would be easy to treat Belgium and Alsace as clean thefts, and the Prussian State as a slaughtering robber whose ill-gotten gains must be restored to the "proper owner." Unfortunately Alsace-Lorraine would remain a source of irritation were every square mile of its territory restored to its Gallic neighbor: and it is the unwillingness to recognize this fact, and to take refuge in the manifest moralities and legalities, that mars most of the thinking that has been applied to this subject.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

The War in Canada

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

"Next of Kin" is one of the war books for the writing of which no apology is required. It comes with no pretension of new and original views as to the origin or significance of the Great Tragedy. It offers no cut-and-dried opinions as to what must be done after the war. It lays out no line of study to be followed by individuals, communities, or nations. It simply provides the reader with some living pictures of the social life of a neighborhood in Western Canada before and after a bomb-shell exploded among them on August 4, 1914, in the form of news that the great European conflagration had broken out. The interest of the book is a psychological one. We see the sentiment of loyalty to English ideals of liberty bursting suddenly into flame in the minds of plain and peaceful people, after having, as in other colonies, smouldered down to a point that had deceived the wise men of Germany. "A shadow had fallen upon us; a shadow that darkened even the children's play. They made forts of sand and played that half the company were Germans, but before many days that game languished, for there were none who would take the Germans' part. . . . In less than a week we were collecting for a hospital ship as the gift of Canadian women. . . . The money poured in—it was a relief to give." Each chapter in succession tells of some new development in the corporate life of the neighborhood and of strange transformations in the characters of individuals, consequent upon the sudden departure of enlistees and daily news from the seat of war. The effect of heightened emotion in bringing to light not only the latent selfishness of some, but the hitherto unsuspected heroism of the great majority, is shown with artistic skill. Notes of deep sadness and passages of fine pathos are balanced by sparkles of rich humor, and the verses that form head-pieces to some of the chapters add much to the literary interest of the book.

The purpose that is served by such a book as this is not merely that it entertains a reader here and there, but that it draws together and consolidates the senti-

ments of widely-scattered communities who are rushing to the rescue of civilization. We need constant reminding of the solidarity of human life and interests. We too easily forget the truth behind the Carlylean dictum that "A red Indian on the banks of Lake Winnipeg cannot quarrel with his squaw but the whole world must suffer, for will not the price of beaver rise?" We do not at all times sufficiently realize that the present war-struggle affects human hearts to the remotest outposts of civilization. To have this fact brought home to us will go far to strengthen the nerve and enliven the hope with which the battle for freedom is being fought.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

The Open Door

Summary of a Monograph. By J. A. Hobson.

There can be no security of durable peace unless the chief economic causes of discord among nations are removed. For though the conscious motives which incite nations to war may be the claims of nationality, the sentiments of liberty, the maintenance of public law—behind these motives always lies the pressure of powerful economic needs and interests. Moreover, no measure of political independence, however complete, could secure for any moderately progressive people the freedom which they require; for every people needs access to the produce and markets of other people, the right to buy and sell abroad on reasonable terms. The normal life of every modern nation rests upon a basis of large and expanding opportunities outside its political area. This requires three economic liberties. First comes "liberty of trade," meaning the secure use of trade routes and markets upon equal terms. Then comes "freedom of investment" or equal right to assist in the profitable development of countries which are in need of capital. The third economic liberty required is "freedom of migration," meaning the free flow of labor from thickly populated lands, from lower waged into higher waged areas, which is *prima facie* demanded alike in the interest of workers and of capital, so that workers can improve their conditions and the world's resources can be developed.

These economic liberties of trade, investment and migration, which are so essential to the prosperity, and even the existence of certain industrially advanced or over-populated countries are unfortunately found to conflict with the so-called "rights" of the rulers or inhabitants of other countries which these liberties affect. Everywhere "liberties" of economic expansion claimed by some nations are confounded by "liberties" of exclusion claimed by others. Some reconciliation of these opposing liberties must be discovered if any reasonably safe basis of settlement is to be found. The early application of the principle of liberty or equality of economic opportunities must be in agreement for the industrial, commercial and financial development of extra-European countries and markets. Supposing that the eight great powers, together with the smaller developed European countries, could come to an agreement for the equal admission of their trade

and capital to all Colonial possessions, protectorates or spheres of influence, present or prospective, not merely would the gravest causes of future antagonism be removed, but substantial new bonds of community of industrial interest would be provided.

The roots of the disease of imperial expansion which has been poisoning the foreign policy of all the Great Powers lies in the excessive political and economic power of modern capitalism. The only radical cure is the progress of democratic control within each nation. Peace in the future cannot be secured without some such advance in the arts of political and economic democracy as shall release the foreign policy of the several nations from the control of private interests. But this progress can only be a slow process. Meantime what measures can be taken?

The problem is twofold. First, how to secure the rights of the inhabitants of undeveloped countries against a policy of plunder. Second, how to secure equal opportunities to the members of advanced nations to participate in the work and the gains of assisting to develop these backward countries. The peace of the world is dependent on both issues. If the Governments of all civilized nations would consent to give equal rights of commerce and equal facilities of investment in their colonies to all nations, this single agreement would go farther to secure peace than any other measure, such as reduction of armaments, arbitration, leagues. The means is the delegation to the Governments of the civilized nations of the right and duty of protection, when propinquity or other circumstances render this course advisable. Such are the general principles for the realization of the Open-Door.

HENRI LAMBERT.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending April 23

Congressional Doings

The annual legislative, judicial and executive bill, carrying \$70,000,000, an increase over last year of about \$30,000,000, was passed by the Senate on the 16th. A provision increasing virtually all employees' salaries in the civil establishment, \$120 annually was inserted by the Senate, which also restored appropriation for sub-treasuries, which the House proposed to abolish. On the same day the Senate passed the House bill designed to protect 123,000 technical enemy aliens in America's fighting forces who would be subject to execution as traitors if captured, and the Sabotage bill that had finally been agreed upon by the conferees. The Senate on the 18th authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to melt 350,000,000 silver dollars in the Treasury vaults, and to use the bullion to settle trade balances against the United States. The bill establishes one dollar an ounce as the price to be paid by the Government in future purchases. In the last few years silver has fluctuated between 48 cents and \$1.12 an ounce. The Secretary is directed to recall silver certificates to the amount of \$350,000,000, and issue in their stead an equal amount of Federal Re-

serve notes. The House on the 19th voted to increase the Marine Corp to 75,500 men. On the 20th the House passed the Naval Appropriation bill carrying a total of \$1,385,176,416.

Shipping

Charles M. Schwab, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was appointed on the 16th Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, with complete supervision and direction of the work of shipbuilding. This puts the Government's shipbuilding in charge of the most successful of large business organizers. Chairman Hurley, of the Shipping Board, has announced that the 4,700-ton wooden ship now under construction at Orange, Texas, will hereafter be the standard wooden vessel, instead of the 3,500-ton ship previously adopted. All the ways now devoted to wooden vessels will continue to turn out wooden vessels, the chairman announced. Negotiations for Japanese ships that have been conducted by American Ambassador Morris and the Japanese Government have finally been concluded. Japan will turn over to the United States for the period of the war sixty-six steamships, aggregating 514,000 tons. The Shipping Board has chartered 400,000 tons of Norwegian sailing vessels, which will be used in the non-hazardous trades, principally with South America, and release steamers for war trade. The sailing vessels because of slower speed represent about one-third the carrying capacity of the same tonnage under steam. These vessels are all steel, and some are as large as 5,000 tons. Director General McAdoo on the 17th ordered that the Erie and New York State Barge Canal System be taken over by the Railroad Administration, and that a fleet of barges be constructed immediately to relieve freight traffic. It is expected that other canal systems will soon be taken over by the Government.

Democracy's Test

Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, speaking at a meeting in Washington on the necessity of maintaining American standards of labor, said:

What are American standards of labor? Let us put the question to a reasonable test by first asking ourselves, what is America? Is it not a democratic country—a country growing in democracy and fighting for democracy and for the right to keep on growing in democracy? The democratic test then is the test to which we must bring the question of American standards of labor. In other words, when we deal with labor, we deal with a human factor, and every unit in this great factor is entitled to democratic consideration—to the consideration which the Declaration of Independence assures him. Labor is vastly more vital than the item of labor cost in a business man's ledger. Labor means mankind at work making a living for mankind.

That is what the war has impressed upon us sternly. It has taught us that Lincoln was right when he said that labor is prior to capital, that capital never could have existed if labor had not produced it, and that capital continues to exist only

as labor continues to produce it. What is the meaning otherwise of the frantic appeals to labor which we hear on every side at this critical time in the country's history? We are dependent upon labor and all of us know it now.

When Lincoln put labor before capital he adjured the laboring people to beware of surrendering their powers. What labor, therefore, demands and has a right to demand is that it shall not be forced, in the name of patriotism when the country is in peril, to lay down its standards for the enrichment of profiteers.

War Budgets

The enthusiasm for securing small subscriptions to the third Liberty Loan appears to increase as the drive continues. The total subscribed at the close of the 20th was \$1,490,555,500, which means half the loan in half the time. Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, introduced in the House of Commons what he declared to be the largest budget in the history of the world. Expenditures for the coming year are estimated at £2,972,197,000. Revenue is put at £774,250,000, plus new taxes £67,800,000, or a total of £842,050,000. This leaves a balance of £2,130,147,000 (\$10,118,198,250) to be covered by borrowing. Britain's loans to her allies during the past year amounted to £505,000,000; the United States' advances to the Allies amounted to £950,000,000. The Chancellor said the Germany daily expenditure was practically the same as Britain's, £6,250,000. The total German votes of credit amounted to £6,200,000,000, those of Britain to £5,850,000,000. The German income is £365,000,000, that of Great Britain, £1,044,000,000.

England and Russian Bonds

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has given notice that from April 1, holders of Russian securities must no longer look to the British Treasury for interest due them from Russia. He published at the same time a declaration that had been agreed upon between the British and French Governments, stating that the obligations of the Imperial Russian Government "cannot be repudiated by the authorities, whatever they may be, which hold or may hold power in Russia, without the very foundations of international law being shaken. . . . The obligations of Russia continue; they are and will continue to be binding upon the new state or group of states by which Russia is or will be represented." Committees have been formed in Paris and in London representing banking and industrial circles having interests in Russia to look after their financial interests.

Russia

M. Gukovsky, the new Minister of Finance, in his report to the Central Executive Committee of the Council at Moscow, said expenditures were far in excess of income. A third of the country's income before the war was from the vodka monopoly, which had been abolished. Production, he said, was at a low point. The railroads were carrying 70 per cent less

freight than formerly, while the cost of operation had risen from 11,600 to 120,000 rubles per verst. Wages had been increased several hundred per cent, and hours had been reduced till three, and sometimes four, shifts were necessary. He cited the Sormoff Locomotive Works, which turn out two locomotives a day instead of eighteen as formerly, making the cost per locomotive 600,000 rubles. He urged better administration, greater co-operation, and the reduction of expenses by decreasing the number of clerks and officials. Specialists in industrial and financial affairs, he insisted, were necessary to reorganize the state. Germany still ignores the Russian request that refugees from Lithuania and Poland be permitted to return to their homes. M. Tchitcherin, the Foreign Minister, protested to von Kühlmann, German Foreign Secretary, against separating Taurida Province, which constitutes the Crimea Peninsula, from the Russian Federal Republic, and begs him not to violate the Brest-Litovsk treaty by attempting to detach a part of the Republic of Russia. [See current volume, page 512.]

Ireland

Conscription overtops all other questions. Throughout Ireland a covenant has been entered into, under oaths administered by priests, to resist the draft by every possible means. Quiet prevails and great earnestness. An agreement was made by the Trades Congress and various trades unions to stop work in Dublin on the 23d as a protest against conscription. The military authorities in Ireland are reported to have taken over control of the principal Irish railways, post office and telephone exchanges. [See current volume, page 512.]

European War

Very little change was made in the lines on the western front during the week. Heavy attacks were made by the Germans at several points between Bethune and Ypres, but the gains in territory were small and the losses in men very great. Both armies are said to be making all preparations for a new battle. General-in-Chief Foch said on the 19th: "We hold the Boche waves, but that is not sufficient; we will do something more. Our ample reserves are still intact. We are satisfied with the progress of events." The Germans on the 20th made the heaviest attack yet experienced by American forces on the sector northwest of Toul. No official report has been received, but unofficial accounts place American losses at 200, and the German losses at more than 400. The Americans hold their positions. The fact that the American forces are now a part of the French and British armies is given as a reason for not rendering a separate report of their actions. Lesser activities are reported in Russia where German troops have made their way to Crimea, which the German Government talks of recognizing as an independent state. Twelve German warships are at Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, and 40,000 troops are reported landed at that point. British and French troops are reported landed at Mourmansk on Kola Peninsula in the Arctic Ocean, where they have co-operated with the Russians against the Finnish White

Guards, who aim to annex this territory to Finland. The Turks claim considerable gains in the Caucasus, where they report the capture of the Black Sea port of Batum. [See current volume, page 513.]

* *

Baron Burian has accepted the Premiership of Austria-Hungary. Much unrest and dissatisfaction are reported, both industrial and political. Friction between the German and the non-German elements of the dual monarchy appears to be nearing the breaking point. Peace moves are reported to be growing. The German Government retains a firm hold upon its people, so far as outward appearances indicate. Talk of annexations and indemnities continues. The Reichstag is being urged to withdraw its declaration for a peace without annexations and indemnities, and to give the Government a free hand. Berlin reports that subscriptions to the eighth German war loan amount to 14,550,000,000 marks, or \$3,465,810,000. Germany's war debt is now placed at \$31,000,000,000. The new revenue bills are reported wholly inadequate to meet the new obligations, it being assumed in many quarters that an indemnity will render higher German taxes unnecessary.

* *

Minor naval actions were reported on the 16th when British war ships sank ten German trawlers in the Categat (between Sweden and Denmark). The crews were saved by the British ships. Light British and German warships met on the 20th in the waters near Helgoland. The German ships took refuge behind the mine fields. Superiority of Allied air forces is indicated by the moves made by Germans to stop air raids. A member of the Reichstag suggested making an agreement with the Allies to cease aerial attacks on open towns outside the war zone. Great loss is reported by fire in the Zeppelin works near Friedrichshafen. The British ships lost during the week by mines and torpedoes numbered 11 over 1,600 tons, and 4 under that tonnage. One American ship was torpedoed, and one lost by explosion. American naval forces are credited with clearing the coast of France of enemy submarines by means of listening devices, hydroaeroplanes, and depth bombs.

NOTES

—The circulation per capita of the United States, April 1, 1918, was \$49.70, as compared with \$45.34 on April 1, 1917, and \$16.92 on the first of January, 1879.

—Reports from the revenue collectors indicate that the revenue from incomes and excess profits will far exceed the original estimate of \$2,500,000,000. Some estimates are as high as \$4,000,000,000.

—The city of Rheims, which has so often been the mark for German cannon, is reported to have received 100,000 shells in one week during the battle of Picardy. Both the city and its historic cathedral are now in ruins.

—Director-General Densmore, of the United States employment service reports that there is still ample labor in this country to fill all demands. The depart-

ment, he says, is prepared to satisfy every need as fast as it is made known.

—President Wilson has appointed Friday, April 26, as Liberty Day, on the afternoon of which he requests the people of the United States to assemble in their respective communities and pledge anew their financial support to sustain the nation's cause.

—All Southern California and part of western Arizona and Utah were shaken by an earthquake on the 21st. Damage to the amount of \$500,000 is reported from the two towns of Hemet and San Jacinto, forty-five miles southeast of Riverside, Cal. Two lives are reported lost.

—Canada, owing to the urgent need for men and the large number exempted because of occupations and other reasons aside from physical disqualifications, has ordered all unmarried men between the ages of 20 and 23 into the service regardless of occupation, unless physically unfit.

—Owing to the fact that most of the truck movement in the military zone is done at night the Quartermaster's Department at Washington has ordered the truck trains that make the trip from Detroit to the seaboard drive at night in order that the drivers may familiarize themselves with conditions prevailing at the front.

—The municipal officials of all towns in the Federal District of Mexico have taken steps to put into cultivation all vacant lands that are not used by their owners for productive purposes. This will add several thousand acres to the crop producing capacity of that region, and will materially benefit the markets of the capital city.

—School children of the Twelfth Ward of the Paris suburb of Bercy, one of the poorer quarters of the city, wishing to show their appreciation of what Americans have done for French orphans, have decided to adopt the first American child whose father has been killed in battle, and to pay 50 centimes (10 cents) a day to the child for two years.

—The declaration of the American Federation of Labor that it will not meet enemy representatives during the war, when announced by the chairman of the delegation now in England, awakened a warm response from the British press and public. The visit of the labor representatives is taken as further proof of the complete accord of the two countries in the present war.

—The American Academy of Political and Social Science will hold its twenty-second annual meeting at Philadelphia, April 26 and 27. The general topic for discussion will be "Mobilization of America's Resources for the War." Among those to address the meeting are General William C. Gorgas, General Enoch H. Crowder, Lawson Purdy, Prof. Irving Fisher, Gifford Pinchot, George Creel and Norman Angell.

—The United States Government is in urgent need of thousands of typewriter operators and stenographers and typewriters, announces John A. McIlhenny, presi-

dent, U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C. Women especially are urged to take up this work. The entrance salary ranges from \$1,000 to \$1,200 a year. Advancement of capable employes to higher salaries is reasonably rapid. Full information may be had from the Civil Service Commission.

—Picketing in Arizona is legal, and labor unions have the right to advertise unfair working conditions, according to the unanimous opinion of the State Supreme Court in the case of Bisbee Cooks and Waiters' Union against a restaurant employer of that city. In refusing the plea of the employer for an injunction, the Court said: "No right of the plaintiff is violated by publishing the facts. Certainly if a dispute between plaintiff and the labor union exists, plaintiff has no legal right to enforce the union to keep the facts secret."

—Samuel Lindsay, independent Democratic candidate for Parliament from South Australia, met objections to his proposal to tax land values by presenting some figures to show that although farmers own most of the land they do not own most of the land value. He showed that the 1,181,120 acres of land in the Lincoln District Council paid \$845 less than one street in Adelaide. Two acres of land in the center of Adelaide have a higher value than 894,720 acres constituting the District Council of Streaky Bay. Mr. Lindsay advocated the taxation of land values as a means of relieving industry.

—Dr. John H. Finley, Commissioner of Education of New York, has been sent to Palestine by the Red Cross to study the needs of the people of the Holy Land and assist in their relief. All reports indicate deplorable conditions. Famine and disease have taken heavy toll. Typhus and cholera have been and still are epidemic. The war council has appropriated \$390,000, and the work will be done in connection with the British Syria and Palestine Relief Fund and the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee. The initial work will be the establishment of four medical units to combat typhus, cholera and other diseases. A hospital will be equipped, and dispensaries and village work will be established in the less populous districts.

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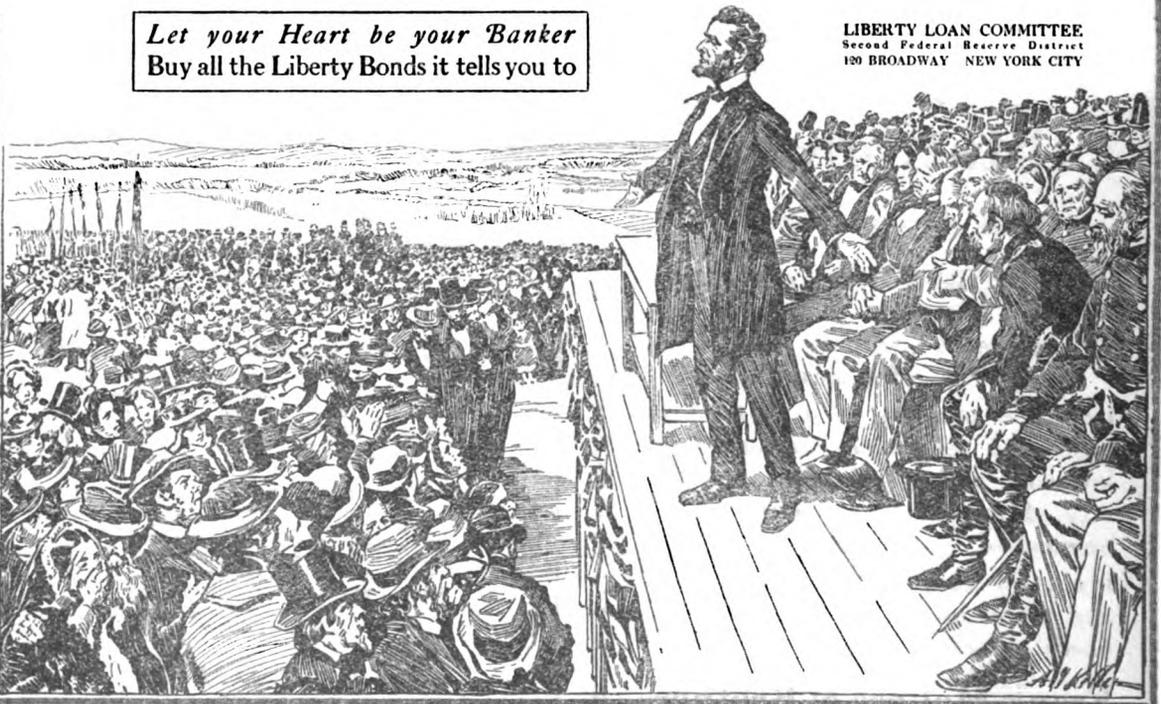
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