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The Public

A Journal of Democracy

French War Economics

Back up Mr. Baker

Iconoclasts for Profit

Published Weekly
New York, N. Y.

February 1, 1918

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The Public

A Journal of Democracy

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The Public

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Volume XXI

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Editorial

With the speeches of Counts Czernin and von Hertling, the intentions of the belligerent groups are at last disclosed in open array. THE PUBLIC has always insisted that the real result of the war is psychological, the difference that is made in men's modes of thinking. Not suddenly by victory nor by defeat, but by slow alteration as points of view change, new angles are discovered and a new basis made to emerge. Out of these altered modes of thinking flow tangible readjustments. The present task of intelligent men is to discover whether the paths of the belligerents converge or not, and how far each has traveled toward a common goal. Unless there is sufficient progress, naturally the situation reverts to the arbitrament of cannon. On the side of the Allies no one can deny that there has been since 1914 a profound transformation. The war aims of today are by no means those that formed the basis of the Great Alliance. We have swung into a different world, and it may be said with confidence that the speech of Mr. Lloyd George and the message of President Wilson embody principles behind which the democratic nations of the Allies stand in solid, unanimous phalanx.

* * *

What can be said for the spokesmen of the Central Empires. In the first place it is to be noted that they have not declared their war intentions but have merely replied to those of their enemies. In the second place they have, whether purposely or not, misconceived the whole situation, in regarding war aims as peace proposals. We are not yet in a position to beg the German Government to say whether it will graciously grant such and such terms. We are, on the contrary, announcing the basis of unified allied

activity in the next months, or years, of war. The German Chancellor shows his misconception further by regarding President Wilson's fourteen points as a series, part of which may be accepted, part of which may be rejected, some negotiated and others discussed. These points are, as a matter of fact, fourteen concrete illustrations of one general principle. If the Germans accept even one in its true spirit, the acceptance of the others will follow as a matter of necessity. What is that general principle? It is the establishment and recognition of public right as the law of nations, made valid by responsibility to the peoples of the several nations. The one thing for which we are fighting and shall continue to fight is the destruction of that old conception of sovereignty under which states are entities with accountability to no principle except that of force. When President Wilson asks for the abolition of secret diplomacy and the open publication of all treaties, he is merely stating the general principle in the concrete form, that international relations must be made accountable to the people. Does Count von Hertling meet this fundamental implication? Not at all. He merely says, "We are quite ready to accept this proposal and declare publicity of negotiations to be a general political principle." In regard to the second point, it is quite clear to us that freedom of the seas has no meaning apart from a new international organization. This, the Chancellor says, "is not intelligible and would therefore be best left out." So with the following points. The Germans naturally condemn economic war because it would be to their disadvantage. The reason for the limitation of armament is given as the financial position of European States after the war.

We come to the heart of the matter in the discussion of the occupied territories. To conquer, hold and exploit foreign territory was the great prerogative of the old European State. With this, there is for us and for the democracy of the world no compromise. To admit that the evacuation of Russian, Belgian, Serbian and French territory is a matter about which there can be negotiation is to admit the triumph of German feudalism and militarism and thus make it secure for the future. The conquest of those lands represents nothing in Germany except the preparation she had made before the war started. She must evacuate them unconditionally, or be ejected by force. The Chancellor admits frankly the intention of his government to hold the occupied territories as an important pawn in the negotiations. Here is where the discussion really ends, and arms are taken up again. President Wilson's last point, of course, sums up all the others. It demands an association of nations, formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. It is interesting to learn from the mouth of the German Chancellor that "if the idea of a band of nations proves on closer examination really to be conceived in a spirit of complete justice and complete impartiality toward all, then the Imperial Government is gladly ready, when all other pending questions have been settled, to begin the examination of the basis of such a band of nations." We may take this as the summing up of the spirit and intention of Germany. It only remains for the German people to understand that they will have no peace now nor five years hence, unless their mode of thinking is so far changed that they are ready to play their part in a world ruled by justice.

* * *

The conciliatory character of Count Czernin's speech is not to be taken seriously. It is conciliation in details and not in principle. THE PUBLIC declared its belief some months ago, that the cleavage of the plan of Mitteleuropa would come between Germany and Austria. Whether the present situation in Austria is the beginning of this cleavage remains to be seen. In any case it is only the beginning, and we can easily fall into the error of overestimating its importance. There is no country so easy to misunderstand

as Austria. No other nation has its facility in making professions and meaning nothing by them. As there will be much talk back and forth between this country and Vienna in the future, it is well to have a touchstone to aid judgment such as is provided in the quotation from Kuernberger, given by Mr. Steed in a recent number of *The New Europe*. He says that the eternally unintelligible about Austria is what is Asiatic in Austria. "The way our people, lively, easy-going, variable, dance up to all things with verve and grace, is like a rosy children's ball. But note well that, in all this South German liveliness and Slavonic changeability, in all this rapid whirl of persons, the thing itself remains Asiatically stiff, inert, conservative, sphinx-dead and spectrally hoary, not having budged an inch for ages. That is why the most daring novelties come easier to us than to the other States—because they are only new names. Freedom of the press and confiscations, ministerial responsibility and violations of the constitution, the Concordat with the Pope and an anti-clerical middle-class government—we can stand them all! . . . Were we at once to establish atheism as the State religion, the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna would celebrate an atheistic High Mass in the cathedral!"

It remains to be seen whether the Italian reverse was not a blessing in disguise. It consolidated the Italians into an effective unity and at the same time destroyed any feeling on the part of the Austrians that they were fighting for self-protection. This, with the final removal of the Russian menace, leaves the Austrians absolutely without any motive to fight except that the Germans want them to do so. Steady pressure from the outside for another year will hasten the nationalistic and economic ferment to the point that we may hope for the regenerated Austria that the modern world demands.

* * *

Through the mist of our political dissension and economic confusion it is possible to distinguish a slowly dawning sense of the reality of the enterprise in which we are involved. It is a real achievement to have banished our complacency. The war will never be to us so imperiously and desperately serious as with our Allies, but every consideration of pride and national honor, every degree of devotion to a noble pur-

pose, every feeling of responsibility for the protection of civilization may be counted upon to throw us belatedly but effectively into the struggle in the next three months. Unfortunately we must cry over spilt milk, we must rend and tear those who have done the humanly possible, instead of aiming our efforts unswervingly at the final result. Muddle-minded senators lose their temper and their usefulness over belts and bayonets that will be on hand as soon as they are needed. Is our legislature so densely ignorant that it is unable to understand, even now, that the key to success in this war does not lie in the cantonments but in the shipyards? It is there that we are betraying the confidence of our Allies; it is there that we are committing ourselves to a war indefinitely prolonged. It is no surprise to learn that our army officers and the heads of our military departments are among the futile and incompetent. Nothing was to be expected of them, but those activities that focus into the building of a ship are the ones in which we claim to express our national excellence in industrial achievement. Our boasted executive capacity has been on trial since last April in the production of tonnage and has been found lamentably wanting. When the democracy of America understands the penalties that it must pay for this delay, it will want some "convenient lamp-posts."

* * *

There is every indication that within a few days the Irish Convention will emerge from the secrecy that has protected its deliberations. The general feeling is that it must announce itself a failure. Between the irreconcilable unionists of Ulster and the irreconcilable secessionists of the Sinn Fein, the Convention may claim respect if it has made any progress. Possibly the extremists have neutralized each other, and thus given a chance to work out a practicable plan of autonomy on sane lines. There are indications that this is so, and that the British Government will now step in and enforce the solution. The whole world is now waiting to see whether Sir Edward Carson is a patriot or traitor. We, Americans, have to thank the Northcliffe press for another piece of its abominable mischief-making. That we, through our Government or any other agency, have been guilty of interfering in the affair is too absurd for serious mention.

The Federal Trade Commission's superiority over federal courts as a means of exposing and discrediting unfair business methods is being strikingly shown by the investigation of the Chicago meat packers now being conducted by the Commission with Mr. Francis J. Heney of California as counsel. The meat combine has survived many a Federal grand jury and subsequent trial for violation of the Sherman Act. It remains to be seen whether it can so blithely weather the public indignation and contempt which these hearings are arousing. Shoes are a big item in the working man's budget. Their price has become almost prohibitive, and retail trade has fallen off while the cobblers flourish. Now we have it in the cold figures of an irrefutable Government report that the prevailing prices are utterly unwarranted, that they represent merely the greed of the handful of men who control the packing industry. The packers have been hoarding hides and pocketing excessive profits, says the Commission. And millions of little children go with ragged feet to school, or pay for decent footwear by foregoing the proper ration of nourishing foods. The slimy trail of attempted corruption and interference with Government, laid bare by the Commission, is only the old story of what invariably happens when control over a great essential industry is permitted to go into the hands of a few men bent on private profit. It is no mere coincidence that the labor policy of these great monopolized industries is almost invariably as brutal and immoral as their treatment of the consuming public. The Chicago packers have grown into one of the major predatory private groups of the United States. They control banks, railroads, and large subsidiary industries. Government control of railroads will help in curbing their privileges. It is for the Federal Trade Commission to discover whether the packing business is improperly integrated and concentrated, or properly and economically so. If the latter, it should be promptly taken over by the Government. If not, every element of privilege must be cut away so that abuses may be automatically removed. It seems most probable that Government operation is the remedy here, to be achieved after full investigation and after an attempt at Federal supervision and control will have shown the disadvantages of half-way measures. Incidentally, let every democrat take his hat off to

the Federal Trade Commission, and be on the alert that its effectiveness in accomplishing the work for which it was created shall not be curtailed by its powerful enemies.

* * *

The appointment of three members of the Federal Reserve Board to act as a Capital Issues Committee during the war may have far-reaching results. They will investigate projects calling for the issuance of new securities by corporations, and their advice, while having no legal standing, will largely determine the action of business promoters. Messrs. Warburg, Delano and Hamlin will perform this function. There is no reason why this temporary agency should not become a permanent one for checking the process by which excessive future profits have been forestalled and capitalized for the benefit of insiders, while at the same time large numbers of innocent investors are given a vested interest in continued extortion. If the Government should, at the close of the war, deliberately abandon those war measures that are dictated by every consideration of justice and economics, in peace or war, then it will be time for us to throw up our hands.

* * *

President John Fitzpatrick and Secretary Edward Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Mr. Frank P. Walsh, their counsel, deserve the thanks of every democrat for their successful efforts to add the great meat-packing industry to the list of those in which industrial autocracy no longer holds sway. The agreement entered into at Washington this week provides that there shall be no discrimination against union men, that committees representing the employes shall at all times be received by the management, and that questions of wages and hours shall be settled by an arbitrator appointed by Secretary Wilson. This agreement is the consummation of years of hitherto unsuccessful effort to give the packing-house workers a voice in determining the conditions of their employment. The stock yards of Chicago and other Middle West cities were second only to the steel mills as strongholds of the bad old order of brass checks, guards, and superintendents and foremen armed with absolute power. Not only the labor movement but the American democracy is

watching for a similar development in the steel mills. The organization work in this field is under the immediate supervision of Secretary Frank M. Morrison of the American Federation of Labor. May he be as successful as the Chicagoans! They have shown that the extension of industrial democracy can be accomplished without interfering with the nation's necessary industrial processes. Rather, more efficient and whole-hearted work may be expected of men newly recognized as human beings.

* * *

THE PUBLIC is gratified to discover that it was mistaken in assuming that New York's big newspapers and its corporation lawyers had thrown their influence since the beginning of the war on the side of those who would deny free speech and a free press. They gave us that impression when Mr. Burleson was suppressing *The Masses* and various other heterodox publications, with which we disagreed as vehemently on the issue of the war as we do with *The New York Times* on its proposition that public confidence in its conduct must be destroyed, our national leaders discredited and thrown out of power, and three strong business men placed in supreme command of the nation. But it is not so. *The Times* prints conspicuously an interview with Mr. Louis Marshall, one of the most conservative of New York lawyers, in which Mr. Marshall says: "If the time shall ever come when our citizens abdicate their independence of thought and speech, their right to think and speak freely, and delegate their thinking power to any President . . . we shall soon become a flabby nation. If the time ever comes when public debate, in the newspapers, in the forum, and especially in Congress, ceases, then the continuance of our constitutional form of government, and with it our liberties, will cease."

* * *

A habitation tax is the latest proposal to help New York's land speculators. "Real estate is too heavily taxed," complain these interests, and so a bill has been prepared, the effect of which will be to relieve unimproved land, but may increase indirectly the burden on improved property. The bill imposes a tax on tenants proportioned to their rent. If paid by the tenant, as the sponsors for the measure hope, it is equiva-

lent to increased rent. In that case it must tend to drive tenants to conserve their income by seeking cheaper quarters. If to prevent this the landlord assumes the burden, it will be equivalent to an increased tax on improvements. In either case another tax would be added to the list of those that discourage improvements and induce vacant land owners to refrain from building. The right way to relieve real estate of unjust burdens is to remove all taxes from buildings and other improvements, now assessed in New York City at \$3,008,633,746, and place the entire burden on land values assessed at \$4,561,733,604. That would put the heavy end on the owner of unimproved or partially improved land. The proposed habitation tax, it is estimated, would yield \$16,000,000, and it is supposed that real estate would be relieved to that extent. Untaxing of buildings would relieve properly improved real estate of a much larger amount without shifting the burden upon the tenant.

Back Up Baker!

The Chamberlain bill and the agitation accompanying it is primarily an attempt to get rid of Secretary Newton D. Baker as a preliminary to the success of the campaign for universal military service, the modification of the Government's price-fixing and labor policies, and the general weakening of the Government's democratic intent, both in the field of international relations and with relation to the domestic economic reconstruction during and after the war. The *New York Times*, for instance, has abandoned hope for the War Cabinet bill, and now proclaims the discrediting of Baker and his retirement from influential leadership as the result most certain to be achieved. It is a drive on Baker that has only begun, and there will be no abatement. It is a situation that calls for something more positive than the complacent assumption that Mr. Wilson's leadership is still secure and that he will back Mr. Baker to the limit. It is not as simple as that. Mr. Baker will remain as Secretary of War. It is for the true democrats of this country to see to it that he shall feel his feet on the solid earth of their positive, organized support. His influence will be curtailed if we permit his enemies to place him in the position of a man on the defensive, under any

sort of a cloud, dependent for power on the faith and tolerance, rather than the affirmative and whole-hearted support, of those from whom his authority is derived.

Mr. Baker deserves this affirmative and whole-hearted support in a measure surpassing that in which it can be claimed for any other of Mr. Wilson's lieutenants. His handling of the problems involved in our military mobilization has been masterly. His difficulties have been enormous. He has had to mitigate and counteract the bad effects—what might well have been the disastrous effects—of the short-sighted toriyism and stupidity of other officials. He had first of all to gain the confidence and cooperation of our primary workers and producers—men none too eager in their support of the war and suddenly placed in a position to retard or utterly cripple its prosecution. In no other capacity than as responsible head of our military organization could he have exerted the influence that has won the support of the vast majority of these elements. They are elements that remain largely unorganized, and it has had to be a matter of Mr. Baker's pervading, ubiquitous spirit of understanding and concession rather than any specific formal agreement with a handful of authorized spokesmen. On the military side, the War Department has accomplished a task that has evoked the respectful admiration of such critics as Lord Northcliffe and Commissioner Tardieu—men noted for their frankness in criticism when that is in order. England's request that we go slow with our military contingent and leave shipping for food and munitions, came with an authority that could not be ignored, and the change of plans at the later insistence of the French involved prodigious difficulties which have been admirably met. It is an open secret that the Allies would have preferred to take our men as raw material, ununiformed, unofficered and unarmed, and the back-stairs gossip of Mr. Medill McCormick regarding their own need for the artillery to be furnished our arriving troops is merely absurd. There has been no breakdown, but a rapid progression toward the most efficient mobilization of men and resources, and it is largely because this progression involved radical measures which Mr. Baker's critics themselves would have shrunk from in hesitation and uncertainty that they now attack him. He did not wait until the last belt and button had been

delivered in every camp before mobilizing our first contingent. We can easily imagine the scorn and abuse that would now be heaped upon him if he had. The very defects and shortcomings of our army camps are testimony to the speed with which they were completed and filled with men. Pershing's troops, rushed to France at the insistence of the French, required supplies for six months ahead that otherwise would have been available for the home cantonments. Our army has been mobilized and equipped with a speed that has spelled some discomfort and suffering; delay might have spelled untold thousands of casualties—perhaps an additional year of war.

The disingenuous character of the present onslaught is shown most clearly of all in the complaint that Dr. Garfield's suspension of industry exposes a complete breakdown. No observer not swayed by prejudice could so permit himself to ignore the perfectly obvious controlling fact, that of a failure in transportation for which railroad bankers and a winter of unprecedented severity are to blame. The unanimous approval of Dr. Garfield's order by the railroad executives best qualified to judge the needs of the hour should have been enough. But Dr. Garfield was another creature of the Baker type—a friend and fellow-townsmen of the Secretary, a college professor, a bookish fellow, whose record as a successful business man and President of the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland had been obscured by his more recent exploits in the field of price-fixing, and by his appointment of the then-President of the United Mine Workers, the head of one of these anarchistic labor organizations, to aid him. It means nothing that through this appointment and the grasp of the facts that actuated it, Dr. Garfield has won and kept for the Government the confidence and support of some half a million coal miners—that in spite of trades union traditions these miners have voluntarily accepted contracts, automatically fining each of them \$1 a day for the unauthorized local strikes that used to be the plague of the coal industry.

The American democracy must not merely "stand behind Baker." It must not plead for patience and tolerance. It must take the offensive against the interests that are attacking him. It must see to it that Mr. Baker's prestige be increased, that the authority with which he

speaks, his power to influence men and events, shall grow progressively greater, and this in recognition of the paramount service which he has performed and must continue to perform. There are sinister influences in Washington that will be quick to take advantage of any feeling that Mr. Baker is in the slightest discredited or weakened by the onslaught of Messrs. Roosevelt, Chamberlain and their allies of the press and the directors' rooms. These influences probably extend into the highest councils of an administration that is the Solid South and bourbon as well as the West and enlightened liberalism. That is Mr. Wilson's great handicap, and it is to Mr. Baker's aid that we must look to see him overcome it in the interest of the policies on which his heart is set. For any liberal or radical in the land to hold aloof now because he may be offended by something that Mr. Burleson or Mr. Gregory or Mr. McAdoo may have done is to descend to the plane of petty personal spite. It will be human for some of these to rejoice that the Government is no longer sacrosanct. None has resented more vehemently than THE PUBLIC the implication of certain officials that it was. But the last effect of such resentment should be to generate complacency before this assault on the man who has done least to arouse it and most to mitigate its causes.

Iconoclasts for Profit

Messrs. Vanderbilt, Morgan, Berwind and the other good church members who control, among other things, New York's transportation lines, are today in a fair way of establishing themselves in the front ranks of the radicals and iconoclasts. It seems we have been mistaken in supposing them conservatives, bulwarks of the established order, champions of the best in the institutions handed down to us from the past. They are nothing of the sort. Beside them, the militant suffragists are reactionary. Votes for women may be well enough for the old-fashioned, but for these sprightly innovators it is a puerile half-way measure. Why not khaki bloomers and uniform coats and employment at posts where our girls can rub shoulders with the world at its roughest, where they can demonstrate the truth that woman is not a gentle, refined creature, primarily fitted for wifedom and

motherhood, but rather one who can hold her own in a field where wind and weather, coarse speech, staring hoodlums, long hours, give her the opportunity to prove her real mettle?

The replacing of men with women as conductors on New York's subway and surface lines is only another indication of the callous and brutal indifference of business enterprise to any consideration save the demand for profits and more profits. It should be an effectual, final answer to those good folk who fear radical economic changes in the belief that the spirit of innovation may play havoc with such holy things as the Family and the Moral Fabric. In a free society, women should have the same right as men to choose occupations without regard to accepted notions of propriety. We could trust the native instincts of the race to save us from any serious perversion of functions. It may be merely custom and conservatism that repels the New York strap-hanger when he sees a girl in short, ill-fitting bloomers, her fingers blackened, her hands red and numb with cold, her hair perversely straying from under the cheap little uniform cap, standing hemmed in by New York's shoving, swearing, polyglot population as they push by her to enter the car. Certainly it is righteous anger that infuriates him when he realizes that these girls have been forced into the hopper of American business enterprise without any color of necessity, in order that organization of platform men may be discouraged and wages kept down to the \$16 a week that looks so big to the girl from the department store or the laundry or the cheap restaurant. It is contempt and loathing for the men responsible that moves this strap-hanger when he reflects that family wages do not increase in the long run, as first women and then children are forced by economic pressure into the great profit-making machine that is American life today. And his feeling is no gentler toward those jackal newspapers and preachers who witness this radical innovation with never a word of questioning or warning, much less of denunciation. The change has been made in New York with never a ripple of public discussion, save when managers of the public employment bureaus, denouncing the innovation as needless and asserting that thousands of unemployed men were available, found that the Socialist *Call* alone would print their protests.

It is one of those affairs that fire us with im-

patience for the days when, having destroyed the menace of German militarism, we shall turn on our Prussians at home and oust them summarily—with revolution if need be—if the courts or any other unresponsive agency dare stand in our way.

Business Men in Charge

What is this marvelous business efficiency that we are asked to install in the high places of our Government at Washington? It is a pet American fetich, concocted of superstition and hero-worship, and admirably equipped to play hob with any enterprise committed to its control. For American business of the sort called "big" has been ruined by the possession of monopoly and privilege on such a scale as to save the worst bunglers, the most stupid promoters, from what the world calls failure. We all remember the veneration and awe in which the business community held the late J. P. Morgan, and we saw this attitude survive even the disclosures of gross incompetence in the management of the New Haven. Today another example is before the country. Our greatest business executors are supposed to be the men enlisted by Mr. Vanderlip for the newly organized American International Corporation. On the side of construction and operation of plants, the engineering firm of Stone & Webster of Boston headed the list. They have become a constituent part of the American International, and subsequently of its subsidiary, the International Shipbuilding Company at Hog Island. To that company has been advanced \$21,000,000 of Government cash, and the Government meets pay rolls and pays for materials. They are to build 120 steel ships at a cost of \$165,000,000. The Government furnishes everything. "They put up the know-how and the organization," explained Admiral Bowles of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Just how does this "know-how" manifest itself? By such scandalous mismanagement of the Hog Island job that the International Shipbuilding Company has had to plead for one month's immunity from Congressional investigation, in the hope of correcting evils that would have shocked the country and thoroughly discredited the corporation involved. Investigators for the Shipping Board have substantially corroborated the complaints of union officials that

housing conditions at the shipyard were atrocious, that the labor policy was brutal, that there was an utter lack of proper coordination between the employment office and the various departments, and that many thousand workmen quit in one day because of disgust with conditions. And shipbuilding is delayed. The same company operates a shipbuilding plant at Camden, where a reactionary labor policy has barred skilled union workmen, so that union officials charge that men ostensibly hired for Hog Island are sent to the Camden yards to work. At Rock Island arsenal, near Davenport, Ia., Stone & Webster appear again as contractors in charge of important construction work for the War Department. Mr. John R. Mullen, a vice-president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, asserts that the firm is conducting a campaign of terrorism against members of the union. He says that iron workers are being arrested on the slightest pretext, and that "men who had joined our union were thrown into the guard house for returning for other firms that employ union men," after having been discharged and refused pay by Stone & Webster. "The work was covered by a lot of plug-ugly stool pigeons supposed to be secret service men. They were undoubtedly being encouraged by the commanding officer, Lieut. Col. Burr, who is decidedly unfriendly to organized labor. This does not sound much like the boasted 'team work' announced by Secretary Baker, that is to win the war against the German machine. If the administration imagines it is endearing itself to our members by such treatment, it is, I fear, making a mistake, and I fear much for the success of the patriotic efforts of union labor to make this war a success."

All this is merely part of the prevailing conception of efficiency in the minds of our masters of "big business." It is a conception that grew up when they had the wage earner by the throat, their grip tightened by the yearly influx of immigrants. It is a conception that believes in machine guns and plug uglies as more effective than intelligence and cheaper than decency. Thank God we are not to have it prevailing at Washington! We don't want the Bolsheviki in this country until Germany is whipped. Even then we don't want them if we can make of liberalism in politics and unionism in industry a swiftly-cutting wedge.

"To What Base Uses!"

Colonel Roosevelt has arrived at the sad condition of a public man whose too active espousal of any cause is enough to damn it. His descent on Washington, synchronous with the onslaught of the New York press on President Wilson and Secretary Baker and the introduction of the Chamberlain bill, gave just the touch of opera bouffe to these proceedings that alone was needed to discredit them. The Colonel is growing old, and his latest antics are those of a "character" whose function is to amuse a weary world rather than those of an influential politician. His invasion of the Capital last week was as funny as Tartarin's expedition to Africa in search of lions. San Francisco used to cherish an old man in a high silk hat who went about proclaiming himself an Emperor and receiving the tolerant obeisance of the town's amiable citizens. He lived serenely happy up amid the clouds of his mental obsession, just as the Colonel journeys from club to club and from luncheon to luncheon, brimming with zest in pursuit of the illusion that only his virile influence saves the country from a complete surrender to imbecile pacifism. There is something genuinely sad in the passing out of the Colonel in just this fashion. There was something truly magnificent and vastly useful in his leadership in the days when he and his tennis cabinet were making history. His service in breaking down the nation's reverence for wealthy men because they were wealthy, for big business because it was big, cannot be over-estimated. Probably no man with less social prestige, with a less impressive background of wealth and position in the East, could have performed that service so effectually and so quickly in this world of snobs. The truth seems to be as stated by one of the Colonel's old friends and admirers: He is just a bundle of reactions to immediate environment. He is organized for a life of pugnacious action, and he went to the White House at a time when pugnacity of this sort was needed in dealing with the men who had been accustomed to telling the man in the White House what to do. Today his environment is that of the New York clubs. And he is reacting to that environment by defending the Bisbee deportations, abusing Mr. Baker, and otherwise making vocal the points of view that prevail in those circles where democracy means

the rule of men who are trained to power by their possession and control of the country's wealth and natural resources.

Labor's View of the Tariff

The advanced position taken by British labor on economic questions, and the stand of the labor parties of Russia, France and Italy, call for a new estimate of the tariff question. The policy of taxing imports in spite of reason and human experience persists largely because of its name. On the principle that Eric the Red called his discovery Greenland—because, he said, a good name would attract immigrants—statesmen have been able to perpetuate a burdensome system of taxation by calling it a "protective" tariff, or protection to industry. And care is always taken to explain that the protection is not for the landowner or for the capitalist, but for the laborer.

One may wonder at the temerity of politicians in casting such a reflection upon the intelligence of labor, but there was no alternative. Labor controlled the votes; hence, politicians seeking their suffrage could not say: "We are laying this tax on the things you consume for the benefit of capitalists." Nor would they dare to claim: "This tax is laid upon you for the benefit of landowners." It was always: "We lay this tax on goods from other countries in order to protect you from the pauper labor of those countries." It mattered not whether it was Germany protecting its workers from the higher waged labor of England, or Italy protecting its workers from the higher waged labor of both Germany and England. It was always to protect the labor in the land of the politician seeking office from the competition of such other countries as might be disliked or feared.

The creation of the "protective" tariff was a master stroke in applied psychology. It has stood the test of experience, and it has been the basis of more spoliation of labor than any other fiscal policy aside from landlordism itself. But all error works to its own overthrow. The greed of monopoly and the grind of economic rent have gnawed at the vitals of industry till even labor has been compelled to think; and thinking, is beginning to see light.

Internationalism, which has been the aspira-

tion of idealists, but which has been looked upon as chimerical by "practical" minds who dismissed it as a mere "theory" to be realized in some remote age of the future, has suddenly taken on a new aspect. The war for democracy has quickened men's minds till the phrase used by the politician to raise an army has been adopted by that army to relieve the sorry condition of labor. It was inevitable that the man called upon to take up arms in behalf of the people of another country should sooner or later find in his mind this question: "If I do this in order to bring liberty to my brother man in time of war, why should I try to oppress him in time of peace?"

Thus, it has come about that the very labor, for whom protective tariffs are ostensibly maintained, is beginning to realize that if the duties on imports really do aid the workers within the country, it must be at the expense of the workers in the country from which the goods come; and to support such a system is to deny the very basis of internationalism. Be it said to the credit of the more advanced labor leaders, however, that they have not shrunk from the logical conclusion. Particularly is this true of the British labor leaders, who were quick to protest against the proposed trade war to follow the return of peace. As long ago as last August the British Trade Union Conference took this stand:

The Conference declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in practically all countries, for an economic war after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations. Such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven. The Conference realizes that all such attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalistic trusts or monopolies, inevitably results in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the Conference sees in the alliance between the Military Imperialists and the Fiscal Protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace to peace. . . . The Conference accordingly urges

upon the Socialist and Labor parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the government towards commercial enterprise, on the principle of the open door; on customs duties being limited strictly to revenue purposes, and on there being no hostile discrimination against foreign countries.

Russian labor has taken even a more advanced step toward establishing the universal brotherhood. And President Wilson expressed the same spirit when, in his conditions of peace, he declared for "The removal so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance." These utterances are a challenge to American labor to take the same advanced position as their brethren abroad, and their own best leaders. They are a challenge also to the capitalists and landlords to show what equivalent they render for their protection. And they are a challenge to American statesmen to explain why they resort to this antiquated method of raising revenue.

Now that we are awakening from our nightmare of medievalism and assuming the habiliments of sanity we are coming to see that the whole protection theory is false as to philosophy, and wrong as to fact. Differences in the rate of wages have comparatively little to do with trade. English labor has no protection whatever from German competition, or from the competition of China, India, or Japan. Millions of American farmers have for years raised wheat and cotton to be sold in Liverpool and Manchester in competition with the wheat from India and the cotton from Egypt, without reducing the American standard of living to that of the ryot or the fellaheen. Labor in the same industries in this country does not receive uniform wages in the different States; yet, though there is absolute free trade the highest waged suffers no injury from the lowest waged industry.

Morality alone should condemn a fiscal policy that seeks to profit one set of men at the expense of another set of men; but when to this is added the fact that policies designed to effect this purpose not only do not benefit the labor for which they were ostensibly designed, but do work to the advantage of monopoly and privilege, the wonder is that the victims have been so long

in grasping the fact. It is time for statesmen and politicians to take a new reckoning.

The Decadence of Mr. Schwab

Mr. Charles M. Schwab has become a discredited spokesman. He has been chastised by the *New York World* and the *New York Times* for saying in public that "the man who labors with his hands, who does not possess property, is the one who is going to dominate the affairs of this world, not merely in Russia, Germany and the United States, but the whole world. This great change is going to be a social adjustment, . . . but perhaps in the end it will work inestimably to the good of us all. I am not anxious to give away my wealth. The more wealth and power one acquires, the more one wants. But . . . changes in social conditions do not come by men alone, but because God decrees them." For a great iron master possessing several hundreds of millions to talk this way is unduly trying to those underpaid reporters and editorial writers who spend their working hours apologizing for the established order and their leisure worrying over rent and grocery bills. It is base ingratitude from a man of the class for whom they have been diligent and faithful servants all these years. But fortunately there are plenty of other millionaires still "on the make," men whose extravagance is still confined to motor cars and yachts and mansions, men still close enough to the source of their incomes to feel responsibility for the maintenance of the established order. Mr. Schwab's latest utterance probably means, among other things, that he is leaving the business pretty much entirely in the hands of Mr. Grace, the President of Bethlehem. Telling the truth is with him an ultimate luxury, the most reckless of extravagances. He undoubtedly relies on Mr. Grace and his other lieutenants as "practical men," and feels reasonably certain that they will not send for organizers of the American Federation of Labor or the I. W. W., in order to meet half way the process heralded by their chief. On the contrary, they probably will continue to do their part in maintaining a system that has given South Bethlehem one of the highest infant mortality rates in the land, while, in New York, it fosters in underpaid newspaper writers the pleasant fiction that they are gentlemen of the upper class.

Paying for the War

By Joseph L. Cohen

I

It is a fact of the utmost significance that the vast majority of the intellectuals of America have favored the war, that a number of them are now part of the administration, and that many hundreds of them have put their pens, their fortunes and their lives at the disposal of the government. Doubtless they are in favor of the war being waged, but there is one significant consideration that helped them to give it their enthusiastic support. They thought, indeed they firmly believed, that in the great reorganization, the great revaluation that would have to take place, and the great reconstruction that would be necessary as a result of the war, in this period of transition "the New Democracy," "the New Republic," "the New Freedom" which they had advocated would be given birth, and, possibly, even take form and power. In no sphere was this hope more likely to be realized than in the sphere of economic life and especially in the field of taxation.

For years radicals have preached that through the instrumentality of taxation great inequalities in wealth, and, consequently, many of the evils of our civilization could be abolished. The machinery of taxation, the scientific principles which underlay its working, and the arts requisite for its control were well known. The costs of the war were likely to be heavy and to meet the cost it was proposed that the inflated fortunes of the favored few should be drafted by the State and spent in the war.

Of the two methods of financing the war, that of loans and that of taxation, they, therefore, overwhelmingly favored the latter. This was the outspoken attitude of over three hundred leading economists who at the very outbreak of the war demanded that its costs should be met through taxation only. This also was the attitude of those intellectuals who stood behind the administration. Nor indeed is there anything very remarkable in this view. Why should not wars be paid for from current income? They cannot as a matter of fact be paid for in any other way, as every economist knows. The alternative to payment by an immediate scheme of

taxation for goods consumed now is a system postponed until after the war.

Students of finance are wont to divide all forms of government expenditures into two groups—extraordinary and recurrent. The construction of a port being an exceptional expenditure, it is argued, should be paid for in part by the generation that constructs it and in part by loans to be repaid by a posterity which will enjoy its use. The costs of the administration of justice being recurrent, it is argued, should be paid for by each generation. To which of these two types of expenditure is the cost of war more akin? Whilst it may be true that it is not an expenditure quite like that of supporting the police and of paying judges' salaries, it certainly cannot be regarded as an investment from which posterity will gain, as is the case with the construction of a port. For firstly, posterity may find that the war's anticipated good effects were wholly illusive, and secondly, it is not at all unlikely that the next generation will have to face a war of its own. Who knows, perhaps even we ourselves may take part in it. The only safe maxim in finance is to the effect that, "permanent loans should only be contracted in order to meet such expenditure as is certain sooner or later to yield revenue amounting to not less than the interest on the loans." Investments in war do not, of course, realize any revenue and should, therefore, be paid for from current income.

"The expense of a war," said Mr. Gladstone, "are the moral checks to the ambition and lust of conquest of nations. They force us to examine the necessity for war and of availing ourselves of the first and earliest prospects of concluding an honorable peace." To try to shirk our responsibility for the expenses involved in waging this war will be immoral and wasteful. The effect of such a policy has been well described by Mr. J. A. Hobson, when he declared that "bad, uncontrolled, undemocratic finance is responsible for wasteful mobilization of national resources, corrupt and extravagant administration of the same, reckless conduct of the war, and diminished chances of an early prosperous issue." Yet

in spite of the fact that the whole history of war finance is against shirking the responsibility of immediately meeting expenses out of taxation, this country has once again embarked on an unsound financial course. But can the United States afford to pay for the war by the method of immediate taxation? Can it bear the strain?

The United States in this war occupies a position analogous to that held by England in the Napoleonic wars: both had to mobilize great armies and navies of their own, both had to bear the burden of raising huge loans for their allies. But there is one striking difference: when Pitt was called to the helm to direct the finances of Great Britain, he boldly determined to pay the costs from current income.

Between 1806 and 1815 the average annual expenditure of the government on the war and on the payment of previous debts amounted to nearly \$330,000,000, of which Pitt raised \$320,000,000. The aggregate national income of England at that time was \$1,250,000,000, that is, more than a quarter of the aggregate income was raised for war taxation annually. If Pitt could finance the later and heavier expenses of the Napoleonic war almost entirely from taxation, when national surplus over and above subsistence level of population was small, as compared with that of this country, isn't it criminal folly for this government to pursue the policy characteristic of impoverished nations? How pitiable and cowardly is the present revenue bill, which provides that not quite one-sixth of the total of the first year's expenditures (exclusive of loans to the Allies), or less than \$2,000,000,000 out of \$12,000,000,000, shall be provided by taxation, in addition to our normal peace budget. And this when our national income is \$40,000,000,000.

The fundamental reasons for our paying for this war now are in brief: (1) That it will give those who have undertaken the war a sense of responsibility; (2) It will encourage saving and the conservation of national resources, for if we are to pay for it now we will have to forego many of our luxuries and comforts; (3) It is more honest for us to pay our own debts than to leave them to our descendants. (4) Above all, it will be far cheaper to pay as we go than to leave the burden of the war in charge of two hostile camps—those who will work and have

to pay interest on the loans and their repayment and of those who will receive the interest.

This "pay as you go" method of financing the war has come to have associated with it a policy for raising the necessary funds known as "the conscription of wealth." This receives its support from two principles which are both comparatively modern: conscription, and taxation of large incomes. First, conscription of men for the front and for service at home suggests the advisability of conscripting also the materials necessary for the soldiers at the front and for the great reserve army at home. "The citizen who contributes even his entire income beyond what is necessary to subsistence itself does less than the citizen who contributes himself to the nation." Second, the great increase in recent years of social income, of huge war profits, and of the possessions of the few leading families, has suggested the advisability of paying for the conduct of the war out of the wealth of the few rather than from the income of the impoverished many. The conscription of wealth is really, therefore, a contraction for the conscription of the wealth of the wealthy. This, the "pay as you go" and the conscription of wealth policy, was desired by those liberals who threw themselves into this war. But they reckoned without their host. The taxation burden of any community is, like that of the distribution of wealth, so organized by the powerful as to throw as much as they dare on the less powerful. Banks began an educative campaign showing why the taxation-of-wealth policy meant ruin to the country. The newspapers, Congressional lobbies and Congress itself were ready to stand back of this conservative attitude. As usual, those in control of economic power won. The liberals, realizing that they were unable to put their full program through, began to interpret their proposals so as to make them appear more "reasonable." "Pay as you go" was changed to "Pay as much as you can whilst you go," and get the rest in the form of loans. Conscription of wealth was to mean the taxation of only a part of the excess profits, that is, of profits above the high rates they were for three years before the war, whilst the income tax was to be substantially less than in England.

How different is this version of conscription of wealth from the conscription of men! Not only is there no conscription of actual capital,

but the man with the million dollar factory retains his factory and still gains a very substantial income!

On the other hand, Secretary of the Treasury, McAdoo, recommended during the first few

weeks of the war that taxes and loans should be raised in the proportion of fifty-fifty. This also seemed proper to Mr. Simmons, the highly conservative chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and to Speaker Clark.

French War Economics

Part of an address delivered by M. YVES-GUYOT before the *Société D'Economie Politique*, translated from the *Journal des Economistes*

A teacher of high standing said with asperity, "Certain authors believe the liberal school to be declining. This is a great mistake!" And he added: "The liberal school has given up nothing!" He was speaking before the war. Now the question arises: Are the acts which have taken place during the war of such a nature as to reverse the economic doctrines that the war stands for?

As Herbert Spencer has shown, it is readiness for war which constitutes and develops political strength. It represents the common action of the group in a united aim—victory. During war, even in modern societies everything has to be subordinated. The evocation of the *salus populi* is imperative. Of all the attributes of state, the maintaining of exterior security is alone incontestable, but history teaches us that heads of States more often look upon it as a means of aggression and rapine. The kings of Prussia have given this conception its maximum effect. Bismarck and William II have conquered Germany. William II wished to impose upon the world the hegemony of the German Empire, but the general uprising his ambition provoked, the unanimous cry against Prussian militarism, which arises not only from France, but from Belgium, from Great Britain, from the British Dominions, from the United States, from South America, expresses the horror of nations advanced in evolution toward aggression, toward a warrior type of civilization.

Where, then, are the statesmen, the publicists, and the other groups, who declare, like Harden, that war can be a good thing, a source of profit, and treat economists with scorn when they say: In normal times men of all advanced nations produce more than they consume; they raise families

and many increase their capital. In war-time all energies are turned toward destruction? The capital of belligerents decreases instead of increasing, and the most precious of all, human capital, is smitten by mutilation or death in its most vital sources.

The various governments in the States at war prove to all by their efforts to superintend the business of war and by their attempts to lessen the economic disturbances, the superiority of the civilization of exchange. The civilization of war works by constraint; the civilization of exchange by contract. For three years we have seen governments and administrations substituted for private persons, in production, foreign purchase, requisitions, internal distribution, price-fixing, the determination of quantities. They have re-established Joseph's purveyor system of the time of the Pharohs, and we hear ministers of commerce and of *Ravitaillement* saying, as if they were the owners: "I have so many quintels of wheat, I have so much pork, I have so much beef, I have so many tons of sugar, I have so many tons of leather, I have so many tons of coal!"

"Give it to us," is the agonized cry of all the mothers of families. And their agony is justified.

None of our governors seem to have read the chapters of Levasseur, and of M. Gomel, or the recent study of M. Marrion, dealing with the maximum measures taken under the Revolution, otherwise they would have known that requisitions suppress resources, and that taxation strikes the consumer in two ways—by making a void on the market and by an exaggerated raising of prices. They would also have understood the contradiction existing between the effect of taxation which lowers prices and the production of

(censor) which results in increasing them; today if the government no longer works directly . . . (censor).

Seeing the government lay hands on all branches of economic life, socialists have uttered a cry of triumph. They have a habit of declaring that "society" would satisfy the needs of everybody; that in every town, district and village, there would always be just enough wheat for the necessary amount of bread for each person, just enough meat, poultry, eggs, and butter for every one to have a suitable daily ration, just enough clothes, boots, linen, and coal for every one to be amply provided, without there ever being too small or too large an allotment, and regulated by people whose motive for work would be service, not gain; and they show a naive faith in an infallible system of calculation, capable, while preventing scarcity or glut, of suppressing all sudden aberrations.

We have seen some socialist leaders empowered to apply their program. In practice when they deal with bourgeois economics they handle them in a bourgeois manner; when they have tried to introduce some of their socialist theories, they have failed lamentably; but they have complacently taken the responsibility of their failures, saying: "It is because we are working in a bourgeois state and not a socialist state, where all will be for the best, since it would have started by changing the nature of man."

Meanwhile, and in spite of *l'union sacrée*, they use the authority their titles give them to introduce laws of confiscation as well as laws for war industries, for civil requisition, and for the cultivation of neglected land which could not be carried out, to form institutions like the delegations of workshops. At the same time, up to the present, they have retarded any discussion of the legal proposal for the improvement of railway tariffs; they have prevented the government from putting to the vote the renewal of the Bank of France privilege, which expires in 1920; they have introduced a threatening fiscal policy, in reality of small productive value, and if they consent to vote loans, they do not worry about the means of assuring the interest, but they are on the lookout for monopolies or measures of social welfare, in more or less legalized form. If the credit of France is not undermined by their acts and words, it is because the majority do not believe in the success of their policy.

The various countries can only repair the ravages of war by intense production. In field and workshop workers will have to put forth an energy equal to that shown on the battlefield. Unfortunately, as much in Great Britain as in France the increasingly penetrating intervention of the State in production has strengthened the workmen's conviction that the reduction of working hours and the increase of wages will depend on the political action of trades unions and syndicates. For them all economic relation between the productivity of work and its remuneration has disappeared, the war providing an assured and prodigious outlet, without relation to cost price.

Socialists on one hand, protectionists on the other, politicians who speak loudest of our economic expansion, of the conquest of outside markets, treat the cost prices as a negligible coefficient; extremists of all kinds seem to think that an unfavorable exchange is a factor favorable to exportation. Since the first days of the war, protectionists have been obliged to give up their assertion that custom duties were paid by the foreigner. Duty on corn was suspended, then reestablished. The State having made itself purveyor of corn, the customs office sees duty paid it by the *Ravitaillement*. Also iron, steel and all objects imported by the State for military use are subject to customs duties and the customs present flourishing receipts paid by the *Ravitaillement* and the war from loan resources. The different States take measures of prohibition, of importation and exportation, they proscribe everything, then they arrive at derogations and establish contingents. Why one or the other? We will not try now to probe these mysteries. . . . The conclusion? It is clear. From the criticism of the institutions of Colbert, Gournay, and the physiocrats, has arisen the formula: *Laissez faire, laissez passer!* And from the present exaltation of regulation each one of us conceives from daily experience a more and more lively desire for freedom of work and trade.

But protectionists still refuse to admit it. With a passion for exportation they imagine a nation can open its outlets while closing its frontiers, they claim a good market abroad while refusing importation. They plan projects of cartels, of dumping under shelter of prohibitive tariffs, and they wish to celebrate the victory over the Ger-

man Empire by themselves becoming imitators of that system. No doubt they desire a lasting peace, but they are wishing to take over the economic imperialism which is one of the causes of the present war. In the international conference; that took place in June, 1916, indecisive formulas were the only grounds of agreement; last month the *Conférence Interparlementaire du Commerce*, presided over by our colleague M. Chaumet, agreed as to "the uncertainty that was born in the Entente from the prolonged absence of any orientation of economic matters." One dare not formulate solutions between the Allies.

Mr. Bonar Law, former president of the Tariff Reform League, is now leader of the House of Commons. Imperial preference is spoken of, but at the time of the London Conference, Canada established free trade in cereals with the United States. Mr. Edward Pulsford, former senator of Australia, has just shown the impossibility of imperial preference in a book, "The Commerce of the Empire," which cannot be too highly recommended to the reader. Some of the French are simple enough to believe that if the English established it, it will be a good thing for their merchandise, which even now enters free into Great Britain. They hope that if they pay a duty it will be lower than that imposed on German goods, and they do not even take the trouble to find out, in silks for instance, whether the silks sent out by Lyons and St. Etienne on one hand and by Crefeld and Elberfeld on the other, are identical. They exclaimed with enthusiasm, in their aberration, over the Chamberlain manifesto in 1903: "The English have broken the idol of Free Trade!" And since the war they repeat this affirmation. But the vote of 2,339,000 against 278,000 just taken at the Trade Union Congress, confirming the necessity of free trade, should give them some doubts. I would advise them also to read the report of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom. They will there find numerous facts and criticisms of the mania of stabilizing types and prices, the proof that "never can state-help or control replace the energy and spirit of individual enterprise," and if at the end of the war the British militarists claim direct and immediate confiscation of enemy shipping, "as punishment for crimes against humanity," they add: "All international commerce is based on the good of all nations." To try and continue a warlike policy after peace

is to attempt the impossible, while contradicting the ideals which the Allied governments profess.

Above the protectionist interests, which permeate those groups whose ideas are limited as to what are their special interests, we know there is a statesman whose personal authority equals the authority given him by his position as President of the United States. Replying to the Pope's note in August, Mr. Wilson said: "We repudiate the setting up of all selfish and exclusive economic leagues, considering them inopportune and worse than futile." It would be an absurd contradiction if the day after the Allies had struck a decisive blow on the battlefield they should find a state of hostility existing among themselves, because France would not receive silks from Italy or cotton from Great Britain, and because Great Britain would impose duties on French and Italian silks, which now enter free! Because France would maintain her high scale of dues against Great Britain and against the port of Antwerp, at the same time insisting that Antwerp should have no further relation with the Rhine; and I will not speak of the problems evolved by the reintegration of Alsace-Lorraine, whose outlets into France will not be sufficient to compensate for her outlets into Germany.

We do not know what will be the situations of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the German Empire or the Ottoman Empire the day the preliminaries of peace are signed. It is the custom to think of them as remaining homogeneous blocks. Whatever may be the losses sustained by their enemies, the Allies' victory cannot bring about the total suppression of the hundred and twenty million inhabitants of Germany and Austria-Hungary, to say nothing of those of Bulgaria and Turkey. It will not change geographical proximities, or the diversities of production, with their resultant consequences. I will end by drawing attention to the fact that the war is between State and State, whilst trade is between private individuals; and this fact should prevent any confusion of political questions and economic interests. If we do not wish to be as badly prepared for the economic situation after the war as we were for the war itself, we should study these questions from the objective point of view, with a determination to solve them apart from ignorant passions; and we ought to give out our opinions boldly.

The Re-Awakening of Partisanship

By Stoughton Cooley

Senator Stone's ill-timed phillipic in the Senate, closely followed by the petulant complaint of Senator Chamberlain, and the boisterous tirade of Colonel Roosevelt, are in striking contrast with the words of Elihu Root when at the time of our entrance into the war he said: "There will be criticism and fault-findings and discontent, but that has been an incident to all wars. It is an incident to our free-and-easy democracy. It will come again inevitably. . . . When the inevitable shortcomings of democracy must come, then is the time for stout hearts to stand by their country. . . . We will not permit the chorus of discontent and criticism to obscure the real instincts of patriotism. . . . We will stand by the President as we stood by Lincoln when the faint-hearted were crying that the war was a failure."

The Democratic and Republican parties, as parties, are agreed on the question of continuing the war; and they are agreed on its purpose, as stated by the President; but they differ as to who shall bear the responsibility for its conduct. This difference of opinion is not confined strictly to party lines, for party lines do not definitely separate men according to their political philosophy on the question of war administration, any more than they do on the tariff question; but speaking generally it may be said that the Democrats wish the conduct of the war to be left in the hands of the President, while the Republicans seek to create a war cabinet that will deprive the President of his Constitutional responsibility. But such radical action as this cannot be taken without first showing a failure in the present management; hence, the flood of criticism.

Partisanship in war time should take cognizance of three things: (a) War is the one thing in which a country must act as a unit as long as it functions as a nation; (b) War having been declared, and men having been put in the field, the full strength of the nation should stand behind them until they have been withdrawn; (c) Criticism of the government in power by opposition parties that favor the purpose of the war, but object to its method of management, should

be careful not to confuse the principle with the method. Whether or not the present exhibition of partisanship is legitimate must be determined by the ulterior purpose of those engaging in it; and such an interpretation necessitates a brief glance at some of the things that have transpired since the advent of the present Administration.

It will be recalled that during the early part of President Wilson's first term partisan politics sank so completely out of sight that it was hailed as the era of good feeling. The kindly consideration given the new Administration by members of other political faiths was in such striking contrast with the display of temper during the preceding campaign that it suggested the dawn of the millennium. It is not unlikely that much of this good feeling was due to the previous excessive indulgence in bad feeling; for the name-calling and personal abuse of the preceding campaign were things that any wholesome minded person would strive to forget as quickly as possible. The emergence of the country from the campaign of 1912 was like the awakening the morning after the spree; and there is little doubt that many a victim as he reflected ruefully upon his own part in the political debauch said to himself: never again.

Had either Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt been elected in 1912, American politics would have continued the course of recent years. That is to say, toryism would have dominated party action, embracing the usual things that are "done" for the people. The masters of finance and the captains of industry would have been given freer rein—always with the exhortation to be kind to their dependents, and generous to their employes; but care would have been taken always to see that the people had little opportunity to do things for themselves. Employers would have been permitted to fix prices in order that they might pay the "American scale of wages." When higher wages failed to materialize, labor would have been told, as McKinley told it: The tariff has opened the mills, as we said it would; you must advance your wages through your labor organizations. Abuses of monopoly would

have been cured by more monopoly, and business would have been kept up by artificial stimulants until it collapsed from sheer lack of vitality.

But instead of the election of Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt, both of whom represented the protective spirit, Mr. Wilson was chosen, and a new order established. It is not necessary to speculate as to the scope of the President's political philosophy, nor to attempt to measure his native ability. Suffice to say, it was quite clear before the end of the campaign that instead of doing things for the people, he inclined to the idea of removing the restraints that prevent people from doing things for themselves. It was also evident while the Administration was still young that whatever may have been his limitations as to methods for carrying out his program, there was no doubt as to the principles underlying his political philosophy, or of the breadth of mind that would enable him to grasp opportunities for shaping means to ends.

It is quite essential that this latter point be recognized if the present situation is to be understood; for not a few of the President's critics have condemned him for "changing his mind." His own answer to the charge is typical of the man. It may be said in addition that he has changed his mind, not once or twice, but as often as necessary to pursue a consistent course amidst changing conditions to a definite end. However many times he may have changed his mind, he has not once changed his principles. He had in the beginning, and he still has in view the removal of the legal restraints that prevent people from doing the natural things they would do except for those restraints. His object is, in a word, freedom. This was evident in his handling of the Mexican situation, when he resisted the stupendous pressure that politicians and profiteers brought to bear for intervention and annexation. American thought was raised to a higher plane when at Mobile he declared that this country would not add one foot of territory by conquest. Mexico was inspired with new hope when he said he was concerned for the rights of the great mass of her people who had never had a look in. And the people of this country were heartened in their struggle for economic freedom by the constructive legislation that was enacted during his first term.

But the good-will that swept Mr. Wilson into

office the second time would not have been sufficient to continue the era of good feeling without the war. Nor was the war; it merely made the restive opponents afraid to voice their opposition to his economic program, lest they bring down upon their heads condemnation for lack of patriotism. But though they might refrain from overt acts, their purpose remained, and they awaited only an opportunity. They supported the Administration, not alone because they believed in the war, but because it was the popular thing to do. The opportunity for open opposition came when, under the strain that inevitably marks the transition of a nation from peace conditions to a war footing, certain things did not go forward as rapidly or as smoothly as a few impatient critics thought they should. The great achievements were lost sight of, and the attention of the country was called to lesser happenings, which Elihu Root had said would come as "the inevitable shortcomings of democracy." He might have said, the inevitable shortcomings of all human endeavor.

If the intemperate and unreasonable criticism of the Administration that has broken out in Congress, and among certain public men and editors, was merely the expression of disappointed politicians fretting under the popularity of the President, or of ambitious military men who have not been permitted to direct the war, it would be of comparatively little consequence; but behind these men are financial interests and would-be profiteers who are still unable to reconcile themselves to a government run in behalf of the people. They have in mind the profiteers of the Civil War, of the Spanish American war, and of all the wars of the past wherein quick fortunes were made in the name of patriotism; and they see in their way to a repetition of these buccaneering adventures two champions of the people, President Wilson and his kindred spirit, Secretary Baker. These two men have come to typify the opposition to profiteering, and the edict has gone forth that they must be deprived of power to block the designs of profiteers during the war, and to rob them of any influence they might have in the re-construction days of peace. The raids made upon the Government by Wall Street during the Civil War—depredations so monstrous that even the gentle, patient Lincoln was moved to say of their perpetrators, "I wish they could be hanged"—are ready for

repetition in various parts of the country the moment the Administration can be overcome.

The spectacular indignation over the inevitable mistakes that are common to all undertakings of this magnitude has its animus in the determination of privileged interests and conscienceless profiteers to destroy the men who stand between them and their goal. The President is too popular with the people to permit of a direct attack; hence, they are striking at him through Secretary Baker and other subordinates who have stood with him. Let it not be forgotten that the present war, great as it is, is but an incident in the world-struggle for freedom. Not only must the men and women who see the way rally to the support of the men who have turned military imperialism into a war for democracy, but they must leave nothing undone to make clear to confused minds the fact that the men who would leave our soldiers unsupported in the field for the sake of war profits now are the same men who fatten on special privileges in time of peace. To lose our champions at this time is to tie our hands when the reconstruction takes place at the end of the war.

RELATED THINGS

Thomas Paine

"A filthy little atheist" was the contemptuous way in which many years ago Theodore Roosevelt disposed of Thomas Paine. Of the four words in that phrase three are untrue, and if the Strenuous One were inclined to practice the square deal as ardently as he preaches it he would, in this case, have made long ago an exception to his apparently inflexible rule never to acknowledge a mistake.

That Paine was not an atheist is clear to any one who has read the opening paragraph of the "Age of Reason." In fact, one object of the book, as Paine himself explained it, was to stop the French people from "running headlong into atheism." An appeal to religious bigotry, although no less reprehensible when directed against atheism than when directed against some form of belief in God, is beneath contempt when it involves a falsification of the views actually held by the one attacked. It may be said in Roosevelt's behalf, that he wrote in ignorance.

He accepted as truth the hearsay evidence of others equally ignorant. His ignorance, however, has long been dispelled. His attention was called years ago to the proof of his error. And he still remains silent.

But Paine's religious views are not the ones upon which his fame should mainly rest. Too long has bigotry left to religious radicals the monopoly of classing him among their saints. As much as Jefferson and Franklin is he entitled to a place among those founders of the Republic, whose vision enabled them to see that true liberty required more than political independence. Forward looking men and women of all religious views and affiliations, or of none, may draw inspiration from him even as did Thomas Jefferson in framing the Declaration of Independence and the Continental Congress in adopting it.

Paine was ahead of his age in more ways than one. His patriotic doctrine "the world is my country" is still treasonable to chauvinists and jingoes, even as "to do good is my religion" receives little favor as a confession of faith in places where the proclaimer of the Golden Rule receives fervent lip service.

Had Roosevelt read Paine's works, he would have found doctrines other than theological to shock him. For instance: "If there is a sin superior to any other, it is that of wilful and offensive war." That would have been enough to put him in the mollicoddle class.

It is reasonable to infer that back of the attacks upon Paine were economic reasons. His "Age of Reason" presented an opportunity to those who feared the effect of his "Agrarian Justice" and "Rights of Man." It was easier to dispose of these by discrediting the author than by fair discussion. There was little danger that those who could be turned against him on hearing him called "atheist" would stop to consider what he had to say about the right of all men to the use of the earth. More offensive than heterodox religious views was the following:

"Man did not make the earth, and, though he had a natural right to occupy it, he had no right to locate as his property in perpetuity any part of it; neither did the Creator of the earth open a land office, from whence title deeds should issue. . . . It is the value of the improvement only, and not the earth itself, that is in-

dividual property. Every proprietor, therefore, of cultivated land owes to the community a ground-rent, for I know no better term with which to express the idea for the land which he holds; and it is from this ground-rent that the final proposal in this plan is to issue."

Though he saw and proclaimed the fundamental truth upon which the singletax doctrine is based, he cannot be claimed as a thorough single-taxer, for, like some fine democrats of the present day, he was misled into the false belief that equity requires levying of some taxes in addition to the one upon land values. At that he was much nearer a correct understanding of true principles of taxation than are the great majority of our statesmen of today. Thus in the *Single-tax Year Book* may be found a reference to a proposed method of raising war revenues, that should be recommended to the Ways and Means Committee of the 65th Congress.

"When it was feared that the English would invade New Jersey, or even attack Philadelphia, during the siege of Yorktown, Thomas Paine proposed to Morris to levy a tax of one-fourth to one-third of the rental of Philadelphia as an emergency tax. As a guess he estimated the rental of the city at £300,000."

In spite of the calumny heaped upon him, he was not altogether unappreciated even in his own day. A writer in a recent issue of *The Truthseeker* reproduces the comment upon his death from *The New York Advertiser* of June, 8, 1809: "With heartfelt sorrow and poignant regret, we are compelled to announce to the world that Thomas Paine is no more. This distinguished philanthropist, whose life was devoted to the cause of humanity, departed this life yesterday morning; and, if any man's memory deserves a place in the breast of a freeman, it is that of the deceased, for,

"Take him for all in all,

We ne'er shall look upon his like again."

How many of his detractors have earned a eulogy approaching that?

S. D.

* * *

Mankind are greater gainers by suffering others to live as seems good to themselves than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest.—John Stuart Mill.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending January 29

Washington Happenings

The introduction of the War Cabinet bill by Senator Chamberlain caused a debate indulged in by Senators Chamberlain, Stone and Penrose in the course of which the Administration was criticized and defended. Ex-President Roosevelt came to Washington, presumably to take part in the fight against the Administration, and spoke at the National Press Club, along the same lines as other critics. Surgeon-General W. C. Gorgas appeared before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs on January 25 to testify concerning sanitary conditions in the cantonments. He attributed the trouble that had occurred to the haste to get an army organized and ready for service. This had caused delay in the building of hospitals. In general, the sanitary conditions at all the cantonments were good. The camp sites were well selected, and routine conditions with regard to cooking, drainage, and care of the camps were good. One cause of trouble had been overcrowding, which had brought about in some cases an epidemic of measles from which pneumonia had sometimes developed. Yet the rate of mortality in the camps has been little higher than among men in the general population between 20 and 40 years of age, which is about 7 per 1,000. [See current volume, page 118.]

* *

On January 28 Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, appeared before the committee to answer the charge of Senator Chamberlain that the Government's war preparations had fallen down. He declared that the United States would have 500,000 soldiers in France early this year, and that if enough ships should be available the army would reach 1,500,000 by the end of the year. Every soldier who can use a rifle has one. The Department has acted throughout on the advice of military experts sent here by the Allies, and American experts, engineers and mechanics have been at work in France for some time. Six hundred miles of military railroads have been built in France by American engineers. The health and morals of the army are superior to that of any army ever organized. In these things lay the real measure of what has been accomplished. The German Government is still mystified regarding the number of men in France. Artillery is being furnished the army by England and France, this being in accordance with their wish. He denied that there is any discrimination in the treatment of Negro troops. He did not deny that mistakes had been made, and that some things could have been done better, but these constituted the exception. "More," he said, "has been done, perhaps than the country expected, more than the wisest thought was possible to do."

* *

On January 25, Secretary Baker appointed Edward R. Stettinius, of the firm of J. P. Morgan and Co., surveyor general of army purchases. He has been in charge of purchases made by the Allies for some time.

An embargo was declared on January 23 by Secretary McAdoo as Director General of railways on all freight except food, fuel and war supplies upon the eastern divisions of the Pennsylvania and the B. & O. railroads. The embargo is to be for a few days only. On January 27, Director McAdoo issued an order to drop all lobbyists and other agents to affect legislation or elections from the payrolls of the roads. Expenditures for legal staffs are to be reduced to a minimum, and all payments are stopped for expenses of persons or agencies constituting associations of carriers unless approved in advance by the Director General. All free passes are cancelled except those authorized by Congress. The order applies to intra-state roads as well as interstate.

* *

Discovery of the fact that Postmaster General Burleson has not been holding office legally since March 4 caused the President to appoint him formally on January 24, and the Senate at once confirmed the appointment. The law limits his tenure of office to four years, and differs in this respect from provisions regarding other Cabinet officers.

Disclosures Concerning the Beef Trust

Disclosures of activities against the public interest by the big packing establishments is contained in a series of reports to the Federal Trade Commission made public from day to day since January 24. Evidence is produced to show that hoarding of hides by the "big five" of Chicago, Armour, Swift, Morris, Cudahy and Wilson, is responsible for increased cost of leather and of shoes. During the last five years the Commission says the slaughter of cattle has increased 30 per cent. This should have caused a corresponding increase in the supply of hides on the market and prevented the abnormal increase in prices of leather products. Instead the supply of hides stored by the big five increased 45 per cent. during 1916 and the first half of 1917. Stocks held by smaller packers increased even more. Theirs were 83 per cent. more. The values placed by the packers on hides are such that while the farmers got 17 per cent. more for their cattle the packers got 35 per cent. increase on hides.

The result is that tanners have kept out of the market in the hope that prices will drop. Exports of shoes have dropped from 13,000,000 pairs in 1916 to 6,000,000 pairs in 1917. A number of letters have been published showing that the packers tried to head off an investigation by Congress in 1916. These were secured from the files of Swift & Co. The letters show that efforts were made to influence the Bureau of Markets of the Department of Agriculture to counteract opposition to the Beef Trust by furnishing information to cattle men and to make it appear that the packers' profits on beef did not vary more than 25 cents per head at any time. It further appeared that the packers were being kept informed of what the cattlemen were doing to obtain an investigation. A report to the packers from their legal staff declared that unless the investigation should be headed off "nothing

could stop criminal prosecution." It further said that "This Administration has not disturbed business by prosecution, and does not wish to be known as appealing to the mob spirit. It does not wish to spend money as its revenues are in bad shape. It must come before the corporations for political subscriptions shortly, as the convention is almost at hand. Congressmen wish to go home to attend to their fences." A letter was produced to Senator Wadsworth from L. F. Swift, introducing R. C. McManus, general attorney for the concern, and saying, "he needs some advice and perhaps some help in connection with a matter pending in Congress. Assuring you that I shall be grateful for any favors you may grant him." Another letter contained a suggestion that some law business be given the firm of which Senator Thompson, of Kansas, is a member. It developed that \$15,000 was spent by the packers to inspire a flood of telegrams protesting against the Borland resolution for an investigation.

* *

Francis J. Heney, attorney for the Trade Commission, reported on January 28 presenting evidence that although the National Packing Company operated by Armour, Swift and Morris, was ordered dissolved in 1912, the packers have nevertheless acted as one concern since that time in the purchase and sale of live stock. Ownership of the stockyard and terminal railroads, and directorships in many trunk line roads gave them an advantage in obtaining information which no one else could have. A letter written from Denver in 1915 by P. D. Armour in referring to Swift's plant, said: "Of course, as you know, everything is done on a 50-50 basis, and with the facilities we have, it is almost impossible to keep up this ratio."

Land Speculators Check Shipbuilding Program

Testifying before the House Committee on merchant marine on January 25, Rear Admiral Francis F. Bowles said that land speculators in the vicinity of shipyards are making it hard for workers to find homes. He said that fabulous prices for land and exorbitant rentals are exacted from the workers, thus making it difficult to procure men for shipbuilding. He denounced these proceedings as outrageous, and suggested adoption of the Senate bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for government housing.

Protective Tariff League Opposes Economic Peace

At the 33d annual meeting of the American Protective Tariff League in New York City on January 17, the following resolutions were adopted on motion of John A. Sleicher, editor of *Leslie's Weekly*, and of *Judge*.

In the address of the President to Congress, January 8, 1918, embodying his conception of the basis of peace between the nations now at war, the following proposal is included:

"III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

This promulgation indicates a definite purpose on the part of the President to proceed still further in the promotion of Free-Trade.

The prosperity of the American people depends upon an adequate Protective Tariff against the products of foreign cheap labor. The removal of "all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions," will open the American market to the world, thus displacing the products of American labor and industry, which would affect disastrously every branch of American business enterprise.

The American Protective Tariff League, while loyally supporting the government in all measures relating to the conduct of the war, views with disapproval and alarm that portion of the President's peace proposals which abandons the time-honored and always successful policy of Protection, and the introduction in this country of the false and discredited policy of Free-Trade—a policy which has been discarded by every civilized nation.

The American Protective Tariff League recognizes in this latest assault upon the doctrine of true Americanism, by the President, fresh reasons for presenting a solid, united, aggressive front for a nation-wide educational propaganda for the restoration of Protection.

President Urged to Intercede for Mooney

The Federal Labor Commission, headed by Secretary of Labor, Wilson, has urged the President in a report published on January 26, to use his good offices to bring about a new trial of Thomas J. Mooney in case the California Supreme Court sustains his conviction of murder in the first degree on a charge of complicity in the bomb-throwing at the preparedness parade in July of 1916. The report gives a history of the four cases which have gone to trial. It shows that Mooney was convicted on the testimony of Oxman who was afterwards discredited, and that without his evidence the state was unable to secure convictions of Mrs. Mooney and of Israel Weinberg on otherwise identical testimony. The international aspect of the case, as well as the feeling it has aroused in this country is made the basis for the recommendation. [See vol. xix, p. 1086.]

Labor Affairs

A threatened strike in the packing industry was prevented on January 27 by the Department of Labor. The packers had refused to deal with the men and the men had asked the President to nationalize the industry. The Labor Department's mediators induced the packers to consent to receive grievance committees appointed by the workers, and to cease discrimination against union men. Six points of difference between the packers and their employes will be arbitrated. These are demands for \$1 a day increase, equal pay for men and women, a guaranteed number of hours per week, an eight hour day, time and a half for overtime

on week days, and double time for Sundays and holidays.

* *

The Convention of the United Mine Workers at Indianapolis on January 25 adopted resolutions in favor of the nationalization of mines, for conscription of wealth for war purposes, announcing support of the war, disclaiming any desire of the miners for special privileges under the draft law, opposing compulsory military training in the schools, and demanding legislation to rectify the recent decision of the Supreme Court re-establishing government by injunction. On the basis of this decision, the organization has been made liable for \$800,000 damages under the Sherman law and a judgment to that effect has been rendered by the District Court in West Virginia in favor of the Bache-Denman Coal Co. An appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals is pending.

* *

To avert a threatened strike of agricultural laborers in Porto Rico, the Department of Labor has sent F. C. Roberts to the Island to mediate. The laborers now get 80 cents a day and demand \$1.50. While Mr. Roberts will take up matters with the laborers, Food Administrator Herbert C. Hoover will be asked to take it up with the plantation owners, most of whom are residents of this country. The 80 cent wage prevailed when sugarcane sold at half its present price. In the meantime the cost of living on the Island has doubled.

Progress of Proportional Representation

Proportional representation through the Hare system of voting has been adopted for election of local councils by four municipalities of British Columbia, including the cities of Nelson and New Westminster. In Victoria the council has voted to submit the question of adopting the system to a referendum. A movement to the same effect in Vancouver has the support of the Trades and Labor Council and of the Rotary Club. Since October 25, 1917, adoption of the Hare system has been optional with local governments. Kalamazoo, Michigan is to vote on February 4 on a new charter containing a provision for the Hare system.

Ireland

The approaching conclusion of the deliberations of the Irish Convention, which for months has been trying to solve the question of home rule for Ireland, has aroused deep interest. Reports of a probable disagreement, together with the resignation of Sir Edward Carson from the War Cabinet are taken to indicate that if the Convention does not come to an agreement the British Government will compel a settlement. The Irish leaders have been invited by the British Premier to confer with the Cabinet on the question of home rule. [See vol. xx, p. 964.]

Russia

After abolishing the Constituent Assembly the Bolshevik Government provided as a substitute the all-Russian conference of soviets. The soviets throughout the country represent only the proletarian class, and the

new body was called by its chairman, Sverdloff, "the Constituent Assembly of the Soviet Republic." All Bolshevik members of the Constituent Assembly are members of the new body, which gives that party as a whole complete control; but as there is a slight rift in its own membership its course cannot be predicted with certainty. The Lenine-Trotsky supporters appear to be overwhelmingly in the ascendancy at present. Much discontent is announced among the working classes in Petrograd and Moscow, and at other points, but nothing yet indicates how much truth there is in the reports. The Red, or Bolshevik, guards appear to be in control at all points except in the south, where the Cossacks and the Ukrainians maintain an effective opposition. The Bolshevik Government is said to have broken with Roumania, and to have ordered diplomatic representatives from the country. [See current volume, page 119.]

* *

Finland appears to be entering the throes of revolution. The government that set up the republic is denounced as bourgeois. The "Reds" are battling against the "Whites" for possession of the Government. Protests are being sent to all the governments that acknowledged Finland's independence against the action of the Russian Government in interfering with its affairs. The Russian ministers announce, according to report, that their government is obliged to aid the Bolsheviks wherever they rise against the bourgeoisie.

European War

Military activities are confined almost entirely to trench raids and artillery duels. Cannonading has been particularly heavy in the Verdun section, and in the Trentino. Germany is reported to be still moving troops to the western front, in preparation for what the critics unite in predicting, a supreme effort to break through. [See current volume, page 120.]

* *

The question of peace still occupies the chief place in the news from the Central Powers. Mutual crimination is indulged in by the factional press and leaders, both in Germany and in Austria. The Pan-Germans are trying to break off negotiations with Russia, and demand that the Government hold what it has. The opposition, and particularly the socialists, threaten to oppose the Government's policy in the Reichstag. Much public indignation is reported among the people at the apparent failure to make peace with Russia. Riots and protest demonstrations against von Tirpitz meetings are mentioned. From Austria come reports of a great industrial strike against the war. Friction between Germany and Austria continues because of the difference in their war aims. The Russian Government is preparing to resume peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, but with a determination not to yield to the German terms. The Austrian Government announces that the Russian terms are near to their own; but the German Government pronounces them unthinkable. Foreign Minister Trotsky denounces the Central Powers' terms as making clear beyond all doubt that they are conducting a war

of conquest, and are seeking to enrich themselves at the expense of Russia.

* *

Chancellor von Hertling, in an address to the Main Committee of the Reichstag on the 25th gave what was spoken of as an answer to President Wilson's proposal of peace terms. He said that though there were some points of agreement—open peace covenants, freedom of the seas, equality of trade conditions, and reduction of armaments—there were others that were wholly unacceptable. Alsace-Lorraine, he said, would never be given back to France. Colonial claims would have to be adjusted with England. The question of Russian territory concerns alone that country, and the Central Powers. Austria must determine the Italian boundary, and Turkey should fix the status of Armenia. Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, speaking before the Reichsrath on the same day used a tone much milder than that of the German Chancellor. He was in favor of continuing the peace negotiations with Russia, and announced himself as being in practical accord with the position of President Wilson. The Austrian Government is apparently much influenced by the protests of its citizens in behalf of peace. There appears to be much feeling because Hungary will not send cereals into Austria. In reviewing President Wilson's speech, Maximilian Harden, the great German editor, expresses the belief that the difference between the Central Powers and the Allies is clearing away, and that peace is possible if Germany will "acknowledge a changed world."

* *

The three days' joint conference of the British Trades Union Congress and the Labor party is spoken of as the most important meeting of the kind ever held in Great Britain. It was attended by 800 delegates, representing nearly 2,500,000 members of trades unions. Efforts were made by pacifists to pass resolutions condemning the war, but they were overwhelmingly voted down. At the opening of the conference a resolution welcoming the statements of war aims by Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson was passed unanimously. President Wilson's peace proposals and definition of war aims were accepted as the sense of the conference. Among the acts of the conference was the unanimous adoption of a resolution declaring for the conscription of wealth for the payment of the war costs.

* *

Six British merchantmen of 1,600 tons or over were sunk during the week by mine or submarine, and two under that tonnage. The arrivals in British ports were 2,255, and the departures, 2,242. The losses for the three weeks of January, ending on the 6th, 13th and 20th were 21, 8 and 8. The arrivals and departures were for the same weeks, 4,331, 4,290, 4,497.

NOTES

—By a vote of 2,244 to 2,125, Bayonne, New Jersey, defeated on January 22 a proposal for municipal ownership of water works.

The charge of overcharging, brought by the Food Administration against Austin, Nichols & Co., wholesale grocers of New York City, has been dismissed and the company exonerated by Mr. Hoover.

—Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the British Exchequer stated in the House of Commons that the daily average expenditure for the seven weeks ending January 19 was \$37,858,000.

—Bliss College (American) in Constantinople has opened for the winter term, according to the Swedish Minister, with a full attendance of 715 pupils, including many sons of Turkish officials.

—Three well-known Irish propoganda papers the *Irish World*, the *Gaelic American* and the *Freeman's Journal* were excluded from second class entry on January 22 by the Post Office Department.

—John F. Nugent of Boise City, Idaho, was appointed United States Senator by Governor Alexander on January 22 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Brady.

—The estimates for the Mexican postal department for 1918 amount to \$6,539,667, or about 42 cents per capita. The appropriations for the United States postal department amount to \$331,851,170, or \$3.18 per capita.

—War-Risk Insurance has been taken out by 530,492 soldiers in the American army, and amounts to \$4,486,986,500, or an average of \$8,458 for each policy holder. The Bureau is conducting a campaign to raise the number of policies to one million by February 12.

—A bill granting cities local option in taxation has been introduced in the Rhode Island legislature by the Republican floor leader, Richard W. Jennings, chairman of the Committee on Judiciary, to which it has been referred.

—The value of farm products of the United States for 1917 is \$19,443,849,381, an increase of \$6,000,000,000 over 1916. Illinois heads the list with products worth \$842,042,000, Texas second with \$788,383,000, Iowa third with \$783,488,000.

—The plague has broken out in the Chinese Province of Shan-si, to the west of Peking. Because of local fear and indifference the disease is said to be spreading rapidly. Missionary medical men are trying to keep it outside the Great Wall.

—South Carolina ratified the Federal Prohibition amendment on January 24 and North Dakota on January 26, making five states which have taken such action. A state-wide prohibition amendment passed the Kentucky State Senate on January 22. [See current volume, pp. 87, 119.]

—The Minnesota Supreme Court on January 24, in upholding the state law making it a crime to discourage enlistments in the army, declared that the guarantee of free speech in the Federal Constitution does not prevent punishment of those "advocating measures inimical to the public welfare."

—A call has been issued for a national convention of

the National Party at the Sherman House, Chicago, on March 5. At this convention the tentative platform adopted at the October convention, when the party was formed, will be considered. The Prohibition Party will meet at the same time and a union of the two will be considered.

—Porto Ricans to the number of 50,000 will be brought to this country to supply the shortage on railroads and farms as soon as arrangements for transportation can be made by the employment service of the Department of Labor. Sixty thousand more will be brought from Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands as soon as tonnage is available.

—Among the suggestions for reforming the government of India that have been made during the visit of the Secretary of State, Mr. Montague, is that of a Landholders' Association that an upper chamber corresponding to the British House of Lords be established, both in the imperial and provincial legislative bodies. This body should consist of the landed aristocracy and commercial classes. A demand is made also that special representation be accorded the landed aristocracy in the various councils of the empire.

—That the retail price of gasoline is from 7 to 10 cents above the cost of refining is shown in figures made public on January 25 by the Federal Trade Commission, as the result of an investigation by Victor Murdock. The lowest cost is in California, 13.52 cents. The retail price in San Francisco is 20.5 cents. The highest cost is in eastern territory, 17.65 cents. The retail price in New York is 26 cents. On the Gulf Coast the cost of production is 15.5 cents, in Oklahoma, 14.5 cents, in Indiana, 13.68 cents. Retail price in Forth Worth is 26 cents, in Oklahoma City, 24 cents, and in Chicago, 21 cents.

—John Z. White's lecture tour takes him to Rochester, Minnesota, February 4 and 5; Minneapolis, 6 to 12; Manhattan, Kansas, Feb. 18; Kansas City, February 19; Boise, Idaho, March 5 to 8; Walla Walla, Washington, March 12; Snohomish, March 26, and Seattle, March 27 to 31. Thence he goes to British Columbia and will return to Chicago via Los Angeles, New Orleans and points in Mississippi and Alabama. John W. Bengough will be in Kansas City, February 1 to 10; Indianapolis, February 15 and 16; Valparaiso, February 18; Chicago, February 19; Cleveland, February 23 to 25; Erie, Pa., February 26 and 27; Fayette City, Pa., March 5.

—Count Westarp predicts that under the new German electoral bills the working classes may rule the Prussian Diet. He estimates that whereas the Socialists have at present only 10 seats in the Diet, they would have under the reformed franchise, 140 seats, while the Poles would have 35 instead of the present 12. The Center party would have its representation reduced from 100 to 90. The Radicals would have between 40 and 50 as at present. The Junker majority, which at present holds 270 seats would lose one-half. The Diet consists of 455 members, and a majority could be made of the Socialists, Poles and Radicals, or by the Socialists and the Central party.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Farmer's Fate

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I am a landowner and also a farmer in one of the best agricultural counties in Michigan. My farm proper is run by a tenant. I try to be a "progressive farmer" and endeavor to instill those ideas into my tenant's mind, but he is utterly indifferent to them and cares nothing about them. Nevertheless he is one of the best I know. My land is losing its fertility just as every farm is that is being farmed by a tenant. Crops are growing a little lighter each year, my income as well as the tenant's is decreasing. I try to get better terms out of him and he does the same with me. I point out to him how it will benefit him to build up the soil, and he replies, "Your soil? Well, I guess not. I am not quite crazy!" I am not getting enough out of the farm to pay me to buy fertilizers to improve the land, so there we are; sparring for advantage while the soil grows a little less productive each year. My case is typical of the whole community. Fifteen of the first twenty farms on the road running west from this town are run by tenants. In other directions it is about the same. There is scarcely a satisfied tenant or landowner in the whole country around. Who is to blame? Neither tenant nor landlord, both are helpless under the present system of land tenure. No tenant can afford to build up another man's run-down farm, and the high price of land renders it almost impossible to purchase it. The Farm Credits law which has been so much talked of can help only one class—those who already own land. As soon as the landless tenants attempt to buy in any great numbers, up goes the price again. This rise in price will more than offset any advantage which may have accrued through the lower interest rate secured by virtue of the Farm Credit law. This law which was passed in good faith cannot prove to be a remedy. The basic evil still exists and until that is removed, the "Back to the Farm" movement will remain as it is now, a dream of well-meaning, short-sighted people. As far as my observation goes, young men are not renting farms, except as they get on to the very best of them, where the easy old-fashioned methods may be applied. Even then, after a few years, they quit and get a job. This is in spite of the present high prices, and the apparent attractiveness of farm life. Tenant farming does not appeal to an energetic young man unless he has the farming "bug" pretty bad. While I am an enthusiast over the possibilities of farming, I don't blame any young fellow for not being a tenant farmer.

The private ownership of land is the principal factor in the high cost of living, and the end is not yet. The private ownership of farm lands can be easier changed than that of city land, for the reason that the slowly decreasing productiveness of the soil will in time render the owning of land unprofitable. The landlord will gladly give it up. But the question is not

so easily solved in the cities. Yet the freeing of farm lands would have the tendency to decrease the demand for city lands because of the lack of tenants.

I was born and raised upon the farm adjoining the one I now own. I recall a thickly settled neighborhood of large, well-to-do families—nearly every family had a hired girl and also a hired man. The cost of living, measured in the amount of food and clothing required, was enormous, prices of produce and farm products were on an average one-half what they are today. Yet my father and the surrounding neighbors were able to buy and pay for the farms upon which their children and grandchildren cannot make a living. In fact every farm except one is now occupied by a tenant.

Farms that produced 30 to 40 bushels of wheat per acre now yield 15 and 20 and often less. The few farms still operated by the owners are the best run of any in the community, and are in the best condition both in regard to buildings and soil. Do I blame the tenants? No. I blame the system of land tenure.

One phase of the system I have never heard discussed; that is the burden that is assumed in the attempt to acquire title to a piece of land. My father bought a large part of the farm upon which he spent his life, paying from 50 to 75 dollars an acre for it. He assumed a burden of debt which required all or nearly all of his active life to liquidate. It is true that he finally succeeded in getting out of debt. A few years before he died I asked him if the farm was worth all the toil and worry that he had put into it. He answered no, if there had been any other way out of it. I have no doubt that interest and principal, the title had cost him \$20,000. Under a rational system of land tenure that would have been his accumulation for his declining years, and I maintain that he would have better provided for his old age, than he did by holding the title to his land. What I wish to point out is that the ownership of land is of doubtful value to any one except as a gift from the community. Some day we will perceive it more clearly. The high cost of living will open our eyes.

R. W. HAIN.

Cassopolis, Mich.

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

From the extracts I have read I think Howe is the only man in public life who seems to have caught the idea in regard to the decline in agriculture.

With 26 head of steers, 400 fat goats and a carload of potatoes which I marketed this past year I cleared \$69 on the potatoes and failed to play even on the live stock. With a large family to support I can't continue raising foodstuffs just to be a good fellow, when I can get from \$5.00 a day up in the neighboring coal mines or the smelters, and most labor is bawling for a \$6.00 a day minimum. Labor has always considered the farmer, not as a human being, but as a patient ox, who delighted in carrying every other interest on his back. Both industrial and transportation labor has always been used as a catspaw politically, to

gouge the farmer with protective tariffs, and high transportation rates, on a promise that labor should share in the loot. When the war started labor called loudly for an embargo on foodstuffs, but forgot to mention barbed wire, shoes or anything that the farmer has to buy. The past year the campaign has been persistent and widespread throughout the country to swat the farmer. To cheapen foodstuffs, and at the same time still further advance the cost of everything that the farmer has to buy by great increases in wages in industry and transportation. That kind of policy may work for a time, but more and more farmers are finding it more profitable to close the farm, let the land lie and get out and get a job.

It is useless under such conditions to talk of keeping the young men on the farm. I have two boys, neither of whom will succeed me on the farm, as they can earn double the net wages at almost anything else.

It stands to reason that unless the farmer can clear enough on his year's work to support himself and family on as high a standard as labor in any other industry or profession, the young man of today is not fool enough to stay on the farm.

In persisting in a policy of pulling themselves up by pulling the farmer down, the non-agricultural class are eventually coming to the day when they will hunger for food.

FRANK H. WILCOX.

Hesperus, Colo.

BOOKS

A World in Ferment

A World in Ferment. By Nicholas Murray Butler. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1918. Price \$1.25.

This book consists of addresses delivered by President Butler at various times from September 23, 1914, to May 28, 1917. They constitute what he calls "interpretations of the war for a new world."

Although the expression of the earlier utterances is somewhat restrained, probably because of the fact that this country was then neutral, it is plain that President Butler's sympathies have been with the Entente Allies from the time of the invasion of Belgium. It is also plain that he thinks that American interests were involved from the first.

"This has never been a European war. . . . There was no European war after the fateful hour on the morning of August 4, 1914, when enemy troops crossed the line of unoffending, innocent, peace-loving Belgium. . . . That event made the war an American war, a South American war, a Chinese war, a Spanish war, an African war, a war on every man and every woman who hopes to live in freedom, in liberty and peaceful progress."

He was under no illusion as to the part the United States would have to take in the war. "It will not do," he said in April, 1917, simply to increase the income tax, to make a huge loan and to read about war. War, with all its terrors, with all its horrors, with all

its obligations, is on in this country, and our country's existence hangs in the balance."

On some other important points his judgment has been confirmed by events. Notwithstanding certain optimistic official statements concerning the submarine situation, he believed that that peril was far from overcome. And while hopeful as to the results of the Russian Revolution, he foresaw certain disturbing possibilities, since realized, which have made the problem of the Allies a great deal harder than it would otherwise be.

This creditable record as a war prophet, bespeaks respectful consideration for his views as to what will happen after the war, although these views, it is fair to say, do not take the form of prophecy. In the interview, "The United States of Europe" (October, 1914), he anticipates a more or less formal confederation of the self-governing nations of Europe as an outcome of the war. Such a federation, while modeled on the federation of the American states, must not be expected to follow that model too closely, for conditions are different. He does not think that it will interfere with the development of true patriotism which he holds is by no means incompatible with a cordial recognition of the good qualities and legitimate aspirations of other nations than one's own. Race antagonisms, he thinks, would disappear, as they have done to a great extent in the United States of America. Armaments would be reduced, a genuine international court might be established and the repetition of such a calamity as the present war would become difficult if not impossible.

If changes of boundaries and shiftings of sovereignty should follow the war, as President Butler thinks likely, he hopes that they will be such "as will permit nationalities to organize as nations." And if any people must live under an alien government, there should at least be no attempt to suppress religion, language or customs.

Here President Butler seems to approach a collision with some of his compatriots. Customs and religion have not been attacked but there is a distinctly hostile movement toward the German language. True, there is no such effort at suppression as the Germans have made in Poland. But the movement to restrict the teaching of German in the schools is similar in kind, though much milder in degree. But why should there be such a movement at all? Is a man necessarily pro-German because he knows the German language? If every American soldier could speak and understand German would he not be a more efficient foe of Germany on that account? Reports from the front show a familiarity with the French and English languages on the part of German troops to an extent that aids some of them materially, and the linguistic accomplishments of German commercial travelers have long been considered a valuable business asset.

It may be that the text books require a little closer supervision, but even on this point it is doubtful if there is any cause for alarm. Praise of Germany by German authors may make a non-German reader pro-German, but on the other hand it may inspire him

with a desire to help make German literature more modest. Give a student half a dozen of the ablest German explanations of the invasion of Belgium. It is difficult to see why the dissemination of the assorted information should result in the loss of an American patriot.

If we may wander a little further from President Butler's book, although still on this road which it suggests, there is the question of hostility to German music. Why an offensive in this particular field? There are obvious objections to the Watch on the Rhine and Deutschland über Alles, at the moment, of course, but should we not draw the line at melodies of that description? May not a man believe that Wagner is the greatest of all composers and yet exult in the fact that Hindenburg has not broken the Western line? May not one even wonder how anybody can sit through a Wagner opera without feeling angry because somebody wants to do it?

It has been found in the United States, says President Butler, that race antagonisms die away under the influence of liberal and enlightened institutions. Yes, and elsewhere than in the United States. A great German authority, whom President Butler does not mention, but who seldom escapes denunciation in pro-Ally literature, testifies to the fact (which he considers immaterial and irrelevant) that the people of Alsace and Lorraine were passionately attached to France in 1871. And why? They were, according to this authority, Treitschke, essentially a German people, but the abolition of feudal privileges in 1789, had made them enthusiastically French in sentiment.

We all want liberty and as much of it as we can get—at any rate when we think it is proper for us to have it. These meatless, wheatless, coalless, commandeering days must be a sore trial to people who do not approve of the war at all, and to some of those who have enlisted in the great movement to speed it up. But most of us feel that we are part of an army—not merely the young men who have gone to the front with a cheerfulness that makes us proud of them, but we, non-combatants, who are not about to die if the doctor can pull us through a while longer. And being part of an army, we do not expect as much liberty as usual. We know that we must obey orders, and most of us are glad that the orders are being issued by a Commander-in-Chief and not by a debating club. Of course, we hope the war will soon be over. We want to get back to the good old days when we could do more things that we wanted to do and did not have to count how many eggs we had for breakfast. But in the meantime, the problems before us are those of war and not those of peace. There may be some doubt as to how much liberty we will have left if we win, but it is easy to over-estimate the quantity we will have if we lose.

We should retain our ideals, no doubt, but we must reckon with facts as President Butler tells us. "We may turn our faces to the stars but we must have a care to keep our feet on the firm ground."

WM. E. MCKENNA.

Sketches from Life. By Ninguno Santo. Published by the Nunc Licet Press. Minneapolis, Minn. Price 50c. postpaid.

The first sentence in the foreword to this book warns us that "a kindly attitude towards new ideas is necessary before they can be viewed long enough to have their value tested," seeming to imply that this attitude rather than the critical one should be maintained throughout the reading of the sketches that follow. It is perhaps a not entirely unnecessary caution. In some of the sketches there is certainly a thinness that does not encourage continued reading, especially if one has a full book-shelf at hand. In others again, one is rewarded by some fine thoughts ably expressed. Throughout all, there is a note of cheerful optimism that is much required in these gloomy days of fightings within and fears without. It must perhaps be confessed by a candid though kindly reader, that a feeling arises somewhat akin to that which a boy experiences when lured into swallowing a pill in a spoonful of jam, on discovering that the garb of the storyteller is really worn by an evangelical preacher. The resentment wears off, however, in proportion as we find that the preacher is a lovable, sincere and indeed somewhat jovial character.

The author's name suggests foreign birth, but we are left in complete ignorance as to his history or nationality. The book is tastefully printed and bound, and for one of the many purposes to serve which books should be written, that of soothing the nerves and placidly filling time that would otherwise be uncomfortably unoccupied, it may be confidently recommended.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

* * *

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After the tempest comes the calm of noon;
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The ship of destiny might strike, the Isle
Of Promise sings its song of siren wile.
And clearer is the song for that the foam
Has borne us nearer to our rightful home.

'Tis not that evil siren lay of old
That lilted for the luring of those bold
And brave to their destruction with a cup
Of that foul brew that Circe offered up;
The rather, but men knew it, and had trust,
How soon the wandering vessel's crew were thrust
Into those soft and brightly golden sands,
And with what eager supplianee of hands,
They would receive and press upon their lips,
All parched and yearning, those fair finger tips
Of her who stands at water's edge to give
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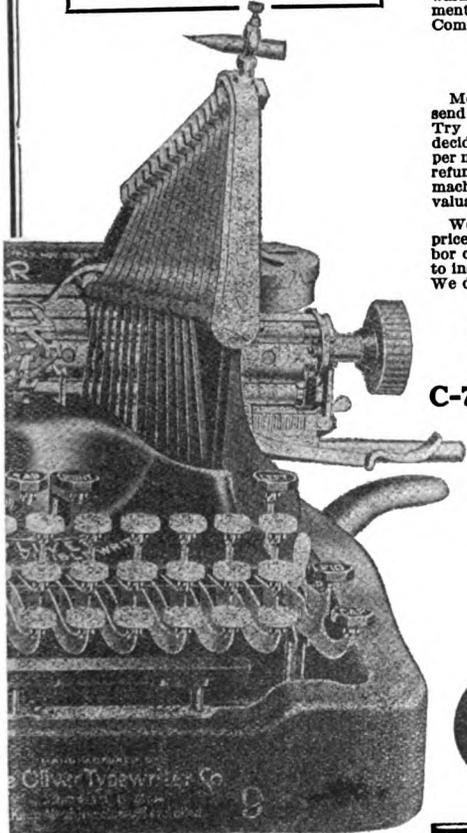
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