

FOR THE MEN AT THE FRONT

When you have finished reading this copy of *The Public* place a one-cent stamp on this corner and hand the magazine to any postal employee. The Post Office will send it to some soldier or sailor in our forces at the front. No wrapping—no address.

A. S. BURLINSON, Postmaster-General.

The Public

A Journal of Democracy



Are We a Democracy?

The Outlook in Russia

Keep the Railroads!

**Published Weekly
New York, N. Y.**

February 8, 1918

**Ten Cents a Copy
Two Dollars a Year**

THE CAMP SCHOOL

by

MARGARET McMILLAN, C.B.E.

MARGARET McMILLAN, the author of this and other books on childhood, is a pioneer worker in many phases of the new school-life for the children of the poor in England. In this book the reader is not introduced to a fresh air school, but to a Baby Camp (the first of its kind in England), a Girls' Camp, a Boys' Camp. You see the babies (87 of them) sleeping in the storms and cooing as the sun breaks through and strikes the tree tops. You see the children of the poor in a Fellowship of Freedom, under the open sky.

AMERICAN readers will welcome "The Camp School," not as a cut-and-dried treatise, but for what it is—a book of descriptive sketches, almost, written with imaginative power and wondrous sympathy, and showing a scathing contempt for any city or state which contents itself with long-winded discussion of Infant Mortality tables, while the little folk wither in its slums.

"EDUCATE every child as if he were your own," is Miss McMillan's message.

BUY a copy. We have only a few, but can get more.

Price \$1.25

THE PUBLIC

Book Department
122 East 37th Street

NEW YORK

The Public

A Journal of Democracy

Founded, 1898, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE TEACHER POST

New York, N. Y., Feb. 8, 1918

Volume XXI Number 1036

Contents

Editorial	168
The German University and the War, David Starr Jordan	171
The Outlook in Russia, John Willis Slaughter	172
Economic Alliances, Commercial Treaties and Tariff Adjustments, E. P. Costigan	174
Open Forum Approach to Democracy, Blanche Watson	177
Herr Ebel and German Defeat, Louis Wallis	179
War Prosperity, David Starr Jordan	181
News of the Week	181
Correspondence	184
Father Abraham Lincoln	186
Books	187

EDITORS:

MRS. JOSEPH FELS

JOHN WILLIS SLAUGHTER SAMUEL DANZIGER

GEORGE P. WEST STOUGHTON COOLEY

BUSINESS MANAGER: STANLEY BOWMAR

Published Weekly by

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

122 East Thirty-Seventh Street, New York City

Single Copy, Ten Cents Yearly Subscription, \$2.00
Canadian, \$2.50 Foreign, \$3.00

Entered as Second-Class Matter January 11, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Noise and Wear Go Hand in Hand

¶ Whenever you hear *Noise*, be sure that *Wear* is close by.

¶ The "Silent Smith" has dealt a telling blow to typewriter *noise* and typewriter *wear*.

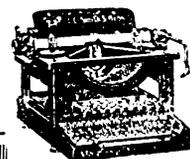
¶ If you want to learn how we have succeeded in producing a writing machine that eliminates 50 to 75 per cent of the usual typewriter racket, write for free booklet, "The Silent Smith."

L. C. Smith & Bros. Typewriter Company

Factory and Home Office: Syracuse, N. Y.

Branches in all Principal Cities

217 Broadway
(Aster H. Bldg.)



N. Y. City

The Public

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXI

New York, N. Y., February 8, 1918

Number 1036

Editorial

The comparison of war aims and war tempers made by the spokesmen of the two belligerent groups has been brought to a conclusion by the official statement of the Inter-Allied War Council at Versailles. The telegraphic summary informs us that "the Council was unable to find in von Hertling's and Czernin's recent utterances any real approximation to the moderate conditions laid down by the Allies' governments." The Council therefore decided upon the "vigorous and effective prosecution of the war, until the pressure of that effort brought a change of temper in the enemy governments, justifying the hope of the conclusion of a peace based on the principles of freedom, justice and respect for international law." It was a commendable insight on the part of the Council that found the essential difference to be one of attitude and principle, rather than one in which unity might be approximated by bargaining over points. Peace becomes possible when the Central Powers register their change of intention.

* * *

Those in whom the wish is so easily father to the belief, have had to suffer another disappointment in the collapse of the German strike. It is a pity that our public cannot be protected from exaggerated reports and interpretations regarding affairs in Germany. This strike, in so far as it had political significance, probably expressed disapproval of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. So long as the Pan-Germans dominate national politics, the German working man knows that there is no prospect of peace. But, between the Pan-German attitude and one that would make negotiations possible, there is a long road. We may fairly judge by the utterances of the socialists

themselves, and, so far, there is nothing to indicate that, if they were in control, a democratic peace would be immediately possible. It is the opinion of those most competent to judge that a revolution in Germany is impossible during the war, and most unlikely when the war is over, unless the ambition of the militarists has been checked and discredited.

* * *

A memorial has been presented to Lord Lansdowne for his beneficent labors in the interest of peace. It was obviously no more than a pretext arranged to enable him to try again. His speech, when shorn of its carefully selected verbiage, is the same plea for an immediate beginning of negotiations with the enemy. On the former occasion Lord Lansdowne was fishing in very troubled waters, before the allied countries had reached a formulation of their war aims. This time he speaks to a world that fully knows its mind. It is reported that his speech "created barely a ripple on the surface of public opinion in England."

* * *

The action of the Argentine Minister of War in recalling the military attachés of his country from Berlin and Vienna marks another step toward the final break with Germany. It is, of course, clear to any student of international affairs that the shipping controversy is merely a marker, which registers the pressure of Argentine public opinion. It is furthermore clear that the reluctance of Argentine authorities to stand definitely on the principles with which this hemisphere will sink or swim, is dictated by a cross current of antagonism to the United States, which takes form in a plan of certain Latin-

American republics to come together in concerted opposition to this country. This group can see the advantage in the future of good relations with Germany. Plain speaking is justified by the seriousness of the situation. Meanwhile there can be no question where the sympathies of the great mass of Argentines lie, and it is with satisfaction that we see these sympathies making themselves effective in national policy.

* * *

More light upon the shipbuilding situation is thrown by Mr. J. W. Powell, vice-president of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation. He declares that "if the United States is able to produce 3,000,000 tons of shipping in 1918 it will be accomplishing a wonderful feat." What is the reason that the estimated production is thus cut in half? Mr. Powell unhesitatingly indicates the goat: "For the first time in history labor has come to feel that anything it asks for it can get, and labor has failed to grasp the necessities of the present situation. The spirit of American labor alone can win this war. Thus far it has failed materially to arise to the emergency, and something must be done to change this attitude." The first thing necessary to change this attitude is for shipbuilders to display more patriotism than has been evident since last April. When the facts are known, the American people will see this attempt to load the blame for delay on labor as a discreditable action, part and parcel of the methods of contractors, who felt that they had this country by the throat and could wring what they wanted out of its necessity by waiting long enough.

* * *

The Treasury Department sends out through its publicity service an appeal to working men to buy Government securities that ends as follows: "Victory in this war means that American machine shops will continue to be busy for years refitting the factories of the world with machinery. Defeat means that German machinists will be busy while American machinists scan the help-wanted columns of the daily papers, or, worse, and not at all impossible, work for German masters." As a fact, defeat in this war would probably mean for American machinists a continuance of steady work at high wages, because it would mean the necessity of building up

and maintaining huge armaments. As for refitting the world's factories, that will be done by the machine shops of every nation, in proportion as they are efficient and their terms fair. As in his appeal to bankers and business men to win the war and then reap a harvest as masters of foreign trade, Mr. McAdoo here takes too mean a view of the spirit that is moving this nation. This sort of talk sounds too much like the specious pleas of the protectionists. Industrialism has not yet reduced our population to the point where its immediate belly-need dominates its emotional and mental processes. Our machinists want steady work and good wages, yes. But they want it as an incident to the new freedom in which neither political nor economic control by a handful of men shall find any place. And they know that the working man has no interest in economic warfare between nations except to oppose it in the spirit of President Wilson's Note to the Pope.

Are We a Democracy?

American democrats must be profoundly thankful that the Russian Revolution has at no stage been taken in by the democratic political forms that prevail in France, England and America, but has insisted on economic democracy as the basis of the new order. If the Revolution succeeds at all, Russia will escape some of the hard lessons of experience that it is taking England and America so long to learn. And whether it succeeds or fails, it has performed a great service by challenging the older democracies and bringing them to a realization of their essential shortcomings. One of the hardest tasks set for Mr. Creel's Committee on Public Information has been the preparation of material that would convince the Russians of the reality of this nation's democracy. Achievements of liberalism, or "progressivism," as we have preferred to call it, appear pitifully inadequate when marshalled against the drastic economic changes on which Russia's heart is set.

Yet this is by way of preface to an emphatic protest against the assumption, assiduously cultivated in Germany and adopted without reservation by Trotzky, that the American Government under Mr. Wilson is the agent primarily of capitalism, a socialist term for that business enterprise which involves unearned incomes for the

few, to be gained by the enjoyment of privileges protected by government. That this sort of business enterprise dominates our economic life in America THE PUBLIC would be the first to admit. That there is serious danger of its dominating our relations with other nations and the international policy of our Government, is only too true. But Mr. Wilson is not its agent, and the best we can say to Russia is that this Nation re-elected Mr. Wilson in 1916 and is behind him today. For in choosing him for a second term they chose a man whose record had demonstrated that he does see democracy in economic terms, that he is intent on achieving it in those terms, and that he is prepared to take every forward step for which he can gain the minimum measure of public support without which an American President is helpless. It is true that Mr. Wilson, like the rest of us, was nourished in a democratic tradition that today seems archaic. It is true that as a historian and teacher he showed slight grasp of the matter-of-fact economic bias that sways progressive thinking today. It is true that his vocabulary even today retains traces of a terminology that has been rejected by the younger generation of thinkers. What only an American can understand is that this background and this vocabulary have equipped him to carry with him long distances on the road to progress a people singularly bound by sentimental attachment to the old conception of political democracy—a people that would have been puzzled and affronted if he had employed the terms commonly used by the democrats of the Continent.

It is a vastly different Woodrow Wilson that occupies the White House today from the Wilson who wrote history or administered the affairs of Princeton twelve or fifteen years ago. One of the best tributes to Mr. Wilson during the 1916 campaign was the remark of a professor of economics that "he is not too proud to learn." He has learned much from the hurly-burly of politics at Trenton and Washington, and in turn has become a teacher and leader of those who taught him. And in two essential respects we can claim for his leadership the most fundamental sort of democratic understanding and bias. These are his Mexican policy and his attitude toward labor. There is injustice and presumption in Trotsky's attempt to brand as the agent of economic imperialism the man who resisted every financial

and industrial magnate in the land, and violated every precedent of international diplomacy by refusing to interfere in the internal affairs of a weaker neighboring Republic torn by revolution and temporarily under the sway of anarchy, involving enormous injury to American interests and many grave affronts to American pride. Is the author and executor of our Mexican policy ignorant of the menace of economic imperialism? Is he blind to the dangers of using government as a collection agency for bankers and landlords? When the Mexican crisis was upon us, in October, 1913, he said to a convention of business men at Mobile: "The States that are obliged . . . to grant concessions are in this condition, that foreign interests are apt to dominate their domestic affairs, a condition of affairs always dangerous and apt to become intolerable. . . . They [the Latin-American States] have had harder bargains driven with them in the matter of loans than any other peoples in the world. Interest has been exacted of them that was not exacted of anybody else, because the risk was said to be greater; and then securities were taken that destroyed the risk—an admirable arrangement for those who were forcing the terms."

His Mexican policy, his tariff revision, his appointment of a Tariff Commission of Free Traders, his staunch opposition to universal compulsory military training, his encouragement and support of the principle of industrial democracy through union organization—all these represent a leadership at least as radical and perhaps more radical than the American people were prepared to follow. In administrative matters he has never hesitated to abandon doctrine, as when he inaugurated a greater measure of federal control over credits and gave his support to the Federal Trade Commission—a powerful agency for guiding and equipping the Government in its approach to an extension of Government control and operation.

There were times, before the war, when many of us felt that our greatest need was an outspoken President, a propagandist, a leader whose political future meant nothing before the opportunity to enlighten the people, to shake them from their fatuous assumption that democracy could be attained without an economic reconstruction. Today THE PUBLIC, at least, is glad that Mr. Wilson did not fill that rôle. For it remembers that the liberal and radical forces were enlisted

behind Wilson, as never before, in the campaign of 1916, so that even the socialist vote fell off enormously, and it remembers the harrowing night of November 6 when it looked as though Mr. Wilson had already spoken and acted in the interest of the common man too freely to escape the defeat that special privilege and its ally, popular stupidity, came so near achieving. And if that had happened, the world would today be indeed bankrupt of leadership.

But there has been a revolution in popular thought since that November of a year ago. It is still going on, and what will emerge as the dominant conception of what America's policy should be, no man knows. We do know that the party of tariffs, universal service, bellicose nationalism and economic imperialism is alert, closely organized, and tremendously powerful. And we must tremble lest Trotsky's characterization of America shall be justified by the result of the 1920 election. But we are far from sharing the pessimism of Mr. Albert Jay Nock, for instance, who sees a reactionary victory as certain. The situation is a challenge to every democrat in the land, to his ability to agitate, educate and organize, as the trade union slogan has it. And we shall prayerfully hope that this war will end in time to give Mr. Wilson himself at least one year in the White House free for the plainest sort of plain speaking.

Keep the Railroads

A step backward is the provision for return of the railroads into private hands, inserted in the Railroad Control bill by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. The taking over of the roads was a duty too long neglected. Even had the railroad corporations performed their task efficiently and economically, it was wrong in principle ever to entrust private individuals with possession of public highways. But in the nature of things, efficiency and economy on their part were scarcely possible. There was strong temptation to make the privilege a means of acquiring great private fortunes at public expense. There were opportunities to manipulate money out of many pockets into a few, without violation of law, and without performance of useful service. It is no wonder that the temptation proved too much

for some, that the corporations became a source of political corruption, that there was discrimination in favor of and against individuals and communities, that charges were exorbitant, service indifferent, and that constant appeals had to be made for permission to increase rates. That the Interstate Commerce Commission could do little to discourage these evils was a matter of course. It is possible, although it has seldom happened, for private management unhampered by outside interference, to give good service. It is possible, and has happened in some places where tried, for public management to give good service. But divided management is almost foredoomed to failure. Now that both private and divided management have failed, let there be no return to either. Control of public highways is a proper function of government.

As a matter of fact, the railroad corporations have been dealt with generously in the terms granted them. They are guaranteed an income equal to the average of the three most profitable years of their history. They are assured continued proceeds of exorbitant charges. They are to get returns beyond the value of their services. No deduction is made for unearned land and franchise values. They are allowed not only what is honestly theirs, but much that belongs to others. Let them be content. If justice were done they would suffer.

In asking that return of the roads be indefinitely postponed, the Administration should have the support of all who would hasten economic democracy. By letting Congressmen and Senators know their views, constituents can do much to help. A privilege once abolished must not be restored.

The G. O. P. Declares War

There is scant comfort for progressive Republicans in the semi-official announcement by the Party's National Committee that Secretary Baker will be the issue in the campaign now being planned to capture control of Congress next fall. "If our troops get equipped and win a victory next summer it will be in spite of the present War Department, not because of it," says an anonymous member of the Committee in the *New York Times*. Thus do these politicians discount future developments unfavorable to

their scheming. It is hard to escape the inference that some not-too-serious disaster,—a matter of the cutting up of a regiment or two, let us say,—would be worth as much to these patriots as a check for a hundred thousand or so from the interests behind permanent compulsory universal military training. They already have tried to destroy popular confidence in the army and to inflict mental anguish on the family of every soldier in the land by grossly exaggerating isolated instances of privation and neglect. That despicable undertaking has been nullified by the splendid letter of Mrs. Mary Roberts Rhinehart and the testimony of Mr. Baker. But they will try again.

What have the people of the great Republican states of the West to say about this? It is they who are the healthy roots of an organism rotted at the top by the venality or stupidity of its leaders. They have stuck to the Party because there still survives among them the fine old tradition of New England liberalism and of Abraham Lincoln. They are of our best, and they are pacifists of the Wilson-Baker-House school, determined by winning this war to do away with the menace of governments made arrogant by their control, in peace or war, of huge armed forces. In asking them to repudiate Baker, ostensibly for inefficiency, but in truth because he opposes their effort to take advantage of the war to "put over" universal service, Republican leaders are taking a course best calculated to complete the discrediting and destruction of their party. They cannot marshal their own best partisan politicians. Senator Johnson of California has said that Baker stands between us and militarism in this nation, and Senator Borah of Idaho in a speech at Baltimore a week ago Sunday said: "When America has returned victorious, no man will be able to stand beside the great man who has led this country to victory in spite of all the obstacles that he has faced. That man is Woodrow Wilson. Had Germany been called upon to prepare in six months she would have made as many mistakes as the United States." Senator Borah also praised Mr. Baker and deplored partisanship in Congress. But the opinions of these men and the election results in Kansas, California and North Dakota carry a message to which the men controlling the Republican machine are deaf. They know the horrors of war. They know that they can count

on the occurrence of occasional agonizing errors, and they hope by exploiting them to destroy confidence in the nation's leadership and confuse the issue.

Meanwhile the initial onslaught on Mr. Baker has signally failed. The Springfield *Republican's* Washington correspondent writes, in commenting on his statement before the Senate Committee: "When the final picture of America's part and plan in the war was completed in the afternoon, Mr. Baker's measure of achievement was at once manifest. However Mr. Chamberlain and Republican members of the Committee may have felt, there was no hesitation among editorial writers and correspondents of critical Republican newspapers in giving him unstinted credit for having done a remarkable thing, which would give the country new courage and hope." And analyzing the situation in Washington, the same correspondent finds that criticism of Mr. Baker sprang from three sources: "First there is an undoubtedly sincere and patriotic desire to strengthen the war machine. Second, there is a concerted effort on the part of those like Col. Roosevelt and Senator Chamberlain, who desire that the country shall now be irrevocably committed to universal military service whether in peace or war, to destroy Secretary Baker for having held that this is not the time to embark on such a policy. His view that the immediate task is to win the war with the man-power made available under the draft act, and that the question of universal military service should be left until the war is over and the new state of the world made evident, appears to the Roosevelts and the Chamberlains as threatening to cheat them of their one great chance. Hence, their concerted onslaught against him. The third and more simple factor is that of plain politics with a Congressional election impending in the fall. Exactly in what proportion these three motives are responsible for the attack on Baker it would take a wiser man than Solomon to say. But the closer the situation is studied the more does it appear that the demand for universal service is the chief cause of the fury against him."

The Republican campaign would get nowhere were it not backed by the most powerful privileged interests in the land. Money plus blind partisanship and a controlled press can do much in befudding and misleading the electorate. Let liberals see to it that the issue is understood

wherever men and women meet together. Dr. Stephen S. Wise put it in a nutshell in his sermon last Sunday:—"Our American imperialists who favor universal military training are afraid that the Government will win the war on such terms that no army will be necessary afterward."

Insurance or Pensions?

Among the multitude of after-the-war problems to be worked out will be the question of insurance or pensions. Should peace be declared tomorrow, and our troops return without having been in a single battle, the losses from disease and accident, together with the sick and broken in health, would make enormous demands upon the Government. And when it is realized that the country fifty-two years after the close of the Civil War has a pension roll of over one hundred and sixty million dollars a year, it will be seen that a very large amount will be added. Should the war continue another year, with losses proportionate to those of the Allies, the new pension roll for military service will be enormous.

Nor will this be all. The present tendency is toward pensions for civil service employes, and some form of old age pensions. The latter alone, if based upon the difference in the scale of living here and broad, will add such an amount that one may look forward to a pension roll of possibly a half billion dollars. Yet, with all these pensioners on the roll there will still remain a vast number of people who from sickness, business reverses, or other misfortunes, will be in need of outside aid. To meet this need there are two means: state socialism and insurance. State socialism has not made sufficient appeal to the American mind to warrant a belief that it could be established; nor is there any assurance that it would succeed if it were adopted. And insurance, as heretofore practiced, is so expensive that it does not appeal to the imagination with sufficient force to cause its adoption, even by those who can afford to pay the rates.

To meet this situation a system of tontine insurance under Federal control is proposed. The tontine form of insurance is proposed because it is within the reach of all; and Federal control is named for the reason that it is the only form of security that will satisfy all doubts in a matter so closely associated with life itself, and is the only agency that extends throughout the country and

comes in touch with every citizen. It stands to private insurance much as the postal savings and rural credits departments of government stand to regular banking.

Tontine insurance is the reverse in principle of life insurance. Under life insurance the benefit is not realized until after the death of the insured, whereas, with the tontine, the benefits are received during the life of the insured, and cease at death. Under the first form a man protects his dependents by insuring his own life, and providing in his will to whom the money shall go at his death. Should financial reverses overtake him, or his earning power for any reason fail, he often receives no benefit from the insurance; he may, indeed, be obliged to forfeit the death benefits through inability to keep up the payments. But with the second form of insurance a man may protect his dependents by insuring them with an income annually increasing throughout their lives, and ceasing only at their death.

The details of the tontine system have been worked out by Charles Frederick Adams, its chief exponent in this country. It involves no expense or responsibility on the part of the Government beyond such as have been assumed in the operation of the postal savings department. The requirements of operation fall under three general heads:

1. The beneficiaries are placed in classes according to the year of their birth. Conditions of health, hazardous occupations, or other forms of danger are not considered.
2. The annual dues may be any amount not less than one dollar, and may vary from year to year at the will of the insured.
3. The benefit accrues from (a) interest or earnings on money paid in as dues, (b) a pro rata share in the lapses of those who die in the beneficiary's own birth-year class, (c) a pro rata share of the earnings of a dividend fund composed of the principal from each birth-year class when its last member dies, and of donations that may be made by philanthropists or others. Lapses of a beneficiary's claim cannot occur unless he has failed to pay as much as one dollar in dues for seven consecutive years.

The very least that any one can receive is the commercial rate of interest on the amount of dues paid. As other members of his birth-year class die, the amounts they have paid in are credited to the surviving members of that birth-year

class, the distribution being made in proportion to the dues paid. Thus, a member who has paid in a hundred dollars would receive ten times as much as one who had paid only ten dollars. Though the amount of dues paid in by some members would be too small during early life to earn a considerable income as a savings account, the lapses from deaths would so increase the shares of the survivors during their later years that the amount received would be much larger; and the last few survivors of any birth-year class would divide among them the entire income of their class. Thus, in a French tontine the last surviving member, a poor peasant woman, who died in her ninety-sixth year, received an annual income during the last seven years of her life of fourteen thousand dollars, and a good income for several years before that.

A popular life insurance plan should embrace these factors: (a) The highest possible degree of security; (b) the largest relief in time of greatest need; (c) simplicity of management, and (d) an attractiveness that will secure sufficient membership. The tontine system appears to meet all these requirements. It is as certain as the Government itself, and has the same surety as the postal savings bank. The relief service of the tontine system is continuous throughout life, being largest when the recipient is most helpless. The income in early years may remain as additional dues to swell the larger earnings when most needed. As to management, nothing more is required than routine bookkeeping, and the ordinary avoidance of fraud and dishonesty. There would be no mortuary tables to juggle, no dishonest physicians to pass bad "risks," and no deceptions as to health. The Government would be absolutely indifferent as to when a member died; it would be nobody's concern but his own. And, lastly, the tontine system appeals to the imagination with the fascination of a lottery, and the lure of a sure investment paying large dividends. It differs from a lottery in the fact that there are no blanks, though there are very large prizes. This insurance is within the reach of all, for there is no self-supporting man or woman who could not pay at least one dollar a year for each dependent. Yet even that modest payment would be sufficient to provide substantial relief for the last few survivors of their birth-year class.

The element of attractiveness has been appar-

ent in the various attempts to institute the system as far back as the middle of the Seventeenth Century, when Lorenzo Tonti suggested it to Cardinal Mazarin as a means of raising money for the state. It did raise money. A tax-burdened people from whom the military authorities could wring no more revenue, came forward eagerly with their money to invest in the tontine. The failure of that experiment was due to the fact that the money, instead of being legitimately invested, was squandered by a profligate court. Subsequent failures have been due to the ignorance or dishonesty of those connected with it. No weakness has been discovered in all these years that would not be entirely removed by the same administration that is enjoyed by the postal savings department.

Though the proposed tontine system of insurance is in no way dependent upon war bonds, its institution at this time would make available an enormous sum of money for investment in Government securities. No such appropriation as that made for the Farm Loan Banks would be necessary to start this method of insurance; and a sum far less than the two million dollars expended in popularizing war savings stamps would provide a larger market for Government bonds. Nor would there be any conflict between the war savings stamps and the tontine insurance. The war stamps represent the deposits people of small incomes make with intent of future withdrawal; whereas, tontine insurance represents a permanent investment, only the income of which is ever to be paid back. And this income, as long as the tontine funds are invested in Government securities, represents to the Government merely the interest that it pays in any event on the public debt. The tontine insurance would, in brief, furnish a ready market for large amounts of government securities, as long as any are outstanding, as well as a market for farm loan mortgages, State and municipal bonds, and safe industrial securities.

This is an idea worthy of the attention of Secretary McAdoo, Mr. Vanderlip or some Congressman who would like to have his name associated with a great service to the people. Pensions loom as a serious burden to industry. An insurance system of wide acceptance among the people would do much to relieve the demand for state aid. Tontine insurance gives every evidence of meeting all requirements.

The German University and the War

By David Starr Jordan

In these days of recrimination and hate, a good deal of harsh criticism is directed at the noblest of German institutions, the University. As we of America must be neighbors of theirs in the Republic of Letters, for the next thousand years, it is well that we should be as just as we can be, even in the heat of strife.

We may admit the truth of certain charges against these institutions. German science has been, as a whole, distinctly myopic in its outlook, without long vision as to the relations of science to life. This is, doubtless, the penalty exacted for microscopic thoroughness, in which lies the strength of German science. Moreover, in recent years, German philosophy has fitted itself to the demands of the times, mystical for the use of the people at large, intensely practical as concerns the interests of the ruling oligarchy. It has been justly charged that Hegel and Schelling, prosperous metaphysicians, lived not "*for* philosophy, but *by* it." Philosophy, in their hands, "became a milk-cow rather than a transcendent goddess," and the philosophy of the Supernal State, divinely supreme, played directly into the hands of those who could "get away with it."

It is true that since the brilliant success of Professor Treitschke and his doctrine of "Kultur"—national perfection through regimentation and mass-efficiency—professors holding similar doctrines have been stationed by the Ministry of Public Instruction in every Prussian and probably in every German University.

It is certain also that many professors in other fields have loudly proclaimed their ignorance or indifference to the facts of modern history. This includes not only shrieking reactionaries like Lasson and Danaells, but also honored scholars like Hæckel, Eucken and Harnack. To Hæckel, the Britain of today is still the tricky and grasping England of Disraeli and Palmerston, of which Germany is perennially the innocent victim. To Eucken, war, however sad, is a necessary experience, part of the growing pains of a regimented world.

Moreover, we must admit that at the beginning of the war, a large number of professors, each distinguished in his own way, signed a remarkable document embodying the chief falsehoods

promulgated by the German governments, and at sad variance with the truths, half-truths and lies vouchsafed to us by the London censors. And we must admit that Time, who works havoc with official statements in general, has been far more kind to the worst of our perversions than to the best of theirs. Autocracy, indeed, has so little to do with truth that it rarely pays her the flattery of imitation.

But before we "destroy the German Universities," as a futile jingo proposes in a journal now before me, let us look at the other side. The German professor is a specialist, a seeker of truth in some one narrow field. By such methods only can truth be separated from falsehood, and only the "Truth makes Free." It is part of the current philosophy adapted by Hegel to the needs of Germany that man should not be an independent organism in a happy-go-lucky or democratic world, but rather a "brick in an edifice of which he knows neither the form nor purpose." To know this is the function of the Dynasty and its ministers, not of the man on the street, still less of the closeted professor.

And the closeted professor, especially as stimulated by decorations and the easy title of Privy Councillor, cries out from his place in the wall in approval of the edifice which, as a whole, he can never see.

But this is by no means the whole truth as to the class of "Intellectuals." There are professors in Germany who are world-patriots, rising above the "herd-impulses" of narrow nationalism to the free air of the patriotism of humanity.

Such a man was F. G. Nicolai, professor of Physiology in the University of Berlin, who, in an atmosphere surcharged with militarism, told the sordid truth about war and its ruinous effect on the breed of men. His "*Biologie des Krieges*" published in Zurich in 1916, is a monument to Science and to scientific courage. After a vigorous attack on particular perversions and notably on the pack of falsehoods labeled "Social Darwinism," he sagely observes that "more lies are told in the shortest war than in the longest peace."

About a year after the war declaration on the part of German religious teachers, one of the

most distinguished among them sent these words to me, through Switzerland: "I am disgusted with the chicane and brutality of the German government." Beyond the censor lies the Truth.

At about the same time, upwards of eighty German professors signed a protest against the folly and crime of conquest, repudiating the whole Pangermanist scheme of annexations and indemnities, one of the criminal purposes behind this war.

Throughout the war distinguished professors, as the late Professor Sieper of Munich, broadest minded of Germans, Schücking of Marburg, Peloty of Würzburg, Quidde of Munich, Förster of Berlin and his son of Munich, Nicolai of Berlin, Fernau, now in Switzerland, Mez., now in Cuba, Lammasch, Redlich and Ehrlich of Vienna, and many others, have stood for international conciliation and international law, in a nation riotous with the hullabaloo of international savagery.

And for the most part, the Universities represented by these men have upheld them in their resistance to the great and little mob around them. I do not know of any University which has made the plea we now hear in America, that a University is not a University, but a private school in private hands, which should teach nothing

displeasing to its patrons and directors. As not all German professors have bowed the knee to any Gesler Hat, so not all American or British institutions defer to "High Society." But some of them come perilously near it, and have done things for which they are honestly ashamed. But the fault here lies not with the University itself, which by its definition is a center of freedom, but rather with its management, by its own definition, blind, narrow-minded and reactionary, and which tends more and more to include the University President as among its own functions. If recent cases of intermeddling in England and America do not call for University reform, we must await some calamity more drastic which will.

Meantime let us, living in glass houses, not throw too many stones, remembering that a University, whether a creation of the people or of a government, cannot rise wholly above the storms which beat against every human institution today.

We shall not "destroy the German Universities," nor shall we worship them in all their phases. However defective in organization or in operations, all Universities lead upward, and the mistakes of any or all of them are nothing in comparison with their united and uniting leadership toward wisdom, virtue and truth.

The Outlook in Russia

By John Willis Slaughter

Political prophecy is at best a precarious undertaking. In connection with Russia at the present moment it will appear to most persons nothing less than foolhardy. But the requirements of practical politics make imperative the endeavor to understand. The petty enthusiasm for, and the petty spite against, the Bolsheviki, with their respective visions of salvation and damnation, throw into greater relief the need on the part of Americans to know what is really happening in a country with which they have dealings at present, and will have much more extensive dealings in the future. The chief difficulty is the old one of the wood and the trees—to see under the multitudinous and press-distorted details those currents and tendencies that are flowing into the Russian future. These currents when exposed turn out to be amazingly simple. Looking from

the present toward the future, Russia presents a baffling curtain of confusion. Looking toward the past, however, events are seen in a consequential series that is not difficult to understand. Russian national life has always been one of clear contrasts and crude, simple issues, and we have at least the right to expect that under these present events there are pretty definite currents of national life that will in the end determine the national destiny. Changes are dramatic and easily exaggerated, but it is usually found that after the deluge the world emerges with many familiar contours and landmarks.

For two hundred years the real Russia has been obscured by the special character of the country as a political entity. It was an empire in the truest, most Asiatic sense of the term. It had little or no relation to the life of the people.

Based on successive extensions by conquest, its form was consummated by Peter, who extended his domain to the Baltic and southeastward, built St. Petersburg, brought in Germans to "westernize" his country, and left as his heritage that combination of bureaucracy and police power known as the Russian government. Its special character is strikingly illustrated by Petrograd itself, a city whose only function was to be imperial. Everything, the great palaces, the Cathedral of St. Isaacs, the barbaric memorial church to Alexander, the equestrian statue of Peter, had as its peculiar psychological function to impress the people with the majesty, the sanctity, the unassailable power of the imperial institution. The whole city is like one of our bank buildings, that supplements its credit standing with façade and pillars, a huge psychological bid for confidence. A government of this kind, deriving all powers from the autocracy, was military rule translated into civil terms, unrepresentative of the people, a machinery of control. It was therefore an extraneous fabric stretched over Russia, a curtain that made a view of Russian life all but impossible. The limited accessibility of mere peeps through Tolstoy, Turgeniev, and Dostoyevsky, was never free from the overwhelming presence of this governmental thing. It was the perpetual background, ever ready to close in and crush. Russian history was therefore a political history, of struggle toward the North Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Pacific; of rigid, machine-like control of the whole nation.

This fabric, that was the national government, has been rent and has disappeared; and the world stands somewhat unbelievably in the presence of an emerging country. We slowly make the acquaintance of a very ancient social life, of semi-feudal estates, of village communes, of a people long accustomed in small and local ways to the practice of cooperation. It was with a shock that we learned after the March revolution how the national government had lost itself in a hopeless maze of incompetence, corruption and treachery; and how the war had been carried on for months, how the armies had been supplied and the morale of the people maintained by the social organizations of Mir and Zemstvos.

Every schoolboy knows of Finland and Poland, and understands the crude methods of Russification that strove to attain homogeneity, by crushing local distinctions. But the old gov-

ernment did not rule in its special way because of a liking for oppression, but because it could rule in no other way, because in short, it was an empire. The cases of Finland and Poland repeat themselves through western and southeastern Russia, and through the extraordinary racial diversity of Asiatic Russia. The credit of holding first place as a country of suppressed nationalities has been given to Austria-Hungary, but the administrative methods of the dual Monarchy were enlightened and modern compared with those of their neighbor to the north. For Russia to champion the dreams of liberty of the southern Slavs was a curious piece of irony. It was only with many reservations and by great exercise of hopefulness that the liberals of France and Great Britain were able to see the Alliance of 1914 as one designed to end aggression, and establish the right to exist of small states. The common saying in England during the first months of the war was, "Russia will be next."

It is commonly thought that the events of March ended the old regime at a stroke, and set Russia on the democratic highroad. As a matter of fact, the revolution has not even yet taken place. There was a substitution of persons, and a complete change of purpose, but the machinery of government remained much as before. Control was maintained by a precarious military backing. And the successive changes since March have been no more than the seizing and holding of bureaucratic and military power. The Soviets have been largely instruments of discussion and protest, but never of effective action. The revolution will really take place when a government is instituted that expresses the Russian people, whether by constituent assembly or otherwise. The changes since March have been stages of disintegration of the old national government. The point is almost reached when it may be considered non-existent. Russia is bent on making a clean sweep of czarism, and this is the obscure but powerful motive behind nearly everything that has taken place. There was no particular desire for a democratic army, but there was an overwhelming fear of a counter-revolution from the military quarter. It seemed necessary, therefore, to "democratize" the army in order to render the officers harmless. The present extremists are tolerated and supported because they stand at the opposite pole from the old order. The Constitutional Democrats are powerless pre-

cisely because they have been so well branded as counter-revolutionists; even Kerensky could not save himself from the suspicion of dealing too tenderly with the reactionary element. The revolution has so far been a process of elimination; national government is nearing the vanishing point.

This dissolution of government has a curious effect on the psychology of outside persons. Newspaper correspondents send doleful tales of the chaos that ought to attend the administrative breakdown. Observers who visited Mexico at the end of the Diaz regime were expecting to find the country blazing with anarchy, as the papers had reported. They were rather astonished to find great districts where the government had simply vanished, and the effect of anarchy was that the people had settled down peacefully and happily and prosperously to their common labors. Government is indispensable only to governors, newspapers and capital cities. The old regime was not an organic part of Russia. Its elimination means release from a nuisance and a menace.

What does the future contain for Russia? It is well to remember there is no constructive magic in revolution. It is well to remember also that liberty only means the removal of restraint. What do people generally do when restraints are removed? They go on doing in the main what they were doing before. Individual and social habit is a thing that must be outgrown; it cannot be extirpated. One may expect to find therefore that custom, rendered all the more powerful through absence of education, will continue its domination. Meanwhile the strong impulse to get away from something leads to excesses in the contrary direction.

What, then, is the good of revolution? It is easily over-estimated as an instrument of immediate transformation, but it is overwhelmingly important as marking a beginning, as the solvent of old loyalties, as the precipitant of new ideas. Its effects are to be seen over long periods, and in spiritual influences that gradually bring about tangible readjustments. The French Revolution lost itself in Bonapartism and rehabilitated Bourbonism, but it made the nineteenth century. Our own revolution only gave us the opportunity to address ourselves to the problems that we are still endeavoring to solve. The revolt of the Spanish colonies was only the first term in a

series that is now slowly and painfully coming to a conclusion. What reason is there to suppose that it will be otherwise with Russia?

The process of destruction has proceeded on two lines—one political, the other economic; the abolition of the autocracy and the abolition of landlordism. These have been closely interwoven, and their relationship will have a decided bearing on reconstruction when the tide turns. In its social aspect, the revolution is a peasant revolt, demanding access to the land held by the great estates. Reconstruction must therefore begin by solving a very simple local and individual problem. Two proposals are in the field: That of the Social Revolutionaries, the party of the peasants—and therefore the party of ultimate domination—intends to proceed on the traditional Russian lines of communal ownership, thus opposing the plan of the Cadets, that would make Russia a country of peasant proprietors. On the other hand, the Bolsheviki, following Marxian principles, propose to nationalize the land and create a peasant proletariat. This is only an extension of the socialist industrial scheme to agriculture. It meets a number of difficulties, including not only the inertia of the peasants, but the fact that Russia is not a nation but has changed from an empire to a congeries of nationalities. The Bolsheviki can only maintain themselves by support of the urban industrial districts, which are relatively insignificant. The peasant has no interest in them, except as the uncompromising opponents of bourgeois landowners.

We are now witnessing the breaking of Russia into its constituent provinces. Independence is declared partly to prevent opening the land of all districts on equal terms to all Russians. The less congested, and therefore more favored regions, mean to provide against the influx of immigrants, again illustrating the difficulty of solving the land problem by a universal plan.

Beyond the economic problem lies the political one. To declare independence is the first step toward integration. With the emergence of the special racial and cultural forces that have been so long oppressed, and the rehabilitation of the old traditional modes of government, each province is finding its feet as an entity. And, as the provinces of greatest distinction are those economically independent of Great Russia, there seems to be no force that can hinder this process.

If Russia proceeds to reconquest of these regions, it is equivalent to re-establishing the empire.

The political problem is then one of creating a federal republic. In this country, with a comparatively homogeneous population, three-quarters of a century and much bloodletting were necessary to make the federal machine work. Argentina spent half a century working out the simple problem of whether the Republic would be under the hegemony of Buenos Aires or based

on equal rights. In Russia there is a complication of racial and cultural differences. The thing can be done, and will undoubtedly be done in the course of time, but it will be determined by community of economic interest, or else by the menace of foreign aggression. There is always the danger of Bonapartism, but the nation thus reconstituted would be only one remove from the old regime. Russia will probably be many times the hope and the despair of the world.

Economic Alliances, Commercial Treaties and Tariff Adjustments*

By Edward P. Costigan

Member of the United States Tariff Commission

III

RECIPROCITY EXPERIMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

Some review of our past shifting experiments along these lines may, at once, remind us of forgotten but instructive history, and tend to clarify our conclusions. The pertinent provisions of, and our experiences under, the respective tariff acts of 1890, 1894, 1897, 1909 and 1913 are susceptible of concise history. The reciprocity policy inaugurated by the Act of 1890 gave legal authority to the President of the United States to impose enumerated duties on a few specified articles embraced in the free list—chiefly, raw and uncured hides, tea, coffee, sugar and molasses—whenever the President was satisfied that the customs duties of foreign countries were “reciprocally unjust or unreasonable.” A brief trial of the law resulted in a substantial lowering in certain countries, such as Cuba and Brazil, of import duties in favor of the United States. With the ensuing change of administration, in 1894, this policy was reversed, by repeal. In 1897 Congress renewed the Presidential authority of the Act of 1890, omitting sugar and hides from, and adding tonka and vanilla beans to, the specified articles, and further provided for two groups of commercial arrangements—first, agreements, restricted to the offer by the United States of concessions on a very limited set of articles—crude tartar, paint-

ings, statuary, wines and certain other liquors—to be negotiated and proclaimed by the President without the sanction of Congress or the Senate; and second, general commercial treaties which were to provide for reciprocal reductions in duties on any articles, subject to Congressional ratification, and Senatorial approval. As events developed, only the former of those methods proved of worth in the negotiation of agreements. That way was provided by the third section of the Act of 1897. The authorization of the Presidential proclamation of certain reciprocal arrangements, without requirement of subsequent Congressional ratification, resulted in a number of tariff agreements with leading European countries. For example, we were allowed in July, 1900, the reduced conventional tariff rates of Germany, provided for in her commercial treaties with Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Italy, Roumania, Russia, Serbia and Switzerland; and, in return for our concession of lower duties on imported crude tartar, statuary, paintings, wines and other specified liquors, we received from France her minimum tariff rates on lumber, fruits, canned meats, lard, and some other commodities. The actual negotiation of these agreements was entrusted, between 1897 and 1901, to a Reciprocity Commissioner, John A. Kasson, appointed by President McKinley, after the passage of the Act of 1897. Mr. Kasson, also, under the other provision—the fourth section—of that Act eventually negotiated a series of tentative

* Conclusion of an address delivered before the American Economic Association, the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society, at Philadelphia, Pa., December 29, 1917.

treaties, chiefly affecting our commerce with parts of the West Indies and South America, and with France. These agreements, however, failed to receive the ratification of the Senate, required by that particular section. In 1909 occurred another sharp veering in our tariff policy toward foreign commerce. Provisions were incorporated in the Tariff Act of that year for the abrogation of the treaties, actually negotiated and proclaimed under the Act of 1897. Our mutual preferential arrangement with Cuba alone survived. In place of our previous reciprocity methods, Congress introduced the novelty, for us, of a substantial recognition of the double tariff system—providing a general or minimum set of rates, convertible into a maximum range of duties, by the addition to the general rates of 25% ad valorem on all articles. The Act of 1909 provided for such maximum duties on condition that, if the President became satisfied that undue discrimination was not being practiced by particular countries against the products of the United States, such countries should be accorded our minimum rates by Presidential proclamation. Minimum rates were eventually accorded to all countries, though, with some hesitation, where the commodities affected were those of Canada, France and Germany, from the last two of which countries important trade and tariff concessions were first obtained. Germany, in particular, in February, 1910, yielded us, without reservation, her conventional tariff rates, embraced in her existing commercial treaties.

Such, broadly speaking, were the developments of our tariff negotiation experiments prior to 1913, in which year the substance of our present tariff law was enacted, and, once again, our system of customs duties was shifted. The fact is, that the maximum and minimum program, in the form adopted, had proven unwieldy, since the necessity of maintaining duties of 25% ad valorem on the products of any country dealing unfairly with us, would, in practice, not only have operated with severity against the commerce of the offending nation, but, incidentally, would have reacted, with two-edged force, against our own interests, by excluding articles of commercial value to us. The conviction that the double tariff form of customs duties, contained in the Act of 1909, was impractical and ill-advised, led to its repeal in 1913. Unfortunately, however, the latter Act offered no substitute, except gen-

eral authorization, subject to submission "to the Congress of the United States for ratification or rejection," given to the President "to negotiate trade agreements with foreign nations, wherein mutual concessions are made looking toward freer relations and further reciprocal expansion of trade and commerce." This authority, of course, already existed. Its declaration was an "about face" return to the very phase of the Act of 1897 which proved abortive in practice. Nothing has so far been accomplished under this broad section, and, in the light both of our own experience as reviewed and of the elaborate plans of commercial penetration maturing abroad, it is fairly predictable that, without independent and far more favorable factors, the improvement of our foreign treaty and commercial situation will not thereby be achieved.

LACK OF STABILITY IN FOREIGN TARIFF POLICY

Obvious and striking in this recital are the ineffective inconsistencies, and lack of stability, in foreign policy, which we as a nation have been opposing to the patient and well-nigh age-to-age persistence characterizing the international trade and tariff policies of leading foreign countries. We have recalled that the plan of negotiation, based on threatened higher duties unless reciprocal rates were conceded, adopted in 1890, was repealed in 1894. It was somewhat renewed in 1897, but the emphasis was placed elsewhere, and, in lieu of the original program, results were obtained through the offer of lower rates in return for like concessions. In 1909 the method adopted was both concessional and retaliatory. In 1913 we returned to the policy of negotiation, subject to subsequent Congressional approval, tried and found wanting in the period extending from 1897 to 1901.

VALUE OF A PERMANENT POLICY

From this summary of experiences, it is scarcely difficult to deduce certain lessons, both as to procedure worthy of adoption, and aims to be held before us. The response of foreign countries to our limited experiments, like the increasing emphasis everywhere on the value of natural resources, reveals the economic usefulness of pliable instrumentalities for future trade negotiation and tariff adjustments. For example—while our endeavors, in some respects, have been too short-lived to sustain many clear inferences—the concessions obtained under the Act

of 1890, the agreements entered into under the Act of 1897, and the surrender of minimum rates by France, and conventional rates by Germany, induced by the Act of 1909, were important beyond any material gain secured. They tended to demonstrate that an economically powerful country may, under normal conditions, break through the walls of commercial discrimination, at least into the field where special favor is neither sought nor awarded.

AN AVAILABLE POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES

Considering the course of these events, and the whole problem, nothing has appeared safer, more available, or better adapted to prompt action than power, lodged in the President of the United States, to raise or lower, as conditions and sound discretion may dictate, individual customs duties, within such well considered limits and on such carefully selected, important articles as Congress, by law, shall specify. The constitutionality of the method is not questionable. It has been fully sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. Advance Congressional authority furnishes a continuing check on possible abuse, while subsequent ratification has proved too slow and cumbersome a method for such public emergencies as those with which the world is becoming only too well acquainted. The list of articles embraced in such possible Congressional legislation should be comprehensive, rather than closely circumscribed, since the commerce at stake runs through all seas, to the four corners of the world. Such exercise of Presidential authority can be given a certain scientific character and well-nigh mechanical precision, if we bear in mind those selected resources and materials, concerning which the stress of modern conditions has everywhere produced most diligent inquiry. This will compel thorough-going analysis, both of the prevailing necessities, and the chief commercial contributions of the different countries of the globe. It will also involve consideration of this country's use and control of those materials which determine our economic strength.

The exact scope to be given the exercise of such executive authority naturally permits of divided opinion. In the light of our experience, different questions invite consideration. For instance, is it wise to fix a relatively high range of duties, with the expectation that substantial reductions will be promptly proclaimed by the

President in favor of those countries which evidence amicable fairness in their attitude toward our commerce, while we leave the products of other countries subject to the levied duties? Or, should we impose penalties, in the nature of surtaxes, on some or all of the commodities of those foreign countries which subject us to disadvantageous discrimination? The former may be termed the way of concession; the latter, of retaliation. The former procedure is, perhaps, subject to criticism, in preparing legislation with an eye single to revenue; the latter, for its possible implication of an unfriendly international attitude. While the concessional relation is always, if adequate, to be preferred to the retaliatory, with either method the punitive possibility is, openly or latently, present. It may, therefore, be advisable to combine both methods, adding a frank legislative declaration that the definite object sought is commercial treatment on a parity with that accorded other countries. However, the two indicated modes involve differences of detail, provided there is substantial agreement on the wisdom of the decision to vest the executive branch of the government with authority quickly to seek the abatement of discrimination. Certainly the defect in the Act of 1909 should not be revived; the President should be permitted to distinguish between those among the offending country's commodities which are advantageous or necessary to us, and those which may be barred without harm to ourselves and with the most influential resulting economic pressure elsewhere. Here, again, invaluable service may be rendered by trained and unbiased minds, through the judicious accumulation of data, calculated, evenhandedly and without exaggeration, to attain the desired ends.

CONCLUSION

It is perhaps inevitable that this discussion of certain phases of our future commercial problems, precipitated by movements the world over toward economic alliances, national self-sufficiency, and effective tariff policies, conclude, as it began, with mention of the unexampled war, now uppermost in the hearts and thoughts of all of us. My purpose has been wholly misinterpreted if any one has construed anything said as in the nature of advocacy of a narrow commercial policy. Such inference would exactly reverse the intent of these remarks. We have been con-

sidering the need for meeting the economic, industrial and commercial plans of other nations as they appear to be evolving. For the rest, this is a time for profound humility. The stricken earth is crying out for a new dispensation. If ever in history, untested principles should, one and all, be cast aside, and a future constructed, divorced from whatever the past has condemned. As already stated, in this category the proposal of "war-after-the-war" clearly falls. Recognizing that hereafter commercial treaty policies will tend to revert to the use of familiar methods, we should determine that our efficiency along these lines shall be used to gain equality and exclude favor. The universal demand for peace of durable quality is summoning superficial men to fundamental perceptions, and learned men to deeper insight and revelation. If peace is to prevail, economic discrimination must, more and more, suffer curtailment. Such suggestions as priority in the use of raw materials, in the reconstruction, after the war, of the devastated regions of Europe, and the use of economic weapons by a League of Peace, in an effort to avoid the employment of military force, are of somewhat

temporary character, and may have weight, provided those policies are impartially confined to their objects. There may, likewise, be necessary for an indefinite time, certain special exceptions, capable of general classification, in trade policies, based on such well-known circumstances as established political ties, intimate geographical relationship, and common racial history. But through and beyond such conditions and the immediate future we should seek a rebuilt, permanently peaceful earth, of respected and self-respecting nationalities, close-knit in bonds of international friendliness and eventual federation. Neither the weight of our burdens, nor the tumult of our indignation, should turn us from our path. Treaty and tariff policies should aim at the extermination, not the promotion of discrimination. Economic alliances, except in extremity, should be studiously shunned, because of their tendency toward compulsion and hostility. Our object should be liberated, not shackled, commerce; our means, friendly; our spirit, international—inviting the beneficent give and take of cooperative right action, in an orderly, united and self-governing world.

The Open Forum Approach to Democracy

By Blanche Watson

About ten years ago there was started in the city of Boston one of the most democratic of the educational movements of our time—the Open Forum. Charles Sprague Smith conceived the idea of the forum as an extension of the opportunity for education to all people who desired to be instructed by direct address, and he put his idea into operation at Cooper Union; but during ten years the idea did not propagate itself. It was one of those things that had to be transplanted before it would grow. George W. Coleman attended to that; and, once planted in the fertile soil of Beacon Hill under the shadow of the State house in Boston, watched over and tended by Mr. Coleman and his right-hand "man" Mary C. Crawford and later on by a corps of gardeners known as the "Ford Hall Folks," this modern adaptation of the ancient Socratic ideal took firm root. After about five years it began to spread, and now after another ten years there are considerably more than two

hundred forums in the United States and as many more in the process of organization. And the idea is still growing.

The forum movement has been compared to the lyceum movement of fifty years ago. The newer method epitomizes the change that has come over the spirit of the age. It testifies to the growth of democracy, recognizing that the old regime is no longer acceptable to audiences. We are living in a very interesting and highly promising stage of evolution. A large majority of human beings today are prone to question authority (even that of knowledge) and claim the right to possess and express opinions about everything under the sun. The audience of the lyceum period thankfully accepted whatever came over the edge of the platform; but the forum audience has contracted a habit of thinking for itself, of asking questions, and even of getting up on its feet and talking. This has been made possible by the division of the evening

between speaker and audience, the first part being devoted to the address, the last to discussion or questionnaire. Many a speaker has quailed before the questions fired at him from the floor of Ford Hall; hardly one who has spoken to that audience, on the other hand, but has come away with a new idea of the brotherhood of man; and all without exception heartily commend the freedom of speech, fair play, and good-will which always mark the meetings.

The character of the audiences at Ford Hall is worthy of comment. The cosmopolitanism of the "intellectual bread line," that, for an hour or two before the opening of the doors extends around three sides of Ford Hall, astonishes a newcomer. There, one finds all sorts and conditions of men and women. Students, tailors, teachers, social workers, peddlers, preachers, shop girls, writers, lawyers and business men, stand together in the long double line, and join in the goodnatured rush for seats when at last the large doors are opened. Who can fail to realize that here is a startlingly fresh institution in our modern life. Churches with their dogmas, schools, social organizations and clubs, certain particular propaganda, political parties divide people into the pros and cons, the ins and outs, the sheep and the goats; but the idea of the forum is to cast no shadows and draw no lines. It is just here, unfortunately, that the forum does not always function true to type. Not that anyone wants to see every forum throughout the length and breadth of this country a prototype of the parent forum. By no means. Nevertheless the open forum idea has certain fundamental characteristics without which it cannot properly function under the name. And what are these characteristics?

First, it must make provision for intellectual "give and take," and this should be a fair minded provision—half the time for the speaker and half for the audience, with a chance at the close of the period for a brief rebuttal by the speaker of the evening. It is just here that the forum method shows the widest divergence from the fast-disappearing lyceum method that served so nobly in the days of limited educational facilities, few newspapers, and fewer magazines. Public speakers of the present day realize that they are likely to find audiences of men and women not only ready but capable of making a vital contribution to the subject under discussion—in

other words, that the audience numbers not alone hearers but speakers—and with the spread of forums and the further development of the forum idea, this latter class is going to become increasingly numerous and important.

Secondly, the forum must be truly democratic—as near as may be, that is, a cross-section of the community that it serves. It should be a place where rich and poor, black and white, Jew and Gentile, conservative and radical, orthodox and heretic—who, all too often, stand apart and sniff at each other—can parade differences, sift difficulties, do away with antagonisms and become more human. Thirdly, it should be non-partisan in its appeal, giving hospitality to speakers of diverse opinions and belief. The forum is intended primarily to be educational, and it furnishes a most excellent opportunity for the education not only of the audience, but of speakers who, perhaps, have too exalted an idea of their own importance or that of their particular "ism." Radical forums that ignore certain types of speakers miss a chance of teaching as well as learning; and those organizations that put a ban on radicals lose the opportunity of getting at first hand, valuable economic and social information of which, before very long, they are going to feel the need.

These three things—the equal division of time, the democratic character of the audiences, and the universal appeal as regards subjects for discussion are the basis of the forum idea, and it is not too much to say that the real success of a forum and its value as a vital constructive force in the community, depends upon how closely it keeps to these provisions. A lecture course functioning under the name of a forum along lines of its own drawing has a certain value, it is true, but it is not the educational factor that it could be and undoubtedly would be, were it to follow certain tried methods which have proved their worth during ten years of successful effort in this new field. As the lyceum platform played an inestimable part in the intellectual growth of this country during the last half-century, so the open forum is destined to play an even greater part during the coming years that promise a wonderful development of the democratic ideology. The various groups that are to direct the activities and determine the destinies of the nation, must, to use President Wilson's happy phrase, get their feet under the

same table. The open forum is a powerful solvent for the misunderstandings and antagonisms, and the colossal ignorance that is retarding progress in every field of human effort. We all know that there are people who glory in their ignorance, boast of their intolerance, and loudly proclaim the fact that they don't want to hear "the other side." The open forum is not for such as these. But there is another and much larger group who are ashamed not to know all sides of a question, who are hungry for knowledge and more knowledge—who have the "divine discontent" in large measure, and for these the open forum, with its affirmations of real intellectual breadth and its denials of intolerance and narrowness and prejudice, has come like the vision of a new day. It is interesting to know that the Open Forum National Council, which has for its object the development of the forum movement, has taken for its slogan the significant words, so familiar to socialists, "Let there be light." In this time of intellectual chaos and spiritual darkness shall we not welcome this light and ask that it be not colored or dimmed, refracted or reflected, but permitted to shine forth strongly and directly and clearly? This slogan, by the way, appears on the title page of "The Open Forum" for January, and accompanying it is the picture of a man of the people holding aloft the light that is to illumine the new and better world. Is not this embodiment of the idea more significant even than the phrase that it so vividly interprets? And does it not give grounds for the thought that the open forum is destined to be the tool of the rank and file of thinking, struggling humanity; that it is an educational movement offering a very real, very valuable, and far-reaching contribution for the future as well as for the present day; that it is an institution not only of and for the people but by the people? The forum has come into being because of an unconscious though none the less real demand for democratic expression of thought, which expression, be it understood, spells true human progress.

Its main object is to encourage self-expression not only among experts but among the masses who are, in the last analysis, "the people"—"the state." It will continue to exist just as long as this expression is encouraged and permitted; and it will have growth commensurate with the degree of democratic control that obtains

throughout the field of forum endeavor. Evolution is at work here, as elsewhere in the world body politic. The forum idea is in the process of development. How fast it shall grow, what it shall accomplish, and particularly in what direction it shall develop, depends upon how truly representative of the people it is—that is to say, how truly self-governing it is. Through its manifestations—after centuries of a tragically mismanaged, because more or less aristocratically and autocratically managed, world—the Universal Will, the Common Mind, is at last to be given an opportunity to speak and to act and to rule.

RELATED THINGS

Herr Bebel and German Defeat

That the defeat of the imperial arms is necessary to the evolution of German democracy is the startling assertion made by the great German socialist leader August Bebel, in a little known document issued just before the war by the University of Chicago press. Foreign opinion with regard to the heart-felt wishes of the workers in Berlin, Leipsic and other great industrial centers has been misled by the formal socialist support of war budgets in the Reichstag. The obvious truth is that the socialists have been driven by superior force and by mendacious appeals to "patriotism" into an artificial support of the Kaiser. The whole structure of their economic philosophy sets them in opposition to the government, both in peace and war; and it can hardly be insisted with too much emphasis that they are anti-Kaiser at the present moment. Much mystery is thrown around the question, "What is happening in Germany today?" While details escape us, owing to distance and censorship, certain general principles necessarily govern the process of internal affairs in the enemy countries.

The preface to the American edition of Bebel's book was written by Bebel himself in 1912. The volume is an autobiographical narrative, which begins in 1840, moves forward through the generation before the establishment of the empire, covers the period when the empire was founded, depicts the rise of socialism, and shows how the junker governments of Germany have always been at sword's points with the socialist party.

By its very nature, socialism occupies a platform of absolute hostility to Kaiser government. The so-called "state socialism" of Germany is largely a defensive measure of paternalism to which the government was forced in Bismarck's time by fear of the workers. Bebel's book is first-hand evidence that the socialist movement in Germany is at heart unpatriotic in the sense of imperial patriotism.

Bebel was elected as a radical member of the North German Constituent Reichstag, a parliamentary body which was founded some time before the present empire, while as yet the various German states retained their local sovereignties. Speaking in that body in 1867, he attacked the policy of Prussia, and maintained, in spite of many interruptions, that the unification of Germany, as intended by Prussia, was not in the interests of Germany as a whole, but only in those of a greater Prussia and the Hohenzollern dynasty. Such a policy, he declared, would turn Germany into one great military barrack and destroy the last remains of liberty and popular rights ("My Life," Chicago, 1913, pp. 191-2).

Just before the war of 1870 between Germany and France, Bebel and his socialist comrades held a conference which protested against any war, except one undertaken in the interests of freedom and civilization, as a crime against modern society. They denounced a war waged in the interests of a dynasty, which jeopardizes the lives of hundreds of thousands and the welfare of millions in order to satisfy the ambition of a few of those in power. They hailed with joy the attitude of the French democracy, especially the socialist workers, and declared complete sympathy with their efforts to prevent war (pp. 207-8). The workers of Paris also declared against the dreaded clash between France and Germany. But Bismarck, the servant of the Hohenzollerns, by falsifying the famous Ems telegram, defeated the purpose of the socialists and brought on the war of 1870. As Bebel says, "people quite overlooked the fact that France, who declared war, was quite unprepared, while Germany had all her preparations completed to the last button" (p. 206). Not much "patriotism" in a German who can write like that in the year 1912.

On the seventeenth of December, 1870 Bebel was arrested and thrown into prison by the government of Saxony at the instance of Bismarck.

The empire was not yet established; but its shadow lay over the land. The prosecuting attorney informed Bebel that his entire career would be investigated, as it was regarded as dangerous to the state and treasonable. While he was in jail, new elections were held, and he was sent by a Saxon constituency to the new imperial Reichstag. Soon thereafter, the government decided to release him without trial. Is it to be supposed that a party whose founders and leaders are treated thus by the authorities will remain devoted and loyal to its "country," as represented by such authorities?

Bebel was allowed to take his seat in the imperial Reichstag, but was regarded with great suspicion by all the "respectables." During the very first session he issued a warning that the establishment of the empire spelled much heavier taxation, together with army increases. And he added significantly that the standing army would not always under all circumstances remain the support of the existing social order. The upper classes became so incensed against him that a charge of *lèse-majesté* was trumped up. He was found guilty and put in prison. While there, he was again re-elected by his Saxon constituency, to the intense disgust of the Prussian junkers.

These interesting details are typical of social democratic development in Germany. Every time the government has opposed the socialists, either by arrest, legal prosecution, imprisonment, or the passage of repressive laws, there has been a growth of socialist sentiment and voting power. It is quite well known that the ominous increase of discontent and socialism was one reason why the Kaiser and his clique plotted the present war, as they hoped thereby to drown the radical movement in a flood of "patriotism." In view of all these facts, the following sentences from Bebel's book are of great value as showing the real mind of German socialists when off their guard, and as in a sense direct evidence of internal conditions in Germany at the present moment:

"For a people which is not free, defeat is rather favorable than otherwise to its internal development. Victories result in a government the reverse of democratic in type, haughty and exacting in quality; while defeats force the government to approach the people and to win its good will. Thus it was in Prussia in 1806-7, in Austria after 1866, in France after 1870, and in

Russia after the Japanese victories of 1904. The Russian revolution [of 1905] would never have broken out except for the Russian losses. And although that revolution failed, old Russia disappeared forever. On the other hand, history tells us that when the peoples of Prussia had, at the cost of enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure, defeated the first Napoleon's foreign tyranny and saved the [Hohenzollern] dynasty from ignominy, the dynasty proceeded to forget all the fine promises it had made to the people in the hour of danger. And did not Bismarck at a later date refuse all really liberal demands, acting indeed like a dictator? Had Prussia been defeated, would not the ministry of Bismarck and the domination of the junker party, which oppresses Germany to this day, have been swept away together?" (pp. 89-90).

Evidently, Bebel and his comrades were not fooled by old age insurance, workmen's accident compensation, and other specious and much lauded measures of state socialism. The radical masses of Germany desire ever more ardently the military defeat of junkerism, not because they are unpatriotic, but because their patriotism is higher in quality than that of the imperial German government; and one of the greatest forces now making for the downfall of imperialism and the rise of democracy in Germany is the masterful diplomacy of Woodrow Wilson.

LOUIS WALLIS.

War Prosperity

I had once a monkey who broke off the end of his long stiff tail and who sat on his perch sucking blood from the wound. He was delighted with the new brand of soup—warm and satisfying.

He was enjoying "War Prosperity." I put tar on the end of his tail. He complained bitterly in quadrumanous fashion of the taxation of "excess profits," the basis of "War Prosperity."

There can be no national prosperity in war time, "war prosperity" draws on the heart's blood of the nation.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

* * *

Even from the suppression of thought at home the Government **does not** shrink, when the man is small and the thought big enough.—Israel Zangwill.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending February 5

Congressional Doings

Two resolutions bearing on peace were introduced in the Senate on January 31. Senator Owen of Oklahoma, moved that Congress affirm the peace terms expressed by President Wilson in his message of January 8. Senator Borah of Idaho offered resolutions declaring that "most wars originate in the imperialistic designs of powerful nations to absorb and exploit smaller or weaker peoples," that there must be harmonious relations between nations, that this requires security of political and economic freedom, that therefore the national, political and economic rights of small and subject nationalities be restored and conceded, that hereafter when outside assistance is required by any country for development of its potentialities the opportunity shall be free and open to all countries alike, that the small and subject nations be represented at the peace conference and that secret diplomacy be abolished. [See current volume page 149.]

* *

An amendment was inserted on February 2 by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee to the Railroad bill. As originally introduced the bill provided for Government control and operation of the roads for an indefinite period. The committee decided to report it favorably but amended to terminate Government control within 18 months after the end of the war. Two members of the committee, La Follette and Cummins, dissented from the amendment. Another amendment retains for the Interstate Commerce Commission the power of fixing rates. The bill had given that power to Secretary McAdoo. The House Committee also approved an amendment by a vote of 15 to 6 to limit the term of Government control, but made it two years. The bill will come up in both branches during this week.

* *

The Administration bill for control of private financing during the war was introduced on February 4 in both Senate and House. It creates a Federal corporation with \$500,000,000 capital and power to issue \$4,000,000,000 in short term notes to afford financial assistance to private concerns whose operations are held necessary to prosecution of the war. The operations of the corporation will come to an end six months after peace has been declared. Secretary McAdoo urged prompt passage of the bill.

The Shipping Investigation

It developed before the Senate Committee on Commerce on January 31 that the Government has expended in constructing the plant for the American International Corporation at Hog Island, near Philadelphia, several millions more than the corporation had estimated it would cost. This is the concern for whose plant and machinery the Government advanced all the capital. Robert J. Bulkley, chairman of the Legal Committee of the War Industries Board, held that the Government could not recover the difference between

estimated and actual cost. Hog Island is a marsh and is partly under water all the time. The Corporation paid \$1,706,000 for the land. The Government has an option to purchase it.

Report on Adamson Law

The Eight-Hour Commission, headed by General George W. Goethals, named to study operation of the Adamson law reported on February 3 to President Wilson. It declares that the law gave the trainmen an increase of approximately 25 per cent in wages. The speeding up of trains, which the labor leaders had declared possible, has not taken place with the result that men have been compelled to work overtime. There has been no marked change in operation of the roads. The Commission recommends that continuation of present methods under the provisions of the law is the best course to be pursued.

Mexico

An area of 35,051,092 acres of land in Lower California, Sonora, Yucatan, Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche and Chihuahua has been returned to the Government through the failure of those who held concessions for their exploitation to comply with the terms of their contracts. The Government of the State of Michoacan has issued instructions to the municipal authorities in all portions of the State to proceed immediately with the distribution of unoccupied lands among the people wishing them. This distribution will be subject to future regulation by the Agrarian Commission and to arrangement regarding their purchase from the owners or their rental from them. The Congress of the State of Mexico is about to adopt the same law governing the use of unoccupied lands in that State that was recently adopted by the National Chamber of Deputies for the Federal District and Territories. This law provides for the allotment of such lands to those desiring to make use of them for agricultural purposes. [See current volume, page 86.]

Russia

Serious efforts are being made by the Bolsheviki to organize a new army. It is to be a volunteer service, with careful selection to keep out all who are not wholly in sympathy with the revolution of November, which brought the present government into power. Each volunteer is to receive 50 rubles a month, all found, and members of his family unable to care for themselves are to be provided for. This army will be based upon the Red Guards, and will owe entire allegiance to the Bolshevik Government. The Bolshevik troops have taken Odessa and Orenburg. Kishineff, however, has been taken by the Roumanians. Strife continues between the Bolsheviki and the Ukrainians, but no definite reports of military operations have been received. The revolution in Finland continues, with the Bolsheviki in control in the south, and the Government commanding the north. The Reds have formed a new government under the presidency of Kullerwo Manner. It is reported that Foreign Minister Trotzky visited Helsingfors, Finland's capital, and promised the Reds the sup-

port of the Russian Government. [See current volume, page 151.]

European War

Better weather has brought greater military activity on the western front. Strafing parties, trench raids, and patrol collisions are growing more frequent, while artillery firing is almost continuous. The Italians attacking on the Asiago Plateau have won victories over the Austrians, capturing 2,600 prisoners, and a number of heavy guns. The British in Palestine are pushing their way slowly northward from Jerusalem. [See current volume, page 152.]

* *

No further progress is reported in peace negotiations between Russia and the Central Powers. The attention of the delegates at Brest-Litovsk has been taken up by discussions of the standing of the Ukrainian and Finnish delegates. The Bolsheviki contend that they have displaced the governments in Finland and Ukraine, but the delegates from those countries claim they have already been recognized, and refuse to retire. An interesting phase has occurred in the refusal of the German authorities to permit 40,000 Polish troops who have been serving under the Russian Government to return to Poland. Much dissatisfaction is expressed by the conservative German press over the turn of events. The Pan-German papers are demanding that negotiations be broken off. German and Austrian leaders, including Count Czernin, von Hertling, Dr. Kuhlmann and General Ludendorff, are conferring in Berlin on the situation at Brest-Litovsk.

* *

German unrest found expression during the week in a strike protest that was widespread and assumed serious proportions. The military authorities, however, exercised such extreme pressure that disorder has been avoided for the present. Withholding of food cards, summary court martial, and firing upon crowds regardless of participants were some of the warnings issued by the military governors. The Austrian strike also appears to have subsided, according to reports. The radical leaders and press promise renewed outbreaks. Russian Foreign Minister Trotzky is reported as saying that "the struggle for peace will not be fought out at the conference table, but in the streets of Vienna and Berlin." It is noted that Chancellor von Hertling did not meet the strikers, but left the matter to the military authorities.

* *

The Interallied Supreme War Council met at Versailles, attended by General Bliss, Chief-of-Staff of the American army, and General Pershing, as well as representatives of France, Great Britain and Italy. Complete harmony and cooperation as to plans and purposes are announced by Secretary of War Baker. The official report of the Council says:

The Council was unable to find in von Hertling's and Czernin's recent utterances any real approximation to the moderate conditions laid down by the

Allies' governments. Under the circumstances the Council decided that the only task before them to meet was the vigorous and effective prosecution of the war until the pressure of that effort produced a change of temper in the enemy governments, justifying the hope of the conclusion of a peace based on the principles of freedom, justice and respect for international law.

The Council arrived at a complete unanimity of policy on measures for the prosecution of the war.

* *

American troops are officially announced to be on the firing line. The exact location and number of men are not given for military reasons. Unofficial dispatches passed by the censor locate the American sector at a point northwest of Toul and on the Lorraine front. A sharp artillery duel and a raid by the Germans resulted in two Americans killed and nine wounded. American officers speak in highest praise of the behavior of their men under fire, and commend the efficiency of the artillerymen. Secretary of the Navy Daniels authorizes the statement that the navy is assured of enough transport facilities to make sure that there will be 500,000 American troops in France early this year, as was stated by Secretary Baker before the Senate Committee.

* *

The completion of the first year of unrestricted submarine activity shows a loss of British and neutral tonnage of 6,500,000 tons, of which the British lost 3,300,000 tons. The rate of loss during the year has fluctuated greatly, reaching 800,000 tons in February, the first month, falling to 550,000 in May, rising to 750,000 in June, and falling to 450,000 in November, below which amount it has since remained. Official reports state that submarines were being sunk by the end of the year at the rate of forty a month, while the German output is estimated at twenty-three a month. Meantime the British shipyards were replacing tonnage at the rate of 100,000 tons a month up to August, and at a much higher rate since then. In July Britain had 15,000,000 tons afloat, with a promise of 2,800,000 tons to be added during the year, while 6,000,000 tons are expected to be flying the American flag before the end of this year. Since April 6, when the United States declared war, sixty-nine American ships, of about 171,000 tons, have been sunk; but in the same time America has added four times as many tons from enemy ships seized in port, and now being used to transport men and materials to Europe. A detailed statement of British shipping shows 787 vessels over 1,600 tons, 282 under that tonnage, and 174 fishing vessels lost, and 638 vessels unsuccessfully attacked. During the year the arrivals and departures at British ports numbered 247,822.

* *

Argentina has recalled her military attachés at Berlin and Vienna because of the sinking of the Argentine steamship *Ministro Irriendo*, January 26, after Germany's promise to respect the Argentine flag. The situation in Buenos Aires is very tense. The Foreign Office, after an unusually long delay, has replied to the notes of Peru and Uruguay, which notified Argentina

of their rupture of relations with Germany, and that of Brazil notifying Argentina of her state of war with the Central Powers. The replies made by Argentina expressed approbation and warmest sympathy with the three South American countries.

NOTES

—The Maryland Senate on February 2 approved the Federal Prohibition Amendment by 19 to 7. The House has not yet acted thereon.

—The initiative petition in Chicago to make the city dry had received more than the required number of signatures on February 1 and was filed. It was signed by 147,040 voters.

—The Kentucky House passed on January 29 the Senate resolution submitting a state-wide prohibition amendment. It will go to a popular vote in November, 1919.

—An increase of 15 per cent in freight rates to Pacific Coast points to be effective March 15 was approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission on January 31.

—The manufacture and distribution of fuel oils was put under Government control through a proclamation by President Wilson on February 4. Licenses must be obtained before February 11 by manufacturers and distributors whose sales exceed 100,000 barrels a year.

—Anti-vaccination post cards have been declared unmailable by Postmaster General Burlinson. A Chicago letter carrier interested in the propaganda was compelled to surrender to the Department postal cards in his possession bearing on the subject.

—The military and naval division of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance is undertaking in a nation-wide campaign to insure one million men before February 12. Up to February 1, 669,816 persons had made application for insurance representing \$5,592,750,000, approximately \$8,350 for each person.

—The Children's Bureau at Washington is preparing a campaign to begin April 6, to save the lives of a hundred thousand children that would otherwise be lost. A nation-wide weighing and measuring of children of preschool age will be made, and each community will be shown what its children need if they are to grow up without physical defects.

—United States Consul General George N. West at Vancouver reports on January 15 that the year 1917 had been one of prosperity in British Columbia. Bank clearings of Vancouver for the year were \$419,610,898 as against \$321,585,736 in 1916. New enterprises have been started that have employed all available labor at high wages. There are now few vacant houses in Vancouver. Apartment houses are all occupied and rents are going up.

—Colonel William B. Thompson, wealthy mining man, who was in Petrograd from July to November as head of the American Red Cross Mission to Russia,

has contributed \$1,000,000 to the Bolsheviki for the purpose of spreading their doctrines in Germany and Austria. Colonel Thompson has complained since his return to this country that the failure of other nations to understand the Bolsheviki has contributed to the aid of the German cause.

—County Auditor John A. Zangerle, of Cleveland, has notified the New York City Tax Commission on February 2 that in 1914 John D. Rockefeller held 247,692 shares of Standard Oil stock worth \$569,000,000 and real estate worth \$311,000,000. He further says that Mr. Rockefeller owns steel corporation stocks and other stocks worth many millions more. In four years he has paid less than \$10,000 taxes in Cleveland. He now claims residence in New York City.

—A recent enactment in Turkey regarding marriage and divorce aims to give women a higher legal standing. A civil ceremony is made compulsory for Mohammedans, Christians and Jews. Polygamy is still recognized, but the husband is not permitted to divorce his first wife upon taking a second. The act of divorce is made by the new law much more difficult. A backward step is seen, however, in lowering the marriage age, with consent of parents, to nine years for the girl and twelve for the boy.

—United States Senator William Hughes of New Jersey, died at Trenton on January 30 at the age of 46. He had been ill for many weeks from septic poisoning. He was a democratic Democrat and took advanced ground on most issues. While a member of the House in 1911, in the course of tariff discussion his frequent quotations from the works of Henry George led a protectionist opponent to ask whether he agreed with the writer's philosophy: "I find it very difficult indeed to disagree with the elder Mr. George," he answered.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the twelve months ending December, 1917, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for December, 1917, were:

	Exports	Imports	Balance	
Merchandise	\$6,226,255,654	\$2,952,465,955	\$3,273,789,699	Expt.
Gold	371,883,884	537,854,374	165,970,490	Impt.
Silver	84,130,876	53,340,832	30,790,044	Expt.
Total	\$6,682,270,414	\$3,543,661,161	\$3,138,609,253	Expt.

The exports of merchandise for December, 1917, were \$588,874,958, as compared with \$523,233,780 in December, 1916, and \$359,306,362 in 1915. The imports for December, 1917, were \$227,909,497, as compared with \$204,834,188 in December, 1916, and \$171,832,505 in 1915. [See current volume, page 57.]

CORRESPONDENCE

Community Housing

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Your editorial on the recommendation of the Shipping Board for Government housing of shipyard workers states the plain fact. But is it not time now for Congress to suggest that communities may exercise the right of eminent domain and, with the aid of the

Government, take over the necessary land at a fair price and, with the aid of community interest, direct the ownership of the land ultimately into the name and possession of the tenant? Is not Henry Atterbury Smith's article in the last issue of *The American Architect* proof that this question of housing is not understood in its fundamental principles?

When it is grasped that not only hygiene, sociology, psychology and transportation are included in housing, but that at the bottom of the whole matter lies the subject of land values, and when these are all studied intelligently, I look for some progress to be made.

As an employer of labor, I know that the comforts of apartment life—neighbors, heat, light, fuel, gas, plumbing, together with cheap transportation to church, school, work, and the movies—keep the mechanic in the city. When the warm days come and the children begin to droop, and the heated walls and streets make it uncomfortable for his family, then the worker sighs for air, green grass, and a piece of land.

A combination of the city apartment-house and the country, but arranged so that each man, with his family, has access to a garden plot, *all his own*, would keep the workman's family contented and happy, and the worker on his job. Mr. Edgar Chambless' "Roadtown," the streetless house, accomplishes the desired result. It solves the problem of contented and healthful family life, giving contact with the earth, and it would solve the labor problem for the shipyards.

If it were possible to make, with the first demonstration of this type of housing, an example of singletax, the community standing sponsor to the plan would mark a red letter day for our cause, and the existing conditions. The willingness of the Government to finance propositions of this character, seems to present a unique opportunity to show the basic truth and common sense in taxing land values.

To win the war we need ships, to build the ships we need workers. The available supply now shifts around from one point to another, and the opinion seems to be that to get one man to stick to a job, several have to be hired. The trouble is in the housing, and I do not believe housing can be satisfactorily accomplished in a temporary way, or by model villages that can not be supplied with central heating, lighting, sewage, and fuel gas plants. I do believe it can be satisfactorily accomplished by the Chambless streetless, continuous house, fireproof and vermin-proof, with comfort, convenience, privacy and neighborliness assured; with the roadway and sidewalk in the cellar and with a promenade for pedestrians and babies on the roof; with special machinery built to erect this house economically, and, if possible, with money supplied for the purpose by the Federal Government to the community or company who will cooperate with the Government in conveying to its workers the joy of independence which the ownership of the homes that shelter their wives and children brings, and as a background for it all, an agreement that these developments should be singletax colonies.

The land could be taken by condemnation proceed-

ings at a price containing no added value which the development would bring, and if the rent were placed so that the tenant could ultimately own his home, the demonstration would be an effective one.

At any rate, my opinion is that Mr. Chambless has an idea that is fundamentally sound, and that is the time to try it out. Cooperative ownership of apartments is a decided success; the principle of "Road-town" is identical, and should be no less so. The theory that private ownership of land is necessary for home has been proved false, and I hope you will see a way to make a suggestion in regard to the matter in the columns of your valuable paper.

Sincerely yours,

W. J. HOGGSON.

New York.

National Public Ownership

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

There seemed to be some confusion of idea at the November conference as to what constitutes public utilities.

The case of New Zealand is instructive in this respect. While "no private monopoly of public rights" is strictly limited to such things as are created by grant of public franchise, New Zealand is equally emphatic on the principle that there shall be no public "monopoly" of private rights, but in this latter case there shall be public "competition" (in staples) so far as may be necessary to establish and maintain:

1. Fair public service.
2. Fair price levels.
3. Fair wage levels.
4. Fair working conditions.

Wherever, on examination, it is found that private enterprise is lacking in these four essentials, then public competition steps in to balance and stabilize, thereby preserving due private rights and enterprise, but killing private trusts and combines. On this logical division of principle such things as grain elevators, ice plants, etc., may be operated by the public in competition with private enterprise, when the latter fails to fulfill the conditions above stated.

We have established the difference already in creating a public monopoly of mail carrying, and public competition in the express business, by parcel post.

H. D. PARKER.

Miami, Fla.

Japanese Militarism

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

There is a slight error in Mr. Sunderland's excellent article on "Japanese Militarism" in the issue of THE PUBLIC for January 4th (page 20). I went to Japan, in 1911, as a representative of the World Peace Foundation, not of the Carnegie Endowment. My purpose was to study Japanese political aims, not to convert the Japanese to peace. I received, on landing, a printed schedule of seventy peace lectures which Japanese authorities asked me to give. In Japan and Korea I spoke sixty-five times, but not once at my

own initiative. One of the most interesting to me was the request to speak before professors and alumni in the Keio University on "Japanese Imitation of Germany," a matter of which that progressive institution strongly disapproved.

Referring to the letter of Mr. Downer, in the same issue, there is apparently a line to be drawn between the "disannexation" of a district persistently treated as a "Conquest" ("*Unsere Eroberung*"), and a nationality which has received full equality before the law in the nation to which it is legally attached.

In other words, the case of Alsace-Lorraine, with those of Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Finland and apparently Bohemia and Jugoslavia, stands on a different footing from those of South Carolina and Quebec.

In my own article I hasten to correct the proverb: "Aller guten Dinge sind drei."

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

To Hold or Use

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

State Labor Commissioner Austin, of Texas, has advanced the theory, or doctrine, that "no man has a right to more land than he and his can use, and no right to that unless he is using it."

This is absolutely and necessarily so, for if a man has land in excess of what he and his can use, that is being used, the user of the excess or surplus land is paying him tribute for the privilege. That must be wrong. If he has land that is not being used he is holding it for the people to create a greater value therein, which will not go to those who produced this additional value, but to him. That, too, must be wrong.

L. K. COFFINBERRY.

Lakewood, O.

Is Democracy Incompetent?

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I think that we ought to make this clear:

The short-comings of the administration from what we had hoped for are not failures so much of the administration, as of governmentalism.

The charge is frequently made that democracy is less competent than autocracy. The history of Russia and of Turkey does not seem to bear that out; but those who are opposed to democracy charge all the sins of governmental control against popular rule.

The fact is that, in so far as it has been tried, no rule has ever been so effective for happiness, as well as for military success, as the rule of the majority of the people. To show this historically would take more space than I can occupy.

But it is clear to anyone who will think that, considering the enormous complexity of the social organization and the myriad ways of making a living, each delicately balanced with other occupations, any interference with that balance by force—that is to say by government—must disarrange and demoralize far more than can possibly be foreseen.

BOLTON HALL.

New York.

Father Abraham Lincoln

Shall Father Abraham Lincoln yet prevail
 And his Republic come to stay at last?
 Kind age, unenvious Youth, Democracy,
 None lower than the first in comradeship
 However differing in mental force.
 The higher intellect set free to serve,
 All undistracted by the woeful need
 To graft or pander lest its children want;
 Old trivial gewgaws of the peacock past
 Smiled to the nothingness of desuetude.
 With strutful Rank, with pinchbeck Pageantry
 With apish, separative cant of class
 With inhumane conventions, all designed
 To sanctify the immemorial robbery
 Of Man by men; with mockful mummeries,
 Called Law, to save the one perennial Wrong,
 That fundamental social crime which fates
 All babes alike to Inequality.
 And so condemns the manly million minds
 (That might, with happier nurture, finely serve)
 To share, through life, the harmful hates or scorns
 The accursed system breeds which still most hurts
 The few who fancy it their benefit,
 Shutting them lifelong from the happiness
 Of such close sympathy with all their kind
 As feels the universal God, or Soul,
 Alive to love in every human heart.
 Was it for this our Mothers' sons were slain?
 Shall Father Abraham not prevail again?
 We who are marching to the small flagged graves,
 We earned by fight to free our fathers' slaves,
 We who by Lincoln's hero soul were sworn,
 We go more sadly toward our earthly bourne
 To join our comrade host of long ago,
 Since, oh so clearly, do our old hearts know
 We shall not witness what we longed to see
 Our own dear children minded to be free.
 Why let democracy be flouted down?
 Why let your money changers more renown
 Their golden idol than the Common Weal,
 Flaunting the gains of liberty to steal,
 Fouling the promise of the heights we trod
 With Freedom's sacrifice to Lincoln's God?
 Was it for this he wept his children slain?
 Or shall our Fathers' spirit rise again?

—EDWARD WILLIAM THOMSON.

BOOKS

A Study in Cooperation

Cooperative Marketing. By W. W. Cumberland. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1917. Price \$1.50 net.

Although this book deals primarily with the question of marketing the citrus crop of California, the author, who is assistant professor of economics of the University of Minnesota, has covered the subject in a way that makes it illustrative of the whole question of cooperation. To one who can read between the lines the book contains the answer to the oft-repeated query: Why does cooperation, which appears to be sound and simple in principle, so often fail in practice?

It is a matter of more or less general information that the citrus industry of California has been nearly as uncertain in results as gold prospecting. It was comparatively easy to produce a crop of oranges or lemons, but it was very difficult to market it at a profit. The grower found it hard to get proper rail service, either as to rates or handling. He shipped to a market of unknown demand. If he forwarded on consignment to Chicago, New York, or any other distributing point, it was often to find that other citrus growers had chosen the same destination, and the result was a market overloaded with a perishable commodity. Attempts were made to avoid this predicament by selling the crop to buyers on the ground who presumably had better knowledge of markets, and sufficient capital to command those favors and advantages that are associated with large commercial enterprises. But whether or not the buyers profited as the growers suspected, there was little left for the man who raised the fruit. There were the usual "understandings" among buyers that prevented the operation of the law of competition, and the grower who presumably was selling in a free market, where competitors were rivals for his crop, in reality found himself dealing with a single buyer who exacted all the profit.

Necessity compelled the growers to unite for self-protection. The story of this union, as told by Professor Cumberland is very interesting, and to those seeking light on the question of cooperation, instructive. The success of the venture, while so many cooperative enterprises in other fields have failed, is largely due to the nature of the business, as well as to the kind of men who composed the membership. Cooperative enterprises are essentially business ventures that must meet the competition of privately owned businesses in the same line; and though they have the advantage of cooperation in theory, they come to grief too often because of incompetent management that fails to draw from the members a united support. The citrus business was simple. Oranges and lemons constituted the stock in trade. But more important perhaps than this was the fact that the growers represented a different type of mind from that ordinarily found in such industries. California, because of climatic attractions, has drawn to itself a larger proportion of "brainy" men than usually emigrate. The man who has a five-acre orange grove may be a learned

scientist whom ill health has driven from his chosen profession. The owner of the five-hundred acre ranch may have been a successful merchant or manufacturer in the East, who has come to the state to recuperate. It is easy to imagine that a hundred California orange growers would have among their number a larger percentage of broad-minded men, men of business experience, than an equal number of truck gardeners or farmers. This experience would enable them to see the necessity of united action, and it would at the same time show them that success was impossible without mutual confidence and support.

Evidence of this superior personnel is found in the simplicity of the cooperative organizations among the citrus growers. Requirements for membership, and ease of joining or withdrawing tend to restrain autocratic management, and at the same time to promote hearty support from individuals. The rules governing the activities of the societies appear to have been drawn by men who understood human nature. In the simple question of sharing the profits and levying the charges, for instance, a shrewd regard is had for the common motives that govern human action. Profits are apportioned according to the quantity and quality of the fruit brought in by the grower; expenses are levied according to the acreage the grower has in bearing. Manifestly the highest profit is then to be had by the grower who gets the most out of an acre. The careless or ignorant grower, with many acres, but with poorly kept trees would find his share of the expense of marketing large, and his profits comparatively small.

One is disposed after reading Professor Cumberland's book to feel that some fields lend themselves more easily than others to cooperative effort. Staple goods, such as wheat or cotton, may be stored and held for a future market. Besides, the prices fixed by buyers and sellers on the produce exchanges are of common knowledge, and the farmer can sell individually with the same confidence that he could through an association. Or, simplicity of the enterprise makes the furnishing of supplies through retail stores more likely to succeed than manufacturing. Even the retailing of household supplies appears to be dependent largely upon the field of operations. It has been urged that the reason why cooperative stores have been so successful in England, and have suffered so many failures in this country is that tradesmen in this country do business on a much narrower margin than in England, which makes the possible gain from cooperation there proportionately greater. Color is given to this explanation by the fact that cooperative stores in this country succeed in such places as mining regions, and fail in cities. In a mining region dependent upon a company pluck-me store, the profits are so abnormal that a cooperative store, even though poorly managed, might succeed; whereas, in a city the great number of competitive shopkeepers tends to reduce the cost of distribution to a minimum, and renders success of the cooperative store all but impossible.

It might be suggested that the author of "Cooperative Marketing," who is manager of Markets Informa-

tion Service of the Minnesota Committee of Food Production and Conservation, would render the public a service by making an analysis of the field of production and distribution with a view to determining those activities that may or may not be subject to cooperative effort at any given time or place. Cooperation is the very essence of the law of human progress. If it were known what activities lend themselves best to individual effort, and what to common effort much time and labor might be saved. If, as is claimed by a rapidly growing school of economists, we now have a cooperative basis of industry, which is prevented from functioning only by the element of legal monopoly, it were well to know it as soon as possible, in order that there may be the greater incentive to the removal of the restraints. Monopolies should be removed in any event, but most persons are so absorbed in the effort to escape from their oppression that they fail to join in the movement for their abolition. S. C.

The Probable Famine

The Wheat Problem. By Sir William Crookes, O.M., F.R.S. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Price \$1.25 net.

A warning by Professor Crookes issued in 1898, that England was in danger from a shortening of her wheat supply is reproduced, together with a review of conditions in 1916, showing how it has been justified. There is also an article on "Future Wheat Supplies" by Sir Henry Rew. Professor Crookes insisted twenty years ago, as he still does, that there is imperative need of artificial fertilization of wheat-growing lands lest famine come. The home-grown supply is far from equal to the task of feeding England, and he claims further that the foreign supply is not keeping pace with the growth of population. In his later review he presents statistics that bear out his conclusion. His remedy is to secure great supplies of nitrogen to replenish the soil and increase its fertility.

Professor Crookes' facts deserve attention, and, although he seems unaware of further facts which he has not considered, his proposed remedy should not be ignored. He seems to take for granted that to increase fertility of the soil would alone be enough to lessen the danger of famine, forgetful of the fact that in the midst of plenty most people are on the ragged edge of starvation, and that famines have occurred at times when there was no real scarcity. There is cause to question whether he would feel so confident of the sufficiency of his remedy did he consider that all the wonderful inventions of the nineteenth century, although they have increased the production of wealth many times, have failed to save from abject poverty the most industrious and economical class.

While conservation of fertility is not to be rejected, Professor Crookes' object requires something more fundamental for its fulfillment. Because most wheat land has passed into private ownership he arrives at the following erroneous conclusion: "Practically there remains no uncultivated prairie land in the United States suitable for wheat growing. The virgin land has been rapidly absorbed, until at present there is no land

left for wheat without reducing the area for maize, hay, and other necessary crops." It is evident that he has not informed himself on the true situation. Although the land has been "absorbed" much of it is held on speculation and unused. A similar situation exists in older countries as well. The threatened wheat famine is the natural result of a needless and artificial land famine. A remedy for this is needed to enable the world to reap the benefits of Professor Crookes' suggestions.

S. D.

Battlefield as School

No Man's Land. By Sapper. Published by George H. Doran Co., N. Y. Price \$1.25.

In these interesting little tales of the trenches, the author, mingling fact and fancy, gives us a picture of war as it appears to the individual soldier. It is not an attractive picture and no effort is made to minimize the distressing features. The "Sapper" and his companions feared at first that the war would not last long enough to give them a chance to participate, but their minds have been relieved on that point. They lived to be only too familiar with the mud of Flanders and the desolated fields of Northern France. But there is no indication in these pages of any willingness to quit before the great task is accomplished.

Whatever may be the cost of the war to England, the author believes that she will get full value in the discipline it has imposed on her people, and the new spirit of willing subordination of individual interests to the common welfare. Out of all this evil good must come—that is practically his final word. And that is the faith we, too, must accept; we, on this side of the Atlantic, who have taken up the struggle against a Power that has shown such remarkable efficiency in all the methods of war, from the splendid charges that have won unqualified tributes to German courage to the intrigues and treachery of foes within our borders and the ruthless attacks on non-combatants, which, it seems to many of us, have aroused an antagonism which makes German victory impossible.

WM. E. MCKENNA.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Coming Democracy. By Hermann Fernau. Published by E. P. Dutton & Company, N. Y. Price \$2.00 net.

An American in the Making. By M. E. Ravage. Published by Harper & Brothers, N. Y. Price \$1.40 net.

Patriotism: National and International. By Sir Charles Waldstein. Published by Longmans, Green & Company, N. Y. Price \$1.00 net.

The Manual of Inter-Church Work. Edited by Rev. Roy B. Guild. Published by the Commission on Inter-Church Federations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

How to Face Life. By Stephen S. Wise. Published by B. W. Huebsch, N. Y. Price 50 cents net.

Disasters and the American Red Cross in Disaster Relief. By J. Byron Deacon. Published by the Russell Sage Foundation, N. Y. Price 75 cents net.

Madame Sand. By Philip Moeller. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y. Price \$1.25 net.

Theology for the Social Gospel. By Walter Rauschenbusch. Published by the Macmillan Company, N. Y. Price \$1.50.

The Country Weekly. By Phil. C. Bing, assistant professor of journalism in the University of Minnesota. Published by D. Appleton & Company, N. Y. Price \$2.00 net.

Public Ownership of Public Utilities

The movement for the people to gain control of those activities that are natural monopolies, will be aided by the wide distribution of the best literature on the subject. In addition to the suggestions made below, the student is referred to several books by Frederic C. Howe, to "Social Problems," by Henry George (Chapter XVII), and to Mr. Crosby's "The Orthocratic State," all of which can be ordered from us.

Municipal Ownership.

Debaters' Handbook. Both sides presented. Cloth \$1.

Municipal Ownership.

By Carl D. Thompson. Cloth \$1.

The Telegraph Monopoly.

By Frank Parsons. Paper 25c. (We cannot afford to pay postage on these large paper-bound books—add 7c.)

The Railways, the Trusts and the People.

By Frank Parsons. Vol I, paper, 25c. Vol. II, paper, 25c. (Add 15c. postage.)

The Public Book Department 122 E. 37th Street New York

A Biography for War-Time Reading

IN the Beacon Biographies of Eminent Americans there was published a few years ago a "Life of Lincoln." It was immediately hailed as one of the great biographies in the English language by Mr. Kerfoot of "Life," and by Miss Tarbell, whose own comprehensive work on Lincoln is recognized by all authorities.

It is a small book of 200 pages, pocket size. The author is Brand Whitlock and he has written a study of Lincoln that every democrat will place amongst the books he treasures. Price, 60c. The binding is cloth with gilt lettering.

The Public Book Department 122 E. 37th Street New York

EGGS Delivered at wholesale prices anywhere in the East. Send me your check at 50c a dozen and pay me balance according to New York quotations the day your eggs are received as follows: 30 Dozen Lots to New York, quotation for extra freight; 12 and 15 Dozen Lots to New York, 2c above quotation for extra freight; 6 and 9 Dozen Lots to New York, 5c above quotation for extra freight. Black walnuts delivered 8c a pound, 20 lbs. and over. Roland C. Marr, Glasgow, Mo.



B.F.G.

LOUIS F. POST
Assistant Secretary of Labor

The Ethics of Democracy

By Louis F. Post

Third Edition: New Introduction

THE "Ethics of Democracy" is Mr. Post's greatest book. It is a series of optimistic essays on the natural laws of human society, which should be read and recommended widely.

CONTENTS: Introduction—Democracy; The Democratic Optimist; Individual Life; Business Life; Economic Tendencies; Politico-Economic Principles; Democratic Government; Patriotism; Conclusion—The Great Order of Things.

What Reviewers Say:

Mark Twain wrote of the first edition: "I prize it for its lucidity, its sanity and its moderation and because I believe its gospel."

The Globe, Boston:

A republication in a third edition of Post's *Ethics of Democracy* is a literary event worth noting.

The Citizen, Ottawa, Canada:

Louis Post's light will continue to shine for true democracy in the United States; and the rest of the world has nothing to lose by keeping in touch with the principles laid down in *The Ethics of Democracy*.

The Christian Science Monitor, Boston:

The author has written a preface bringing himself and his convictions up to date as it were. Monopolies, imperialism, protection, unearned increment pseudo-patriotism, mock-justice, get hard blows from him but not in a bitter spirit. He "speaks the truth in love."

William I. Chenery, in the Chicago Herald:

Louis F. Post's volume of Essays in "fundamental democracy" has now reached its third edition. The production of a clear-sighted, brilliant leader, *Ethics of Democracy*, opens a wide window for the viewing of our common life.

Price \$1.50, Postpaid

The Public Book Department 122 E. 37th Street New York

"The Art of Living Long"

Guide to Health and Long Life

By Luigi Cornaro

Translated from the Italian of Cornaro's "La Vita Sobria"

Successful Men Believe in Luigi Cornaro

Woodrow Wilson (1856)

I congratulate you upon having reproduced, in so delightful a way, Luigi Cornaro's valuable writings on "The Art of Living Long."

James J. Hill (1838-1916)

There are very few books, the study of which would be of as great service to the American people as Cornaro's "Art of Living Long." Please send me one hundred more copies.

John H. Patterson (1844), Pres. Nat. Cash Register Co.

I have presented to my friends over eight hundred copies of your translation of "The Art of Living Long," by Luigi Cornaro. This fact is evidence of my opinion of the book.

Michael Cudahy, Packer, Chicago

Please send me forty more copies of Cornaro's most useful book.

Henry Ford (1863)

Please forward to me one hundred more copies of "The Art of Living Long." Luigi Cornaro's guide to health and long life. It should be read by every man, woman and child.

O. C. Barber (1841), President Diamond Match Co.

I enclose check for an additional thirty copies of Cornaro's book. I wish to have more of my friends read it.

Lord Shaughnessy (1853), President Canadian Pacific

The philosophy and wisdom of Luigi Cornaro's advice are beyond question.

John R. Schofield, Treasurer Butler Bros., Chicago

I take pleasure in sending you my check for twenty more copies of Cornaro's good book.

George L. Redlein, Spencer Kellogg Sons, Buffalo

Enclosed find check for ten more copies of your happy publication of Cornaro's work.

Cardinal Gibbons (1834)

Cornaro's "Art of Living Long" meets my hearty commendation. Anyone who will put in practice the excellent counsels it contains is sure to enjoy good health, good spirits, and will seldom trouble a doctor.

J. J. Rumely, Vice-President Rumely Co., La Porte, Ind.

I much desire three more copies of Luigi Cornaro's "Art of Living Long."

B. A. Walker, President Lovell Mfg. Co., Erie, Pa.

I enclose payment for five additional copies of Cornaro's "Art of Living Long."

Levi P. Morton (1824), Vice-President of the U. S.

I am greatly interested in your translation of Cornaro's "Art of Living Long."

John M. Studebaker (1833)

My experience and observation, gained during a life that has passed its eighty-third milestone, fully confirm the teachings of Cornaro's remarkable book.

Marvin Hughttt (1837)

I anticipate much profit from Cornaro's book.

James D. Phelan, U. S. Senator

Please send me five more copies of the wisdom of Luigi Cornaro.

Lee McClung, Treasurer of the United States

I enclose my check for five more copies of your translation of Cornaro's famous book.

Thomas A. Edison (1847)

I have for fifty years carried out the idea of Luigi Cornaro. My forefathers had the same characteristic, and lived beyond one hundred.

W. J. Onahan, President Home Savings Bank, Chicago

You may send me ten more copies of Cornaro's work on health and long life.

Henry Warren, Warren & Blanchard, Boston

I enclose check for fifty more copies of Cornaro's "Art of Living Long." I love him.

Edward A. Temple, President Bankers' Life Assn.

Kindly send me fifteen more copies of Cornaro's invaluable teachings on health.

Dr. Vaughan, President American Medical Association

It may be safely said that you have done the English speaking world a great service in translating Cornaro's "Art of Living Long."

J. W. Skinner, Vice-Pres. N. W. Mutual Life Ins. Co.

Please send me ten more copies of your translation of Cornaro's valuable work.

M. F. Kerwin, Wholesale Merchant, St. Paul

I enclose check for eight more copies of your translation of Cornaro's good book—much needed in every home.

Walter Wyman, M. D., Surgeon-General of the U. S.

Please send me five more copies of Cornaro's excellent book.

C. O. Olson, Manufacturer, Union Grove, Wis.

I enclose my check for fifteen more copies of Cornaro's invaluable book.

Archbishop Ireland (1838)

Your translation of Cornaro's useful book is most valuable. It were well if it found its way into the hands of millions.

C. R. Smith, Pres. Menasha (Wis.) Woodenware Co.

I enclose payment for fifty more copies of Cornaro's work—commendable in every way.

Note the Contrast

Luigi Cornaro

Venetian nobleman; born with feeble constitution; sickly from day of birth; pronounced at point of death at 40; discharged his physicians; discarded, forever, all drugs; adopted simple method of life, fully described by him in his book; recovered complete health of body and mind; finished his book at 97; died peacefully at 103.

The one volume contains the following:

- I. Luigi Cornaro's complete works—"A Sure and Certain Method of Attaining a Long and Healthy Life"; "The Birth and Death of Man"; etc.
- II. Joseph Addison on The Attainment and Preservation of Perfect Health
- III. Lord Bacon's "History of Life and Death"
- IV. Sir Wm. Temple's "Health and Long Life"

The American Table of Mortality:

"Of every 100,000 persons enjoying good health at the age of 30, 8,585 are dead before 40; 18,302 are dead before 50; 32,214 are dead before 60; 54,859 (more than half) are dead before 70; 83,060 are dead before 80; 93,580 are dead before 85; 99,009 are dead before 90; only 3 of every 100,000 men and women in good health at 30 live to 95"

Complete in one large octavo volume; illustrated; printed on the choicest antique paper; bound in full cloth; gold stamped; gold top; enclosed in an appropriately designed permanent jacket—a handsome parlor-gift, book-lover's edition

Sent upon receipt of price, transportation prepaid to any part of the world. When ordering copies to be sent, as gifts to others, please write all names and addresses distinctly

No Drugs; No "Physical Cultures;" No Modern Fads of Any Sort

Two Dollars, Postpaid

WILLIAM F. BUTLER, 175-180 Loan & Trust Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.

Translator and Publisher of "The Art of Living Long"

**Your Last Chance
to Win That
\$10 Prize**

offered by the New Voters Committee of the Single Tax Service League for an article of 1,000 words on "Economic Democracy, via the Single Tax." The material must be suitable for a leaflet or dodger to be distributed among our new voters in New York State.

Mss. must be sent before February 15, 1918, to Amy Mali Hicks, Chairman, New Voters Committee, 9 East 17th Street, New York.

DO YOU KNOW

That The Public is read by 18,000 discriminating readers—enough to go a long way towards making a success of any product or book?

It will help your business to advertise in this or a larger space.

The Public's present low rates increase on April 1st.



Advertising Department—Desk 1
122 East 37th Street, New York



OSCAR H. GEIGER
WHOLESALE FURRIER
6 WEST 37TH STREET
NEAR 8TH AVENUE

TELEPHONE
GREELEY 8878

NEW YORK

**Buy the Current Issue
of the
INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- DEMOCRACY AT THE PEACE SETTLEMENT, by *Norman Angell*
- NATIONAL CONTROL OF RAILROADS, by *Ordway Tead*
- THE FUTURE OF THE CITY, by *Henry Bruere*
- EXCESS PROFITS CONFISCATION, by *Lowell Brentano*
- "STATE SOCIALISM" IN WAR TIME, by *Harry W. Laidler*
- THE NINTH CONVENTION OF THE I. S. S., including excerpts from the addresses of Frank Bohn, Louis B. Boudin, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Frederic C. Howe, Algernon Lee, Scott Nearing, Rose Pastor Stokes and others.

BOOK NOTES

Intercollegiate Socialist Society
70 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Where Do You Stand?

Do you want to know Nature's Laws? Are you tired of Disease and Suffering? Ignorance of the law is no excuse. Send 30c cash or stamps for our booklet, "How I Became Acquainted with Nature Cure" by Henry Lindlahr, M.D.

NATURE CURE PUBLISHING CO.
519 So. Ashland Boulevard Chicago, Ill.

You Could Earn Extra Money

this week and next week and the week after by using your spare time judiciously getting subscriptions for THE PUBLIC. Others do it; why don't you?

Write at once to

Manager of Agents—Desk 2

THE PUBLIC

122 East 37th Street,

New York