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# The Public

A Journal of Democracy



## Economic Alliances, Commercial Treaties, and Tariff Adjustments

By Edward P. Costigan

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## Mr. Baker Emerges

## Secretary Wilson's Opportunity

Published Weekly  
New York, N. Y.

January 18, 1918

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## The Public

A Journal of Democracy

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# The Public

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Volume XXI

New York, N. Y., January 18, 1918

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## Editorial

For the first time since the beginning of the war, its issues are clear and unmistakable. The Grand Alliance has accomplished the difficult and dangerous task of changing its basis. We may consider the whole groundwork of 1914 as definitely repudiated. Substituted for it is the common purpose to make democratic justice triumphant in the world. While particularism has not entirely vanished from the program, it is reduced to a subsidiary and entirely manageable position. National ambition is no longer a dominating motive. This is the major victory of the war, and it clears the ground for a league of free peoples. And it means a solidarity and coordination hitherto lacking in allied activity. Democracy is fighting to defend its chance to live and develop, conscious of itself and of the dangers that threaten it. Gratitude is due to President Wilson for his unflinching insistence upon principles even more than for their enunciation, with unexampled clarity and power. But it is the British labor movement, tested by the war burden of three and a half years, that gives us the assurance most convincing that the common people of the world can fight until death if need be for the triumph of justice.

\* \* \*

And simultaneously the war aims of Germany have emerged to the light of day. The Bolsheviks, naively aiming at tempting the German proletariat into revolution, have torn the veil off German intentions and shown the world the bare, crude program of annexation. And the sight is a wholesome one for Americans, many of whom know Europe so little as to believe that there is such a thing as German liberalism, which will spare them the burden of war, and that a "political offensive" will open the road to a democratic peace. In so far as we lend ourselves to the belief that we are thus undermining the mor-

ale of the German nation, we are weakening and destroying our own. Besides, we are deceiving ourselves. There is no longer any excuse for failure to understand what this grim business implies. Prussia always was and now remains an *army*, which believes in its right of unlimited aggression, which intends to conquer the territory of other nations, to hold and rule it by force of arms. No political offensive will ever penetrate the skin of a German until his pride and confidence in that army are destroyed by defeat. If Russia lies down, it is only by the greater effort that the rest of the world can save itself.

\* \* \*

Those passages of President Wilson's message that express sympathy for Russia have produced the effect that was to be expected. The influence of England is bankrupt; our own is paramount. But fair words must be followed by deeds if we hope to assist the Russians to do their part in the near future. Certain necessary commodities and means of transport we can provide; war materials are still available from Japan. We can be prepared for the almost certain turn of events in the near future. The mass of Russians have no interest in the Bolsheviks. These fantastic rulers were accepted and supported because they promised two things—peace and land. These promises are overdue and remain unfulfilled. Nor can they be fulfilled in the terms of Bolshevism. The peace-bolt has been shot. To nationalize the land when not even the form of a federal government has been evolved, and in opposition to the traditional communal tenure, will prove as simple as the making of peace. The crisis will probably come in connection with the much-deferred Constituent Assembly. Compromise or overthrow is the approaching fate of Bolshevism.

That America is at last awakening to the necessity of a supreme effort on the western front this year, is indicated by an editorial in the *New Republic* of January 12. It urges the despatch of increased numbers of men to France to complete their training under war conditions and augment the immediately available reserve. There is room to wonder if the possible contribution our Allies could make, not merely of material but of skill in command, is to be fully utilized. In England the experience of the first two years was that men were trained and then made stale, while schoolboy officers were learning their jobs. This is a matter that touches army pride, but there are two points of view regarding national honor. The other one is stated by the *New Republic*. After affirming that it is our duty to assist in holding the present lines, it continues: "Therefore it is not in keeping with the national honor that we should leave the whole burden of it to our war-worn Allies while we prepare at leisure for the ultimate decisive struggle. Pursuing such a policy we may, in the end, find that we shall lack a field in which to bring our conflict with Germany to a conclusion. It would be a bitter outcome for us that left Germany in undisputed command of the European continent, facing us threateningly across the Atlantic."

\* \* \*

Two of the most useful citizens of New York are Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard and Mrs. Florence Kelley. Mr. Villard publishes the *New York Evening Post*, a newspaper distinguished for its enlightened liberalism and its intelligent support of President Wilson's international policy. Mrs. Kelley's work in the Consumers' League is known everywhere. More recently she has been expediting the manufacture of uniforms as a member of a board of three appointed by Secretary Baker to adjust labor controversies and prevent the sub-letting of contracts to unfair employers. They are among the New Yorkers to whom the labor movement of this country should be especially grateful. On January 12 Mr. Gompers' American Alliance for Labor and Democracy issued from its press bureau in New York a formal statement attacking an organization known as the National Civil Liberties Bureau as having been organized "by the same group of persons who have made their pacifist activities a reproach and a byword among loyal

Americans." Its particular offense was the inviting of seventy men and women to act on a committee for calling the mass-meeting held last Sunday night in New York, at which Mr. Herbert Bigelow was the principal speaker. And to prove the organization's infamy, the Alliance's press bureau says: "Among those . . . invited to participate and whose pacifist activities are well known are . . . O. G. Villard, . . . and Mrs. Florence Kelley." After the publication of this paragraph the editors of THE PUBLIC will be prepared for the Alliance's charge that they are German spies. Speaking seriously, this sort of thing is beneath contempt and should be promptly repudiated in the name of organized labor. Will Frank P. Walsh and Clarence S. Darrow continue to lend their names to this order of juvenile malice? We believe not. THE PUBLIC disagrees with the Civil Liberties Bureau in some things and agrees with it in others. But to attempt to villify Mrs. Kelley and Mr. Villard as pacifists and public enemies is worse than absurd. Secretary Baker recently had occasion to commend Mrs. Kelley's character and services. Is the Alliance entirely certain that Mr. Baker is "pro-American" and above suspicion?

\* \* \*

Land speculators in Philadelphia's southwestern section are responsible for holding up of Government shipbuilding on nearby Hog Island. That section of the city is still an almost unsettled wilderness, for reasons not peculiar to the locality. It is owned by a few estates and individuals and held at prices which have discouraged use. Consequent lack of housing is keeping laborers from the shipbuilding plants. Now that the attention of Congress has been called to this situation the remedy proposed is to purchase enough land for erection of dwellings at Government expense. That may end the present difficulty at Hog Island, but if nothing more is done, new troubles for the future will be created. The Government will not only pay unearned profits to speculators, but will increase the value of surrounding lands outside of its operations. Unless Congress remedies its error of omission and adds a heavy land value tax to the war revenue law, these speculators will reap a rich harvest of war profits exempt from taxation. And while the ordinary war profiteer, who can be reached by the existing law, produces something in return for what he gets, the untaxed

land speculating profiteer produces nothing. Discrimination in favor of the non-producing profiteer must tend to discourage investments in productive industries. Hog Island is by no means the only place where bad results of this unwise policy are noticeable. Why adhere to it?

\* \* \*

Mayor Hylan is trying to collect in New York the personal property taxes which John D. Rockefeller is said to have evaded in Ohio. Perhaps Mayor Hylan has discovered a way that has not already been proved a failure to compel wealthy men to obey the personal property tax law. But if he has made such a discovery, it is doubtful if he knows how to prevent any wealthy man from changing his legal residence and thus escape payment after all. The way to reach Mr. Rockefeller's wealth is not through taxation of personal property. He is said to have \$400,000,000 in intangible securities, although his personal assessment is but \$5,000,000. These securities are but scraps of paper. They are evidences of ownership in property somewhere, such as pipe line franchises, mines, ore beds, oil wells, refineries and other forms of wealth and natural resources. There is no need to engage in the thankless task of finding the paper evidences of ownership when the property itself is out in the open and can be taxed. Proper taxation of this property would be equivalent to taxation of the securities representing it. But the effort to enforce the unenforceable personal property tax allows the tangible property to escape its fair share of taxation, while the owner finds it easy to conceal from the assessor his intangibles.

\* \* \*

Mayor Hylan states a partial truth in his letter urging the Tax Commissioners to take action against John D. Rockefeller. He says that New York real estate is taxed too heavily. Real estate consists of land and improvements, and so far as improvements are concerned Mr. Hylan is right. There is no reason why the New York landowner who puts up a modern building should be taxed more than the owner of a similar piece of land who has thereon an old rookery or holds it out of use entirely. Because such a tax system is maintained, Broadway and other leading streets of the nation's metropolis are largely covered with buildings that would be considered disgraceful in a small village. Properly improved real estate in

New York city is unquestionably taxed too much. But land values are taxed too little. What New York needs is abolition of taxes on real estate, as well as on personal property, and substitution of a tax on land values only.

### Mr. Baker Emerges

The thorough overhauling received by the War Department from the Senate Committee on Military Affairs has been a good thing from every point of view. A high official of the Department said the other day in private conversation that he could not see any problem of our mobilization except in terms of coffins and the black-robed women of Paris. Tolerance of incompetency, the playing of politics, consideration for anything except getting results, appeared to him in the light of treason. That is the feeling of the people of this country. For nine months they have been extraordinarily trustful, with a trust involving not merely acquiescence, but the giving without stint of their most precious. Friends of Secretary Baker who resent the recent flood of criticism are short-sighted. Here we must give credit to that quality of stubborn loyalty in President Wilson that arouses our impatience in the case of a Burleson and a Gregory. Secretary Baker has emerged magnificently from the wreck of the bureaucracy that was the War Department when he entered it. And there is no danger that he will be interfered with in the interval before the fact of his emergence can make itself known to the country.

The War Department's record can be fly-specked with legitimate criticism involving details. For the moment, the country's perspective can be destroyed. Eventually, the public will consider every criticism and every attack in the light of facts like these:

The War Department has undergone a transformation and expansion compared with which the greatest achievement of American business appears trifling. Today it employs close to 2,000,000 men, including civilians, and is operating on a budget of \$9,000,000,000.

The major policies of our war mobilization involved the formulation of comprehensive programs on a huge scale. These in turn involved radical innovations, to be carried through only by leaders exercising initiative, courage, determination and political wisdom of the highest

order. Most important of these was the drafting of the conscription act, the procuring of its enactment by Congress and its acceptance by the country, and finally its administration by methods that would vindicate its fairness and its wisdom. Today we take for granted the accomplishment of these tasks. They involved statesmanship and administrative efficiency of the highest order. A veteran labor leader with a wide and intimate acquaintance in the labor field said the other day in Washington that the impartial administration of the conscription act had done more than anything else to win for the Government the confidence and support of the wage earners. When they saw millionaires' sons drafted side by side with their own they knew that Uncle Sam was "on the square." They didn't expect this—they had no reason to—and when they saw it their quick, warm appreciation went out to the Government—at once a tribute and a sorry reflection.

But Mr. Baker's most noteworthy contribution, the most fundamentally efficient and necessary task accomplished in this country in connection with the war, lies outside the field of military mobilization. It is a task for which he will get no credit and endless abuse from metropolitan newspapers and partisan critics. For to understand it involves an understanding of social and economic conditions in this country that no metropolitan newspaper editor, with trifling exceptions, would be permitted to exhibit. It is literally true that the greatest obstacle to any half-way effectual mobilization of this country's war-making resources was the disaffection of vast numbers of wage earners and producers in factory, mine and farm. They might love their country, but they distrusted its courts and its officials. And with their employers they were in open or sullen and suppressed enmity. This is only another way of saying that our greatest obstacle was the possession by a small class of our population of privileges involving private monopoly control over the nation's natural resources and its major industrial and commercial processes, and through this control of an altogether disproportionate, anti-social and unjust influence with agencies of government. Bred of the situation were the unreasoning opposition of many important employers and financiers to the introduction of the most elementary forms of democracy in plant organization, and their insistence upon their right to control great essential

industries in the spirit of a Prussian war-lord. These were our real "enemies within," and it is in mastering them or mitigating their power for vitally crippling us that Secretary Baker has shown his greatest efficiency. It has been, above all, a matter of his spirit, reaching out and influencing scores and hundreds and millions of other men—a spirit of fundamental democracy, a spirit of sympathy and understanding for every democratic force and every democratic aspiration in the land. It has been also a matter of firmness and courage, as when he insisted upon the eight-hour day and arbitration of disputes in proffering contracts to the most arrogant of all our Prussians—the men who domineer our steel industry. Easy enough to say this was not a task for a War Secretary. War's necessities was always the ultimate appeal. And there was none other to do it. Mr. Gompers could not, for reasons that would fill a book. President Wilson, occupied with other problems, could and did do all within the power of an official once removed. Of ultimate importance, he commissioned Mr. Baker to do it, and so vicariously but in a very real sense he did it all. But it is Mr. Baker who in execution has saved the situation, by convincing the workers and producers of America that this is a war for democracy—that they are not asked to give their toil or their lives for the atrocious present, but for the opportunity to carry on the struggle here at home for a free future, uninterrupted by the menace of foreign aggression and the domestic militarism and toryism that such a menace would foster and maintain.

Mr. Baker's unforgivable sin in the minds of his foremost critics is just his determination that we shall take our war aims seriously, that we shall not, while destroying a present menace to world peace, sow the seeds of a future menace by planting militarism in our own soil. Senator Chamberlain's animus against the Secretary of War came out at the secret session which concluded the testimony of Mr. Baker. It was not machine guns or over-coats. It was Mr. Baker's recommendation against permanent universal compulsory military service in his annual report. Mr. Chamberlain wanted to know, after the reporters had been dismissed, why Mr. Baker had seen fit to oppose his bill. And Mr. Baker repeated that this was no time to adopt as a fixed policy a program involving the very things we are fighting to destroy in Europe.

To understand America—the America of the toilers, the America of the common man and his hope—is to damn a public official in the eyes of men who are many and exceedingly powerful. That is Mr. Baker's great sin. Our supermen of business are too stupid, too wrapped in confident power, to understand that such as he stand between them and the Bolsheviks.

On the military side, it is enough to know, as THE PUBLIC does know, that Mr. Baker is neither complacent nor satisfied. He has done an unprecedented job with unprecedented speed and efficiency. But he is ceaselessly changing, reorganizing, heeding criticism, driving harder and faster. That he refused to become apologetic before the attack of men prejudiced by his opposition to permanent universal service may have been impolitic; it certainly was human and just as certainly justified by the facts. Those who criticize him for lack of tact and humility under the fire of the Committee will find their ideal, not among courageous democrats, but in the perfect technique of humility, tact and suavity exhibited by the breed of lawyers who serve as jackals for privilege in its negotiations with legislative and regulatory bodies.

## A Drive at Excess Profits

When the War Industries Board last summer rejected the device of pooling as a means of getting maximum production in our essential war industries without exorbitant prices, THE PUBLIC ventured the assertion that this was the most serious defeat yet suffered by the progressive wing in the Government at Washington. At the same time it reported that the advocates of pooling were not discouraged, that the price-fixing policy was still in its tentative stage, and that different arrangements might ensue in the future. There is now hope that the time is near for the adoption of a fairer and more adequate adjustment. The possibilities of government supervision through pooling never have been fully presented to and understood by the American public. The issue between this and the unscientific and unfair measures resorted to in the stress of the first six months by the War Industries Board is an issue of the first importance. Invaluable gains in the direction of economic justice and industrial efficiency are at stake.

Under the pooling arrangement urged by the

Federal Trade Commission and authorized by a section in the Pomerene-Lever act, the entire production of coal would be purchased by the Federal Government and handled on Government account from the time it left the mine until it passed into the hands of the wholesale distributor. Its selling price would be an average-cost price, plus a trifling charge for Government administration and a fair profit for the wholesaler and retailer. Each operator would receive a price based on the cost of production at his mine plus a fair profit. Operations would be supervised by the augmented engineering staff of the Bureau of Mines, which would have authority to bring every mine up to the most efficient operating standards and, where advisable in the interests of maximum production, to guarantee a price that would permit the financing of necessary improvements in equipment and method.

It is in the method provided for arriving at costs that the pooling section of the Pomerene-Lever act is of chief interest to readers of THE PUBLIC. It provides that the Federal Trade Commission "shall allow cost of production, including the expense of operation, maintenance, depreciation and depletion," and shall add thereto a just and reasonable profit. The various items would be determined by the Commission. The first three are obvious. The fourth, that of depletion, would include the sums ordinarily listed as "return on capital invested." Certain false values could be and probably would be disregarded by the Commission in determining the depletion account.

Short of Government ownership and operation, this is the only equitable and efficient method yet devised for maintaining maximum production without fixing a price based on costs at the weakest and least efficient mine, and so a price grossly exorbitant for the majority of producers. It involves a large measure of public control. It eliminates competition, and it probably would lead ultimately to public ownership. Now, THE PUBLIC has no objection to Government ownership in any field where competition, even when shorn of privileged control of natural resources, may be proven inefficient and uneconomical. Indeed, it shares the feeling of Mr. Louis F. Post and many others of his school that the field of Government ownership must be extended to take in certain industries where the advantages of integrated operations on a huge scale have been clearly demonstrated, where the element of in-

ertia forbids competition as effectually as in the cases of the railroads, the street railways, the telephone and the telegraph. Mr. George Foster Peabody believes the time has come to extend it to the coal industry, and he has the support of Sir Albert Stanley, who, as President of the Board of Trade, administers both the railroads and the coal mines of Great Britain. Yet Sir Albert's plan, as outlined in an interview with the correspondent of the *New York Times*, is very similar to that urged for this country by the Federal Trade Commission and particularly by Commissioner W. B. Colver. Government operation of industries could much better begin with copper and steel, produced for the most part in tightly organized districts of no great geographical area, and more easily amenable to a unified, centralized control. Our coal mines are tucked away among a thousand hills, from Washington to Georgia and from Pennsylvania to New Mexico. To undertake any greater degree of Government supervision than is provided by the pooling section of the Pomerene-Lever act would put Government operation to an extremely difficult test. Proponents of Government ownership should be the last to advocate measures that would overload the shoulders of our federal executives.

At a recent Congressional hearing, Fuel Administrator Garfield was asked about the possibility of resorting to the pooling section of the act under which he is working. He replied that it would be not only possible, but perhaps desirable, and he intimated that a radical change in the method of controlling prices and production would be made after April 1, or as soon as the passing of the cold-weather crisis permits a readjustment. Equally encouraging is the report from Washington, printed in the usually reliable *Iron Age*, that steel producers are worried by a proposal to apply the pooling system to steel. "There is an evident purpose to reduce prices obtained by integrated companies," says this trade journal. "By the Pomerene bill or in some other way a Government control is aimed at that will take over all output, but at different prices to different producers. The market price would then be an average and not at a level fixed by the costs of high-cost plants. In the face of such a proposal the steel trade has modified its first feeling of satisfaction with the recent official action on present prices."

The country knows that the present official prices for steel and copper are outrageously high. Figures on production-costs obtained by the Federal Trade Commission at great expense were kept from the public and disregarded, and the War Industries Board fixed prices on a basis of accommodation, with the Government doing a major share of the accommodating. True, no legal authority existed for fixing steel prices, but publication of the Trade Commission's report would have forced the companies to accept a fair price. The existing prices have no relation to what should be the basic controlling factor—that is, the cost of getting out the raw materials. Instead, prices were fixed for plates, for the finished product, and the price for iron ore tailed along according to the War Industries Board's sense of proportion.

With the Government standing back of every essential war industry with all its financial resources, there is not the slightest excuse for a system of price control that gives to private corporations a penny more than the "just and reasonable profit" provided by the terms of the Pomerene-Lever act. The pooling plan would not only eliminate war profiteering—it would also so effectually isolate and expose the various grafts and privileges in our basic industries that they could never again be restored.

### Secretary Wilson's Opportunity

Without newspaper notice or public knowledge a very interesting and important problem has pressed its way to a satisfactory solution in Washington. The announcement late last week that President Wilson has vested all the duties of war-time labor administration in Secretary Wilson and the Department of Labor means not only what it affirms; it means also that these duties are *not* to be vested in a temporary board or council, ruled by a strong man of the desk-pounding-I'll-stand-no-nonsense type. From the moment of its creation and the appointment of a former union official as its head, the Department of Labor has been harassed and crippled by the constant opposition of powerful interests with efficient agents in Congress. Its Bureau of Labor Statistics, its mediation service, its employment agencies, have been starved of money. Its officials have accomplished much with nothing. They have never accomplished enough.

When hundreds of millions were being voted freely and almost without discussion to other departments, Congress haggled over \$250,000 for the only agency in existence for mobilizing labor.

Today we have the assurance that Secretary Wilson will have all the funds he needs, to be supplied from the President's special fund of \$100,000,000 until Congress responds to his request for adequate appropriations, and that henceforth the Department is to be built up into the powerful organization it should be for handling the many pressing war-time problems affecting labor. These include the finding of means to furnish an adequate and stable supply of labor for war industries; machinery for the immediate and equitable adjustment of disputes in accordance with principles agreed upon between capital and labor, without stoppage of work; the safeguarding of the conditions of labor in the production of war essentials; the safeguarding of conditions of living, including housing and transportation; a fact-gathering body to assemble and present data to furnish information necessary for effective executive action; and an information and education division. "To furnish adequate labor for war industries," reads the formal statement, "the Secretary of Labor will work out a system of labor exchanges, a method of training workers, an agency for determining priorities of labor demand, and agencies for dilution of skilled labor when needed. . . . The machinery for adjustment of labor disputes connotes the early determination of a broad general policy regarding the war-time relations of labor and capital."

President Wilson's decision is important first of all for the dangers that it escapes. These are many in a field so clamorous with the demands of tory employers, welfare workers, and those well-meaning proponents of "social control," who, through powerful commissions, would maintain the status quo and subtly strait-jacket labor. Secretary Wilson can be relied upon to live up to the best of what we already have in the way of principles and methods. And there is a great deal of very good indeed in that "best." There is freedom for voluntary action and a staunch rejection of too much government welfare work involving government control. We have Mr. Gompers largely to thank for it, and Secretary Wilson was trained in the same school.

But negative virtues will by no means justify the President's decision and vindicate our hopes. Secretary Wilson must prove his statesmanship or this victory will turn into a defeat. First of all, it is for him to realize that the country and the labor movement have confidence in him; that they are looking to him and no one else for results. He must disregard the jealousy and the ambition of every other man whosoever and administer the reorganized Department with an eye single to efficiency. He must shed any old-time trades union prejudice that might stand between him and an understanding of such a problem as the I. W. W. He must not be afraid to go into the Cabinet and tell them all, including Mr. Gregory, that wholesale prosecutions will do more harm than good in a situation wherein the defendants can rightly do most of the accusing. He must feel himself under stern compulsion to refuse any request from a trades union political machine for the appointment of unfit men to important positions. He must reach out for useful men wherever he can find them, whether they belong with the old guard or not—to be specific, he must see that the work begun in the War Department by such men as Felix Frankfurter is carried on with no loss in the transfer.

Those who know Secretary Wilson know him as a man touched with nobility and consecrated to his task. It is his great opportunity, as it is the great opportunity for labor. If labor through the Department can mobilize itself effectually for the waging of this war, no man or class will be in a position to challenge its rights either during or after the war.

### Economic Barriers<sup>T</sup>o Peace

There is room for difference of opinion as to the correct explanation of President Wilson's declaration for "the removal so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to peace, and associating themselves for its maintenance." But while an exact interpretation may be hard, there is no reason to question its tendency. The removal of all economic barriers can mean nothing else than abolition of all tariffs whether levied for protection or for revenue. The phrase "so far as possible" is intended to modify the declaration in order to lessen opposition, although whatever exists is

due solely to economic ignorance or to predatory inclinations. But concessions may be necessary lest protected interests block peace. And this is probably what the President had in mind.

That there are selfish interests in all belligerent nations capable of taking such action, cannot be gainsaid. And these interests will be responsible should the world again be dragged into war. More than reduction of armaments, adjustment of colonial claims or changes in national boundaries, will free trade be a guarantee of peace. Under free trade conditions it would be a trifling matter to Serbia for instance, whether she had her "window on the sea." Free trade would give her as free and secure access to the sea as has any inland State of the United States. Lack of a sea coast would be of as little concern to any nation as it is to the State of Kansas. The ice free ports of Europe would be as open to Russian commerce as if they were within her own boundaries. In fact, international boundaries would signify little more than our own State boundaries. So the removal of economic barriers to trade means removal, at the same time, of a serious obstruction to permanent peace. But it is doubtful whether American and European protectionists do not prefer to perpetuate the menace of war.

### Democracy Advancing

Two-thirds of the House of Representatives have voted to make the United States more safe for democracy. That is the meaning of the adoption of the resolution submitting the woman suffrage amendment. There was no good reason for any other course. Those who opposed the measure may offer explanations, but they cannot argue away the fact that denial of suffrage is denial of democracy. And because it is denial of democracy there is no force to the plea that suffrage is a matter which should be left to the States. In no State of the Union should there be a government which does not derive its power from the consent of the governed. The States' rights doctrine does not imply the right of one class within a State to deprive others of rights, for no fault of their own. And it is gratifying that so firm an upholder of States' rights as President Wilson has come to see the force of this distinction, and, by changing his attitude, has pushed the measure nearer to victory.

While a wrong understanding of States' rights accounts for some opposition, it does not account for the greater part. Far more may be explained as pure toryism. There are opponents in the United States, both in and out of Congress, who feel as Earl Curzon expressed himself in the English House of Lords. In opposing the bill to grant women parliamentary suffrage he warned his aristocratic colleagues that "whatever women have been granted the vote a stimulus has always been given to Socialism." To statesmen of the Curzon stripe "Socialism" means any step toward social justice. He fears lest suffrage deprive privilege holders of the power to appropriate what others earn. That fear is not confined to titled aristocrats. Equally frank assertions have been uttered by anti-suffragists in this country. The more truth there is in their statements, the more reason there is for those to rejoice at the approaching victory who would have the world made better.

The part that predatory privilege plays in opposing suffrage may be furthermore appreciated on noting some Congressional opponents. For instance, there is Representative Martin of Louisiana. He was elected as a Progressive. He did not have, like many of his southern colleagues, the poor excuse of States' rights, since the national platform of his party declared that women "should be given full political right of suffrage both by Federal and State action." Nevertheless, he opposed the suffrage resolution, and his vote nearly defeated it. What was his reason? He owes his election largely to the help of the protected sugar barons, and these have cause to fear the effect of woman suffrage on their tariff graft. The sugar situation is not such as to make any housewife feel kindly towards a tax to keep up prices. Mr. Martin could not serve democracy and the sugar interests at the same time. He may have realized this. If so it is not necessary to look further to account for his vote. It would have been the same had any other special interest been involved.

The backbone of the opposition to woman suffrage is Privilege. Women should bear that in mind in the fight still to be made in the Senate and the State legislatures. And Privilege should be given cause to regret the suffrage victory when won.

There is cause for regret that the Suffrage bill which has passed the British Parliament, is not

as free from unfair discrimination as the measure before Congress. The grossly unfair features of that measure have been summarized as follows:

(1) That a woman may not vote till 30, though a man may vote at 21, or, if he is a soldier or sailor, at 18 years of age.

(2) That a woman will lose her Parliamentary and Local Government votes if her husband accepts Poor Law Relief or if she accepts Poor Law Relief, her husband losing his local Government and retaining his Parliamentary Vote.

(3) That a woman loses her Local Government vote if she ceases to live with her husband, i.e., if a man deserts his wife he retains his vote, she loses hers.

These defects taint the democracy of the law. They show that Privilege dies hard. The newly enfranchised women, as well as democratic men, should not rest until these invidious distinctions have been wiped out, and all British citizens enjoy at least the same full measure of democracy as the near future holds in prospect for America.

## Putting Government to Work

The inseparable relation between politics and business has long been known to the beneficiaries of privilege, who have been quick to turn the powers of government to their own advantage. It is now slowly dawning upon the victims that these same powers of government can be put to the service of all. Government operation of railroads has already set more people to thinking on economic problems than any other administrative act in generations. But now that the fact is accomplished, at least for the period of the war, it should be bolstered up by an enlightened public opinion. For, although the number of men who are opposed to the present policy constitutes a very small percentage of the people, some of them are influential, and all of them wish the roads returned to them under more favorable conditions than when they were taken. The bill introduced by the Administration provides for the continuation of Government operation until Congress shall order otherwise. But privilege takes no chances. If, because of war or other adversity, it yields temporarily, it insists upon a return to the status quo ante at the earliest possible moment. Hence the intro-

duction by ultra conservative Congressmen of two amendments, one providing for the termination of government operation at the end of the war, the other, six months after the end of the war.

It is not likely that present public opinion will sustain either of these amendments; and if it should, there is the more need of its enlightenment. Government operation of railroads is the Nation's greatest experiment in applying democracy to industry. If it should prove to be a success, why bring it arbitrarily to an end, and incur the labor and delay incident to the re-enactment of a law that will be opposed by the privileged interests? On the other hand, if it should prove to be a failure, will not the people of that day have the wit to act? The beneficiaries of Privilege are altogether too eager to tie the hands of the people who are to come after them. The possibilities of government operation of railroads are so great that the experiment should have the fairest possible trial, and the people should have the fullest opportunity of continuing that policy if they wish. The transportation system will be under a strain during the reconstruction period following the return of peace scarcely less than during the war itself, and Congress should not at that time be called upon unnecessarily to enact railroad legislation.

Just what facts experience will bring out remains to be seen; but some at least of the evils of our former treatment of railroads have already been laid bare. It is now apparent to nearly every one that the attempt to regulate the roads from without was bound to fail because based upon the assumption that rail transportation was a competitive business. The average American is so pronouncedly individualistic that he relied upon competition, rather than resort to too much government control. The mass of industries, he said, are self-regulating, why not railroads? But experience has shown that the same rule does not apply. The attempt to compel the roads to compete deprived them of the little chance they might have had to succeed. Their effort to compete with each other led to the duplication of plant. And when the waste of unused capital and labor made cooperation necessary, the Government took additional measures to prevent it by enacting the Sherman law. And when the railroads, under economic pressure,

sought to evade the anti-trust laws by means of a holding company, the Supreme Court blocked it by the Northern Securities decision. Thus the roads, ground between the necessity for unity in organization, and the law that commanded severalty of management, operated with steadily decreasing efficiency. Duplication of plants remained. Commercial rivalry led to obstructive policies. Hundreds of presidents and officials drew large salaries for serving cliques of stockholders instead of the public. Trains were run for political and advertising purposes. Out of Chicago ran twelve de luxe trains—four to St. Louis, four to Omaha, and four to St. Paul—when one to each city would have been sufficient. All these trains were run at a loss that was made up by the patrons of the common trains.

It must be apparent that unified operation is necessary in order to avoid this destructive waste. But to put the management of such an enormous

and all-pervasive business in private hands is to jeopardize the rights of individuals and communities. For business would wax or wane at the dictation of the railroad managers, who gave or withheld special rates and services. The only persons who can safely be entrusted with such power are the people themselves. Since, therefore, unification is absolutely necessary, and since the only agency that can be trusted with such power is the people's representatives, the logic of events leads directly to government ownership and operation. With private ownership and management and dummy directors representing unknown stockholders, railroads have been manipulated for the benefit of individuals, instead of being devoted to the service of the whole community. With Congressmen as directors, and every citizen a stockholder with one vote, success or failure means nothing less than the success or failure of democracy itself.

## Economic Alliances, Commercial Treaties and Tariff Adjustments\*

By Edward P. Costigan

Member of the United States Tariff Commission

### I

In the field of foreign commerce, at the end of the war, the important changes on which the world may count are more likely to be represented by spirit than form. We are, happily, sure of newly expressed, zealously affirmed principles of international fellowship, equality of opportunity and just relations. Less probable is an original attitude toward the familiar use of tariffs and commercial treaties with the intention of determining world trade. Presumably, even from the unprecedented catastrophe and convulsion of our time,—notwithstanding the growing promise of an effective league of peace,—national sovereignties and age-old markets will emerge, and, in the period of reconstruction, nations or groups of nations will promptly seek, by practiced methods, both self-sustaining industrialism and the reciprocal benefits of commercial intercourse. Confirming the hopes of thinking men, in the interest of durable peace, there may perhaps result from a

victory of the allied democracies, a desirable fundamental movement toward the unity of English-speaking, and, indeed, other civilized people; a far more general and profound conception of the benefits of commerce, when conducted with a minimum of restrictions; certain broad, novel and hopeful experiments in international control; some common understanding, whereby essential raw materials may become accessible on fair terms of apportionment, to the people of all countries; and, perhaps, a coordinated policy of conservation and use of natural resources throughout the world, to the end that the war-debt burdens, already oppressing mankind, may be lightened, and, within a reasonable future, removed. None the less, barter will abide. Despite artificial barriers, the tides of trade and competition will ebb and flow, and nations, running measurably true to form and precedent, will, doubtless, again and again assay to control the course, and even challenge the soundness, of orthodox "economic laws."

Address 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.

## PROPOSED ECONOMIC ALLIANCES

Illustrations of these tendencies are both recent and numerous. No one here is without knowledge of the literature, conferences and thought, devoted in the Central Empires, since August, 1914, to the creation of a permanent and self-sufficient economic unit, generally spoken of as Middle Europe. In sharp distinction, and with like disregard of the internationalism of the modern world, the celebrated Paris Economic Conference of June, 1916, vainly proposed to erect the temple of permanent peace on the shifting sands of economic war. It outlined an elaborate scheme of common measures for the Allies, extending not only through the period of actual conflict, and the later stage of transition to peace, but permanently thereafter. One prevailing idea has been the same: economic independence through the control of resources deemed indispensable.

## THE PARIS ECONOMIC AGREEMENT

Fortunately, the futility and danger of the peace features of those programs are already widely recognized. Nothing during these trying times, said or done by President Wilson, has more strikingly or serviceably evidenced his leadership, than his rejection of "selfish and exclusive economic leagues." His criticism brought home to a large portion of the public, both here and abroad, what historians and economists instantly perceived when the Paris resolutions were announced, that the division of the world into two permanently hostile economic groups would give international sanction to the vast and inhuman ruthlessness, which has irredeemably discredited German autocracy. In seeking to escape that yoke, it is worse than folly to employ the same principles of war and servitude. As far-sighted economists have unanswerably made clear, the enforcement of the future terms of the Paris agreement would involve the continued walling round of Central Europe; prolonged harmony of action on the part of the Allies, whose economic interests are not always identical; the extinguishment of a large market and the indefinite postponement of the financial compensation reconstruction may seek. An even more essential consideration is, however, the unescapable conclusion, that, soon or late, the plan must yield to the settled rules of profitable exchange, although under the Paris agreement that would not

come to pass until the proposed discrimination against the peoples of Central Europe had, in their eyes, justified and made seemingly necessary the present war, and until the foundation had been laid for other, more extravagant and terrible conflicts, prosecuted with even more appalling disregard of civilized standards. In a word, the "war after the war" feature of the Paris Economic Conference was an ill-considered judgment, pronounced, under stress of great provocation, in the heat of resentment and suffering.

## SCANDINAVIAN CONFERENCE

Nevertheless,—and even though the main future purpose of the Paris Economic agreement is predestined to repudiation,—modifications of the plan are likely to endure, and there are signs that we shall see numerous economic ventures tending in the direction, if not actually taking the form, of economic alliances. The excitement occasioned by the conferences of the Central and Entente Powers has not wholly abated, and all sorts of movements are under way, looking to further industrial and economic preparedness and independence. Norway, Sweden and Denmark, caught between the upper and nether millstones of such threatened economic unions, sent representatives, in 1916, to a Scandinavian Conference, the objects of which were the maintenance of neutrality, and the safeguarding of common interests and independence in the economic struggle to follow the war. In Italy, plans are being actively formulated in some quarters in support of national industrialism for a high range of tariff duties, concessions from which are contemplated in return for like concessions from other nations, to be secured through duly negotiated commercial treaties.

## BRITISH IMPERIAL PREFERENCES

Even in Great Britain, the swing of the pendulum is discernible in the increasing emphasis on the policy of imperial preferences, embracing India and the self-governing Dominions. Partly as an indication of this attitude, resulting from the war, and partly as an outgrowth of the prior agitation for imperial preferences, the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce, some two weeks prior to the Paris Conference, tentatively recommended a graded system of preferential tariff rates, for Great Britain, on wholly manu-

factured and semi-manufactured goods, and on manufactured foodstuffs, among other materials, to be taxed, highest for enemy countries, less for neutrals, still less for the Allies, and, by virtue of provisions looking to imperial preferences, least of all for the British Empire countries. In February of the present year, a committee of the House of Commons approved a resolution calling for preferences in the markets of Great Britain for imperial products. Resolutions of like purport were thereafter adopted by the Imperial Conference meeting at London. Of similar significance, though with a different approach,—due in no inconsiderable degree to prior and continuing demands for British imperial preferences,—the Royal Commission on Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation, appointed in the pre-war days of 1912, presented to the British Parliament in March, 1917, a comprehensive report powerfully emphasizing pertinent considerations.

#### REPORT OF BRITISH ROYAL COMMISSION ON WORLD SUPPLIES

Surveying particularly the material resources of the British Empire from military and economic standpoints, that report divides important supplies into those mainly or wholly produced within the Empire, those as to which the Empire's production and consumption approximately correspond, and those as to which the Empire is dependent on external sources. To be concrete, the report claims for various designated parts of the British Empire the world's chief supplies of nickel, cobalt, asbestos, mica, kauri gum, phorium fiber, diamonds, ostrich feathers, jute, palm nuts and palm kernels, something less than one-half the wool, a larger percent of merino wool, and more than half the gold output. Attention is given to both the military and the economic importance of some of the articles. Doubt is expressed, and inquiry prompted, as to whether, at present, minerals, obtained from foreign sources, such as potash, borax, platinum and quicksilver, are to be found within the boundaries of the Empire. The relative disadvantages of the Empire in the production of petroleum, and the value of that product for navy use, leads to the recommendation of a policy of governmental reservation of a part of the public domain, similar to that adopted in the United States. The dependence of the people of the British Empire is

recognized,—on Germany for potash; on Chile for deposits of nitrate of soda; on Argentina for maize, from which starch and industrial alcohol are produced; and on the United States for the bulk of the cotton supply. The report of the Royal Commission, however, goes far beyond mere enumeration. The materials embraced in the group, and admitted to be under alien control, are treated as constituting a field for scientific research and the discovery of possible substitutes, while the division, in which are classified the materials for which the world must largely or wholly look to the British Empire, is frankly stamped with signal importance (to use the language of the Commission) "as a powerful means of economic defense."

#### MODERN COMMERCIAL BARGAINING TENDENCIES

In a word, in the era when tariff systems have been vitally disarranged, and commercial treaties have well-nigh disappeared, in the wreck of international relations, projects are rapidly maturing in the various involved nations looking far less toward liberated after-the-war commerce than to the primary economic self-reliance of individual nations, largely to be achieved through the importance of certain "key" resources and materials, and their use both defensively and offensively. For, of course, no one will any longer consider economic defense as differing from military defense in possibilities of aggressive development. It is a satisfaction to know that some moderating factors present themselves. One is the common group of problems and the underlying interdependence of those who find themselves allied in tragic destiny. Another is the foreseen certainty that war-incurred obligations must be chiefly met and canceled in the peace period, through commodity rather than specie payments. Perhaps, most influential of all is the deepening conviction of mankind that commerce built upon force is a standing invitation to recurring war. None the less, it appears quite improbable that anything approaching trial of the commercial Utopia of the classic economists may be expected in the near after-the-war period. On the contrary, present signs indicate, that the necessary task, of building, in a measure anew, the world structure of commercial treaties and tariff arrangements, will be approached by the great industrial nations, notwithstanding international

friendliness, primary in the light of bargaining advantages to the separate States. The best present promise of escape is by the avenue of such international control of essential supplies as joint wisdom may undertake to create. In any event, under the violent impulse of war, attention is be-

ing focused on the paramount importance of specific economic prizes,—varied by the discoveries of science and the changing needs of civilization,—for the retention or procurement of which future commercial treaties will be largely shaped, and future tariffs somewhat adjusted.

## A Remedy for Lockstep Schooling

By D. Bobspa

Conservation in the school room to a degree undreamed of has been accomplished by President Frederic Burk in the training school department of the San Francisco State Normal School, through the substitution of individual instruction for the age-old lockstep system of education. In these days when every effort is toward conserving of every activity of life, it is no small item that, in the factories wherein are manufactured future citizens of the nation, years of time and vast expenditures of money are saved, while, at the same time, turning out an improved finished product. This is one of the modern miracles that has come to the twentieth century, along with wireless and radium.

The shadow of Alcuin and Charlemagne still falls athwart the public school system and the lockstep of the middle ages still prevails, with its blighting ineffectiveness in every school center of the world. The San Francisco institution is an exception. Dr. Burk substituted individual instruction there four years ago, a more revolutionary step than has yet been attempted in educational affairs in any American city. The natural conservatism of the people has fought the innovation, and the trial has been conducted against every possible barrier. Yet four years have demonstrated the effectiveness of the innovation, both as to result and cost.

Individual instruction is a suit in equity, according to Dr. Burk—in re. Everychild, a minor vs. Lockstep Schooling. It is a clear case. There are no misfit children.

"There are misfit schools," says President Burk, "misfit texts and studies, misfit dogmas and traditions of pedants and pedantry. There are misfit homes, misfit occupations and diversions. In fact there are all kinds and conditions of misfit clothing for children but—in the nature

of things there can be *no misfit children.*"

Official reports of the Cleveland school superintendent showed that in June, 1914, there were 10,000 of the 70,000 pupils of the elementary schools who failed to be promoted and were turned back to repeat their grade's work. A year later the report showed 32 per cent of all the elementary school system, from the first to eighth grade, had failed somewhere along the way in promotion. Was one out of every three children of Cleveland a misfit? Are the children of Cleveland of an inferior quality? Investigation reveals a similar condition of affairs in every city and town of the nation. A commission was appointed in Cleveland, and resulted in a twenty-five volume report of findings, with the conclusion that "it would be easy for this report to recommend specific measures for relief, but it is a grave question whether it is in place for a survey to interfere with administration." These survey experts, however, point with pride to the fact that, bad as conditions are in Cleveland, they are worse elsewhere. "In the study of conditions in twenty-nine other cities, only nine made a better record than this. The evidence indicates that Cleveland is making considerably above the average record in carrying her children through the grades on schedule time. This is distinctly to the credit of the city school system."

Cleveland was in the position of the old New England deacon whose loss of his hay crop through rains did not worry him greatly "because Brother Simons didn't save any of his either." Dr. Burk came to the conclusion that there must be some defect in the foundation principle of all schooling; and the cause deeper than subjects, methods or even administration. He sought to find a common foundation principle in all schools, lying beneath differences in admin-

istration and the wide variations in methods of teaching current in different cities. There is but one condition so fundamental and common to all forms and conditions of school instruction—the class system of instruction itself. Again I shall quote Dr. Burk:

"Instruction of forty pupils, as a class, implies that the forty are to be instructed just as though they were one pupil; that the forty can learn each lesson in the same time, for the class program must be the same for all; and that each pupil in this time shall learn with the same degree of thoroughness, and that each shall give the same degree of attention every moment of the time, for otherwise the foundations of each would so vary that progress of the whole would be impossible; that each should take the same length of lesson every day; that no one could ever be absent or suffer temporary disability. Finally, the success of the plan of teaching pupils in groups implies that all of the forty are born with equal mental abilities, think by the same processes at the same rate and that the teacher teaches them at this identical rate. If these conditions are all impossible, should we wonder that our schooling results are what they are?"

After two years of experiment in the training schools of his institution, Dr. Burk found, in 1915, that individual instruction results in accelerated rates of pupils' progress, elimination of waste of school time, actual saving of cost of schooling and an adaptability to all forms of instruction.

Four years of progress confirm the first impressions.

The creed of the new system is that the business of schools is to shape themselves to the pupils; that each child is a special creation, and, strictly speaking, education cannot be the same for any two pupils; that it is the business of schools to brand as the smug impertinence of an ancient, smug and preposterous pedantry the concept that the schools should saw, plane and compress pupils into fixed school molds.

And what are the results of this new concept put into practice from the first to the eighth grade? The reports show several.

The rate of progress show that the slowest pupils, in normal health of body and mind, will complete the usual eight grades of the elementary school in not more than seven years; that the fastest will finish in not more than three years;

that between these extremes, the rates are very evenly distributed; that, in consequence, pupils who enter school at six years of age will complete the eight grades between the ages of ten and thirteen years.

All pupils will finish the elementary schooling. The appalling fact that sixty per cent or more of the youth of the country enter upon world life without the equipment at least of an elementary schooling will be dissipated by the simple solution that practically all pupils will complete the course before the ages at which at present they seek to leave the schools.

Greater thoroughness is obtained. It is demonstrated that the individual system must upon principle, and does in fact, give a thoroughness and efficiency to every pupil beyond any possibility of the lockstep schooling.

Individual instruction costs less than class instruction. The current hasty conclusion to the contrary is due to the fact that the largest item in the cost of schooling by the class system—unnecessary waste amounting to considerably more than fifty per cent—is entirely overlooked. Among the huge wastes inherent in the lockstep schooling of the class system are those due to repetition of grades, to inability to use the gains of accelerated rates of progress, to the regulations that all pupils must learn that which only a few have the need of, or the ability to learn, and to certain frictional losses in the teaching of large classes. Individual instruction cuts out these wastes by eliminating their causes.

It has also been a hasty conclusion that to operate an individual system would require many more teachers than the lockstep method. This conclusion overlooks the fact that if the pupils make faster progress through the grades, the number of pupils in any one class will be reduced proportionately to the increase in rapidity of progress. The data goes to show the size of classes of forty or fifty pupils reduced to twenty-five or thirty under individual instruction, which eliminates the repeaters, introduces acceleration, and economizes time in other ways.

The selection and adaptation of texts was one of the first mechanical problems of administration. The faculty of the San Francisco State Normal School has met this by a series of texts giving elastic lessons. There are duplicate exercises and generally more of them than most pupils will need to work. If a pupil works ac-

curately certain of these exercises he skips the duplicates and passes to the next lesson. A tremendous premium is thereby offered for accuracy. The pupils of slower grasp do as many of the duplicates, under an automatic system, as may be necessary for them to secure accuracy in efficient degree.

Subsequent reviews, embodied in the regular lessons, insure the retention of what is once learned and the system of elasticity is made to apply also to these reviews in a definite, automatic way. Instead of testing pupils' thoroughness of comprehension at intervals of six months or a year, these automatic tests are inserted at short intervals, and if a pupil needs more drill, it is given immediately, before he meets greater difficulties. It is far more of a conservation of time to see that each brick is properly laid at the time than to wait until the whole foundation is laid, with the possibility of being obliged to commence all over again.

Another advantage is that promotion is by subjects. Under the inhuman lockstep system, a pupil failing in one subject had to retrace his work in half a dozen subjects in which he had succeeded. The adjustment of daily time allotment for each pupil according to his needs, and a rearrangement of the promotion scheme, easily effects a rational method of promotion based on the welfare of the child. Humanity has ever worshipped the institutions it created. Dr. Burk would make the instrument the tool—the servant—and not force mankind into slavery to the tools of an outgrown age.

The individual system of instruction is equally applicable to country, town and city schools, depending merely on comparatively slight changes in supervision. The years following the Great War will demand efficiency of a high degree. The school is one of the most expensive institutions in proportion to its results. Its waste is stupendous. President Frederic Burk's plan of individual instruction to supersede the ancient lockstep system will send into the industrial and professional life of the nation young people, young men and women much better equipped than those turned out by the present schools; and at an age that will give them from one to five years more service for the world. Here conservation and efficiency are combined in the most important American industry—the training of citizen-pupils.

## RELATED THINGS

### Food in England

In the House of Commons on December 10, Sir Wm. Collins asked the President of the Board of Trade if he would furnish for each month of this year the weighted percentage increase in retail prices of food upon the prices of July, 1914; the same allowing for economies and substitutions effected since the beginning of the war as stated in the "Labour Gazette"; the percentage increase in the cost of all items of expenditure ordinarily entering into working-class family expenditure; and the same allowing for the aforesaid economies?

Mr. G. Roberts: I have been asked to reply to this question, as the Department of Labor Statistics, which prepares these figures, has been transferred from the Board of Trade to the Ministry of Labor. The percentages required by my honorable friend are given in the appended table. The figures in column A represent the weighted percentage increases in retail prices of food as compared with July, 1914, the weights used being proportional to pre-war working-class family expenditure; the percentages in column B are arrived at by comparison of the pre-war dietary with a hypothetical dietary for 1917 in which eggs are omitted, margarine is substituted for butter, and the consumption of sugar and fish is reduced by one-half. Column C shows the average percentage increase in the cost of all items ordinarily entering into working-class family expenditure (including food, rent, clothing, fuel and light, etc.), and column D gives figures corresponding with those in column C, after allowing for the change in dietary referred to in connection with column B.

(beginning of)	A	B	C	D
Month	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1917.				
January .....	87	47	66	42
February .....	89	51	67	45
March .....	92	55	70	48
April .....	94	61	72	52
May .....	98	65	74	54
June .....	102	70	78	59
July .....	104	72	79	60
August .....	102	67	79	56
September .....	106	67	83	60

October .....	97	56	78	53
November .....	106	59	84	56

(Figures for December are not yet available.)

On December 11 the following questions on Food were put:

Mr. Anderson asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food (1) whether he knows that numbers of women and children have contracted bronchitis and other illnesses, and that some have died, as a result of having to stand for hours in food queues under the present weather conditions; whether he is aware that the evil is much aggravated by the fact that numbers of shops remain closed all day and open for a few hours at night, and that certain multiple shopkeepers by these methods are helping to inflate prices whilst inflicting illness and hardship on those who desire to purchase tea, margarine, sugar and other commodities; and whether steps will now be taken by improved organization to render the queues unnecessary; and (2) whether he is aware that in Sheffield numbers of women, among them many wives of soldiers and munition workers, have frequently to spend several hours a day in food queues in the hope of obtaining supplies; that the inequalities of the present arrangements are causing dissatisfaction; and what he proposes to do?

Mr. Clynes: As I have already stated, the Food Controller is fully conscious of the difficulties caused by the present scarcity of certain food-stuffs. Schemes are being put into force as rapidly as possible to secure a better local distribution of butter, bacon and other commodities, and these measures will, it is hoped, remedy the more serious inequalities at present existing. In view, however, of the restricted imports, it is, of course, impossible to provide the quantities which people have been accustomed to consume in normal times. The stocks of food at Sheffield have been made the subject of inquiry.

Mr. Anderson: Is the honorable gentleman aware that some of the women working in munition factories all day find it impossible at night to obtain the supplies of goods they need? In view of that, is it not time that we had a definite system of rationing, and a registration of customers, which would ensure that everyone got his share and no more than his share?

Mr. Clynes: The last part of the question is too large for me to answer in a supplementary reply,

but I would welcome the opportunity to deal with it. As to the munition workers' difficulty, that is being taken into account in the schemes which my reply has indicated are now in hand.

Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke: Can the honorable gentleman say whether there is any butter to distribute; if so, where it is?

Mr. Clynes: I refer to all that is available.

Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke: There is none available!

## A Democratic Church

The "Discipline" of the Methodist Episcopal Church contains, in chapter VII of its Appendix, the following "Resolutions" passed at the "General Conference" which met at Saratoga Springs, May, 1916:

"The Methodist Episcopal Church stands for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life; for the protection of the family, by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, and proper housing; for such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral habits of the community; and for the fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of proper education and recreation, and by the abolition of child labor.

"It stands for the abatement and prevention of poverty, by the protection of the individual and of society from the social, economic, and moral waste of the liquor traffic, by the conservation of health and by the protection of the workers from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases and injuries.

"It stands for the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, safeguarding this right against encroachment of every kind; and for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced employment.

"It stands for suitable provision for the workers in old age and for those incapacitated by injury; for the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes, and for a release from employment one day in seven.

"It stands for the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all, which is a condition of the highest human life; for a living wage as a minimum in every industry and for the highest wage that each

industry can afford, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

"It stands for the right of employees and employers alike to organize.

"It stands for a new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property.

"The particular contribution of the Churches to community life is the development of its eternal values.

"They must persistently demand that the program of the community be framed with the purpose of developing, not only material comfort and prosperity, but righteousness and justice, in order that brotherhood may be a fact as well as an aspiration, and so God may come to dwell with man.

"In the general field of social welfare we recommend that during the next four years the Churches concentrate attention, or at least put stress upon Unemployment, Housing, Prison Reform, Recreation.

"In these and all other fields of social progress the Church must constantly urge its members to support concrete measures. But it has also a higher task. Its supreme social function is to educate the community in the fundamental principles which underlie these movements of social progress, to uphold the ideals by which they are conceived, to develop the atmosphere in which they are born, the individuals who will carry them to maturity, and the dynamic which will make them effective.

"We call upon our members as employers, investors or wage-earners to do everything that lies in their power to initiate and promote measures and movements that make for the realization of our standard:

*"A living wage as a minimum in every industry and the highest wage that each industry can afford, and the most equitable division of the product of industry that can be devised."*

"The Church has spent much toil and money in providing higher education. Its membership is increasingly an educated group, yet the toiling mass of mankind was the rock from which it was originally hewn, the pit from which it was first dug. With this history behind it, if the Church should stand aloof from the struggle of the industrial toilers of today to secure time and strength for the discipline of education, its right

hand would lose its cunning and its tongue cleave to the roof of its mouth. Because the teachings of Jesus demand equality of opportunity for all, because their application means both the brotherhood of leisure and the brotherhood of toil, we call upon all of our members to support the efforts of the industrial workers to secure not only release from fatigue but also the benefits of leisure.

"With the demand for industrial democracy the Churches are intensely concerned, for democracy is the expression of Christianity.

"Christianity moves up to higher ground. It requires the supremacy of the principle of co-operation in the industrial world. The Church must, therefore, clearly teach the principle of the fullest possible cooperative control and ownership of industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends, in order that men may be spurred to develop the methods that shall adequately express this principle. Then will industry become a religious experience, developing mutual service and sacrifice, the interpretation in economic terms of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God."

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending January 15

### President Wilson's War Address

The President, in an address to Congress on the 8th, restated the American war aims. His statement followed in general terms that of Premier Lloyd George three days before, and made more definite his own proposals in previous addresses. He amplified the position of the British Premier in regard to Russia by making a special plea for sympathy and cooperation with that country; and he also emphasized constructive policies and commercial freedom to follow the war. He summarized his proposals in the following fourteen conditions:

1—Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings.

2—Absolute freedom of the seas alike in peace and in war, except as they may be closed by international action.

3—The removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace.

4—Adequate guarantees that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5—A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon the principle that the interests of the populations must

have equal weight with the equal claims of the government concerned.

6—The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all Russian questions as will secure for her unhampered opportunity for independent political development and national policy.

7—The evacuation and restoration of Belgium, without any attempt to limit her sovereignty.

8—The liberation of all French territory and the restoration of the invaded portions, and the righting of the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine.

9—The readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10—The freest opportunity of the peoples of Austria-Hungary for autonomous development.

11—The evacuation of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro, with free access to the sea for Serbia; the restoration of occupied territories; the fixing of the relations of the several Balkan states along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of their political and economic independence and territorial integrity.

12—Secure sovereignty for the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire, but with assurance that the other nationalities now under Turkish rule shall have unmolested opportunity of autonomous development; the Dardanelles to be permanently opened to all nations under international guarantees.

13—Erection of an independent Polish state, including the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, with free access to the sea and with political and economic independence and territorial integrity internationally guaranteed.

14—The formation of a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

The President's address and proposals of terms of peace were received with universal favor in America, and among the Entente Allies. In Germany they have been severely criticized by the Pan-Germanists, but have met with much favor by some of the Socialists and Liberals. In Russia they met with some opposition, but for the most part were cordially welcomed.

#### Congressional Doings

After President Wilson, on January 9, had urged passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment to a Committee of Democratic Congressmen headed by Taylor of Colorado, the measure came to a vote in the House on January 10. It passed by 274 to 136, one more than the required two-thirds. Had his vote been needed to pass it, Speaker Clark would also have voted for it. The members in favor consisted of 104 Democrats, 165 Republicans, and the following five of miscellaneous affiliation: Baer of North Dakota, Nonpartisan; London of New York, Socialist; Randall of California, Prohibitionist; Fuller of Massachusetts, Independent; and Schall of Minnesota, Progressive. The opposition consisted of 102 Democrats, 33 Republicans and one

Progressive; Martin of Louisiana. The resolution now goes to the Senate. It reads as follows:

Section 1.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2.—Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provision of this article.

[See current volume, page 53.]

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The Senate adopted on January 11 Senator Borah's resolution requiring the Committee on Rules to consider the advisability of amending present regulations so as to permit consideration of treaties in open session.

#### The Investigations

Before the Senate Committee on Commerce on January 9 David Kirschbaum, a Philadelphia army contractor, said that reduced production would result from the provisions safeguarding labor in the new contracts for army supplies proposed by Secretary Baker's Board of Labor Contract and Labor Standards. He charged that these provisions were inserted by two of the three members of the board who, he said, are Pacifists and Socialists. The Board consists of Chairman Kerstein, a Boston business man, Captain Krensi of the United States Army, and Mrs. Florence Kelly. On January 10 Secretary of War Baker appeared before the Committee, answered questions and gave information for three successive days. He conceded frankly that there had been delay in the early days of the war, but this has been remedied and the Department has put through huge undertakings which should cause pride. All soldiers who need rifles, he said, have them. Manufactures of ordnance are being turned out as fast as the factories can do so. A substantial army is already in France. Wherever there has been a shortage in clothing or other supplies at cantonments has now been made up. "No army of similar size in the history of the world," he told the Committee, "has ever been raised, equipped or trained so quickly. No such provision has ever been made for the comfort, health and general well-being of an army." The army now consists of 9,224 officers and 1,428,050 men. He said that the system has been abandoned by which members of the Supply Committee of the Council of National Defense were financially interested in contracts, but that the men on the committee were patriotic, took no advantage of their position and that favoritism with such men was impossible.

Secretary Baker denied the statement made by David Kirschbaum concerning difficulties alleged to have resulted from labor safeguards. Any delay there may have ensued, Mr. Baker said, is slight and the health of factory workers is an important consideration. He also denied that any considerable number of contractors have refused to execute contracts under these rules. A dispute between the Secretary and Senator Hitchcock arose when the former stated that deliveries on July 1 of Browning guns would be four times the amount estimated by General Crozier in his testimony. In answer to a question from Senator Weeks, Mr. Baker said that

1,200 Lewis guns, now in storage, are about to be distributed among the cantonments. Being asked as to the proposal to create a new Cabinet Department of Munitions, he opposed it. It would divide responsibility. [See current volume, page 53.]

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The housing problem in connection with shipbuilding was the subject of testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee on January 11. An appropriation of \$100,000,000 to provide dwellings for shipyard and munition plant workers was urged by Otto Eidritz and Philip Hess, members of the Housing Committee of the Council of National Defense. The Shipping Board has arranged to advance \$1,000,000 for the purpose to the Maryland Steel Plant at Sparrows' Point, and \$1,200,000 to the Newport News Shipbuilding Co.

#### Burleson's Defense

Denying that the poor service rendered by the Post Office Department is chargeable to economies instituted, Postmaster General Burleson in a public statement on January 13, declared that inefficiency in the service is no worse than prevails at present in delivery of freight and express matter. He claimed that there has been a marked improvement over deliveries of a year ago although there has been an increase of 25 per cent in first class mail and of 40 per cent in parcel post. The only place where congestion occurred during the holiday season was in Washington and that was due to failure of the railroads to furnish cars. Congestion of the railroad system is the true cause of inefficient mail service.

#### Bigelow Addresses Civil Liberties Meeting

Under the auspices of the National Civil Liberties Bureau for maintenance in wartime of free speech and other Constitutional rights, a large mass meeting was held in the Liberty Theatre, New York City, on January 13. The speakers were, Lincoln Steffens, Reverend William Macafee, Herbert S. Bigelow, Reverend Norman Thomas, and James B. Maurer. In the opening address Lincoln Steffens referred to his investigation as a magazine writer of conditions in various States and localities. While in Ohio he had found that Herbert S. Bigelow was a co-worker with Tom L. Johnson, Newton D. Baker and Brand Whitlock in fighting the forces of corruption and privilege, and the forces they were fighting there were the same forces that have brought about the war. This war was brought about, not by the Kaiser but by privileged business which used the Kaiser as its agent, just as Cox was used as agent of similar interests in Cincinnati. Bigelow was struck down, he said, by tools of these interests. In the beginning of his address Herbert S. Bigelow quoted extracts from his lectures which showed that though he had opposed the entry of the United States into the war, he had taken the position after war was declared that it was his duty to support the Government regardless of his own judgment on the matter. Before passage of the Conscription law he had openly announced his willingness to enlist. When

last May he had addressed a Socialist meeting in Milwaukee, the *Sentinel*, a reactionary daily of that city, in reporting the meeting had declared in its headline, "Bigelow Supports President." He told of the raiding of the meeting of the People's Council, in Cincinnati, which had rented the headquarters of his church for the purpose. In doing this the Federal marshals entered his office and took all papers and documents therein. These were submitted to the grand jury for evidence of sedition, but that body found nothing therein that could be considered disloyal. Upon his demand the Attorney-General then sent a special agent to look over the matter and he too had reported that there was nothing seditious in the matter. It was clear that the mob which attacked him could not have believed him disloyal, must have had other motives and used the mask of patriotism to conceal their real purpose. What this purpose was Mr. Bigelow made clear. As president and member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention he had been active in putting the Initiative and Referendum into the Constitution of the State. This was bitterly fought by the privileged interests of the State. As an evidence of how they were resented, Mr. Bigelow told of a certain ex-President, formerly residing in Ohio, who had spoken recently at a business men's banquet in Cincinnati, and said that he had left the State because that "fool thing" had been put in the Constitution and he would return as soon as it was taken out. As a member of the Legislature, Mr. Bigelow had introduced a bill to revoke the stolen fifty-year franchise of the Cincinnati Street Railway Company, and almost succeeded in getting it through. He had secured referendums on franchise ordinances passed by councils and on ordinances allowing increased rates to lighting monopolies, and thus succeeded in defeating them. In these campaigns the monopolistic interests had made their campaign slogan, "Bigelowism or Business, which do you want?" The comment generally in the business clubs after their defeat was, "That man Bigelow ought to be shot." The war gave them their opportunity. He gave an account of his kidnapping and later treatment. The men who did it, he said, were men interested in Cincinnati's privileged corporations. The men who first seized and handcuffed him were clearly men who had had experience in arresting and handcuffing. The forty men who took part in the affair were men who could take out high-power automobiles. There was some excuse, he said, for the failure of the Federal Government to prosecute his assailants because it might not know who they were. But in the case of the perpetrators of the affair, at Bisbee, there was no excuse. The leaders of the mob there were known and had boasted about it, yet one of them has been appointed a major in the United States Army since the occurrence. As an example of the way the press misrepresents affairs, Mr. Bigelow quoted an editorial from the Chicago *Herald* which asserted that he too had committed outrages. He promised the audience that the writer of that editorial would have a chance to prove his statement, on the witness stand, if he could, in a damage suit to be brought. Mr. Bigelow was followed by Mr. Thomas

who said that the Civil Liberties Bureau was defending cases of outraged persons, who had not Mr. Bigelow's ability to defend themselves. A fund for this purpose was collected. [See volume xx, p. 1060.]

#### **Equitable Income Tax Convention**

The Equitable Federal Income Tax League met at the National Hotel, Washington, on January 15. Among the speakers were Western Starr, Professor Simon N. Patten, John Spargo, Chester M. Wright, William English Walling, John J. Hopper, Benjamin C. Marsh and others. Taxable incomes in the United States in 1917 of 40,819 individuals who received at least \$25,000, according to the league's secretary, Benjamin C. Marsh, amounted to at least \$3,000,000,000. The net earnings of corporations were \$8,693,841,327. Unearned ground rents were \$4,000,000,000. Out of this total of \$15,693,841,327 Congress might have raised at least \$7,000,000,000 in revenue. Instead it provided for but \$3,886,800,000 in taxation, of which only \$2,427,-000,000 will be raised from taxes on incomes and excess profits, while nothing at all is levied on land values. Sympathy with the objects of the league was expressed in letters from Oliver Wilson, master of the National Grange; W. S. Carter, president of the Locomotive Firemen, and others. Representatives to the meeting were appointed by several Governors and mayors as well as by the Grange and by labor organizations. Resolutions were adopted declaring for "democratic financing of the war."

#### **Mexico**

Americans and other foreigners having claims for damages against the Mexican Government for losses sustained during the revolution will be given an opportunity to present them for settlement to a Mexican Claims Commission provided for under a decree just issued by President Carranza. These claims, variously estimated at \$750,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, have been recognized as a matter of principle by the Mexican Government. The Commission will be composed of a president and four members, all native-born Mexicans. This commission will determine the validity of the claim and the amount of damage. The claim will then be submitted to the President of the Republic for his final decision. Foreigners not satisfied with this method may submit their claims to a commission composed of three arbitrators, one named by the President, another by the diplomatic representative of the country to which the claimant owes allegiance, and the third by these two. [See vol. xx, p. 1157.]

#### **Russia**

The peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk have occupied so much attention that there has been little news beside. Recognizing the possibility of failure in the present negotiations, the Russian Government has begun the reorganization of its army. The size of the new army will be very much smaller than the old one, which will permit of better equipment, and the simplification of supplies and transport. Only men

willing to fight are to be enrolled; all others are to be sent home. The Government is also reported to be considering means of repudiating part of the national debt. Payment of dividends by private companies is said to have been stopped by the Government. Transactions in stocks has been forbidden, pending the issuance of ordinances relating to the further nationalization of production and determining the amount of interest payable by private companies. Among the things enumerated in dispatches from Petrograd as having been accomplished by the Bolshevik Government are the nationalization of the mining industry, declaring the munitions factories state property without compensation, and the preparation of decrees for freedom of conscience. The Social Revolutionary members of the Constituent Assembly, which is to meet on the 18th, have issued a manifesto denouncing the Bolsheviks "usurpers of power, who have precipitated the country into an abyss of civil war and anarchy." They declare that only the Constituent Assembly is entitled to represent Russia. Their program is to demobilize the wearied army and recruit a new volunteer army, cease civil war, and proclaim federalism on the basis of a Russian republic. They declare for the abolition of private ownership of land and the nationalization of mines and natural resources. It is reported that a republic of the Don Cossacks has been formed, with General Kaledine as President and Prime Minister. France has named a representative to the Ukraine Republic. Great Britain is treating with the Bolshevik representative in London. [See current volume, page 55.]

#### **European War**

Military activities on all fronts have been of minor importance during the week. Much artillery firing has taken place, and a number of raids are reported, but nothing in the nature of a battle. The Allies are making all preparations for the great offensive the Central Powers are expected to make with their reinforcements from the eastern front. [See current volume, page 54.]

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The Germans, upon the resumption of peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, withdrew the terms previously submitted, on the ground that the failure of the Entente Allies to accept them made necessary a separate peace with Russia. They declined also to shift the conference to neutral territory. Foreign Minister Trotzky, who heads the Russian delegation, waived the Russian demand for a conference on neutral soil in order to give the Germans no excuse for breaking off negotiations. Dr. von Kuehlmann, German Foreign Secretary, was very severe in his arraignment of the Russians. He objected to comments of the Russian press on Germany, and declared Russian propaganda among the German troops and people to be an interference with the internal polity of another country. Foreign Minister Trotzky defended what had been done, and declared the Germans were welcomed to seduce the Russian troops if they could. Details of the new proposals have

not been given out; but it is thought from what has been published that the German delegates are looking for some excuse that will not be condemned by the German people to break off negotiations. Strict orders have been issued by the German Government to permit no Russian propaganda to cross the border, but it is reported that German troops make their way to the Russian lines at night to get the forbidden matter. Fraternizing of troops, which was encouraged by the Germans while undermining the morale of the Russian army, is now strictly forbidden. The armistice, having been extended to February 18, the Russian delegates returned to Petrograd on the 15th. It is reported that the conference will be resumed in a few days at Warsaw. The strife between the Reichstag majority and the German Government is growing in intensity. The Pan-Germanists are against all peace attempts that do not recoup Germany for her losses.

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The British Admiralty reports the sinking of eighteen merchantmen during the week, of 1,600 tons of over, and three under that tonnage. One French ship of over 1,600 tons was sunk. The British hospital ship Rewa, laden with wounded, was sunk without warning by a submarine. The wounded were rescued, but there were three of the crew lost.

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Great Britain is preparing to raise 450,000 additional troops. Sir Auckland Geddes, Minister of National Service, stated in the House of Commons that the Empire had enrolled 7,500,000, of whom England had contributed 4,530,000; Scotland, 620,000; Wales, 280,000; Ireland, 170,000; the dominions and colonies, 900,000; the remaining 1,000,000, composed of native fighting troops, labor corps, carriers and similar workers, were from India, Africa and other dependencies.

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America's part in the war is still confined to the work of preparation, drilling the million and a half of men under arms, sending food and other supplies to Europe, and building ships to carry them. The output of merchant shipping in 1917 was 901,223 tons, or nearly double that of 1916, and almost half of the world's output of that year, 1,899,943 tons. This output of American yards will be increased enormously during the present year. The sinkings by submarines are estimated at about 5,000,000 tons.

## NOTES

—Lawson Purdy, until recently Tax Commissioner of New York City, has been made directing head of the Charity Organization Society.

—Federal operation of railroads as a perpetual policy was denounced by the New York City Board of Trade on January 9.

—The British Woman Suffrage bill, which has passed the second reading in the House of Lords, and is almost certain to become a law, will enfranchise, it is estimated, 6,000,000 women.

—Senator James H. Brady of Idaho died of heart disease in Washington on January 13, aged 55. He was a Republican. His temporary successor will be appointed by Governor Alexander who is a Democrat.

—The employes of the Mexico City street car system, numbering several thousands, have organized a co-operative society for the purpose of purchasing the necessities of life at less than the rates of the regular dealers.

—The Mississippi Legislature was the first to ratify the pending Prohibition Amendment. This occurred on January 8. The House vote was 93 to 8. The Senate voted 32 to 5. The Virginia Senate ratified it on January 10 by 30 to 8. [See volume xx, page 1277.]

—A mutinous outbreak on the Portuguese battleship Vasco de Gama, in Lisbon harbor, in which the battleship fired at a land battery, was checked by artillery fire from the fort. The crew was landed and disarmed, and the Government forces gained possession of the battleship.

—Federal District Judge Killests, of Toledo, was charged by Attorney-General Gregory, on January 14, with contempt of court. Contrary to the order of the Supreme Court he is alleged to have suspended sentence on a prisoner convicted in his court of embezzlement.

—The exports of petroleum from Tampico and Tuxpam, Mexico, for the months of October and November amounted to over six million barrels, from which were collected export taxes of half a million dollars in gold. Twenty-five vessels with cargoes of oil cleared from Tampico during the week ending December 4.

—A petition from the Irish Women's Council in behalf of recognition of independence of Ireland, was presented to President Wilson on January 11 by Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington. The petition declares that the Irish republic has been virtually in existence since April, 1916. Mrs. Skeffington said the petition was smuggled out of England and that she had been commissioned to place it in the President's hands.

—The Right Hon. William Morris Hughes, Premier of Australia, presented his resignation on the 8th, as a result of the defeat of conscription. Mr. Hughes had given the pledge during the campaign that the Nationalists would refuse to govern the country if conscription were defeated. Frank Gwynne Tudor, leader of the Labor party and member of the House of Representatives, will be the new Prime Minister. As the Labor party is in the minority in Parliament it is believed the ministry will be short-lived.—[See volume xx, page 1279.]

—A proper valuation of mineral lands for taxation was ordered by the Supreme Court of Utah on January 3. The Assessor of Carbon County has been valuing coal lands at \$50 an acre, although some have been sold at \$10,000 an acre. The court finds this practice to be in violation of the Constitution and laws of the State and orders a better assessment for 1918. However, it

also declares that the State cannot collect the payments evaded in past years. The increased assessments will bring in \$600,000 additional from Carbon County during the current year.

—A call for a national convention of the Prohibition party at Chicago of March 5 was issued on January 7 by the National Chairman, Virgil G. Hinshaw. The call refers to the spread of prohibition, the submission of a nation-wide amendment, the advance of equal suffrage, public ownership, and other reforms, advocated by the party, and states for these reasons party action in behalf of these measures is in order this year. The convention will also consider the question of merging with the newly formed National party. Prohibition party headquarters are in the Hearst Building, Chicago.

—In a letter to Jacob A. Cantor, newly appointed president of the Tax Commission, Mayor Hylan of New York City called attention to the fact that John D. Rockefeller escapes taxation in Cleveland on \$400,000,000 of personal property because he lives in New York, while in New York he is assessed for but \$5,000,000. Because the bulk of personal property in the city escapes taxation, the Mayor said that "real estate bears an undue share of the burdens of Government." He urged lightening of real estate taxes. In reply Mr. Cantor said that he was considering not how to drive men from the city but how to bring them back.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Loans or Taxes

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Experience teaches us to expect that a workman who has to adapt his job to utterly unfamiliar conditions will follow his routine too much and fail to adapt it. This war, by presenting such a rush of new conditions for statesmanship, is familiarizing us with the fact that this rule applies to statesmen as well as to other workmen.

So, for instance, the routine rule is that an issue of Government bonds has the effect of postponing taxation to the future, because a conveniently large part of the issue can be sold abroad. This year our statesmen realize that practically the whole of any large issue of bonds must be taken at home; but, as far as I can judge from the papers, they base their plans on the theory that issuing bonds still has the effect of postponing taxation. If they realize that this is not true, or that in order to make it true the proposition must be understood in an unusual way, they are not taking the public into their confidence as to this aspect of the matter. But if the war is to last long, and we must still plan for nobody knows how many billions, this point is even now worth studying.

If, as a first step in our argument, we take the American people as a unit, clearly there is no postponement of taxation at all. If a billion is just now to be raised either by taxation or by loan, and we issue a billion of bonds, this makes Brother Jonathan pay the Government a billion in cash this year just as if it had been a

tax; and if Brother Jonathan imagines that he is going to get that billion back in the course of the next quarter-century, then he is fooling himself. Every cent that Uncle Sam pays in the year 1930 to Brother Jonathan, bondholder, Uncle Sam has to get by taking it in the year 1930 from Brother Jonathan, taxpayer. The repayment of the loan consists simply in moving the money from Brother Jonathan's left-hand pocket to Brother Jonathan's right-hand pocket, with a slight expense for the trouble of moving it.

But obviously this does not cover the ground. Everybody knows there is a difference, even now, between a loan and a tax. The difference, if we examine it, will be found to rest upon the proposition that the people is not a unit: that there are no powers, no interests, no rights, no wrongs, except those of a lot of separate bipeds. As soon as you lose sight of this proposition you become unable to define any difference between a tax and a loan which the nation is compelled to take up at home as the alternative to a tax.

Therefore the real difference between tax and Liberty Loan is that the latter enables the individual citizen to choose whether he will pay his tax now or in the future. If he buys just enough bonds so that the interest will meet the taxes which he is hereafter to pay for the expense of meeting the bonds, he is simply paying his tax this year as if the law had been a tax law. If he buys less, or none, he is postponing his tax. If he buys more, then (and not till then) he is becoming the Government's creditor for a net sum that he shall get back.

It is clear that he may choose wisely or unwisely. If his present power of payment bears a lower ratio to his future power than in the case of the average citizen, he will rightly pass the loan by; what else is the difference between tax and loan for except to let him do so? If his ratio of present power to future power is higher than the average, common prudence bids him invest. This condition, that his ratio of present power to future power is higher than the average, may exist even while his present power is below his future power, provided that you admit that the nation as a whole is less able today to pay an extra billion, over and above the taxes that are now being laid, than it will be to pay that billion hereafter when the war taxes are taken off; and almost all arguments for the Loan go on this basis, that the nation is less able today to add that extra billion to its burden than it will be hereafter.

But most of our citizens (apparently, indeed, most of our statesmen) are not mathematical enough to figure all this out at once, just as they have had notorious difficulty in understanding how a high-wage nation can prosperously compete in the open market with a low-wage nation, or why it is that a tax on land makes land cheaper while a tax on whisky makes whisky higher. Therefore they figure out their investments blindfold on a basis of mere gross ability, coupled with an assumption that it is always more patriotic to buy a bond if you can than not to buy it. John Doe does not buy, because he knows that he is not as well able to do so as the average wage-earner; he disregards the fact that with the passage of years his earning power will de-

crease and he will be still further below the average level as to his ability to pay the coming taxes. Richard Roe buys freely because he is well able and is highly patriotic; he sees no reason to the contrary in the fact that his family has every prospect, bonds or no bonds, of occupying a still more advantageous economic position in coming years.

Now the papers tell me that it is better policy for the nation to provide that for the next quarter-century Doe shall have the burden of paying a revenue to Roe added to his other burdens, than to divide the burden this year as decently as it can be and then let that be the end of it. And why? Not for Doe's sake, to protect him against an utterly impracticable overload this year, but, as I read, for Roe's; and not for the sake of Roe's future, which is where Roe is going to get the good, but for the sake of Roe's present, although in fact the loan takes more from Roe's present resources than a tax would. That is, they say the conclusive reason for a loan is that the business community would have its business more disorganized by a tax than by the loan for which it pays more than it would be taxed. It may all be so; for theoretically there may be any number of businesses which are not in Roe's position, but are compelled to preserve their ability to render public services by keeping their funds outside the loan. But practically I don't see it that way. It strikes me that the businesses whose continuance is important to the country are mostly subscribing to the loan in full proportion to their great or small importance; that of the businesses which don't subscribe or which under-subscribe, a heavy percentage are not moved by real inferiority of ability to carry the load; and that the businesses which would really be crushed by a tax, while they survive the loan which takes the same amount of money at the same date from mostly the same pockets, would not be enough to dominate the situation.

I hope I do not underrate the evils of over-taxation, or of throwing too heavy a load of taxation on a single year. But, I repeat for the dozenth time, the loan is neither lightening the load nor postponing it; it is taking the same amount from the same community at the same date, only it is redistributing it; and the more I think of that redistribution, the less I admire it. I wish that while we must and do take from the people's pockets this year this same amount of cash, we were leaving the future unmortgaged. It does not make my present meal of war-bread (which I find palatable) any sweeter to reflect that for twenty-five years to come the poor are to be pinched in order to compensate the non-poor for having pinched themselves this year.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Ballard Vale, Mass.

## The Soul of a Bishop

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I have not read "The Soul of a Bishop." I have little time for novels: my latest was "The Menace of Japan," and even the fiction in Far Eastern politics is

full of an iron that could not be found in a deliberate novel. But I am of opinion that the placing of "preposterous" questioners, honest doubters with either trained or proven intellects before a public which today is spiritually demoralized, is precisely the mental energizing that is needed. Those who could not understand the man and his troubles would not read the book, but plenty of readers to pay for the publishing would be found.

Is "John Inglesant" taboo? My early years found a strengthening therein that no pulpit of today could improve upon. There are others with strong, persistent pages which have stood to prove that many ecclesiastical aspirants are not driven cattle but, if the lightning writes clean, white exhortations for them, they are strong to live, not "above them," but as high as their source.

L. G. HARDING.

Cambridge, Mass.

## The Preferential Ballot

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The editorial reference on Page 6 of the last PUBLIC betokens to my mind an impression on the part of THE PUBLIC that the Grand Junction Preferential Ballot is an attempt at securing proportional representation. You have not said so directly, but the implication seems to me plain. This impression is, however, flatly stated in a municipal journal in an Ohio city, which states that the plan used in San Francisco "is designed to bring about proportional representation."

In the interest of correct understanding I think it would be well to have it understood that the Preferential Ballot of Grand Junction—now in force in upward of fifty American cities, including San Francisco—is not an attempt to secure proportional representation at all. It is an attempt to insure that behind each official elected through its use, there will be as large a group of supporters as possible, at least a majority, in fact, if there is anyone among the list of nominees who can secure so large a support. Its natural field of application is in the choice of a mayor, or of officials like the commissioners of a commission-governed city, behind each one of whom it is assumed to be desirable that there be the largest possible body of supporters.

This the Grand Junction Preferential Ballot does, with the elimination of primaries, and does it, I think it may be confidently stated, better than any other system that had been suggested.

In case, however, of a body which is primarily legislative, where it is important that each large group should have a representative, and where a smooth working executive body is not at all the primary consideration, proportional representation has its proper field of application, and should of course be resorted to. The ballot for the purpose would naturally differ from the Grand Junction ballot. One system is intended for one purpose, and the other system for a very different purpose. There is no antagonism between the two. The

confusion between them is due undoubtedly to the fact that in each case the ballot used gives a chance for the expression more than one choice by each voter.

It should be recognized once and for all that the choice between the two systems rests entirely upon the decision of the purpose intended. A mayor or the members of a city commission each one of whom is to be executive head of a department, and is in only minor degree a legislative or deliberative official, calls naturally for the Grand Junction Preferential Ballot. A city manager form, where a city council primarily legislative, like that of Ashtabula, clearly calls for proportional representation—preferably the Hare system, which it now uses.

LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON.

Cambridge, Mass.

## Why Patriotic?

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

THE PUBLIC has been endorsed by many of the most astute and competent men and women as living up to its own description of itself as carried on cover page—"A Journal of Democracy."

There are some war problems that seem incomprehensible to many believers in democracy. A plausible explanation of apparent inconsistencies in the official conduct of many in high positions, would do more to enthuse active energetic support from many who are accused of wasting their strength in opposition to plans of industrial barons (in a democracy) than anything I can name. I therefore submit the following for explanation through the columns of THE PUBLIC:

1. Why is it that Congressmen, Senators and the Press vie with each other in advertising the "patriotism" of those who buy liberty bonds to aid their government (and secure 4 per cent on a safe investment) and conspire in a similar united campaign of silence and suppression of the comparatively greater patriotism and honesty of those who render accurate income tax returns? To say nothing of the greater difficulty and expense in collection, the law requiring secrecy as regards income taxes paid, appears absolutely at variance with policy pursued in the selling of liberty bonds.

2. Also in view of the harsh condemnation of many editorial writers and many officials in Congress and industry anent efforts of organized labor to maintain wages in ratio with growing costs of living, why is it that Barney Baruch by the same individuals is hailed as a "patriot" of the "nth" power for arranging the compromise price of 23½ cents for government copper when the conduct of him and associates is on a par with the shyster merchant who raises a reasonable price (perhaps) of \$4 to \$8 in order to advertise as "patriotism" the cut to \$6?

A plausible explanation of the above, if there is one, will do a lot for a more active enthusiastic campaign on the part of many to stimulate production in all forms of industry.

F. G. SWANSON.

Balboa, C. Z.

## BOOKS

### The Soul of Revolution

*The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution: Reminiscences and Letters of Catherine Breshkovsky.* Edited by Alice Stone Blackwell. Published by Little, Brown & Company, Boston. Price \$2.00 net.

Rarely is it given to one person to pass through such extremes of fortune as Catherine Breshkovsky; and seldom does one who has suffered such persecution for a cause live to see its triumph. Booker Washington's "Up from Slavery" suggests itself while following the story of the Little Grandmother; for, like Booker Washington's struggle from obscurity to leadership of his people, the untiring efforts of Catherine Breshkovsky mark the rousing consciousness of a race. As one sees in the toilsome efforts of the founder of Tuskegee the obstacles to be overcome by every aspiring Negro, so one beholds in the life of this Russian heroine the pain and sorrow that accompanied the liberation of a nation.

The world is wondering at the course of the Russian people. Wise students of affairs hesitate to forecast the events of the next day. Clever observers in Petrograd say they cannot understand the people or the government. Perhaps no one can understand. The Russians themselves have different views on many points. But it is doubtful if there is any other book that will go so far toward clearing the way as this life of Mme. Breshkovsky. Her personal origin as a member of a well-to-do family, educated, cultured, happily married, with home of her own, and opportunity to reach out a hand to the stolid, stirring mass beneath, throws light upon that great army of young men and young women who have given up their social advantages and suffered in behalf of the people all the evils that tyranny could inflict.

But it is not alone the personal fortunes that one follows in this remarkable book. Interwoven with her life is the life of a race, a nation; and one sees in concrete form the unfolding of the peasant soul, its awakening to self-consciousness, its hunger for liberty, and its demand for land, without which there can be no real freedom. One sees through the eyes of the child Catherine in the '40's and '50's before serfdom was abolished, the peasants toiling from before day till after dark. "They worked everywhere and always. They were scolded, they were whipped, they were exiled to Siberia, at the whim of their master, for the least fault. Their wives and daughters were taken to serve the master or his sons as mistresses; their children were carried off without their consent to be trained as servants or to serve in the house." These are but a few of the things that burned themselves into the soul of the child, and steeled her determination to leave family, husband, home, and class to devote her life to the people.

When Catherine was seventeen, in 1861, the emancipation of the serfs occurred. But the hopes of the peasants were dashed by finding that though they were no longer bound to the land of their master they had no land at all. Under the old regime each had had a plot of his master's land upon which to raise food for

his family, and had supposed that this plot would still be his, and that he could in addition sell a part of his labor for wages. "The peasant was free. No longer bound to the land, his landlord ordered him off. He was shown a little strip of the poorest soil, there to be free and starve. He was bewildered; he could not imagine himself without his old plot of land. For centuries past, an estate had always been described as containing so many 'souls.' It was sold for so much 'per soul.' The 'soul' and plot had always gone together." The cry for land rose all over Russia. But the government of landowners, by the exercise of every known cruelty, broke the spirit of the peasants, in the course of five years, and compelled submission.

It was the sight of this inarticulate mass of humanity that led Catherine Breshkovsky to devote fifty years of her life to a labor that she knew in advance meant imprisonment, exile, and the suffering of every conceivable hardship. And it was the consciousness that thousands of other men and women were making the same sacrifices that sustained her during the thirty years she was an exile in Siberia. Out of it grew a great secret organization composed of men and women of all classes who devoted themselves to the overthrow of a government that made such things possible. It is the glimpses of these self-sacrificing men and women one gets in the letters written by "Baboushka"—dear little grandmother, as her friends affectionately call her—during her many years of suffering and privation in prison and in exile, that enable one to understand in some degree the fierce impatience of the Revolutionists now in control of the government at Petrograd. For revolution meant to these people not merely a change in the form of government, but a radical difference in substance. It was not a question of changing an autocratic landlord government into a constitutional landlord government, but of getting some form that would do away altogether with landlordism.

It was in accord with poetic justice that Catherine Breshkovsky, who was among the first to enlist in the revolutionary war, who had given so much to the cause, and suffered so much in its behalf, should have lived to see the Czar and his class exiled, and herself return in triumph. That her home-coming from Siberia as the heroine of the revolution should have been somewhat clouded by the strife between the revolutionists themselves is one of the limitations of fate. She counsels harmony and good faith. She realizes as many do not that there is much yet to do before the revolution can be pronounced a success. She sees that great mass of people, victims of ages of oppression, groping blindly for the light. Her first words when presented to the Moscow Douma, on her return, were that there was only one demand at every station and cross roads where the train stopped: "It is the groan of the people for literature, books, teachers." Instead of conscripting all the young men to serve in the army, as under the old regime she would like, she said, to have every man and woman in Russia who could read and write conscripted to serve a few years as a school teacher. What an ideal! Conscript those favored with an education to teach the others. With this thought she began at once

the work of preparing a great publishing plant to print and distribute books in language so plain that the peasants can understand. "The new history," she says, "must make all the nations members of one family." She declares that the people must be masters of the soil they cultivate. And she urges the intellectual classes not to oppose such a solution.

One cannot read the simple story of this woman's life without feeling the presence of a great soul. It is seen in her devotion to her fellow exiles during her days of strength; and it is seen in their devotion to her when her own strength began to fail. She was loved by children, by the revolutionists, by the peasants, by the American friends she made on her visit to this country in 1904, between periods of exile. And now as she goes about the country, an old woman of nearly seventy-four years, teaching the people the new freedom, there seems but one word to describe her, a title greater than that of Czar, "Baboushka"—dear little grandmother—of the Russian Revolution.

S. C.

### A Seer's View

*Towards Industrial Freedom.* By Edward Carpenter. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons. Price \$1.50.

If there is one lesson more than another that ought in these agonizing days, to be burned into the consciousness of the human race, it is that the most "im-practical" among men is he into whose hands we have hitherto trustingly committed the guidance of our affairs—the man who must have everything reduced to what he calls "a business proposition" and whose vision extends no further than the point of his own nose. This so-called "practical" man has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The result of his guidance or misguidance lies before us in such a tornado of social disharmonies as the world has never before seen. The energies of the nation, urgently required as they are for concentration upon the one purpose of freeing civilization from a great menace, are being dissipated in domestic or industrial strife. With sources of supply, means of production and facilities for distribution, multiplied far beyond the increase in population, we yet have alleged shortages in the necessities of life with all the suffering that this brings, and (what should appeal most to the practical politician) the waste of human force in the endeavor to cope with it. As we survey the inglorious mess that our "business" men have made of our affairs, should a counsel even of despair not suggest the thought that it is time the idealist had a turn at the steering-wheel? "Behold this dreamer cometh, let us slay him," said the sons of Jacob, of the visionary brother, who afterwards saved his people from famine by his vision and foresight. It is not our habit in these days to kill our prophets. We invite them to lecture at our forum meetings, we shake them warmly by the hand and assure them of our deepest sympathy, we discuss their books with a pleasant feeling of emotional expansion—and we keep them carefully out of the management of our affairs and elect the kind of men we know of, the kind whose wisdom works out to—what we read of in the newspapers today. Should we not, in all seriousness, paraphrase the prayer

of the Publican and say, "God be merciful to us, Fools"?

If the British people had possessed sufficient of that wisdom which exalteth a nation, it would long e'er this have laid hold of that now veteran idealist, the author of "Civilization, Its Cause and Cure," and harnessed him to the work of leading his country out of the state of bondage in which it has lain for centuries, into the condition of liberty of which he has dreamed and written so much. Mr. Carpenter is now seventy-four years of age, but in a spiritual and intellectual sense his eye is not dim nor his natural force abated. His latest book, "Towards Industrial Freedom," consists of eight papers mostly written before the outbreak of the Great War, with a recently written introduction. This introduction serves to give these papers coherence and unity, and to invest them with a prophetic quality, or cosmic consciousness of events in the making, that fairly establishes the author's title to the name of "seer." For the difference between the idealistic temperament and that of the unimaginative "practical" man is mainly this, that the former can "sense" approaching changes in much the same way that dumb animals are made aware of coming thunder-storms. We are, as Mr. Carpenter says, "in the presence of a universal judgment-day. And while the one living idea which can save society, is that of a new social order resting on reason and justice, there have so far appeared on the scene only old men professing old ideas, making use of old principles, repeating ancient discourses and seeming to be willing to do anything rather than change their old habits." This fact is indeed the most depressing feature in the world's outlook at present, but the faith sustains us that when we are quite ready for the new order, the leaders with that mysterious sixth sense of vision will not be wanting—that the same deeply-rooted cause that is preparing us for this new order of things will produce the kind of leadership that is required.

The following chapters are partly historical and partly philosophic. "The Industrial Transformation" gives a vivid account of the development of large-scale industry and the apotheosis of commerce that dazzled the imaginations of men in the early part of the nineteenth century. The chapters on "Industry as an Art" and "Beauty in Everyday Life" are redolent of the spirits of William Morris and John Ruskin. That on "Non-Governmental Society" shows with how little governing a community might conceivably get along if only each of its members were assured of a decent subsistence. "Aristocracy and the Lords" exposes pitilessly the fatuous imbecility of continuing to uphold a house of peers and a feudal aristocracy in a country that thinks of herself as being in the forefront of human progress. "A waste of dullness, commonplaceness and reaction—it produces no artists, no men of letters of distinction, no inventors, no great men of science, no serious reformers, hardly even a great political leader." In the "Village and the Landlord" the oft-told tale is repeated of the colossal crime by which ten million acres of common lands "passed" from public use into landowners' hands between 1760 and 1880, by "enclosure" acts enacted by a parliament of landlords—and regarding

which the author says, "surely there ought not to be much difficulty in passing them back again." The final chapter on "Social and Political Life in China" is exceedingly educative and ought to modify the feelings of superiority with which we have hitherto regarded that ancient empire. The pressure of social customs as distinct from laws, Mr. Carpenter indicates, has made for healthy communal life more distinctly than in Western countries. "An Unwritten Law of Public Opinion," for example, "makes it discreditable to live upon rents of land without being actually engaged in its cultivation." Would that our Western civilization had advanced even thus far in the development of the moral sense or social conscience.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

\* \*

The native land is the pre-eminent mother. But who would wish his mother to be brutal and cruel to be a liar and a thief? Yet in every country there are patriots who are never so proud as when this mother has appropriated the possessions and territories of others, violated and perhaps slaughtered some weak and less well-armed nation and reduced to slavery defenseless populations. Patriots are seen swelling with pride when their country, their mother, has committed one of those very acts which would make them die of shame had their own sons been guilty of it! True patriotism is not of this kind. It does not consist in constantly inciting the country, like a bloodhound, to hunt and murder; nor in applauding when it comes back from the chase carrying some new prey in its jaws.—*Paul Richard in "To the Nations."*

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