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A Journal of Democracy

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The assurance of Mr. Hurley that American yards can turn out 13,518,000 deadweight tons of shipping in 1919 is an assurance that there is no longer any such thing as the submarine menace. The U-boats will increase the hazards of war and inflict serious damage, but they cannot destroy shipping as speedily as we can build it. Already Mr Hurley feels justified in taking this for granted and talking rather of 1920, when this country will be the possessor of a merchant marine aggregating 25,000,000 tons. Before the end of the current year, Mr. Hurley tells us, we shall be producing at the rate of a half million tons each month. His estimate of 13,518,000 tons during 1919 is based on the construction of three ships a year averaging 6,000 tons each on each of 751 ways, of which all except ninety are now completed. The significance of a Government-owned and operated merchant marine of 25,000,000 tons is enormous. It will be the greatest merchant fleet ever operated under one flag. "This fleet," said Mr. Hurley, "must become the greatest instrument of international probity, honesty and square dealing at the close of the war. It must become the vast and vital machine whereby America will prevent the oppression of the weak by the strong, the crushing of right by might." For many months it has been plain to

students of passing events that England's supremacy on the sea is being destroyed by the present war, and that henceforth the United States is to be the most powerful of nations. Germany may accomplish her object of reducing England to a position of secondary power, but instead of taking England's place for herself, she has forced the United States into the leadership. The fact that our merchant marine is to be publicly owned and operated is a most vital factor in determining how we shall use our new power. Already, before we entered the war, America's financial leaders were preparing to build up a great merchant marine and use it to embark on a campaign of economic imperialism. With shipping in Government hands, we shall have every opportunity to bring foreign trade under democratic control and to use this control to free it of those factors that make for exploitation, friction, and war. Centralized control of shipping has superseded tariffs as a means of interfering with freedom of trade. In comparison with it, tariffs are a clumsy and ineffective device. We shall have free trade and international justice largely according to whether or not our Government continues to be controlled by men who place these things above special privileges for a class.

* * *

Mr. Gompers' ability to measure up to the new opportunities of organized labor will be tested during the next two weeks at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Paul. If he uses his own remarkable abilities as a leader and the machinery of control which he has built up inside the Federation for the purpose of discouraging any movement looking toward a political platform of fundamental reforms, he will have done democracy a grave disservice and perhaps destroyed an opportunity that will not soon come again. This is a time of change, with organized labor enjoying a power

and prestige that may or may not outlast the circumstances of the day and year. It is labor's opportunity to assume leadership in the formulation and execution of a plan of social reconstruction, and so to carry all society forward by great strides. We could be complacent in the face of reactionary leadership if we had any assurance that the present opportunities would remain open, because we could be sure that the progressive elements in the labor movement would prevail next year if not this. But we have no such assurance. The least that the rank and file and the American democracy as a whole expect of labor's leaders this year is that they will face the subject of economic reconstruction and grapple with it through the adoption of resolutions providing for the drawing up of a program to be adopted at the next convention. Such a program should have been prepared for consideration at the St. Paul meeting. Instead, Mr. Gompers has pooh-poohed the program of the British Labor Party and announced that American labor should confine itself to trades unionism, or "action in the economic field." Its work in that field, and its gains during the past year, are fundamental, and it is impossible to exaggerate their importance. But to stop there would be for labor to turn its back on great democratic forces outside of the labor movement in this country that are ready and anxious to join with labor, under labor's leadership, in a drive on the fundamental causes of economic evils, and in the carrying forward of a program that will regenerate all society. If such a program is to be formulated by the American Federation of Labor, the task cannot be left to the Executive Council. It should be put in the hands of a large representative committee, the members of which would approach their task with minds open to the possibilities.

* * *

It remained for that staunch feminist and distinguished actress, Miss Mary Shaw, to call the attention of a New York audience during the Red Cross drive to the fact that it was a woman, Florence Nightingale, who started this work of mercy during the Crimean war, and who did it in the face of the open or inert opposition of, among others, Queen Victoria. Also that it was another woman, Miss Clara Barton, who organized the work in America and left it with a glorious record for service. "Don't get the

idea that the Red Cross is a few millionaires and society people," Mrs. Shaw told her audience bluntly. And she gave them the story of these two women, each at times unpopular and anything but fashionable, to demonstrate that the Red Cross is truly an enterprise of the people. Nor did she refrain from indicating her disapproval at the scant recognition given them in the speaking and writing of the day.

The Path to Victory

The beginning of a fourth offensive continues the German program of testing the moral tenacity of the Allied peoples. It is reassuring that the French are as confident as at the beginning of the year of their ability to repel these onslaughts. There is certain to be a small proportion of the civilian population that will suffer intimidation and develop the theory that the Germans are an army of irresistible ogres. The effect on England of this succession of drives and their gain of territory is what might be expected—a still further stiffening of national determination. It is here in America that the greatest effect will be discovered. Just as Brest Litovsk disclosed the reality of German aggressive aims, this repeated indentation of the Allied line will bring home to us the magnitude of our task. No amount of explanation or preaching has yet made the average American understand the desperate character of the struggle before him. He begins now to realize it. His surface complacency barely hides the profound realization taking place in his consciousness. That which has most retarded our preparations, which has undermined our determination, has been our blind and fatuous optimism. The mere fact of American participation, the mere show of potential strength, it was long thought, would be an adequate substitute for fighting. This has been, since the battle of the Marne, the great Entente disease that made its attack at periods of vital importance. For a whole year England believed that the Triple Entente would crush Germany so easily that she herself would never be called to exert a maximum effort. The doctrine of the short war aided the doctrine of the internal dissolution of Germany to create the feeling that there was no need to try very hard. Military preparation could be made by expedients that would

prove adequate. This mistake of our Ally was one from which America learned nothing. The general feeling here was that no great show of military force would be needed in Europe. The thought that Germany might be successful in France has never been allowed to enter any one's mind. Our press has consistently minimized German power, discovered a low morale in German troops, and exaggerated German political dissension. Then came the silly belief in our inventive genius that would end the war at a stroke. Every decline in submarine sinkings signalized the complete mastery of this menace. Our ship-building and airplane programs seemed an open door to instant achievement on a stupendous scale. We have paid the price of regarding this war with the attitude of children. That has passed, as it passed in England. Grim determination, readiness to endure the utmost sacrifice, are the present consequences of the German show of offensive strength. We understand that an effort of undreamed of magnitude is essential to protect us from the world menace. We realize too that the mere possession of great economic and human resources does not mean fighting strength. Military efficiency cannot be extemporized. The German gains are hardly an adequate reward for the men and material sacrificed; they are certainly no sufficient return for the decades of German history devoted to the building of the military machine. On the whole, our preparatory efforts thus weakened by complacency must be accounted successful. We are at last in the war.

One further stage we must now achieve,—the ability calmly to face and estimate facts. The war experience of England and France has demonstrated beyond a doubt that nothing is gained by withholding facts. There is nothing so injurious to a determined national purpose as the feeling that leadership is either ignorant or is deliberately misinforming the public; and this applies to the estimate of the task ahead. What would be thought of bridge-building that began with persuading all concerned that the river was only half its real width, and that the bridge would have to carry only a fraction of the load that would come upon it? The real basis of pessimism is miscalculation or misrepresentation. Americans are men enough to measure themselves against the task as it is, to carry it through to completion, and if it stops short of comple-

tion, to realize fully what further steps are necessary. What is required is comprehensive vision in which details like an attack on the western front fall into their proper values. And when this vision is achieved, grounds of apprehension and pessimism are completely swept away. Let us not, therefore, minimize the position and strength of our enemy. Every German in Germany has now the conviction that the war has issued in an overwhelming victory for the Central Empires. As a matter of fact, the German military machine has gained no victory of measurable importance. It inflicted on the Russians no defeat that was vital. Its present position in that country is entirely due to other than military factors. On the western front, until March, its defeat was continuous. Where then is German victory? It consists in the alliance now being concluded between the Central Empires which effects practical unification, in the extension of this arrangement to Bulgaria and Turkey, and in the opening of opportunities for economic exploitation of the small states carved out of the Russian Empire. The real German victory in 1871 was German unification. Something similar, on a larger scale, is for Germany the actual result of the present war. Seen in the large the present events on the western front are but oscillation within a deadlock. Behind, and because of the war, Middle Europe has become a reality. Germany's preponderant position in Eastern Europe is equally a reality. There are within sight no resources available to the Allies for countering German action in those regions. The settlement must go forward to the final stage.

What is the position of the Allies? Here again the war may be seen as an environment of special stress that has rapidly evolved new factors. The one important fact is that Germany is confronted by the world—a group of twenty-two nations acting in concert for the protection of their common interests. What this means can only be grasped by seeing the distance traveled since 1914. French, British, and Russian diplomacy set itself at once to secure the sympathy and aid of neutrals, and to bring as many as possible into participation. The way in which this feat was accomplished challenges admiration, for the alliance of 1914 was full of antagonistic promises, of compromises with imperialistic ambitions and irredentist aspira-

tions. The wonder is that the combination could have been effected. Contrast what happened then with the present alliance against Germany. Particularist aims have largely vanished, and a new common basis has been discovered.

The unification of Middle Europe is of incomparably less significance than the unification of the British Empire, and this is only a minor case in the larger process. It cannot be too emphatically insisted that the alliance against Germany is a new international order, a veritable league of free peoples, based on principles of cooperation and fair dealing, from which the log-rolling of 1914 has disappeared. It is unification in which formal treaties are unnecessary. It is an arrangement made by peoples and not by diplomatic representatives. The rule of genuine international law has finally made its appearance. What is strange is the failure to recognize this new order, to bring it to full consciousness, and apply it in definite principles and arrangements. Naturally, it is the work of a democratic State Department to work out the new system of adjustments. We can only note with sorrow our official shortcomings. But the new order exists and will continue to exist. It cannot even be congealed and destroyed by the League to Enforce Peace.

Another element in allied victory is the fact that the center of gravity in world affairs has shifted from Europe. Five years ago the affairs of Asia, Africa, and, in a lesser degree, of this continent, were shaped in the capitals of Europe by the representatives of six European Powers, balanced against each other in two groups. Germany has fatuously believed that if she could predominate in this council and through it on the continent of Europe, she would in consequence dominate the world. But when the balance of power vanished with the collapse of Russia, the German ambition vanished with it. Because the regulation of world affairs shifted immediately away from Europe. When England, France and Italy leagued themselves with America a change of venue was established. To dominate the continent of Europe Germany will find to be a disadvantage, in case she can maintain herself to the end of the war and hold her Eastern gains. For the assemblage of Powers leagued against her, unified by the world's waterways, protected by overwhelming sea-power, can so limit her opportunities of development as to render her

powerless. If it should happen that the task of crushing the German army is too great, if the defense of France should call for all that can be legitimately expended in the war, there is still no cause to worry. It is essential that the Germans be driven out of France and Belgium. Beyond that, it is essential that our allies conclude the war without being weakened in their vital functions. If this is necessary, it probably involves another war, and the prospect can only be faced with dismay. The reassuring fact is that the burden of preparation of the whole world against Germany will not, when rightly apportioned, be difficult to bear. It is improbable that Germany, unless chastened by defeat, will be qualified to enter the group of free peoples. It is certain that war bitterness will have its effect. But again, facts must be faced. Meanwhile, it must not be forgotten that Germany will have two disintegrative influences of the first importance. One is the insistent and conscious pressure of the oppressed nationalities, and the other is—Bolshevism.

The war is then, in its largest aspect, the birth-travail of internationalism. America's part in this new order is obvious. The new principles of international morality have been discerned and stated by our President. It is for us to understand and apply them.

Mr. McAdoo's Program

Secretary McAdoo's letter to Mr. Kitchin gives liberals in Congress just the support they need in overcoming the resistance to an adequate revenue bill. He recommends that \$8,000,000,000 be raised this year by taxation, and "that a real war profits tax at a high rate be levied upon all war profits." Mr. McAdoo's estimate of expenditures for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1918, is \$24,000,000,000, but this is avowedly liberal and includes loans to the Allies, which have been running at nearly half a billion a month. Assuming that our total expenditures will be \$24,000,000,000 and that \$6,000,000,000 of this will represent loans to the Allies, the \$8,000,000,000 to be raised in taxes will constitute 45 per cent. of our own actual expenditures. This is more than the total of such expenditures for the fiscal year that ends July 1. For the eleven months from July 1, 1917, to June 1, 1918, our actual expendi-

tures, exclusive of loans to the Allies, were only \$6,610,471,419, but more than one billion of this sum was spent in May, 1918, and the monthly total is rapidly rising. Mr. McAdoo's estimates provide for a rate of expenditure during the ensuing fiscal year $33\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. greater than that during May, when expenditures, including loans to the Allies, reached a total of \$1,508,195,233.

The strength of the Wilson Administration is demonstrated by the almost complete absence of open criticism of a program which goes so far toward meeting the demands of organized farmers and wage earners, and of all others who insist that prevailing economic injustices shall not be carried over into and even augmented by our war finance program. In contrast with Congress' muddling last summer, the Administration is this year handling the revenue situation in masterly fashion. First we had President Wilson's appeal to Congress, with its instantaneous success in overcoming inertia and cowardice in that body. And now there is Mr. McAdoo's letter to Mr. Kitchin,—the letter of a responsible official who knows what he is talking about and states his case so plainly and cogently that there is no answer. An Associated Press dispatch reports that several members of the Senate Finance Committee are opposed to raising so much by taxation, and propose a reduction to \$6,000,000,000. But these dissenters remain anonymous. Apparently they asked the reporter not to quote them. They advance no reasons. Perhaps they are waiting for Professor Seligman to rig them up plausible arguments. Meanwhile, Secretary McAdoo's assistants are preparing the data on profits and incomes for presentation to Congress in response to Senator Borah's resolution.

All this does not mean that the country can turn its back on the subject and trust Congress to enact a bill in line with the recommendations of President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo. The Senate Finance Committee is only too willing to be convinced that great fortunes and big war profits be spared. Senator Simmons, as the Democratic Chairman, and Senator Penrose, as the ranking Republican member of the Committee, are not so far apart on the subject as Senator Simmons' political affiliations might indicate. Organized labor and farmers' bodies should be represented at the hearings by agents who would keep them advised during the various stages of

the bill's course through Congress. Singletax organizations will be peculiarly remiss if they are not represented by spokesmen who will call the attention of Congress to the great unearned values piling up all over the country to the account of land owners, and to the necessity of taxing these values if a particularly unjust form of war profiteering is to be avoided.

As to war profits that accrue year by year, the country will be satisfied with nothing less than an 80 per cent. flat tax. These profits began for many of our great industrial corporations as early as 1915, and there is nothing but dishonesty and special interest in the pleas of editors and other spokesmen for the profiteers that we must now approach the English rate gradually. Said Mr. McAdoo in his letter to Mr. Kitchin: "The existing excess profits tax does not always reach war profits. The rates of excess profits taxation are graduated and the maximum is 60 per cent. In Great Britain there is a flat rate of 80 per cent. on all war profits. The Government departments, under great pressure as they are to get necessary war materials and supplies with the utmost expedition, cannot in the nature of things fix their prices nor guard their contracts in such a way as to avoid the possibility of profiteering. The one sure way is to tax away the excessive profits when they have been realized."

Of equal importance is Mr. McAdoo's recommendation for a higher rate of taxation of unearned than of earned incomes. He proposes to increase the normal rate of taxation on incomes in excess of \$4,000 to 12 per cent. and to impose an additional normal tax on unearned incomes. Under existing acts, incomes over \$4,000 for married men or \$3,000 for single men are subject to two normal taxes of 2 per cent. each,—one of which was provided in the income tax law of 1916 and the other, which reaches incomes lower by \$2,000, by the revenue act of last summer. In addition, Congress, by some absurdity, imposed last summer a further tax of 8 per cent. on earned incomes in excess of \$4,000, while leaving unearned incomes with only the normal rate of 4 per cent., unless they were large enough to come under the surtaxes. Mr. McAdoo proposes to continue the 12 per cent. rate as a normal tax on earned incomes and to impose a higher normal rate on unearned incomes. He would then exempt future bond issues from this taxa-

tion, while leaving them subject to the surtaxes, with the object of placing Government securities more nearly on a par with corporate securities and removing the incentive of those who live on unearned incomes to invest in corporate securities rather than Government bonds. By this means he believes that he can avoid any increase in the interest rate on future bond issues. At present, he says, "there is a natural feeling among the masses of the people that taxation upon incomes and upon war profits should be high enough to bring the return from corporate investments more nearly on a parity with the return from Government bonds; that the Government should not be forced to compete for credit with war industries which are profiting abnormally and which, unless restrained by the exercise of sound and just taxation, will constantly add to the difficulties of the people of the United States in their effort to supply the Government at reasonable interest rates with the credit it needs to fight successfully this war for Liberty."

We have here recognition by the Government that money invested in the securities of the great corporations that own and operate our basic industries is subject to no risk and is entitled to returns not substantially greater than those brought by Government bonds. To enforce this principle, Mr. McAdoo obtained the authority of Congress to organize the War Finance Corporation, with its Capital Issues Committee, in order that there can be no complaint that corporations will find themselves unable to finance their operations with their profits reduced. If Mr. McAdoo can establish the principle that capital invested should earn no more than $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., whether the investment be in Government bonds or corporation securities, he will have done something almost revolutionary. Seventeen million Americans subscribed to the Third Liberty Loan, and to the three loans the number of subscribers must be at least twenty-five millions. The great majority never before lent their money at interest. Mr. McAdoo now insists that they shall be on something like a parity with other investors in respect to interest rates. If their money, which in most instances represents hard-earned savings, brings only $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest, why should anyone receive more? Here we have a line of thought that is sure to influence profoundly the public's views as to what constitutes "fair return on capital invested."

Our Worst Profiteers

In every industrial center of the United States, the local labor press devotes columns of space in every issue to the rent profiteers and to the growing resentment of wage earners against landlords who threaten eviction if their tenants do not pay increases running from ten to forty per cent. Thus, through one of its many manifestations, is labor becoming conscious of that exploitation which levies heavier exactions than any other on the workers and producers of America. What they do not realize is the thousand and one unseen ways in which land monopoly curtails their opportunities, reduces their incomes, and takes toll of their earnings at every turn. The worst profiteers in America today are the landowners who are adding billions to the value of their holdings and forcing the rest of the country to pay returns on these added billions for the privilege of using our natural resources. Whether it is building lots in the industrial center, or land needed for warehouses at the great inland terminals and seaports, or farm land needed for wheat, or mineral land underlain with iron or coal or copper, the owners are reaping vast amounts of unearned wealth through the mere fact of owning natural resources that are needed by the community and worked by others. These owners are the worst profiteers, not in the sense that they are guilty of any moral turpitude, for their gains are sanctioned by law and practice and popular toleration. They are the worst profiteers in the sense that they are the beneficiaries of a system that enriches them at the cost of no effort by themselves, while at the same time it curtails production, limits opportunity, and enormously increases the cost of living. Official spokesmen for the American Federation of Labor at the "Win the War for Permanent Peace" conference at Philadelphia took note of this silent profiteering in a formal statement of labor's views which it presented to the conference. Labor was represented by Messrs. Arthur E. Holder, Hugh Frayne, Grant Hamilton, and John A. Voll. After presenting labor's demand for heavier taxation of war profits, their statement said: "A great part of American wealth is not reached at all by this tax; unimproved real estate even when rapidly rising in value and other similar property producing no technical income, a total of many billions." And

they proposed drastic increases in the inheritance tax as a means of reaching these values.

Certainly Mr. Holder knows a better way, for he has often urged it in compelling fashion during his long service with organized labor. It is to apply to land and all natural resources the principle of beneficial use,—a principle recognized by the courts of California and other Western States in respect to water for power and irrigation. Under this principle, no man can divert or control or forbid the use by others of water that he himself is not putting to beneficial use. It is a principle that is accepted as a matter of elementary and obvious justice in those arid states where water is the precious *sine qua non* of human habitation. And there is absolutely no reason why the same principle should not be applied to land. We have not done it in the past because until recently there was land enough for every man, and no small minority of the population could by any possibility control enough land to curtail the opportunities of their fellows. Rents and values had to be kept at low figures, or those who wanted land would move further west where it was free. Today all the land in the country is held in private ownership, and because the theory of beneficial use is not applied to land tenure, vast quantities of it are held out of use by owners whose fortunes grow rapidly from year to year as the pressure of the community's need becomes greater and greater and land values go up and up. Nearly half of the agricultural land of the nation is uncultivated. Every industrial center is surrounded by a belt of unused land, held at prices out of reach of the people who live crowded together in tenements and flats. It is land sorely needed for immediate use. If the people of these cities were western ranchers and recognized their need for more space and cheaper space as western ranchers recognize the need for water, they would not tolerate the prevailing system of land tenure for one minute. They would insist that the State apply the principle of beneficial use, and force speculating land owners to use their land or release it to others who need it. In some farming districts they are already doing this. The North Dakota State Council of Defense has commandeered vast tracts of idle farm land held by speculators, and is apportioning these tracts to industrious farmers of the neighborhood. The slacker owners of unused land are to receive only one-eighth of the

crop. It is a war measure, and a drastic one. The simple and practicable remedy is taxation. Every dictate of the times demands it. We need greater production, more revenue, lower living costs. The way to get them is to tax unused land at the same rate as used land of the same quality, or if farm land, of equally convenient situation, if in town or city. Incidentally, this would be to exempt all improvements from taxation. It would place land at the disposal of every man who was able and willing to use it. It would wipe out the most flagrant form of profiteering. It would tax those incomes that most accurately can be called "unearned." It would remove a great incubus from human society. It would establish equality of opportunity and hasten the democratization of industry. It would add incalculably to the sum total of wealth and happiness.

Censuring the Wrong Man

When, in times of great social disturbance and unsettled opinions, the drag-net charge of conspiracy or disloyalty is cast into a crowd it may gather into its folds the innocent along with the guilty; and it behooves the wielders of the net to be careful lest in their eagerness to correct an evil they do needless harm. This is true of members of society as well as officers of the law. Greater care, indeed, is incumbent upon the public than upon its legal representatives; for, whereas the law moves slowly and is always subject to the restraint of public opinion, the mob acts swiftly, and does its mischief before public opinion can be brought to bear. The impassioned men of an Illinois village who hanged a German, for no other reason apparently than that he was a German, brought shame upon the whole country.

But the lynching spirit is not confined to Illinois mining towns, nor its victims to foreign-born residents. It crops out in centers of culture, and falls sometimes upon most deserving citizens. A case in point is that of the Cornell class of 1873, which has seen fit to expel from membership David Starr Jordan because of alleged disloyal pacifist activities. This action was not so drastic as that of the Illinois mob, and there remains the possibility of a reversal of judgment; but the sudden breaking of fraternal ties of nearly half a century is actuated by the same spirit as the hanging of the helpless German.

The relationship between David Starr Jordan and his former classmates is a matter of their own immediate concern. If, as a member of the Cornell faculty writes, the resolutions condemning Dr. Jordan were brought forward at the midnight end of a banquet after several had left for home, and were looked upon as a joke by many of the members remaining, reflection may bring reconsideration. That is a matter to be disposed of by the class of 1873. But when one of the members sees fit to give to the press—instead of to the Trustees of the University—resolutions condemning a distinguished educator and citizen of the United States who has devoted his talents to the welfare of his country and mankind, the action becomes a matter of public concern.

Dr. Jordan's record is clear to all who care to see. He is a man of great force and ability. He feels keenly; and when a wrong is perceived he strikes with all his might to right it. It is but natural that such a man should arouse antagonism, for the best of men have their enemies. Militarism is one of the evils that Dr. Jordan set himself to drive from the world. Believing war to be one of the greatest curses of mankind, he has preached against it constantly for many years. Nor was it a good-God good-devil style of sermon; but a specification of the root evils. Nations war, he said, because their peoples do not understand each other. Each has been taught that the warfare and prosperity of other nations mean its own undoing; hence, they must be protected by tariff walls and all manner of restrictions. And lest the shut-out nations should break in anyway an army and navy are necessary to guard the wall. Dr. Jordan saw that greed and cupidity of a few played upon the ignorance and credulity of the many. He believed that trade between citizens of different nations was as beneficial as trade between the citizens of the same nation; and that if there were no more restrictions between nations than there are between the States of this country, there would be no more need of national armies than there is need of State armies. These were matters of **profound conviction**, and he proclaimed them with all his might.

But in the very midst of this work for freedom and peace the greatest of all wars began. What was he to do? There was no doubt in any mind, outside of the aggressors, as to which side

was wrong, nor where the world's sympathy lay. But what were the peace-loving men and women of this country to do? Were they, for the sake of an abstract principle, to remain mute in the presence of this international outrage? Or should they denounce the aggressor, and aid in his suppression? It was a time of confusion. Had Prussian militarism been understood then as it is now, all doubts would have been removed, and America would have been among the first to enter the war in defense of her ideals. But the world had never seen such national depravity, and men came to believe it only as it manifested itself in concrete forms. President Wilson, realizing that militarism and imperialism were not confined entirely to one country, clung to neutrality in the hope that opportunity would arise in which America, a nation of peace and democracy, could mediate between the warring countries to the advantage of all. With him in this position were a great host of anti-militarists throughout the country, including at least some members of the Cornell class of 1873.

But events did not come about as expected. America's pacific policy was misunderstood. The Prussian Junkers, interpreting it as weakness, entered upon a course that drove this country into the war in defense of the world's liberties. The American sentiment was overwhelming, but not unanimous. A few pacifists withheld approval for a time as they were torn between devotion to lifelong convictions and the necessity for summary action. Gradually, however, a love of justice in the concrete predominated over their regard for peace in the abstract, and they responded to the call of country and humanity. It was only when all other means had failed that President Wilson accepted the gage of battle thrown down by autocracy; and it was in the same spirit that he has been supported by devoted anti-militarists like William Jennings Bryan, Newton D. Baker, and Henry Ford, and a host of men and women who see in this struggle a war to end wars.

It was this appeal that brought Dr. Jordan to the support of the war. He might with apparent consistency have continued to denounce all wars, as a few pacifists have done. Or he could have sulked and remained silent, as some others have elected to do. But instead, he came out manfully and with dignity in support of the Government. He did what he could to prevent our

entrance into the war, as so many others did; but once the decision was made he accepted it as a fact, and gave it his undivided support. This is a matter of public information to all who have followed his course. A statement issued by members of the faculty and students of Stanford University, of which Dr. Jordan is Chancellor Emeritus, states:

That the resolution adopted by the class of 1873 was based on an entire misunderstanding and misapprehension of Dr. Jordan's attitude since the entrance of this country into the war is shown by the following facts:

(1) At the very time when he was apprised of the action of the class of 1873, Dr. Jordan was delivering a patriotic address in the interests of the Red Cross at Los Catos, California. According to the Associated Press dispatches, he states that his attitude toward the war had "been one of consistent support of the President since the day we entered hostilities. There was a time," he continued, "when, like other people, I was opposed to having the United States enter the war, but once the die was cast, I believed that whole-hearted prosecution of the war should receive the active support of every loyal American."

(2) At the opening of hostilities Dr. Jordan made a public statement in which he declared in substance that the only way to peace was straight through the war.

(3) During the past year, to the personal knowledge of many, Dr. Jordan has been addressing audiences on the Pacific Coast at patriotic meetings, discussing the purposes of the United States in the war, and he has also been in demand as a speaker at various military cantonments. It is our understanding that he is enrolled as a Four-Minute-Man and is volunteering his services, at considerable personal sacrifice, to the great cause in which we are all engaged.

(4) Dr. Jordan's recent public utterances are entirely at variance with the sentiments and the facts presented

in the resolution of the class of 1873. In the magazine *THE PUBLIC* of May 4, Dr. Jordan says: "The only visible road in this direction ('A War to End War') is along the lines the President has indicated. We have no selfish ends of our own to serve, we will serve the selfish ends of no one else. We have no quarrel with any people. We are willing to consider peace at any time, with any of them. But there are hands too bloody for us to clasp, and there is a diplomacy too serpentine for us to meet. And both these are inseparable from irresponsible autocracy, the Government of the Dark Ages."

On March 23, the following from his pen also appeared in *THE PUBLIC*: "In ringing words President Wilson has defined the purposes of the United States and of allied Liberalism: 'We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensations for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind.'

"If this stoutly remains our aim, we shall open the door to a new world-outlook as inspiring as that disclosed by the Renaissance, by our own Revolution or by the Emancipation Proclamation. Deeds, not words, must decide."

The action of the Illinois mob that hanged an innocent German had some excuse in the fact that it was composed of men who were the victims of the very institution that has arrested civilization. But this excuse will scarcely serve the members of the class of 1873 in taking an unfair advantage of a man who has done so much for his country, and who is today giving it his undivided allegiance. Only one honest course is open to these gentlemen, a reconsideration of their hasty action. Second thoughts are often best.

A Political League to Enforce Peace

By Charles Fremont Taylor

There are now two leagues to enforce peace in existence, and both are very active at the present time. One consists of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, known collectively as the Central Powers. The other consists of England, France, Italy, Japan, the U. S. A., and nearly a dozen lesser states, known collectively as the Allies, though the U. S. A. is not formally in the Alliance. The Central Powers are under the hegemony of Germany; the Allies, or the nations associated to resist German aggression, are not under the hegemony of any one of its members. However, Great Britain directs the Allies' forces

at sea; General Foch, a Frenchman, is the Generalissimo of the land military forces, and President Wilson is regarded as the ablest political leader in the nations opposed to Germany.

The Central Powers, under the leadership of Germany, are seeking peace by means of military aggression and autocratic military and political domination of the Allies and finally of all the world. The Allies, or the liberal nations, are seeking peace by successful military resistance to Germany's aggressions, and the establishment of a peace which has not yet been defined.

Germany proceeds by conscienceless military

methods, and by political methods no less aggressive and conscienceless. The Allies, now and for most of the period of the war on the defensive, proceed with due regard for civilized warfare, though they have been compelled to adopt from the Germans some of the heretofore excluded war measures, as poison gas, dropping bombs on civil populations, etc.; and they have not used their collective political powers at all!

Germany not only binds her allies to her by obligation, fear and hope, but as soon as she has attained military supremacy over an opponent she *immediately* begins political reconstruction according to her own ideals. This is amply illustrated by recent developments in Russia and Rumania. And she is constantly attempting "political offensives" in the countries opposed to her, and sometimes they succeed as distinctly as her military drives. Germany achieved her Russian victories by political as well as by military operations; and the Teutonic victory in Italy, which came near putting Italy out of the war, was the result of political as well as military aggression.

The Allies have been compelled to adopt military war with Germany in self defense. Why should they not make political warfare for the same purpose? The allied nations can never be held together after the war for the preservation of peace except by political co-operation. The same political action will help them to win the war; and they cannot keep the war won except by political co-operation.

To illustrate just what is meant by "political co-operation," and also to illustrate its great importance, let us glance hastily at a few important points in the history of our Revolutionary War:

The First Continental Congress was proposed by Massachusetts and Virginia in 1774; the suggestion was promptly acted upon by the other colonies, which sent delegates and the Congress was convened in that year. It was chiefly a deliberative and consultive body, but it also promoted inter-colonial interests in a positive way. The Second Continental Congress, convened in 1775, was also largely a consultive body, but events compelled it to also assume inter-colonial legislative and executive functions. For example, it appointed officers to the inter-colonial army and prescribed their pay, George Washington being made Commander-in-Chief. It issued articles of war, regulations of trade, and of Indian affairs, established postal communications and issued continental bills of credit. All this was done before the Declaration of Independence in 1776. And critics may say that these actions were

crude, and that the bills of credit became worthless. All reasonable criticisms may be granted, and it is conceded also that there was much bickering and jealousy among the colonies. But it must also be conceded that the First and Second Continental Congresses were the beginning of inter-colonial political as well as military life; and without the political as well as the military part the war could never have been won; and without the inter-colonial political life, which was begun in these two Congresses and which has continued to the present day, the war would not have stayed won.

The "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" were submitted to the states by Congress in November, 1777, and became effective in 1781 by their ratification by a sufficient number of states. The war was won two years later, peace being ratified September 3, 1783; but while military operations were thus ended, *inter-colonial political life* continued under the Articles right along. In a few years it was seen that the Articles were imperfect, inadequate, unsatisfactory. But that was no reason for giving up organic inter-colonial political life. It was a reason for wishing it better. The Convention called in 1787, instead of patching the old instrument, made an entirely new and incomparably better one—our present Constitution, under which, amended from time to time, has been possible the creation of a great nation.

We are now in the midst of another revolution. If the forces of liberalism and freedom in this revolution are guided as wisely as were those in the revolution just hastily reviewed, this revolution will also be successful, and its results will be even more important and far reaching, if possible, than the revolution of 1776-1783.

But if in the American revolution combined political action of the colonies had been neglected the war would certainly have been lost; and if won, the victory would have been temporary and in vain. Can we not apply the same principle and the same truth to the present struggle?

Our Government wisely placed our naval forces at the disposition of the British Naval command when we entered the present war. But this is only for war purposes during the war. Our Government also wisely saw the importance of unity in the military command in France, and was quick to place our soldiers in France at the disposition of General Foch during the recent German drive in March and April. This action hastened the appointment of General Foch as generalissimo by the Versailles Military Council. Important as this is, it is only military, and only temporary—that is, during the war. Apparently there has not been even a thought of political association or co-operation of the nations at war with German aggression. If a military peace

should come, Germany would hold her allies with a grasp that could not have been possible except as a result of this war, and she has already closed binding treaties with Rumania and the new political units carved out of Russian territory. All that Germany now wants is a cessation of military operations so that she can develop the fruits of her political victories, while the nations allied to fight her fall apart again to their pre-war separateness, as they have developed nothing of an organic political nature to bind them together.

Germany's political activities have been no less marked than her military activities. The absence of political enterprise on the part of the Allies is no doubt a great satisfaction to Germany. She feels certain that the present military alliance of the Allies will be temporary, limited to the duration of the war, as have been military alliances in the past, as a rule. Then she can approach each one separately, with bribe, threat, or cunning appeal to the separate selfishness of every former opponent. While Germany, politically, will be solid within herself, she will absolutely dominate her present allies and Rumania and the new nations being carved out of Russian territory.

We have opposed Germany's military aggressions with military defense. But we have not built up any political defense, for the present nor the future, against Germany's evident political plans, which are being realized so rapidly. If we are ever to form a league of nations to oppose Germany's plan to dominate the world, and permanently to keep the peace of the world, we can never again find as favorable a time to do it as *immediately—during this war*. We are now working together intimately and harmoniously against Germany's armies and submarines. Now is the time of all times, past or future, to make this association *political*. If it is not done now, when will it be done?

The writer formerly thought that at the Peace Conference would be the proper time and occasion to effect this political association. But the Peace Table will have plenty of problems of its own. And after peace has been consummated, every nation will be fully occupied with pressing problems and then will be the opportunity of the German trouble makers to sow seeds of discord among the Allies. This danger should be forestalled by political association *now*; and present political association and co-operation would help

us to win the war, as well as to keep it won, by continuing the political association.

How shall it be done? Not by expecting to organize a complete international government, which shall settle all the difficult questions of representation, the executive, etc., immediately. All these things will be done in time. It will take poor humanity many years to work out these difficult problems. Our Continental Congress was only an improvised inter-colonial political organ. It paved the way to the government under the Articles, which was an imperfect, inefficient government. But this government served until the Constitution was made and adopted, and on the basis of this instrument, amended from time to time, we have built a great nation, never so firmly united and harmonious as at the present time.

It is proposed that some such crude beginning be made by the Allies to cement them together for their present task and their future destiny. As a suggestion it is proposed that Great Britain, France and the U. S. A. shall each appoint three delegates to an Alliance Political Council; that Italy and Japan shall each appoint two delegates; that the other nations associated in military opposition to Germany shall each appoint one delegate; that these delegates shall meet in London and organize for business. The business of the Council would be chiefly deliberative and advisory; but could it not assume as much positive authority as did our Continental Congress, or as the Versailles Military Council is now exercising?

This would be a rudimentary beginning of international political life. This must begin some time if the world is ever to be saved from such calamities as the present war. Why not begin it now? There is every reason why it should begin now and no reason why it should not.

The mere act of appointing the delegates and the mere fact of their coming together in London (or elsewhere) would be the most notable political occurrence of history. It would hearten the Allies, deeply interest the neutral nations, and it would be a severe "offensive" against the Central Powers. Some of the neutrals that have long considered joining the alliance against Germany would see that alliance assuming stability and permanency, and would hesitate no longer. Even some of Germany's allies would feel a strong attraction toward such a combination.

Particularly would this be true of the Czechs, Jugo-Slavs and other nationalities now embodied in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus Austria-Hungary would become more unstable than ever as an empire and as an ally to Germany. And the government at Vienna, considering the importance of an outlet upon the Adriatic, thence to the Mediterranean, and out of the Mediterranean at Gibraltar and Suez, would consider the importance of harmony with a combination of powers commanding these strategic points. Turkey could do little with the Dardanelles, with Suez and Gibraltar closed against her, and with unfriendly warships at the outlet of the Dardanelles. The political combination mentioned above could easily command these strategic points forever, and use such command to enforce the peace of the world. This phase of the subject could be continued for many pages; but let us return to our pressing duty of actually forming this political council and consider its first duties.

Immediately upon the meeting of such a Council it would be universally recognized that this is the body that should speak, politically, for the powers opposed to Germany. Thus we would have a body authorized to speak for liberalism. The voice and acts of the German military autocracy would stand in plain contrast to the voice and attitude of the liberal body.

Such a body could express the allied war aims with authority and with powerful effect. The liberal world would feel that it at last has an organ—a central organ with tremendous future possibilities. And it would carry more dismay to autocracy, in Germany and elsewhere, than anything that has ever occurred. Then why hesitate? Why delay for a single day?

This proposed Alliance Political Council, call it by whatever name you wish, might not be a permanent international political organ. But it could be speedily created, and it could render immediate war service of incalculable value. And it could pave the way to a more complete international political organ. If it should serve the world in its present crisis as well as the Continental Congress served us in our early crisis, it would take an important place in the constructive political history of the world.

Our Continental Congress led to the Articles, and they led to the Constitution. It is possible that many more steps would be required from the proposed Alliance Political Council to a politically organized and governed world. We need not consider these future steps now. If we take the proper steps now it will lead to the next step, and so on until the goal is reached. The goal is permanent peace. But it cannot be reached by a negative, anti-war attitude. It must be reached by mutual political service. Political organization is the first step toward mutual political service among the units so associated. War will meet its doom when political cooperation leaves no occasion to resort to war among the political units so associated, and when such an association includes the civilized world or becomes sufficiently powerful to control the civilized world.

The powers now associated in military opposition to Germany could, if they would only realize it, make an equally powerful *political* opposition to Germany. And this political opposition would grow in strength during the war and make the overthrow of autocracy certain and soon. The liberal nations thus associated could make the civilized world liberal, and permanently liberal.

The Politics of the City Neighborhood

By John M. Gaus

"One of the things which makes city government inherently difficult is the lack of neighborhood feeling, which seems invariably to be produced by city life," says President Goodnow of Johns Hopkins University.

The Freudian theory that suppressed wishes and desires later find an outlet in bad dreams seems to find its counterpart in city politics. For

we have stifled all those natural stirrings which mark the desire for the exercise of political rights and duties only to have them break forth in our corrupt partisan local organizations. It is but a just reward; yet we wilfully neglect even this lesson of experience, and continually strive only to place "good men" in office, in some vain hope that a handful of men can express forever the

hopes and aspirations of submerged thousands who live in the midst and on the borders of our manufacturing and trades districts.

The city has its natural local groups as well as the state or nation or continent. They are economic and geographical groups, determined by railroad tracks, rivers, bays, hills and thoroughfares, or by proximity to factories, docks and warehouses using large quantities of unskilled labor. Up and down the streets of these neighborhoods currents of life are moving which pull into their course the political hopes and desires of the citizens there, and which later swell to affect the politics of the whole city, the state, and perhaps the nation. It is in these neglected districts that political ties are strongest, for here they are composed of the livelihood, the recreation, and even the religion of the voters. One finds that as the idea of political life has been made tangible, visible, and personal, the interest of the individual has increased. The problem is to enlist all the forces of the neighborhood into political activity and interest, and to turn this from the selfish and stupid ends to which it is almost universally devoted to the welfare of the neighborhood.

For the political education of the citizen nothing is more important than to make the government in which he is supposed to share more comprehensible to him, nearer to him, so that it becomes a political entity which he comprehends. Says Graham Wallas on this very point:

"For the convenience, for example, of local government, the suburbs of Birmingham are divided into separate boroughs. Partly because these boroughs occupy the site of ancient villages, partly because the football teams of Scotch professionals are named after them, partly because human emotions must have something to attach themselves to, they are said to be developing a fierce local patriotism. . . ." And a little further:

"We ourselves are apt to forget that the facts on which Aristotle relied were both real and important. The history of the Greek and medieval city-states shows how effective a stimulus may be given to some of the highest activities and emotions of mankind when the whole environment of each citizen comes within the first hand range of his senses and memory. It is only here and there, in villages outside the main stream of civilization, that men know the faces of their

neighbors and see daily as part of one whole the fields and cottages in which they work and rest. Yet, even now, when a village is absorbed by a sprawling suburb or overwhelmed by the influx of a new industrial population, some of the older inhabitants feel that they are losing touch with the deeper realities of life."

Partly because we must attach our emotions to something, we attach them to our home neighborhood, and where that has not existed, to a cheaper substitute. The neighborhood itself as an entity or as an idea too often has not existed in our cities. Our downtown districts in cities of importance are filled by warehouses, lofts, distributing firms, and factories, and as a result the interstices have been filled by the homes—if they can be termed such—of cheap labor. These are due in large part to the westward movement of the original American stock and due to the efforts of large corporations during the eighties to ransack Europe for cheap labor and a mixture of races to prevent solid organization, and have been invaded by wave upon wave of foreigners, first Germans, then Irish, then Jews, and finally an inrush of Italians, Poles, Armenians, Greeks, and Turks. The tremendous flood was more than the institution which we had assured ourselves would protect our traditions could digest. The public school, our great hope and trust in the way of assimilation, failed us because it was no longer fed from communities which were primarily American, but from communities which spoke an alien tongue, worshipped in new ways, and which, moreover, was crushed under burdens of poverty and an indifferent electorate. The old families moved out as rapidly as resources would permit, leaving the field to the new, and sometimes not even a nucleus is left with which to rebuild the healthy normal common life that America once knew.

Our sprawling, misshapen cities seem ready and over-needy for a re-emphasis of neighborhood life. The foreigner must be familiarized with a good American standard of politics, recreation, and morals; the children must be given adequate school and recreation facilities; the youths of the city streets must be saved in their own homes, in their own play spaces from heedlessness and crime; the grown-ups must come to realize that collectively they can accomplish a better way of life in their community. The nation is then given a new meaning, even as the city and

state, for the voter and citizen grasps it as a real political and social entity which he can taste and touch and feel, since he himself shares in its burdens and its privileges.

I am inclined to disagree with Miss Addams when she says, speaking of the city wards as one sees them in the fringe about the manufacturing and mercantile districts: "The idea underlying our self-government breaks down in such a ward. The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, sanitary legislation unenforced, the street lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller streets, and the stables foul beyond description. The older and richer inhabitants seem anxious to move away as rapidly as they can afford it." This is all a true description of the physical characteristics of the city neighborhood, but she has more accurately described its political side in an essay in "Democracy and Social Ethics." Here she shows penetratingly that the idea of democracy has not broken down, but its tremendous strength has been diverted, perverted rather, and has expressed itself in the more devious channels of local political organizations.

For the materials are at hand with which to reconstruct political life, and they are materials of strength. The local political organizations of the different parties, the settlements with their cooperative associations, the school center movement, at present largely undeveloped, but promising a real future—these are an earnest of the ways and means of advance. Social regeneration is coming not by revolutionary measures, not by seeking new ways of accomplishment alone, but by a more and more intelligent and experienced use of the old—the age-long associations of men, their remembrances of child life together down the retired alleys and in the open squares—the first groping toward common effort in the formation of the gang. Children are natural neighbors, possessing a clannishness that our hurrying life forbids their elders. Later on, the political life of the community takes form in the very recreation of the young people, when the social and athletic clubs flourish in every neighborhood and a widely detailed system of dances, balls, benefits and social parties springs up during the fall and winter which carries its influences into the next fall. The local political aspirants favor these not alone with their presence, but with the necessary funds and sometimes with patronage. Club mem-

bers look to their leaders for positions in the public service companies and other deeds of kindness that the local representative may be able to do. Just as the social system of the South took its shape and form from the economic slavery system, and retained its strength after slavery had already revealed its economic weaknesses, so in these neighborhoods it appears that the club system has apparently lost much of its political significance, but the old give and take of the various clubs persists. Representatives of one district's clubs still appear with "fliers" at functions of another, and the visits are repaid with all the adherence to established rules of social life that ever graced that of a capital.

Not long ago I had a long talk with an old resident in a district of this kind. He had formerly been the Republican precinct captain. He told me that he had lists at that time of every man, woman and child in his precinct, their nationality, needs, and political availability. Many a man, he said, he sent downtown to get a suit of clothes at a store conducted by the local politician. He was particularly famous in the district for helping those who were sick, and gained the name of "Sulphur Doctor," that being his unflinching prescription for all ailments. Later as the district changed he became a Democrat, and the last of our conversation was devoted to a diatribe upon the local senator, who had not heeded his request to "fix it at the Hall" when the water bill came in, and who was unable to see the wisdom of having all taxes taken off my friend's house!

Well, there is a lesson for your good government clubs here, and I dare say it will never be heeded by reform candidates until the force of the neighborhood idea, the experience of the settlements, has made it clear. Your local rallies at election time are interesting laboratories in social science, in psychology particularly, because the appeal there is so openly not partisan, I am sure, but *neighborly*. As I sat through some of these rallies it became apparent to me that whatever lip homage was paid to the party it was only for those who were newcomers and strangers; the real business of the evening was to recall to the assemblage the facts that the candidate had lived in their ward all his life; had attended their school—always the "old Jones school down on Smith Street"; had worshipped at the local shrine; had been ever ready to lend money; and

in short that he had been a good friend and neighbor. When actual issues are discussed they are localized, definite, tangible, such as the removal of the elevated, local playgrounds, and the like. The Good Government Association, for example, combats the localisms of the machine candidates by publishing a map and lists of actual appropriations for improvement in each locality or neighborhood.

If this is the state of affairs in politics at the inner shrine of city neighborhoods, what of the newcomers, who need most of all to be assimilated into a good American way of life? There our system of things breaks down; for the present neighborhood organization, being selfishly guided and directed, breaks down. The immigrants are shunned by the better off, exploited by those already possessing the field, learn only the worst side of their ways and are forced into a dull, drab, miserable existence. Politically they are entirely unexpressed, as the relatively few that acquire citizenship too often acquire it through the influence of partisan leaders, who prostitute their really fine and keen idealism (which, all said and done, really brings them here) for the benefit of a sordid machine. What a wretched, what a disheartening spectacle for an American! These people, coming here with a real enthusiasm, zealous and keen and ready for difficulties and troubles, but trusting in the promise of our life, are met by disinterest on the part of our responsible wealthier citizens and by the rapacious plundering of ideals and goods by many existing organizations. Surely this cries out for a local representative of the government which shall, on the one hand, assist the alien in obtaining work, residence, and material things, and on the other hand shall explain the way in which citizenship can be obtained. And then a further attempt must be made to provide a training course in that citizenship in the way of local meetings, local benefits in the way of bath-houses, libraries, playgrounds, and similar tangible evidences of what cooperative effort can accomplish.

One of the architects who competed in the Chicago City Clubs Neighborhood Center Exhibit wrote: "There is a great field for the neighborhood center in American communities, both rural and urban, but there is a danger lurking behind the theoretic conception of such a development. Every neighborhood has its own class of people,

its varied degrees of intellectual growth and material prosperity, its accidents of climate and topography—in short, its own needs which must be met, and its own special possibilities which must be developed if we are to produce a neighborhood center which will not be a burden to the taxpayer, but fulfill its purpose of bettering the community financially, intellectually, morally." The need for such centers has been proved by the settlements, and by their accomplishments. The real citizenship of the men and women of the neighborhood who have come together in them to act together to better their little neighborhoods, has demonstrated many of these things—the fact that women are even better citizens than men, because nowadays the home is linked up with the state, the fact that as you bring matters close to people and make them tangible they will interest people, and that aliens express their idealism and aspiration in these ways to the benefit of the whole community as well as themselves. The Jew, with his keen flexible mind, contributes his part, as does the congenial quality of the Irish, and so they fuse. The state governments have recognized the need of local effort in their great hospitals, for they now send their workers back to the homes in an effort to fix the responsibility of the local communities and their conditions. Regardless of form, the substance of a decentralization of administration must come which will enable the masses of people living in our spread-out cities, too remote from the city hall and its doings to be interested, to realize themselves a part of the city political organization, with possibilities of accomplishing desired ends and local needs. This is by no means a reversion to log-rolling methods; it is rather to give a legal, open, responsible expression to the political needs already felt and already expressed for the privileged in stupid, selfish partisan groups.

Long, long ago the philosopher said: "Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. . . ." Can anyone, living in and among the streets and alleys and ways of our crowded districts, doubt the wisdom of that dictum? As one views the give-and-take of even the transitory elements of our city neighborhoods, can he doubt that here are strange, vague, but tremendous forces, that seem to cry for expression, for proper channels, for a chance to be a part of the life that is all about them? Just as our political

life will be incomplete so long as those who have the care of the homes are deprived of their share in the directing of forces affecting those homes, so will our political life be incomplete so long as huge blocks upon blocks of city streets are a political wilderness, its affairs administered at

the nod and beck of a little group of irresponsible men, bought body and soul by the highest bidder. But give that district an opportunity for expression and it will devise ways and means to make its life more a thing of interest, of significance, of worth, and to create the City Beautiful.

The Influence of Far Eastern Development Upon Internationalism

By William S. Howe

Our efforts to give maximum effect to America's participation in activities on the Western front are properly absorbing our best energies. But we are making a vital mistake if at the same time we ignore the Far Eastern front; if we forget that the Orient at this moment faces a transition period in which the groundwork for reconstruction is being laid. In our inevitable craving to over-simplify the problem of world relations, Americans have been traditionally blind to the influence of developments in the Far East upon international stability. We have been content, in discussing international organizations, such as the league of nations, to assume that once such a league is under way the problems in the East will tend to settle themselves. But is this true? Can the settlement in Europe be permanent or satisfactory, can it leave the world safe to develop along democratic lines, if we fail to understand the influences which are at work in Asia? To answer this momentous question wisely we must examine certain of the fundamental tendencies in the West which make for closer cooperation among the nations, and then observe how conditions in the Far East seem likely to add to or detract from their efficacy.

The phenomenon which made so many prominent minds believe the present contest improbable was the rapid and apparent growth in the last two or three decades of lines of common interest that cut across national boundaries. Financial activities were international, science and art were universal, a community of University and intellectual endeavor was on the verge of being realized. Infinitely more important, as affecting great masses of people, was the growing affinity between the various national labor and socialist organizations expressed in international conventions.

But when the crisis came, whatever its underlying causes, the international grooves were not deep enough. They were intersected and their horizontal direction was changed to vertical, coinciding with and strengthening the national barriers. Socialists, labor representatives, intellectuals, and financiers all rushed to the support of their own governments. The old determination to preserve and extend the country and its system, the sense of national patriotism, moved stronger than any of the possibly more logical, but more recent and less rooted, cosmopolitan theories. It seems probable that had either party won a decisive and early victory the impetus of national egotism would have been such that almost any doctrine of conquest and expansion would have been eagerly supported by all sections of the victorious states.

It happened, however, that the military elements were so balanced that a temporary equilibrium resulted, which it became more and more evident could only be broken by a wearing, grueling effort to which all the life and energies of the people must be subordinated and harnessed. As the strain and grinding grew always harder, with no sign of the end in sight, the bent springs of Internationalism began to press slowly outward again. As organized labor became ever more indispensable, it grew more powerful, until it at present is in a position of even greater influence than it held before the war. It has its own representative on the British War Cabinet, and in both England and America is consulted and considered in regard to almost every move taken. In Russia what purports to be a workingmen's organization is the supreme power of the state. Labor has enunciated its own aims and objects and the governments of the great Anglo-Saxon opponents of Germany have, either

through wisdom and sympathy or necessity, been constrained to alter their original peace terms to correspond. In Russia, Internationalism of the most virile type, which sees the world only in terms of a universal class struggle, is rampant. In Germany the strictly national lines, in spite of the lip formulas of her statesmen, have yielded the least of all to international impulses. The result is that Germany today finds herself assailed by the direct national military effort of France, England and America; by the international forces and tendencies of those three countries, which have been skilfully directed into the fray by national leaders who have represented German militarism and imperialism as the worst foe of peace and Internationalism; and finally by the fierce Internationalism of the Bolsheviki, who see in the German system one of the most terrible of its capitalistic foes and one which must be dragged down before or as soon as capitalism in other countries. There is the strong possibility that the German government will be able to repress the very powerful international tendencies within its borders only by direct and constant application of force, and the snap, when it comes, may cause a general collapse of the national structure.

Thus the conclusion seems justified that the close of the war will see international, as distinct from national, energies, in ever accelerated operation and with a predominant position unthought of (unless in the distant future) before the war. The main problems will be those of the organization of similar functions and interests throughout different countries and the controversies will be between classes and occupations rather than localities. This is true *unless* the elements interested in preserving the national division of society with its fighting organization are able to summon new forces as yet untouched by international influences to their assistance.

To find forces of such character and of sufficient magnitude we must swing our attention for the moment to the Far East. There we find a closely packed mass of peoples, totaling over one half of the world's population. China, Japan and India are the chief members of this group and may be considered the only factors in the problem. In all these countries the greater proportion of the people live a life practically resting upon the margin of subsistence. Starvation is never far removed and the accumulation of a

reserve of either necessities or luxuries is almost unknown. In China, the building material most commonly used is mud, and clothing is fabricated from the cheapest cloths. A low first cost is the prime requirement of any article or material. The masses are entirely ignorant in China, and in India and Japan education can not be said in any sense to be thorough or widespread.

Thus conditions are entirely favorable for the economic history of the modern industrial West to be repeated on a vaster scale. The introduction of machinery and of modern methods of production generally will be on terms most favorable for capital and for a centralized, autocratic, political system to back it. The struggle for life is so intense that there will be fierce labor competition for employment in factories and plants, and capital will be able to dictate its own terms. There is no possibility for a long period that labor could develop a strong fighting organization, as it has in the West, which could make itself a power in industry and politics. Not that the Chinese, for instance, are lacking in any sense of occupational solidarity. There are both artisan and merchant guilds at present and they exhibit considerable power in a society as un-governed as China. But the East Asiatic proletariat would be simply helpless against modern capitalism and a despotic government. There is no background of intelligence and self-discipline, as well as no means of creating reserves of living necessities, such as would be required in resorting to any weapon like a strike. And, however low the wages, however severe the hardships of labor, there would always be a hungry horde so much worse off that it would surge forward to fill whatever positions were left vacant.

Uninfluenced by any of the causes operating to increase Internationalism in the more advanced societies, this great collection of beings would be so much clay in the hands of a centralized militarism. They could be hurled against the West in the three-fold attack of armaments, trade competition, and emigration. Coming some time after twenty-five, and before fifty, years subsequent to the close of the war, it would seem likely to find national lines far in the process of breaking down. The fighting unit of the West will have lost its efficacy and it is doubtful if the functional entities, even if they have achieved harmony among themselves, will have developed any cooperative military organization that could

stand against such a unified and tremendous external attack.

The question naturally arises as to how such a catastrophe can be avoided. The answer is that only one method can be successful. This is the simple one of preventing the powers of despotism, militarism and selfish capitalism from getting control of the potential instruments in East Asia. And especially must China be so protected, for the position of China is such that under a strong government she could menace India far beyond the power of Britain, from her distant stand, to defend it. The situation is a pressing one—already China has passed in a dangerous degree under the sway of those very forces. It would be an ostrich-like policy to postpone the issue until so-called more urgent matters are settled. It is even doubtful whether consideration should be deferred to the end of the war, so rapidly are affairs moving in the East and so indefinite seems the period in which the war aims of the Allies can be certain of attainment.

Circumstances must be resolutely recognized. One thing is certain—China will not remain indefinitely in her present state of aimless disorganization. The enlightened elements of Internationalism and Democracy must include her in the sphere of their activities, or aggressive, imperialistic despotism will. The people of America claim to be self-governing. Now is the time to show whether it is inherently possible for such a people to exercise foresight, either directly or through trusted leaders—the real foresight that provides for a contingency whose effects will certainly be operative in the future, but which are not yet actually felt.

RELATED THINGS

For Better Domestic Service

The dazzling sunshine of Calgary has penetrated the dark places of the domestic service problem.

It is the maids and cooks who have seen the gleam of light both for themselves, and—miraculously enough—for the housewives as well. For about half a year now they have been working quietly to solve their own share of the question before they deliver their ultimatum to the employers. This ultimatum is to be more of a friendly request for co-operation than anything in the nature of a defi.

“Give better, more efficient service,” is their slogan, “and demand more consideration.”

When they have worked out their part of the new scheme, according to the women at the head of the movement, housekeeping will have shed all its routine drudgery and will be a joy alike for the homemaker and her working housekeeper.

They are beginning at the service end—these women to whom housework is a calling and a profession rather than a distasteful occupation to be slighted and gotten rid of as quickly as possible—and although their constitution holds many demands for changes in the attitude of the employer toward the employed, all these are held in abeyance until they are able as a body to offer the sort of service which they consider has a right to make demands. They propose to give such service that a world of grateful employers will be glad to accede to their requests.

The organization which is to bring about the change in a long distressful situation is the Calgary Housekeepers' Association. When it was organized last summer it announced that its object was “to secure a better recognition of the dignity of the position of housekeepers; to obtain for them proper conditions of work including a standard wage and a maximum day; to defend its members against unfair treatment by employers; to provide for the comfort, safety, and efficiency of its members without prejudice to the rights of employers.”

That did not look as though the way was to be made any smoother for the lady of the house. Neither did the printed contract that was drawn up for the use of members of the association in accepting positions seem to help matters any. It looked as though the mooted question, still referred to as “the servant girl problem” was going to be worse than ever.

The contract read as follows:

“I, ———, Housekeeper, hereby promise good behavior and my best services to Mrs. ———, Employer, on the following terms: The rate of wage shall be, \$. . . per month, payable at the close of each month. Ten hours shall constitute a day's work on week days and six hours on Sunday and on public holidays. If more hours work are required in any day they shall be regarded as overtime and shall be paid for at the rate of fifteen cents an hour. I shall have every Sunday evening free after half past six o'clock, unless otherwise mutually agreed upon.

"The employer will speak of me as her 'Housekeeper' and shall address me as 'Miss —.' The privilege of entering or departing by the front door shall be accorded me if I wish to use it, also the use of a suitable room one evening a week in which I may entertain my friends until ten o'clock, it being understood that the home will not be unpleasantly disturbed by such entertainment. I will make it a rule to be in my employer's house at 11 p. m. unless otherwise mutually arranged, and to preserve the quiet of the hour.

"Proper board and comfortable and sanitary lodgings shall be provided for me by my employer.

"This engagement of service may be terminated at any time by either party giving two weeks' notice to the other party. Less notice may be given if mutually agreed upon, and in case of the violation of any of the terms of this agreement, either party may terminate the engagement immediately."

All this sounded terrifying to the housekeepers of Calgary. They thought they were having trouble enough. Since the war had depleted the ranks of the men workers in the city and women had gone into positions never open to them before, there had been an increasing dearth of competent servants. In fact there was a lack of any kind, competent or otherwise, for the cessation of immigration cut off the usual unskilled contingent. The constitution of the Housekeepers' League had the appearance of taking advantage of a rather desperate situation. A few housewives were friendly to the new organization and went to an occasional meeting to encourage "the girls," but most of them were on the defensive. They felt that the grievances were theirs, not the maids!

"I'll have no maid in my house that belongs to that organization," one prominent matron defied.

"I'd like to find out," said another, "just what they mean by 'good behavior,' and their 'best services.' So often ideas differ on those things. I'd like to know just what it is they propose to give in exchange for all these demands."

News of an arbitration committee in the Association did not help matters any. The members of the committee were of course members of the Association. No employer was to be asked to help arbitrate. The duties of the arbitration com-

mittee were, according to the constitution, "to receive complaints from either members or their employers and seek to adjust the difficulty with justice to each party. If the finding of the committee is rejected by either party the matter shall be reported to the Association and it may proceed to advise, admonish, or suspend the member complained of, or to tabulate the employer as unfit to engage a member of the Association."

One rule of the Association that aroused no unfavorable comment was that a uniform dress should be worn "with a distinction to indicate whether the wearer is certified or uncertified."

The constitution also announced that members might make trial engagements with employers before signing the contracts.

Altogether the organization of the Housekeepers' Association occasioned considerable unrest among the women between whose slim pink finger tips and the disfiguring dishwater stood the members of the Association.

But the summer waned and Calgary's glorious fall slipped into early winter and nothing more was heard from the Housekeepers' Association. Had they disbanded? a few women asked casually, but most people giving their thoughts to the world problem of the war and their own close personal problems, forgot all about the menacing organization.

Maids continued to come and go by the back doors of Calgary as of yore. They answered to the name of Bidy, Christine, Violet, or Mary as the case might be, and worked as many hours as seemed necessary to the comfort and convenience of the household. Those few who thought about the matter at all realized that the quiet was too intense to be altogether safe, and surreptitiously they looked into the matter.

This is what they found:—

A little band of serious-faced women and girls going about their daily tasks as usual and meeting once a week in the evening to study diligently the art and science of the craft they proposed to raise to a profession respected among men—or more literally, among women. They had a regular course of lectures in Housekeeping Science which included cooking, canning and preserving, simple dietetics, household management, home management, home sanitation, table setting, marketing, and laundry work.

When the members of the Association have finished this course they expect to be so compe-

tent that employers will be delighted to meet them on their own terms.

"It is not right," said Miss Manning, president of the Association, "to make demands in regard to wages, hours, and little considerations, for work indifferently done. We must be thoroughly competent housekeepers. We propose to make this training so thorough that any woman employing a member will have the assurance of an intelligent, trained housekeeper. If other cities follow our example, we will revolutionize domestic service." ESTELLINE BENNETT.

CORRESPONDENCE

Half Measures

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I have read with interest the article on the packing industry by Mr. Kent, in a recent issue of THE PUBLIC, and it is truly refreshing to see that some one is thinking of putting some of the new and constructive thought along political lines into practice. Ours is a fine democracy in history and on paper, sonorous and fundamental in oratory, but today we are running far behind monarchical England and are not to be considered in the same class with the enlightened governments of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

For months now it has been a matter of wonder to me how long our Government would continue its half-measures, its appeals to an unappraisable patriotism, its reluctant control in some directions of conditions imposed by its own actions in others. Ten months ago, any tyro in economics could have estimated the approximate least advance in uncontrolled prices, when Congress and the President adjusted steel (i. e., pig-iron) and wheat at about 100 per cent above a normal peace scale. These staples are commonly accepted as the closest indices of general prices of any commodities we have in common use. The trouble over sugar, cotton goods, binder twine, beef, harvesting machinery and everything else was initiated when the price of wheat was fixed and other prices were left uncontrolled. Further, owing to the peculiar economic conditions of war time, not only has every uncontrolled price tended to take its place in the new scale fixed by wheat and pig iron, but this scale has become a new level from which all advances due to scarcity and competition take their start. This, of course, indicates that the range of prices would probably have been even higher than it is had the partial control not existed.

The Administration should take to heart Pope's idea (but not words) that a little fixing is a dangerous thing. It would be an entirely feasible matter for Government to control practically all prices by controlling the principal staples at all points in their march to the consumer—who is everybody. If "Wheat Certificates" were issued, just as Silver Certificates are, and if the Government made it a crime for anyone to purchase wheat that had not passed through its hands,

and if it did the same for pig-iron, raw sugar, beef on the hoof, oats, corn, lumber, cotton and all the general staples, it could further control practically all prices. With "Wheat Certificates" made legal tender for the purchase of wheat and for the payment of taxes, the Government could purchase the wheat crop. The farmer would deposit his "Wheat Certificates" just as he does cash or checks to the credit of his local account. The local banks would redeposit them with their correspondents in milling and export centers and receive credit for them just exactly as if they were based on gold. The millers and the exporters would buy wheat by exchanging their gold for wheat certificates at the bank and using the certificates to pay for the wheat. In actual practice anyone could buy wheat in the usual way, with cash or check or bills payable, and the money would be used to retire the wheat certificates. The selling price of wheat to millers and exporters could be fixed at a slight margin only above total cost to the Government. The selling price of flour could be adjusted with zone rates. The price of bread could be fixed.

Similarly for pig-iron, the Government would be sole purchaser and the sole middleman, operating without profit, and stabilizing the whole steel and allied industries. Billets, bars and plates could have fixed prices to the manufacturer of finished products, and the resultant prices of these could be adjusted, on the basis of a normal peace time profit. The manufacturers of the country have still to learn that they, as well as the "common man," must take some of the shrinkage in the real value of incomes and make some real sacrifices. And so the farmer would get his harvesting machinery at an equitable cost. So would he get his binder twine; and we might see "Binder Twine Certificates" going over the counter of the country grocer on occasion. There would be no especial reason why such certificates should not circulate, except the demand for their use in the purchase of wheat by the millers and exporters, and the fact that they would be a restricted legal tender. Probably they would pass somewhat into general circulation, but this would not be of any advantage and would tend to cause inflation. If the Government purchased more binder twine or more of any commodity than it found a market for, the balance on hand would be security for the certificates unretired and would hold them up in the market or in circulation if by chance Government credit did not.

All this could be done without enormous outlay. A large part of the wheat crop would be bought and sold again before the entire crop had to be turned over. No army of field men or clerks would be required to handle the machinery of it. The banks and the local elevator men could be enlisted to do much of the work, and the Government would be justified in allowing them a mere broker's commission, in addition to actual costs, for a completed transaction.

The only class cut out of the line of march for wheat would be the middleman and the speculator. These deserve no consideration whatever. On the other hand, the wheat would have to be moved as usual. The

train, lake boat, and elevator operators would all have to perform their usual parts in the moving of crops.

As things are there is a slight control which puts hardships unequally on the people, runs a constant danger of discouraging production, and the competition for labor by uncontrolled industry consequent on the present arrangement, pushes labor prices so high that uncontrolled commodities go to prices above their relatively proper point, and the result is exactly the same as a special privilege granted the industries that produce them. The terms of labor competition are thus against the few—the very few—controlled items, and the tendency is naturally to discourage production.

If the farmer could not do any better by raising cotton than he can by raising wheat or corn or oats, if the price of corn and that of beef on the hoof were adjusted so that there would be no incentive to unbalance the supply, or if there were no relative disadvantage between the farmer's paying a proportionately higher price for binder twine or cotton ties or harvesting machinery, and selling his wheat, oats or cotton at a higher price, there would be no discouragement whatever to production. If competition by industries enjoying undeserved and unfair, because uncontrolled, prosperity did not exist, the price of farm labor would not be out of proportion to the fixed price for farm products, and no discouragement to production would flow from this source. Incidentally, high prices would be balanced, reciprocated, equitable, stable, and would bear no harder on one class of producers than on any other. Men on fixed salaries and professional men receiving fees would, of course, be the general exception, and would experience the usual disadvantages that beset all such in times of rising prices.

The efforts of the various committees and boards cooperating with the Government have been received so far with a moderate degree of response; but pressure of hardship is going to be greater, not less, as the war goes on; and response will probably become more and more lax as the glamor of patriotism in an unseen struggle somewhat dims.

The Government should not hesitate to take any step necessary to distribute the burdens more equitably than they are now distributed. The ideal condition would be so to adjust industry and production that not a single individual, firm, or corporation would receive the smallest fraction of a per cent greater profit because of the war than was received in times of peace.

Washington, D. C.

E. W. JAMES.

The Socialist Party

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The executive committee of the American Socialist Party, among whose members are Morris Hillquit and Victor L. Berger, has announced a conference of all national officials and state secretaries for the purpose of drafting a report to supplant the anti-war majority report adopted at the St. Louis convention. Certain newspapers have it that the party finds it necessary to change its official attitude because it perceives the im-

probability, if not the impossibility, of victory at the fall elections on an anti-war platform. This bears the insinuation that a change of attitude will not be a record of a sincere conversion to America's cause. Even anti-war Socialists have privately declared for an official change of attitude because, as they say, only by such a subterfuge can the party be preserved for its immediate political purposes. These anti-war Socialists declare that with the passage of the Espionage Bill the Socialist Party, if it continued its official adherence to the St. Louis report would be outlawed and so would sacrifice possible victories at the polls for a principle which would yield it no political advantage.

It is unfortunate that a change of attitude or an adherence to the old attitude, as embodied in the St. Louis report, cannot be reached on the democratic basis of a convention and according to the strength of forces. In the new Espionage Bill, the Socialists see an example of how even a democracy may, by the threat of prison and fine, force honest dissenters to a nominal recantation and oblige them to go through the meaningless mummerly of political orthodoxy.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that the anti-war Socialist should be able to declare at this time that a change of official attitude would be a forced change—unfortunate, because, in my opinion, such a change would be the sincere record of the conversion that has already been registered in the consciences of Socialists throughout the country.

The situation is one of the strangest in the history of the American Socialist Party. The American public is given the false impression that the Socialist Party is being "forced" to be "patriotic" at a time when a powerful element within the party is working for a restatement of attitude and certainly would have succeeded without the semblance of force from the government. The government could easily have achieved by the use of a little propaganda what it is attempting to achieve—and will never wholly succeed in achieving—by a threat worthy only of the autocracy we are fighting.

To a nation frankly cynical of the Socialist Party's sincerity, the officials of the party may yet prove that a changed official attitude is nothing more than the record of a changed conscience. They can prove the party's sincerity by the spirit of their report and the manner of its reception by the body of Socialist public opinion. May their report be as inspiring, as forward-looking, as that remarkable report of the British Labor Party! At this conference, the party officials have the opportunity to prove whether or not the Socialist Party of this country is the instrument of men and women who know how to shape unescapable events to the ultimate purpose toward which the workers of the world have constantly been striving. May the leaders of the American Socialist Party give the lie to those who declare the need of a new and vigorous party to voice the needs and aspirations of all people who wish to achieve the new world!

The changed conviction which I have observed among Socialists, radicals and laborites is the result of a realization on the part of those elements of American

society that America has entered the war to fight for purposes with which all Socialists, radicals and laborites are in fundamental accord. That changed conviction is also a tribute to President Wilson's domestic diplomacy. In all his actions, the President has vindicated the words in which he told the American people why a declaration of war against the German government was necessary. He has been as consistent a radical as any radical could wish him to be. It is unfortunate that so many reactionaries in Congress and in the Senate are attempting to nullify his democratic intentions. In adjudging whether or not American participation in the war is 100 per cent for democracy, radicals must consider that a compromise is now and then made necessary by the conflict between the radical and reactionary forces in the government itself. To make certain the victory of radicalism in the American government, the radical elements must come to the aid of President Wilson; they must back him up against the enemies of American democracy at home as well as the enemies of international democracy abroad. The officials of the party ought to extend a vote of thanks to President Wilson for the splendid manner in which he has fought to maintain the *casus belli* of American participation on the high moral plane on which it has been maintained. To paraphrase a correspondent of *The Dial* who pleaded for the aid of liberals for the government, Socialists have nothing to lose but their isolation.

New York City.

HARRY P. SALPETER.

The Protection of Property

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

From an article in the May, 1918, number of the "Bulletin of the National Tax Association," page 194, I quote the following:

"The time seems to have passed when real property can safely be depended upon as the main source of public revenue. The increasing tax rate and the pernicious propaganda by the single-taxers, combined with a lack of general confidence in the capacity and stability of government in so large a city, combine to make impractical the former theories of local taxation. This is true at least to the extent that some consideration must be given to the protection of the property values which sustain the public credit and furnish its revenue."

This reminds one of the exclamation of the Bastard in "King John": "Heaven guard my mother's honor, and my land." It sounds like a wail from the scared. And this at a time when the country is crying for more democracy. We landlords cannot trust local self-government. We want to get under the protecting wing of the state, or better still, if it were possible, of the national government, so that these pestering tax questions would be removed as far as possible from the people, especially from the poor people, who cannot send lobbyists to the halls of legislation.

Our ground rents must not be interfered with. To be sure, land values are created by the community, and should be used for community purposes. But the community gave the right to collect these values to a fa-

vored few and their children; and the children of the community are now estopped from claiming them back to pay community expenses. These values are needed to "sustain the public credit and furnish its revenue"; consequently, they must not be taken for these purposes. They must be left to the landlords.

Perhaps it is needless to add that the article referred to was written by the "Secretary Advisory Council of Real Estate Interests, New York City."

Very truly yours,

Madison, Wis.

J. H.

Mobilizing New England Farmers

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Supplementary to my article on "Mobilizing New England Farmers," in your issue of May 25, and giving additional evidence of the tendency toward cooperation among New England farmers,—an organization similar to the New England Fruit Growers' Exchange was recently formed at Boston, "The New England Poultry Producers' Association," a cooperative organization for selling poultry products and to assist in purchasing poultry supplies. The officials of the Eastern States Exposition, which meets annually at Springfield, Mass., were largely instrumental in organizing both this and the fruit growers' association.

It may be that I have put too little emphasis on the need of expensive fertilizing for most of the lands of New England, an expense which is much lighter for much of the newer lands of the West. Western lands, however, are rapidly coming to the same condition, and all over the country agricultural experts are advocating rotation with leguminous, self-fertilizing crops.

Springfield, Mass.

HARRY W. OLNEY.

BOOKS

Oscar Wilde in the Pillory

Oscar Wilde, *His Life and Confessions*. By Frank Harris. With *Memories of Oscar Wilde*, by George Bernard Shaw. Two volumes. Published by Frank Harris, New York, 1918. Price \$5.00.

Perhaps Mark Antony was merely striving after rhetorical effects when in his famous speech he said:

"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones,"

for there is little, if any truth in his words.

Man is by nature a gossip, and with all the meanness of a gossip he revels in scandal, especially if it be attached to some great name. But mankind, as a whole, is not at all unkindly inclined to those who have achieved greatness in some way or another. Its memory seems to have no retentive power for the sins of the great; it only remembers their greatness. Thus nine persons out of ten who know Socrates, Dante, Benvenuto Cellini or Cervantes are only aware of the

greatness of those men and know nothing or little about their trespasses.

We may fairly assume that Oscar Wilde will ultimately meet with a similar kindly fate, for his literary achievements have gained for his name a permanent place in the annals of English Literature.

It is, therefore, nothing short of uncharitable to remind a generously forgetful posterity of the distressing weaknesses which ruined the life of this great writer.

With the exception of "De Profundis" and the "Ballad of Reading Gaol," Oscar Wilde's literary productions belong to a period of his life when he might have been considered a normal individual. His writings seem in no way to have been affected by the mental and physical aberrations which, subsequently to his literary successes, wrecked his life. Indeed, this is so much the case that the literary critic—save the exceptions already mentioned—could consider Oscar Wilde as dead after he wrote his last play.

Why then should Mr. Harris, or anyone else, have written a Life of Oscar Wilde? This question, which one naturally asks before reading Mr. Harris' biography, is repeated again—and without hope of an answer—after one has read the book.

From Mr. Harris' account, it appears that Frank Harris was a sterling friend to Oscar Wilde. His time and his money were liberally placed at Wilde's disposal, in season and out of season. Ill-considered outbursts of temper, irritating whims, shocking lack of the most elementary feelings of gratitude on the part of Wilde, nothing could dampen the steadfast friendship which Harris felt for him. If of all the known departed Harris could summon back to life but one of them, that one would be Oscar Wilde.

It is just as well that Mr. Harris has no resurrecting powers. If Oscar Wilde came back to life again, we are afraid he would lay a heavy hand on the shoulder of his latest biographer and exclaim: "*Et tu Frank!*" For however vilely Oscar Wilde may have been attacked by puritanic bigots, nothing can possibly do more harm to his memory than this biography by Mr. Harris. "Wilde's memory will have to stand or fall by it," says Mr. Bernard Shaw, which goes to prove that he does not know what he is talking about. Wilde's memory will not "stand or fall"; it will *stand fallen*, a miserable, contemptible ruin which Mr. Harris has exposed to our view, devoid of the poetical ivy and moss which lends some charm to ruins, naked in the brutal nakedness of ugly truth.

It is a cruel book, this biography of Oscar Wilde, in which we find him an utterly worthless, despicable wretch, with no saving graces except a gift of the gab, with which he hypnotized a few friends—men of worth, some of them—just as a snake will hypnotize a bird.

Had Mr. Harris written a violent diatribe on Oscar Wilde, there would have been no harm done. But this painstaking, excellently written, absorbing and truthful biography—it must be truthful because it reads like truth, and because Robert Ross, who knew Oscar Wilde better than anyone else, has not contradicted Mr. Harris on any vital point—is likely to reach a large public and to find a permanent place among books, and so long

as this biography lives, so long will Oscar Wilde stand condemned before the eyes of any and every man. All of which does not signify that we agree with Mr. Bernard Shaw when he says that Mr. Harris' book has wiped out all the books on Wilde which have preceded it. This is the sort of dribble that necessitates more than Mr. Bernard Shaw's name to excuse it. We can only do so when we consider that Mr. Bernard Shaw is in his dotage.

After all, we do not all see through Mr. Harris' eyes. In his biography, though facts are facts and he seems to have stated them truthfully, we only get Frank Harris' view of his subject. As would be expected with such a pugnacious personality as Mr. Harris, the biographer is almost constantly before the eyes of the reader. In fact, this biography could never have been written had Mr. Harris never been born at all. For the book really is a biography of Oscar Wilde plus a partial autobiography by Mr. Harris.

Mr. Bernard Shaw's Memories are a pitiful example of the piffle which this superinfatuated literary clown has been doling out to his servile admirers in the last few years. Mr. Harris, the author, could certainly have dispensed with it though, probably, Mr. Harris, the publisher, was very glad to make use of it.

With the help of an encyclopedia—an inexhaustible fount of Shavian knowledge—Mr. Bernard Shaw takes pains to explain that the unfortunate Oscar was a pathological giant. Why use medical terms, with which he is not familiar, when the man in the street could have told him that what Wilde ailed from was chiefly a fearfully swollen head? And why harp on the littlenesses—or bignesses—of Wilde's parents to explain his abnormalities?

There are in human nature mysteries too deep even for the wonderful diver Bernard Shaw to fathom. The best we can do is to confess our ignorance lest we lay the blame for Wilde's downfall on innocent heads.

"You will be blamed . . . because you have not written a lying epitaph instead of a faithful chronicle . . ." remarks prophet Shaw to Mr. Harris.

Indeed he will not! No one will blame Mr. Harris for not telling a pack of sentimental lies about Oscar Wilde, but a good many of us shall infinitely regret that he should have chosen such an unworthy subject for his able pen. He might have allowed us to forget the wretch who, drunk with success, became a debauched sensualist, an adulterous husband, a dishonorable parent, an ungrateful worthless friend, a shameless beggar and a common low swindler. For as this pathetic figure disappears from our minds, we shall the better appreciate the earlier Wilde, the brilliant author who has enriched English Literature, the man who ought to have committed physical suicide—if for nothing else than his own self—ere he started on his career of degradation.

MARIANO JOAQUIN LORENTE.

* * *

Front Lines. By Boyd Cable. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co. Price \$1.50.

In these war stories the British soldier is shown to us, cool in danger, patient in hardship but not always uncomplaining, grumbling in moderation at intervals,

usually making the best of his hard lot, and regarding no reverse as anything more than a temporary setback. He did not want the war and would be glad to have it over, but he means to "carry on" until his work is finished.

The author makes a very strong appeal, especially in his "Foreword" and in "The Conquerors" to the men of the industrial army.

"I beg each war worker to remember that every slackening of their efforts, every reduction of output, every day wasted, every stoppage of work, inevitably encourages the enemy, prolongs the war, keeps men chained to the misery of the trenches, piles up the casualties, continues the loss of life. A strike or the threat of a strike may win for the workers their 12½ per cent increase of pay, the 'recognition' of some of their officials, their improved comfort; but every such 'victory' is only gained at the expense of the men in the trenches, is paid for in flesh and blood in the firing line."

Of course, an appeal along similar lines might be addressed to the capitalist who might well be urged to ask himself how much money he ought to allow himself to make out of the war and to what extent his profits are paid for in flesh and blood. And if voluntary sacrifices, by laborers and capitalists are not forthcoming to the necessary extent, it then becomes imperative that those clothed with governmental authority should exact the needed involuntary contributions.

WM. E. MCKENNA.

Religious Danger to Democracy

The Theory and Practice of Mysticism. By Charles Morris Addison, D.D. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Price, \$1.50.

The author describes Mysticism, after the familiar fashion of saintly predecessors, as a "contemplative art," which can be "practiced" so as to bring one into close and intimate relation to God. "Mysticism," he says, "is founded on man's conscious need of communion with God. The mystic aims to find God, and to complete himself in Him." Theoretically, there can be no objection to Mysticism; but practically, and from the standpoint of actual historical experience, the pursuit of this art has helped to obscure and cover up the great democratic tendencies enshrined in the religion of the Bible. One of the very largest meanings of the Bible is that when we build our social life on a foundation of economic injustice, we are going contrary to the nature and purpose of the Power which is responsible for the world: "Justice and righteousness are the habitation of his throne." There is danger to democracy in the book before us because, while it professes to base itself on the Bible, and while it seeks a constituency among believers in the Bible, it does not introduce the reader to a radical God such as was preached by the Hebrew prophets and by Jesus.

Practically sincere people have done their best to stifle the radicalism of the Bible. A long, bitter fight against the evils of organized, concentrated wealth was the force which established the religion of the Bible

in the world. A God of social justice is dangerous to vested interests. One way in which the religion of the Bible has been stifled is that of Ritualism—or insistence upon rites and ceremonies and methods of worship as absolutely necessary to salvation. Another way has been that of Dogma—or insistence upon the holding of this, that or the other system of theological belief as necessary to salvation. A third way is that of the volume before us—the practice of contemplative communion with God, inspired by the selfish, individualistic aim of *completing yourself* in the Deity.

The author is rector of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, in Stamford, Conn. He is entirely sincere; but views like his are all the more dangerous when uttered by honest minds. LOUIS WALLIS.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending June 11

Congress

Secretary McAdoo recommended in a letter to Chairman Kitchin of the House Ways and Means Committee that the new revenue bill be drawn to raise \$8,000,000,000, or one third of the \$24,000,000,000 expenses in the fiscal year 1919, with large increases in the taxes on incomes, profits, and luxuries. Many Senators are reported to be in favor of raising only \$6,000,000,000 by taxes. Attention is given to the charge that if price-fixing be extended the decrease in excess profits will reduce the revenue derived from that source. The first witness to appear before the Ways and Means Committee was Thomas O. Marvin of Boston, representing the Home Market Club, who advocated raising several million dollars more revenue by means of increased import duties. The Senate passed without objection Senator Borah's resolution designed to disclose alleged evidence in the Treasury of profiteering. This resolution is in response to the President's statement in his address to Congress that the Government had indisputable evidence of profiteering. To meet the President's objection to the Randall amendment adopted by the House, stopping the manufacture of beer, that it would lead to excessive use of whiskey, Senator Jones of Washington has introduced an amendment prohibiting the sale, transportation or furnishing of distilled liquors during the war, and forbidding the use of "food, fruits, food materials or feeds" for the making of wine or beer. The Jones amendment has the support of the "dry" Senators.

America's War Preparations

Ships launched in May, as announced by the Shipping Board, amounted to 71 hulls measuring 344,450 tons. Forty-three steel ships and one wooden ship totaling 263,571 tons, were completed. The United States yards are gradually forging ahead of the British yards. The highest output of the United Kingdom was in 1913, when 2,898,229 tons were launched, a monthly average of 241,519 tons. American shipping, outside of ships used by the navy for transports and supply ships, now amounts to approximately 10,000,000 tons. Confidence in the concrete ship has caused Chairman

Hurley of the Shipping Board to arrange for the construction of twenty-four concrete vessels in addition to the 18 under contract, making a total of 298,500 tons. Mr. Hurley predicts that the American merchant fleet in 1920 will reach 25,000,000 tons. Because of the U-boat visit to American shores all shipping, coastwise and overseas, has been placed under the control of the navy, as far as routing and the movement of vessels within the defensive areas and outside the harbors are concerned. Secretary Baker has asked Congress for an appropriation of \$16,000,000 for sixteen balloon and airplane stations on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Unnecessary delays in loading and unloading are sought to be avoided by placing the Department of Labor in control of the employment of stevedores, marine workers, and longshoremen in every port in the country.

Farmers' Way of Financing War

The Farmers' National Committee on War Finance is urging upon Congress such changes in the revenue law as will bring it into conformity with the Committee's slogan: "Equality of financial sacrifice." The officers of the Committee are Governor Arthur Capper of Kansas, chairman; Herbert F. Baker, Michigan State Grange, vice-chairman; Benjamin C. Marsh, executive secretary. Among the members are George P. Hampton, manager Farmers' National Headquarters; William Bouck, master Washington State Grange; C. H. Gustafson, president Nebraska Farmers' Union; J. Weller Long, national secretary-treasurer American Society of Equity; John A. Simpson, president State Presidents' Association of Farmers' Union; and Grant H. Slocum, supreme secretary, The Gleaners. Mr. Marsh, on his appearance before the Ways and Means Committee of the House on the 7th, urged in behalf of the Farmers' National Committee on War Finance the taking of excess and war profits over \$100,000, and heavy taxes on unused and inadequately used lands—particularly large holdings.

Land Values and Water Rates

Engineers for the California State Railroad Commission have disallowed the claim of the Spring Valley Water Company of San Francisco for a return on approximately \$10,000,000 of land values, representing the value of nearly 100,000 acres of land which the company asserted was required in operating its water system. The commission's engineers found that only 13,279 acres were required as operating land, and the rest was being held by the company as a speculation. Its value had already increased from \$5,191,300 to \$9,436,743, and the water users of San Francisco have been paying in rates a return on the latter valuation. The decision is expected to reduce water rates materially.

Platform of Farmers and Wage-Earners

The California Union of Producers and Consumers, composed of the California Division of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, the Pacific Co-operative League, of California, and the California State Federation of Labor, has adopted an

economic and political platform, the first plank of which is as follows: "The production of food being of utmost importance, we demand legislation to force idle land into use by means of a graduated surtax on all uncultivated arable land." The platform demands also public ownership of public utilities, including terminal warehouses and packing plants; state co-operation with co-operative societies; an absent voters' law, an anti-injunction law; health insurance; county experiment stations; free public employment bureaus; development of irrigation systems; and a State reconstruction commission. Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the State Federation of Labor and editor of the *Seaman's Journal*, is secretary of the union.

President Wilson Addresses Mexican Editors

President Wilson on the 7th welcomed at the White House a delegation of editors from Mexico who are touring the United States. His message to them, which was withheld from the American public till it had been published in Mexico, followed and extended the principles he had previously laid down as governing the relations of the two countries. The policy of his Administration, he said, had been to let Mexico settle her own internal affairs. He wished to assure them that America's power would be used only disinterestedly, both in her relations with Europe and with Mexico. He would even go so far as to put the Monroe Doctrine into the form of a treaty or agreement in which all the countries of the Western Hemisphere should bind themselves to respect the rights of the others; and he hoped to see such an agreement among all the nations of the world.

German-Americans to Organize

Announcement is made by leading German-Americans of the formation of a nation-wide "National Patriotic Council of Americans of German Origin." The purpose of this council, according to a statement issued for the founders by William Foster, president of the Liederkrantz, is to organize the 15,000,000 men, women and children of German blood in this country to win the war. The organization will consist of the national council, with headquarters in New York, and State councils in every State. Through the co-operation of committees of equal numbers of prominent Americans of German origin and prominent Americans of other origin, working shoulder to shoulder, it is hoped to abolish the hyphen once for all. "Some of us," the statement says, "know the German government better than other Americans know it, and we want this war to go on until that government is utterly discredited in the eyes of the German people and overthrown."

Russia

The Russian situation grows in interest as a world factor, though indefiniteness and uncertainty mark the news from that country. The sentiment in favor of intervention by the Allies is more sharply defined, but still lacks agreement upon a working plan. Growing hatred of Germany by Russians alarms the German press. The Moscow Chamber of Commerce sends a

communication to President Wilson expressing hope for victory of the Allies, and declaring that the Russian people rely on the economic support of the Allies for the reconstruction of the power of Russia. The latest dispatches indicate an increase in the political strength of the anti-Soviet Deputies, particularly among factory workers. In some provincial towns where elections have taken place the anti-Soviet candidates are reported to have received large majorities. It is reported by way of Tokio that the Russians of Eastern Asia opposed to the Bolsheviki have formed the Amur Republic, consisting of the territory east of Lake Baikal, containing approximately 2,706,000 square miles and 2,500,000 population. The White Russian Republic has been recognized by the Ukraine Government. A new government is reported in the Don country under the leadership of General Krasnoff. The peasant revolt in the Ukraine against the Germans is reported to be spreading rapidly in spite of the drastic measures of suppression, such as burning villages, which merely intensify hatred of the Germans. [See current volume, page 740.]

European War

A new attack in force was begun on the 9th between Noyon and Montdidier, resulting in a gain of about six miles at the point of deepest penetration. This advance is reported to have been made at the cost of enormous loss, and to have employed from forty to fifty German divisions. General-in-Chief Foch continues to use only enough of his reserves to prevent his line from being broken. He is husbanding his forces till the time comes for the counter blow. The American troops west of Montdidier have held their ground and have made small advances. To the west of Chateau Thierry near the southernmost point of the German advance the French and American forces have made considerable gains in counter attacks. Elsewhere on the western front there were no attacks in force. Nothing of moment is reported from the other fronts. [See current volume, page 739.]

* *

The U-boats operating off the Atlantic coast have increased their toll to sixteen vessels. The greatest loss of life was from the sinking of the Carolina on her way from Porto Rico to New York with 331 passengers and crew. Twenty-five are still missing. The Navy Department thinks there are two submarines, and the latest report is that they are accompanied by a "mother" ship from which they receive supplies. An American transport fired five shots at one of the submarines 75 miles off the New Jersey coast before it submerged or was sunk. No war ships will be recalled from Europe, nor will the movement of troops be interrupted. Secretary Baker announces that the number of American soldiers in France now numbers over 700,000.

* *

The policy of frightfulness appears to dominate the thought of the Germans. British hospitals were bombed seven times during the past two weeks, resulting in 991

casualties. They are also reported to be torturing British prisoners in retaliation for the bombing of German towns. Meantime they continue their air raids against Paris, and the use of their long-range gun, which at irregular intervals throws shells into the city.

* *

American casualties from the beginning of the war to June 9, as given by the War Department, are: Killed in action, 1,052; died of disease, 1,192; lost at sea, 291; died of accident, 392; total deaths, 2,927; wounded, 4,046; captured, 121; missing, 221; total, 7,315.

NOTES

—Charles Warren Fairbanks, former Vice-President of the United States, died at his home in Indianapolis, Indiana, on the 4th, at the age of 66.

—The completion of a swing bridge over the Suez Canal, at El Kantara, establishes continuous rail communication between Cairo and Jerusalem.

—The June crop report of the Department of Agriculture estimates the wheat yield of the United States at 931,000,000 bushels; oats at 1,500,000,000 bushels; barley at 235,000,000 bushels; and rye at 81,000,000 bushels.

—The railroad rate of three cents a mile for the actual distance traveled went into effect on the 10th. A half cent a mile additional is charged passengers riding in Pullmans and chair cars in addition to the former charge for berth or seat.

—President Wilson has addressed a second appeal to Governor Stephens of California for clemency in behalf of Thomas J. Mooney. The Governor declines to make any announcement pending the appeal of Mooney's attorneys to the Supreme Court.

—Scientists report a large number of successful photographs and observations taken during the total eclipse of the sun on the 8th. Photographs showed the time of contact was only four seconds from the time calculated in advance. Much valuable data is said to have been gathered.

—The Socialist party has undertaken to raise a campaign fund of \$1,000,000. Of the \$60,000 that represents New York's quota, \$10,000 was raised at the first meeting. The money is to be used as a defense fund for indicted Socialists, and for the coming Congressional campaign.

—Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, leader of militant British suffragists, who has devoted her whole energies to the Allied cause since the beginning of the war, arrived in the United States on the 5th. Mrs. Pankhurst's message to the patriotic women of America is that woman's cause will be lost if Germany wins the war.

—The Grand Canal in China, extending from Hangchow to Tientsin, is to be surveyed with a view to its restoration. The canal is nearly a thousand miles long, and the first section of it, from the Yang-tse-Kiang to the Hwaiho, was opened 486 B. C. It will be available for the largest junks, but not for ocean steamers.

—The recent defeat of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the Louisiana Senate by a narrow margin appears to have created a reactionary sentiment that may result in the passage of the Haas bill, granting the suffrage to Louisiana women in 1819 on the same terms as men. The bill, if it passes, will have to be submitted to a popular vote.

—For refusing to go into a military camp as a conscript, Mr. P. C. Webb, Labor Member of Parliament of New Zealand, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for "disobeying the orders of his superior officer in Trentham Camp by refusing to take his kit." Under the New Zealand law his imprisonment renders his Parliamentary seat vacant.

—A census of coal-tar products for 1917 has been made by the United States Tariff Commission. A striking feature of the report is the development of the coal-tar dye industry in this country. Eighty-one establishments were engaged in the manufacture, and the output "was practically identical with the amounts annually imported before the war"—45,977,246 pounds, valued at \$57,796,027.

—Designs for the nation's first war time currency, Federal Reserve Bank notes of \$1 and \$2 denominations, have been approved, and the new bills are expected to appear in general circulation about July 4. These bills are intended to replace the silver certificates, about \$30,000,000 of which have been withdrawn from circulation, as the silver that secured them was melted into bullion under the new act.

—The Mormon wheat storehouses have turned over to the Food Commission more than a quarter of a million bushels of wheat. It is the first time in more than thirty years that these storehouses have been swept clean. It has been customary since the days of Brigham Young to carry this amount of wheat to provide for possible disasters to the food supply. The grain is collected in the bins by means of the tithing system, each Mormon farmer contributing to the Church one-tenth of his crop.

—Famine and pestilence prevail extensively in Persia. The food shortage is so acute, according to a cable dispatch received by the State Department from

the American Legation at Teheran, that the people are eating grass, dogs and cats, and even practice cannibalism. Conditions are desperate. The famine is accompanied by typhus. In some places food is almost unobtainable. Assistance from the United States is asked. American philanthropic societies are doing much for the stricken country.

—The Sagamore Sociological Conference will not be held as usual this summer at Sagamore Beach, Mass. It is felt that the money and time and energy that would otherwise be expended on the Conference can better be employed in the many activities that lead directly to the winning of the war. Mr. George W. Coleman, President of the Conference, and the group of hosts who are associated with him hope that conditions a year hence will be more favorable, so that the Conference may be resumed in the summer of 1919.

—Four shipbuilding plants of large size, it is announced, will be located on the Industrial Canal that New Orleans is building from the Mississippi River to Lake Ponchartrain. The canal, which runs across the lower section of the city, will be four and a half miles long, 300 feet wide, 25 feet deep, and have a ship lock large enough to accommodate a vessel 500 feet long. Fifteen months is the outside limit for its completion. Enough will be completed to receive the first ship from the new yards, which is to be launched in seven months.

—Because of the urgent necessity of cultivating every acre of land, the French Chamber of Deputies has unanimously passed a bill permitting neighboring farmers to till land neglected by the owner. Wherever owners, holding land for speculation, or through indifference, interfere with the national food supply by allowing the land held by them to lie fallow, adjoining farmers, upon application to proper officials, will be authorized to plant and harvest it. "Adopted as a war-time policy in France," says Raymond Clapper, "it may be expected that the necessity for thus preventing land waste even in peace time will be seen clearly, and that one more form of economic waste will be permanently destroyed."

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HOW WE STOPPED THE LEAKS THAT KEPT US POOR

The Discovery Which Enabled Howard Lindsay and His Wife to Save One-Third of Their Income and Later Made Mr. Lindsay President of a Large Corporation.

A Secret That Applies to Any Income.

By HARRISON OTIS

Who should walk into the room but Howard Lindsay! Of all men perhaps the last I had expected to find as the president of this great new company. They had told me that Mr. Lindsay, of the Consolidated, was looking for a fine country home and was interested in buying the Dollard Place in Englewood; so as executor of the Dollard estate, I had come to discuss the terms with him.

But Lindsay! Surely some miracle had happened. For it was the very man who had come to me "dead broke" about four years back and had asked me to help him get a new job. But how he had changed! The man I remembered was down at the heel, and timid and ill-kept. The man now facing me was keen-eyed, alert, confident and well groomed.

"You are surprised, Mr. Otis, I can see that without your telling me. I *was* a pretty sorry object the last time we met—and you may be sure I have not forgotten the good turn you did me when I needed it so badly.

"Let that real estate matter rest for a moment while I tell you how the miracle happened. It won't take five minutes. It all seems simple as A B C as I look back on it now. And come to think of it, it *was* simple and perfectly natural.

How It All Began

"Our new life began when we discovered *how to save money*. That happened soon after I started in the new job, you helped me secure. And it all came about right in my own home. Our family cash account was in terrible shape at that time. Both my wife and I had been used to luxuries at home and 'charge it to Dad' had been our easy way out of any money problem.

"But it was different now and our sole source of supply was my salary of \$3,000. We never went to the theatre that we didn't have the uncomfortable feeling that we were using money that ought to go for coal or clothes or food. We seldom bought anything without feeling as though we were cheating ourselves out of something else.

"That year we didn't save one cent. Besides that, we woke up on New Year's Day to find a big bunch of unpaid bills to be taken care of somehow or other out of future salary checks.

"When I asked myself the reason for all this I found that I did not *know* the reason, and no more did my wife, because we hadn't the faintest idea what our money had been spent for.

"Then we looked around among our friends and learned a great lesson.

"The Weeds, I knew, were getting more than \$5,000 a year. They lived in a modest apartment, did not wear fine clothes, seldom went to the theatre, did little entertaining, yet we knew they barely had enough money to pay current bills. They found it out of the question to save any money and found themselves, so Weed told me, in the same predicament that we had faced on New Year's Day.

"In the case of the Wells I found a very different story and one that set me thinking hard. Their income was \$2,000 a year, yet, to my amazement, they confided to us that they had saved \$600 a year ever since they were married. They didn't have any grand opera in their program—except on their little Victrola—but they did go to the theatre regularly, they wore good clothes, entertained their friends at their home and were about the happiest and most contented couple of all our married friends.

Our Great Discovery

"Then I discovered the *magic secret*. The Weeds never knew whether they could afford to make a given expenditure or not. Theirs, like ours, was a sloppy, happy-go-lucky existence with the happiness cut out because they were always worried about money matters. They kept no accounts and just trusted to luck—and so had *bad* luck all the time.

"The Wells, on the other hand, were getting more real enjoyment out of life than people with double their

income—simply because they *knew what they could afford to spend.*

“The difference between these two families was that in one case the expenditures were made without any plan—while in the other the income was regulated on a weekly Budget System.

“Right there I got my Big Idea and my key to success and happiness.

“We sat down that evening and made up a budget of all our expenses for the next fifty-two weeks. We discovered leaks galore. We found a hundred ways where little amounts could be saved.

“And in no time we were engaged in the most fascinating *game* either of us had ever played—the game of ‘Money Saving.’

“In one short month we had a ‘strangle hold’ on our expenses and knew just where we were going. In one year my wife proudly produced a bank book showing a tidy savings account of \$800.

My New Grip On Business

“In the meantime an extraordinary change had come over me in business because of my not having to worry about my personal affairs. I was able to give my employer’s affairs my full, undivided attention during business hours instead of being harassed and worried as I had always been before.

“I didn’t fully realize this until the president called me in one day and said, ‘Lindsay, you have been doing exceptionally well. I have been studying your work for the last year and you have saved the company a lot of money. We have decided to give you an interest in the business.’ And besides that he doubled my salary. I never told him what had worked the change, but my wife and I know well.

“When you consider what my income is now, all that I have told you seems funny, doesn’t it? I can write my check in six figures today and my new salary here is \$25,000 a year. But I am still working on the same plan that I used to keep track of that original \$3,000. Result, I know just what I can subscribe to Liberty Bonds and the Red Cross and all the other war funds, and I never have to wonder whether I can afford to have a new motor car, because my budget tells me—to a penny.

“*It all began when we got a grip on our family expenses.*

“So there you are. It is wonderful, isn’t it? I often wish I might tell my story to the thousands of young married couples who are having the hardest time of their lives just when they ought to be having the best time.

“If you ever get a chance, do pass this message on, for there are thousands who don’t know what the trouble is, who would give everything to know ‘the secret of the fat bank balance.’”

So now I have the opportunity and you are lucky, if only you will act on the wonderful message this story contains.

HARRISON OTIS

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itself. It contains 112 pages, size 8¼ x 10¼ inches, and is bound in dark blue seal grain imitation leather, semi-flexible, stamped in gold. This book has been prepared by an expert and fits any salary from the smallest to the largest.

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- Making Safe Investments.
- Making a Budget.

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