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**FOR THE MEN AT THE FRONT**

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A. S. BURLISON, Postmaster-General.

# The Public

A Journal of Democracy

## The Colonial Problem

Johan Hansson

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## Labor and Education

Arthur E. Holder

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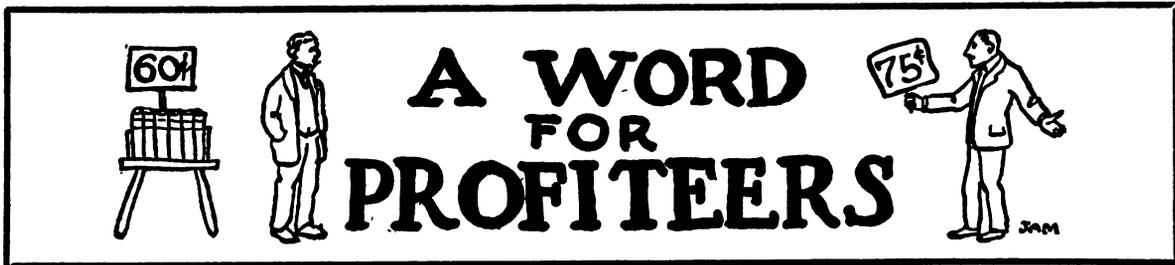
## The Kaiser's Ecclesiastical Steam Roller

Louis Wallis

Published Weekly  
New York, N. Y.

March 2, 1918

Ten Cents a Copy  
Two Dollars a Year



It has become almost fashionable to speak contemptuously about "business men." They have become as unpopular as hedgehogs at a picnic. But it is a cheap pastime to denounce all "business" men as Profiteers. Under the present profit system what business man is not obliged to make as much money as he legally can, or be forced to the wall by some competitor who has not such fine sensibilities? And which of you, so smug in your virtue, wouldn't rather eat pate de foie gras than file a schedule of liabilities?—which brings us to the real point of this discussion:

Can we be fair to ourselves in charging only 60c. for a hand-bound, limp, croft-leather volume in the Modern Library? When sixty cents was fixed as our selling price, the United States had not yet declared war against Germany. Since then, the prices of eggs, butter, pork, ice-cream sodas, beef, coal,

cotton, talcum powder, wool, leather, newspapers, filet of sole Marguery, etc., etc., have advanced about 63 132/789%. Even the price of labor has greatly increased. Still there is more than a vague suspicion that the present startlingly high prices are not wholly justified by economic causes. Some zealous and righteous citizens even insist that there are more diamonds, automobiles, fur-coats, and gilt edge securities being worn by a select few than ever before.

But listen to the other side of the question. The other day one of our friendly fellow publishers treated us to



a four-course luncheon and gently suggested that we have a lunacy commission appointed for ourselves. "Why, boys," he groaned, "here you have about two hundred magazines and newspapers and the leading colleges and schools and libraries singing the praises of the Modern Library in so many different, yet singularly harmonious strains, that if you only had an ear for music you would recognize the tune. It's 'Johnnie, Put Your Price Up!'" "Well, we have been seriously considering raising our price," we answered. "I should hope so," he continued, somewhat less gloomily. "Smyth of the New York Times, Kerfoot of Life, Davis of the Evening Post, Gerould of the Bellman, Sell of the Chicago News, N. P. D. of the Globe, and the Independent, Reedy's Mirror, Philadelphia Ledger, The Boston Transcript, the Philadelphia Press, the best papers on the Pacific coast,—why, great guns, all the critics say the Modern Library was the literary sensation of 1917. You have given the book-loving public the biggest bargain ever. With your fine titles and valuable introductions and attractive binding and clear print, sixty cents is simply ridiculous. What is the new price going to be?" "We have been thinking of seventy-five cents." "Figure your costs!" he angrily interrupted, gulping down a Benedictine and brandy. "You can't do it! Everything is up from 10 to 200% since you started—from composition and plates to binding, from office salaries to royalties. And I understand one of you had the nerve to get married recently. Heaven help her at 75c. a volume!"

"Yes, there is a lot in what you say, my friend," the newly married one of us admitted, after the waiter had softly reminded us that we were not the only ones in the room. "We don't criticize you or any of the others for asking more money for the books you are publishing. We know you are entitled to it. We know that you are simply business men—not Profiteers. We, too, have been thinking about a higher price, but we cannot forget that the Modern Library is a unique institution. When we started it we announced that we did not expect to get rich, and that that was not primarily our ambition. So we have decided to stick to the old price—sixty cents per volume, postage 6c. extra,—and we are going to add new titles regularly, with the best introductions we can buy. All the additional support we will ask of our friends is to buy

four volumes where they used to buy two, and twenty instead of only ten."



We got our hats (paying for them as usual) and waited a moment for our friend to join us, but he could only gasp feebly, as he lit his fifth fifty-cent cigar, "Don't wait for me, boys. The shock is too great—or may be you're only joking."

We are not—here's the list of titles now included in the Modern Library. They are all hand-bound in limp croft leather, and sell at all stores for sixty cents per volume, 6c. extra by mail. Check the titles you want.

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| 6  | Henrik Ibsen                      | Plays: A Doll's House, Ghosts, An Enemy of the People       |
| 7  | Anatole France                    | The Red Lily  |
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| 36 |                                   |   |
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BONI & LIVERIGHT, Publishers

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# The Public

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXI

New York, N. Y., March 2, 1918

Number 1039

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Those who are inclined to pessimism because of the European events of the past week will do well to remember that an event is dead as soon as it transpires, and in these days is quickly buried. Events are the results of forces that can be studied and in some measure guided. Nothing has happened in Russia that was not foreseen by those who understood the futile inflexibility of Bolshevism, and the real character of German intentions. What is important is to understand the forces that are making toward future events, and the direction given these forces by what is now taking place. Attention can well, therefore, pass from Russia to London and fix itself upon the significance of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference. A few weeks ago, when the British labor movement found its unity and expressed itself in the most statesmanlike document of the war, its statement of war aims, democrats everywhere felt solid ground under their feet. Here is a great, healthy, sane, solid labor movement, understanding its power, and knowing what it wants to achieve. This movement placed itself on record as ready to fight to the bitter end for a just and democratic peace. The Conference, just closed, has extended this unity to the workers of all the Allies. The war aims have been unanimously accepted and reemphasized. This means not only the assurance that democracy is safe with the common people of the allied countries, but also that there is no danger from the Russian

madness, that compound of ignorance and violence which thinks it can break into the kingdom of heaven merely by destroying members of the middle class. The decisive character of the failure of Trotzky's effort to influence the German people over the heads of their official representatives is a benefit. Even the anticipation of its success was muddling the thinking of multitudes of people in this country.

\* \* \*

With the unity and democratic purpose of the common people assured, the teapot tempests of high politics have little more than academic interest. Mr. Lloyd George has weathered one of the major crises of his stormy career. Most Americans feel that the circumstances attending the resignation of General Robertson as Chief of Staff are so involved that they incline to dismiss the incident as one that they cannot understand. On the contrary, it is a matter in which we should have reciprocated the good offices of the British in telling us how to avoid their mistakes. We are so accustomed to petty civil war between our little dictators in Washington, that we might have assisted in the British crisis. For it was a conflict of two dictatorships: the press dictatorship of Lord Northcliffe, and the military dictatorship of the General Staff. There is one group, whose views are expressed by *The Morning Post*, who frankly desire to see the military powers of the Staff, greatly augmented in Kitchener's day at the cost of civil authority, extended to the kind of control enjoyed by Hindenburg and Ludendorff. Another section, expressing itself through *The Daily News* and other organs of extreme liberalism, have been engaged for many months in the endeavor to destroy Mr. Lloyd George and his War Cabinet. They were therefore willing to take up the cry that politicians were attempting

to obstruct the generals, in order to further their peculiar aim. This brought them into an alliance with *The Morning Post*, illustrating again the peculiar way in which extremes meet. Into this situation was thrown the problem of the Supreme War Council of Versailles. Mr. Lloyd George saw his way out. There was need to coordinate the military efforts of the Allies; Field-Marshal Haig and officers in the field, whose chief concern is military success, supported this coordination. On the other hand, an increase in the powers of Versailles would limit the extraordinary prerogatives of the Imperial General Staff. The Cambrai reverse had loosened the almost superstitious hold that a staff can obtain by continuous success or absence of notable failure. General Robertson was therefore placed in the position of choosing between the general military good and his personal ascendancy in England. Mr. Lloyd George, therefore, at one stroke gave added strength to the War Council, in which he strongly believes, and at the same time recovered the traditional, constitutional civil control of the administration at home. The liberal press finds itself in a sorry impasse, from which *The Nation* is already endeavoring to escape. Lord Northcliffe's part was to destroy Robertson; his own destruction, as always hitherto, is a problem that is carried forward.

\* \* \*

It is worth while to watch the situation in Austria in conjunction with developments in Russia. Only the simple were deluded by the idea that a wedge could be driven between Germany and Austria by a speech in Washington or in London. It is, however, another matter when policies are conflicting and interests begin to diverge. The background of all interpretation of Austrian affairs is the extreme privation to which the population has been reduced. Almost any course would be adopted to avert further sacrifices. Peace with Ukraina not only relieved Austria of a large part of the burden of war, but promised an increase of rations, an empty promise for the most part. The country cannot afford to undergo much more stress, as nationalist feelings are growing every day more threatening. The fall of the Clam-Martinić Cabinet showed that the nationalities were approaching each other and bringing to an end

the traditional mode of balancing the parliamentary strength. The formation of the Seidler Cabinet was a frank abandonment of any effort to cooperate with Poles, Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs; in other words, the Emperor, after his first impulse toward confederation, has settled into the Germano-Magyar regime with all its antiquated feudal methods and intentions. A second line of division falls between Austrians and Hungarians themselves, due partly, to the refusal of Hungary to share her food supplies. In these ways, a government, frankly maintaining the German program, is concentrating nationalist sentiments, is at loggerheads within its dominant groups, is discovering not a little Bolshevism amongst industrial workers of Vienna and Budapest, and is endeavoring to hold together a population made eruptive by privation. Under these circumstances, the military party of Germany is now found in the saddle and using the spurs. Austria must suffer still further hardships in order that Germany may annex more territory. Besides, Ukrainian independence becomes an unsettled affair if the power of the Bolsheviki reaches an early termination. Publication of the Polish Manifesto was only symptomatic of the bad feeling that is growing between the Central Empires. Every step that Germany takes into Russia is a step away from Middle European solidarity. This is the other side of the Russian collapse.

\* \* \*

There is no ambiguity in American feeling for Russia. That country is no longer able to give military aid. We may be disappointed, but only the shallow feel resentment. America will give Russia all the help that is at present possible, and will use her actual and potential strength to free her from attacks by vultures, while she is struggling to her new place in the family of nations. This feeling and this intention need none of the subterfuges of diplomacy to express itself. It is definite and unequivocal. Americans hope that the Japanese people and government share this intention, and will so declare themselves. There is something sinister in the treatment of the matter, with veiled threats, that Mr. Iyenaga has given to our public on two recent occasions. This readiness to act promptly in support of vital interests has an unpleasantly familiar sound. The intentions of

Japan are probably of the best. She will do wisely with our people if she does not allow her agents to obscure them.

\* \* \*

And finally, the Russian situation is helping the American people to unload the nonsense about German revolution, that has encumbered their minds and obstructed their efforts. There is some evidence of our realization that this war is not a moving-picture show, but a life and death struggle. The time has arrived when every man, whatever he was a year ago, is a loyal American citizen ready to do his utmost, or he is nothing. The time has arrived for profiteers, of whatever kind, to be treated with scant patience. It is welcome news that our army is to lay aside its swaddling clothes and milk bottle and show its military weight on the battle-front. It is not to be an eternal getting ready like a correspondence course in swimming. It is within memory how the London Territorials got ready in a fortnight in the autumn of 1914, by blocking the road to Calais against the Prussian Guard.

\* \* \*

The myopic vision and political untrustworthiness of those who lead the Peoples' Council were never more clearly illustrated than in their declaration at a recent New York conference in favor of unrestricted Asiatic immigration. That the free movement of peoples must be a requisite to any final solution of our problems goes without saying. It is equally clear that the flooding of this country with Chinese coolie labor at this time would merely enable beneficiaries of privilege in this country to thwart the movement for economic democracy, while assuring for the coolies themselves a life of exploitation on the one hand and of persecution on the other. The only way to help the Chinese or ourselves is to establish here an economic democracy, and then, when its benefits have become apparent to the peoples of backward races, insist that they follow our example at home. Otherwise a people like the Chinese will be used as a great reservoir of strike-breakers, to be moved hither and thither as they are needed to check progress and maintain the status quo in countries where the people begin to develop power. The danger of inciting wars is not involved. Heavy immigration is invariably from those countries that are so industrially back-

ward as not to constitute menaces to the peace, which today can only be broken by the most industrially advanced of peoples. Japan may be cited as an exception. But her progress at home will soon remove the danger of such a flood of immigration as to endanger the American democracy, and when that time arrives, restrictions will be removed. In the meantime, the maintaining of restrictions involves far less friction and danger than would the presence in the western States of a constantly growing army of Japanese immigrants, who, as experience has proved, would be subject to the hostility and persecution of those whose economic welfare they menaced. China is a country of vast undeveloped resources, its population dense only along the sea-coast and a few of the rivers. It is no more inevitable and necessary than it is desirable that her people dodge their domestic problem by flooding over into America.

\* \* \*

The new "progressive" leadership of the Republican Party has not been slow in manifesting itself. Mr. Hays has been conferring this week with Representative Frank P. Woods of Iowa, chairman of the Party's Congressional Committee, Senator Penrose, and other leading lights of progressivism in Washington. They express confidence that control of Congress will be won at the elections next fall.

The *New York Times*, usually accurate and dependable in such matters, reports their plans as follows: "The supreme issue of the campaign will be a full exploitation of the treatment of labor by the Administration, beginning with the time President Wilson signed the Appropriation bill exempting labor from injunction proceedings, tracing the increasing surrender to labor through the eight-hour law legislation, and ending with the relation of the Administration to labor in wartime. In effect, the Republicans will attempt to prevent what the leaders declare is the rise of socialism resulting from the indulgence labor has received from Federal officials." This from the Party that began with Lincoln! Evidence is piling up that the Bolsheviki, the I. W. W. of American business, have captured full control of the G. O. P. and are determined to drive from it every enlightened element. What will such Republicans as Senators Johnson and Borah have to say about this?

In refusing to eliminate from the railroad control bill the provision definitely limiting the term of governmental possession, the United States Senate has done well for autocratic privilege, and poorly indeed for democracy. Even if it were true that government ownership necessarily means poorer service, it would be a small price to pay for elimination of the corrupting influence that inevitably accompanies farming of public functions to private corporations. The Senate's action encourages these interests to work for reinstatement. It shows that there is still a long fight ahead before the influence of plutocracy over Congress will be removed. And it does not even offer the poor hope of better service. The Government controls the railroads today not because either the people or officials realize that private ownership under any circumstances is wrong, but because private ownership has broken down. The Senate is willing that the Government put the system in good shape, pay generously those who wrecked it, and then hand it back to them to repeat their mismanagement. There is still a chance, however, that the House may prove less susceptible to the influences that have prevailed in the upper branch.

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THE PUBLIC prints this week an article on vocational training by Mr. Arthur E. Holder, a member of the new Federal Board for Vocational Training. This is the Board that will disburse Federal aid to State schools that install courses in vocational training, as a means of encouraging this movement to bring education into closer harmony with the needs of girls and boys. The dangers to be guarded against in this field are obvious. Vocational training is demanded by powerful reactionary elements as a means of breaking down labor standards and building up a stratified class of workers whose opportunities for advancement would be definitely limited. It is, therefore, particularly fortunate that the Federal act creating the new Board was drafted and put through Congress with the support of the American Federation of Labor, and that the Federation was represented in the matter by a trades unionist with the grasp and understanding of Mr. Holder. He has been a trades union official for many years, and until recently was the legislative representative of the Federation at Washington. His intelligence, sincerity and fine

spirit have been an important factor in securing much of the progressive legislation enacted in recent years through the influence of labor. He holds his present position because he is eminently qualified for it.

## Radical Opposition Collapses

The collapse of radical opposition to President Wilson's international policy has been one of the significant developments of recent weeks. Mr. Hillquit now offers himself as a volunteer for service in Europe in the spreading of propaganda against the German Government. Those who were sincere in their earlier opposition have been convinced by the President's recent utterances and by the many other proofs that the Washington Administration is fundamentally democratic, while those who were politically-minded in the meaner sense and who looked for personal advantage as opposition leaders have awakened to the fact that their support is deserting them. Opponents of the war were callow and short-sighted enough in their outlook. They now find themselves trailing along behind the magnificent British labor movement, the French Socialists, and even the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, than whom until recently they were much more tender of the German Government. As for the doctrinaire leaders of the Socialist Party, there was something so incongruous in their radical stand at the St. Louis convention as to justify the conclusion that pro-German nationalist sentiment consciously or unconsciously colored their feeling. For, until the issue was Germany, these leaders had been among the most conservative of propagandists. They had kept themselves ultra-"respectable." The very men who voted for "direct action" against President Wilson's Government were the men who, a year or two before, had voted to bar members of the I. W. W. from party membership. Victor Berger in pre-war days made many friends among his fellow-Congressmen by his Fabian philosophy and his broad, amiable tolerance. Mr. Hillquit's latest change of front began during his campaign for the New York mayoralty, when he asserted that the Socialists "would be the last people to urge that we now withdraw from the war and leave the nations of Europe to their destiny." It is just possible that the return of so many of its leaders to sanity will precipitate a split in the

Socialist Party. Such a split would isolate the consciously or unconsciously pro-German members, together with a few of the ultra-doctrinaire to whom opposition to all wars is a tenet of a religious faith that permits no questioning.

Leaders of the type who have opposed the President's policy are unimportant enough. They merely reflected the views of their following, and the significance of their change of front is its proof that this following has come to a realization of the truth. With this following we cannot be too impatient. It requires such knowledge of the peculiar political situation in America as many of them do not possess to understand passing events in Washington. It is small wonder that large numbers of men and women should have been puzzled by a Government that spoke through Mr. Burleson as well as through Mr. Wilson and Mr. Baker and Mr. Daniels. Those of us who follow politics closely realize clearly enough that the old two-party system has bequeathed us a strangely confused and uncertain political alignment. Always the Democratic Party has been conservative in the South and doubtfully liberal in the North and West. As recently as 1904 it nominated a New York reactionary for President, and there were years following that election when it looked as though American radicalism would make its emergence through the progressive wing of the Republican Party. Since 1913 Mr. Wilson has been laboring to recast the Democratic Party as the medium for American liberalism, but at every stage he has had to depend on the support of elements in the South that supported him blindly for no better reason than that he wore the Democratic Party tag. Not until the North and West show themselves capable of shedding the old partisan prejudice and accepting the Democratic Party as the liberal party will we have an Administration at Washington that presents a solid front against privilege. Even then, of course, it must be supplemented and prodded by a more radical third group. Such a group does not now exist, but could easily be called into being by the formation of a Labor Party that would be friendly to alliances with the farmers' movement, the Single-tax movement, and those elements in the Socialist Party that are not hopelessly doctrinaire.

In the meantime, the Wilson Administration is demonstrating more clearly every day that it is heart and soul with the democratic forces in

every field, that croppings out of Southern toryism are more irritating than important. Its appeal at this juncture to every sincere democrat, more interested in advancing his cause than himself, is irresistible. Nor is the Solid South so utterly benighted. If it has given us Burleson and Gregory, it has also given us Daniels, who, in addressing the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy in New York last week said:

"But we are concerned, and we are vitally concerned, not only to make the world safe for democracy, but we are enlisted in America to make democracy safe for the world. This war has changed the fate of nations, and everything old is cast away, and we shall emerge as a young, a new, a fresh Republic, with vision to see justice more clearly than we have ever seen it in the past. Evils have grown up among us, privilege has been enthroned, and favoritism and unequal opportunity have cast a blight upon world democracy. We shall end it with this war. Labor is fighting to win the war for democracy, and when it is won it will win its war. We shall never come back to old conditions. The revolution that has put the world in arms will make it free in peace, and whatever remains here of the vestige of inequality and injustice and privilege must die in the grave with autocracy.

"The young men who passed down the streets of your city today, most of them will come back. Some of them will fill honored graves, and we will erect monuments to their courage and bravery; but those who come back will not come back as they went away. They will come back resolved that America shall be free alike for every man."

### "Patriotic Co-operation"

The National Association of Manufacturers, notorious for its record of bribing labor leaders and its attempt to defeat progressive legislation at Washington through the underhand methods disclosed in the Mulhall lobby exposé, is at its old tricks. It means nothing to these men that Great Britain's war experience has proved the necessity of recognizing organizations of labor and dealing with them on a co-operative basis, that this policy has been urged upon American manufacturers by a commission of British employers, and that the Government's effort to mobilize labor depends upon an acceptance of the principle of collective

bargaining by American employers. Apparently these men, professing to speak and act for 4,000 American employers, have learned nothing and conceded nothing. They are still intent on their effort to keep American industry safe for autocracy, even if it entails such factional bitterness and strife as seriously to interfere with the prosecution of the war. A well-known trades unionist doing important work for the Government at Washington sends THE PUBLIC a statement recently issued by Mr. Wallace M. Short, candidate for Mayor of Sioux City, Iowa, on the Labor ticket. Mr. Short said:

I encountered recently an impressive illustration of the unceasing activity of the enemies of democracy.

It was on November 21, 1917, that a reporter discovered that my name was being mentioned at labor headquarters as a possible candidate for mayor on the labor ticket, and wrote the fact for the *Sioux City Journal*.

In less than a week from that time the secretary of the Sioux City Commercial Club called me on the phone one morning and requested me to come to his office to meet a gentleman from New York City.

The gentleman from New York proved to be Mr. Otto J. Klee, whose business card describes him as "Special representative, industrial department, National Association of Manufacturers, New York."

He wished to learn from me if I would consider a proposition to devote my time to speaking in Iowa and neighboring states for the National Manufacturers' Association in their campaign for "spreading the gospel of patriotic industrial co-operation." The salary would be larger than I have ever before received, and I would be given my Sundays at home.

After we had talked for an hour, and he had fully revealed the nature of his mission, I asked him to come with me, and I got for him a copy of the union labor paper which contained on the front page my speech on Labor Day last September. I told him to send that to the gentlemen in New York City who employed him, and bade him goodby.

"Patriotic Industrial Co-operation" would be a fine thing. But the brand of co-operation which the gentleman from New York wanted me to preach is treason to democracy. It utterly ignores the workers. The literature which the gentleman from New York left with me does not even deign to mention any organization of laboring people nor to recognize the existence of such organization. It preaches co-operation from the point of view merely of the exploiter of the working people.

The gentleman from New York told me again and again during the conversation that the purpose of the speaking for which he wanted me was to prepare the minds of the people for the struggle for democracy that is surely coming at the close of the war, when, as he said, "wages are going to go tumbling down, and there is going to be great industrial unrest."

It is significant that immediately after the visit of this gentleman from New York the Commercial Club in Sioux City undertook to bring to life again that old "Industrial Association," whose sole purpose is to fight the organizations of the workers.

It is, furthermore, significant that there followed quickly also the attempt to organize that "Home Guard" under the same auspices, not as a home guard of the people, but as a semi-private, semi-secret enterprise.

Don't misunderstand my purpose. I am not speaking for the sake of denouncing manufacturers' associations or kindred bodies. I am speaking with the purpose to arouse the people to be alert and to take their part—to hold up their end of the argument in the eternal contest for democracy and fair play.

The National Manufacturers' Association has already spent vast sums of money for speakers and literature in their effort to crush the power of the organizations of the workers before the end of the war. Democracy demands that the masses of the people should take their part by keeping their organizations strong and efficient, and especially by seeing to it that they have representatives in the halls of government.

The battle is for democracy—for fair play for all the people.

THE PUBLIC'S Washington correspondent comments as follows:

"The Sioux City story is really good, it verifies what an eminent Industrial Expert engaged by the Government said to me yesterday.

"Say, ——, what's going to happen to labor after the war?' 'Don't know,' said I. 'Well, then, let me tell you,' said the I. E. 'I have just made a trip to ten big industrial centers and met with representatives of the Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, and Manufacturers' Associations for the purpose of talking conciliation with labor, so that industrial strife may be reduced to a minimum,—especially during the war.'

"How were you treated?' asked I. 'Oh, very nicely on general matters,' replied the I. E. 'But when it came to labor, they were one and all actuated by the same impulse, as though inspired. They raved and swore, and threatened to crush unionism, cut wages, work what hours they pleased and act with labor as if it were a commodity.'

"When I inquired further I discovered as I supposed that most of the gentlemen who had been interviewed and addressed by the I. E. had never employed union men anyway, so they had but little to really complain of. . . . Undoubtedly they fear their poor human chattels will take the kink out of their necks and look

upwards and outwards and discover,—how much better it would be for them if they enjoyed some of the freedom which union men possess.”

And our correspondent would join us in the wish and faith that “the freedom which union men possess” will prove only the beginning of what these men with their heads erect will demand and take for themselves.

### Mr. Schwab Again

THE PUBLIC has no doubt of the sincerity and big-mindedness of Mr. Schwab in his rôle of prophet of a social order in which the workers and producers shall come into their own. His recent public utterances have a very great significance. He broke the ice, and scores and hundreds of lesser men in the world of finance are echoing his words. And if THE PUBLIC has expressed a skepticism with respect to Mr. Schwab's future conduct, that is no reflection on him and no belittling of his wisdom and virtue. It is only to recognize a truth that Mr. Schwab himself stated very clearly. “I am not anxious to give away my wealth,” he said. “The more wealth and power one acquires, the more one wants.” It is just Mr. Schwab's realization that no class ever voluntarily surrendered privileges that marks his prophecy as that of a man who understands, a man with his feet on the ground. It is in refreshing contrast with the utterances of other converts, like Mr. Rockefeller, who embrace the doctrine of noblesse oblige and cling to the conviction that only they and others like them are capable of achieving progress. For Mr. Schwab and others similarly situated to feel this way undoubtedly does mean some lessening of resistance: Men cannot fight against change so doggedly when in their hearts they know it is both right and inevitable. But those who will admit that will always be in the minority, and even this minority will quite honestly find excuses for fighting this or that forward thrust of the forces of justice and democracy. Unions may be all right, but the leaders of this particular union are the wrong sort. To take the monopoly value of land for the people is just, but there are innocent investors,—widows and orphans,—to consider. And so on and so on. One of the reasons why we need a Labor Party in America is that, for all their cursing of “politicians and demagogues,” our privileged classes do acquiesce and take their

medicine when it is administered through government, whereas in their direct dealings with voluntary associations of workers and producers they will fight bitterly to the end. That fight is already upon us. It is our duty to mitigate its harshness all we can, through political action. “Law and order” need not be the established law and order,—a synonym for legalized privilege and extortion and sabotage. The workers of America can capture Law and Order for themselves, and make of it the medium for achieving justice, if they only will. With a free press, they could do it tomorrow. If we ever have a revolution in America it undoubtedly will be because a free press has been denied us,—because the exploited majority is cut off from any opportunity to talk to each other, to tell their story to the “general public,” to drive home the facts, through the newspapers. It is a press owned or controlled by beneficiaries of privilege that keeps the exploited majority of Americans disorganized, inarticulate, puzzle-headed, blindly resentful, or, worst of all, fatalistically resigned and complacent.

### Economic Ignorance on the Stand

The heads of Chicago's packing industries, compelled to explain their attitude toward labor to an official investigator, were clearly at a disadvantage. It is doubtful whether they have given the labor question their unbiased consideration at any time. Accepting existing conditions as just and expedient, they see little justification for unrest. Their testimony shows that as business men they have definite ideas concerning ways and means to get the most results from labor at the smallest expense; as citizens they feel a strong desire to help the poor in every way except by getting off their backs, and as employers, they harbor the smug idea that their employes should feel grateful for any small concession or favor that may be granted. It would probably shock them to be told that the welfare department in their plants does not atone for shortcomings in citizenship. So when they appeared before Judge Alschuler to be questioned by Frank P. Walsh, it is no wonder that they made a poor showing.

Because Mr. Walsh, an economic expert, had before him economic illiterates, he could get no answers other than what implied admission of

personal responsibility for the deplorable condition of packing house employes. Had they been economic students they could have appeared to better advantage. Nelson Morris, for instance, could have told Mr. Walsh, like Tom L. Johnson, that he is taking advantage of conditions as he finds them. His employes, having many votes to his one, are more responsible than he for concentration of economic power in his hands. If they would use their political strength to open to labor all opportunities now withheld they could become masters of the situation. However, since they refuse to do so, he has ground for the belief that they prefer to be subject to him, and to be dealt with as he may think best. His duty to be his brother's keeper is not so clear when his brother can but will not help himself.

Lacking the knowledge to return that answer, or to demonstrate it, Mr. Morris felt bound to apologize for conditions for which no apology can be offered. He made a pitiful effort to show that his workers are well off, and to define fair living conditions for them. Of course, he blundered, as any one must who tries to impart an impression of knowledge concerning matters of which he knows nothing. It is too bad that Mr. Walsh's duty compelled him to humiliate the unlearned witness. But chivalrous leniency would have been a mistake. The cause of economic justice requires an end to mistaken confidence in imaginary superior knowledge of big business men as a class. It is necessary that both employers and employes learn that individual philanthropy can solve no social problems.

No doubt, Mr. Morris imagined that he was discussing the fundamentals of the wage question when he claimed that \$1288 is too much for a laborer's family of five to spend in one year, and no doubt he thought he had proved his contention when he mentioned the fact that a majority of workingmen's families live on less. How could he think otherwise when he had not learned so elementary a fact as that a laborer is entitled to all that he produces, even if he can live on less?

Economic knowledge would have helped Mr. Morris in discussing the workingman's expenditures. He could have shown that robbery of the laborer is not limited to withholding of wages earned. In spending the wages he gets the packing house employe is robbed by interests other than his employer's. Mr. Morris could have

shown that the Government is itself a factor in this. In sustaining predatory privilege it compels wage earners to submit to extortion on the part of trusts and monopolies on all sides, to pay a few fellowmen for permission to occupy a location on the earth, and to pay in addition to tribute to private interests indirect taxes on all that they consume. All this and much more Mr. Morris might have urged and Frank P. Walsh would no doubt have been glad to corroborate him. But to urge these truths would have been to condemn the existing economic system, to have taken a stand with progressive radicals, and to have challenged the Government to abolish his own privileges as well as others. Unwilling to do this, determined to uphold his interests right or wrong, he put himself into an indefensible position, and must endure the odium that public opinion puts upon those who choose to be "oppressors of labor." Mr. J. Ogden Armour suffered in a similar way because his economic education has also been neglected, and consequently he holds to the fallacy that the great majority must continue to be bridled and saddled for the superior few to ride upon. And lesser lights of the industry upon the stand made little better showing. These men deserve sympathy. It is not altogether their own fault that they are lacking in economic knowledge. For their own sakes as well as for the good of society, the pets of privilege should be taught the whole truth concerning the system that elevates them at the expense of others. Neglect of this has again and again forced some captain of industry in a position where all of his wealth and power could not save him from making of himself a pitiful spectacle.

Here are men on whom fortune has conferred every opportunity to acquire good educations, and who doubtless believe they have taken advantage of them. And yet they can see no significance in the fact that producers of food in the world's greatest food plants are undernourished and forced to eat what wealthy drones reject. It does not seem fundamentally wrong to them that conditions should force the widow of a stockyard laborer to depend on charity to bury her husband, although she had practiced enforced economy to the extent of never attending a moving picture theater. It probably puzzled them as to why an organizer of the American Federation of Labor should mention that "fifty per cent of

the stockyards workers do not live; they just exist," or that "the men must leave home at 5 A.M., work all day in abominable surroundings, and get home at 8 or 9 at night." Are not these things matters of course? Complaint concerning them, was to these unlearned millionaires like complaining of the ocean tides. And then when they were asked about their own style of living, how it compared with that of the men who produced most of their wealth for them, they could not

grasp the reason for the—to them—absurd comparison.

In sympathizing with the unfortunate workers let these wealthy victims of society be remembered also. They, too, have a just grievance. Rich and poor alike have a common interest in the overthrow of institutions that spoil with wealth as well as poverty. These packers have had their first lesson in political economy. Have they profited by it?

## The Colonial Question

By Johan Hansson

*Johan Hansson of Stockholm, Sweden, thought out the following after a trip around the world, during which he made careful study of conditions in the countries all along his course. His approach was that of one who not only looks, discerns and thinks, but who feels deeply and cares greatly. This article is part of a paper written soon after the outbreak of the war. It was given to me two years ago. Now the world has caught up, or is near to catching up; and so we print it.*

—MARY FELS.

Shall the great war which we are now experiencing be repeated in the future?

The combatants assure us that they are fighting to attain a result that will make a repetition impossible. The fact that on both sides they use the same argument as motive for their joining in the slaughter tends to arouse distrust in the trustworthiness of this assurance. As human nature now is with its mixed instincts of might and right, the angel message of "peace on earth" cannot be brought about by military force. Hitherto it has not been given to the warrior as such to create lasting peace, and even in the future he will probably fail in this respect. The peace that will be lasting must be based on mutual understanding; and mutual understanding, in its turn, in order to be developed and maintained must include so much justice that the people's sense of right may be satisfied.

If, on the other hand, in these coming peace negotiations one could hope for something as Utopian as the disbanding of soldiers on all sides, and that the peace conditions would be dictated by the foremost philosophers of justice in the world, and if one could also hope that the teachers and leaders of the people in all countries

would do their best, each in his turn, to change public opinion to a recognition of loyalty to the principles of equal rights in international life, then we could feel quite sure that the present war would be the last war. To continue this, alas, too Utopian thought, one might say that if peace conditions were dictated by the foremost philosophers of justice, they would first consider the main reasons for the wars of the past and the competition in armaments, and see to it that these causes were removed. Then too they would demand that in the future there should be no violation of national rights. The suppressed peoples of a country such as the Danes, Frenchmen and Poles in Germany, Finns in Russia, etc., should be given opportunity to decide for themselves to which government they shall be subject. If these judges of peace were given power proportionate to their wisdom and good will, they would surely do away with monarchical institutions and make European states free republics. They would demand that the absolute right of decision for war and peace should be taken away from the monarchs and put into the hands of the people; and they would also do away with secret diplomacy; private capitalistic munition manufacturing with its terribly corrupting influences would be prohibited. One would not stop with such considerations. We have gained keen insight into the disturbing effect of economic injustice in commerce and trade between the peoples. It would be demanded among other things that the tariff wall between countries should be abolished, so that trade would be just as free between the states of Europe as it is now between

the various United States of America and of Australia. And, if our peace judges were permitted to influence other fiscal legislation they would certainly follow Turgot, Cobden, Henry George, and other similar good advisers to secure revenues by taxation of land values and monopolies, instead of by tariff, and thereby the more intensive use of the land and capital resources of the different countries would be brought about. This result would be of great importance also for keeping peace among nations, because the desire for expansion which is created by wrong economic conditions would be limited.

This desire for expansion, which especially finds expression in acquiring colonies, no matter how just the inside social and economic condition of the countries, would, however, never be wholly overcome. The progressive man is born to make the earth his servant; he cannot help it. It seems to be a hopeless and also an undesirable task to try to get the white race to give up the use of the often rich resources and the markets to which the land of the colored races gives opportunity. The colony question is one of the greatest realities of our time, and a peace that does not attempt to solve this question is not likely to be permanent. Yet this question has not been thoroughly thought out, and one would almost be afraid that even those philosophers of justice who were to be peace makers would feel themselves somewhat in doubt as to the right solution of the problem. The idea advanced, that the Caucasian people ought to give up altogether their control over colonial territories, will not even gain support before this idealistic peace court, because that would mean that European enterprise would be shut out of a large part of the world, as the natives would not themselves be capable of creating and maintaining law and order necessary for regular industry and trade. If we want this industry to be continued and developed in all parts of the world, we must not cease creating on morally defensible lines the law and order which such enterprise needs.

But so far European colonial politics leave much to be desired. The white race has considered as no one's land the colonial communities where there is no recognized society according to European standards. The first and strongest man has assumed the right to declare such a community his own, more or less regard-

less of other nations. Often when one has secured a foot-hold, such unconsidered exploiting takes place that the life and freedom of the natives are in too great a degree curtailed. The slavery of the primitive colored people, that existed far into the 18th century, throws light on the progress of European barbarism. All countries owning colonies have abused their power. This abuse is also expressed in the struggle to monopolize adjoining lands. Hence there is strong rivalry, first, for those communities that have not yet been taken; second, even though in a smaller degree, those that have already been conquered. Within the colony-owning states not much respect is paid to the right of ownership or possession of the land. It is felt that the taking possession does not rest on strong moral grounds. The reconquering, therefore, according to public opinion is not such an offense as the conquering of a European community which is occupied by another nationality. Therefore, it is quite significant that, while no one on the side of the Entente dreams of the surrendering of the German Empire as the result of an eventual German defeat, it is openly said that Germany should lose her colonies, just as Germany quite openly pleads for the annexation of French colonies. The present giant conflict has already resulted in Japan seizing Kiau Chow, which was taken by Germany from China—a colony which Japan would hardly give up willingly to Germany.

Here we have touched the deepest root of the colony problem. It is simply a question of the disposition of the right of ownership. Since the right of possession leaves room for strong differences of opinion, every one feels uncertain; and this uncertainty will appear in continual armament and new risks of war. Then in what lies the solution? The problem solves itself. That which all men need, but no private power can assume the right to dispose of, should naturally belong to all.

The whole colonial world—with the exception, of course, of the self-governing British colonies—ought to be under a joint international government and administration. England, Holland, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, America, Japan—in short, all of the colony-owning powers—should agree to recognize that not one of them has the right alone to control any

country or people who have not of their free will subordinated themselves to its sovereignty, and should thoroughly agree on the truth that every nation, the colored people included, has a right to govern itself; but, as long as, according to our idea, they are not capable of governing themselves, the guidance and control ought to be a common affair for all of the sovereign states of the world. Just as we have a permanent court at The Hague for handling international matters, we should have an *international colonial government* organized for the purpose of taking over the administration of the colonies in the common interest of humanity.

The different states voluntarily joined the Hague Court. The original group represented 24 states, now the number of represented states is 41. The joining of the colonial government should be a voluntary matter for the different states. It would not be necessary for all of the colony-owning states to agree to this plan in order that it may be realized. Even if only two or three made a start, it would mean progress, but if it were possible for all colonies, all colored non-sovereign peoples, to come under a joint government, we would have to deal with an enormous area and with a considerable part of the population of the earth. The British Empire, containing about 11.5 million English square miles and more than 420,000,000 people has only about 65,000,000 self-governing people. This population, however, owns more than 7,000,000 English square miles because of the vast areas of Canada and Australia. The area of the French colonies is more than 4,000,000 square miles, and the population is over 40,000,000. But the almost complete self-government which Canada and Australia, for example, enjoy in the British Empire, does not exist in any of the French colonies, the population of which consists almost entirely of colored people. The colonies of Germany are much less important than the above mentioned colonies, in area as well as in natural resources and population. Before the outbreak of the war they contained one million square miles and 14,000,000 people—20,000 of whom were white. Belgium has only one colony—Belgian Congo. It is about as large as all of the German colonies together—909,000 square miles with a population of about 15,000,000. The colonial area of Holland is also important. It

consists of 783,000 square miles and a population of 38,000,000.

It seems as if a voluntary aggregation of these and smaller colonies under a joint supervision would be the natural beginning of a "world federation." This federation would undoubtedly fill a great mission if it were formed on a rational, i.e., just, foundation. A large part of the land of the world and most of its waters would be neutral zones where war would, with mutual agreement, be excluded. Billions of money now used to protect colonies against aggression from other colony-owning countries would be used largely in developing industry and trade with the respective countries and the economic profit received from the colonies by the mother countries would be still larger than now. That would be the case also, because the much greater safety, which the new conditions would establish, would induce people to invest much more capital in the colonies than now.

Naturally this whole idea is Utopian, but the Court of The Hague was Utopian 25 years ago; therefore no harm is done by continuing the thought. The fundamental condition for having it succeed would undoubtedly be that the government, as well as the economic order, in the new state should be constituted on the basis of justice.

As to the constitution of the government, I think, after considering it for some years, that it should be established as follows:

All sovereign states ought to have the right to be represented as in the Court of The Hague. Such states, however, as own colonies or other possessions, which are considered by a competent authority (the best perhaps the Court of The Hague) to come within the scope of the new colonial states, should not have a right to be represented if they refuse to give up their private control of such areas as we are speaking of, but nothing should hinder states which do not own colonies from being represented. Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and other countries should have their part in the Court, as well as England, Denmark, Holland and Germany, for the right of control so far as is justified is a joint affair.

On these lines then this government should be constituted. It will be seen at once that the constitution of the Court of The Hague is not a good

standard to be followed, at least, for the purpose. In this court all of the included states have the same number of representatives, namely, four at the most. In this beginning of a world parliament of which we are speaking, the sovereign nations should no doubt be represented in proportion to their number and according to the capacity for self-government which the people in the respective countries are considered to possess. Therefore it might be that every parliament and every government would have the right to nominate candidates for the colonial parliament, for instance, one for every million or part of a million voters, of the lower chambers of the respective states. But the power should be given each of these candidates by vote of the people themselves.

A list of the candidates nominated in the different states should be accessible to the voters, each of whom ought to have the right to be represented by the man on the list who is regarded as the best, irrespective of nationalities. The English voter could therefore cast his vote for a German candidate, the German voter for a Russian candidate, and so on. And every representative chosen in that way should, as is the case in a joint stock company or to some degree in an English trade union congress, have power in the work of colonial parliament according to the number of voters he represents. If this idea could be realized in practice, we would attain, not only very democratic, but also as far as possible an international representation. One of the weaknesses of the whole plan is naturally the danger that the representatives from the different states should make co-operation impossible by trying to get privileges for the nations to which they belong. But if every representative got, or had the chance to get, votes from the different nationalities, one has reason to believe that the representatives would be induced to put aside national prejudices and would be, as this case demands, internationalists in thought as well as in action.

I shall not go further into these speculations as to the recognition of the colonial government. I will only add that the members of the colonial executive body would have to be elected by the colonial parliament, and that there should be established a government for every colony, the power of which should be limited by law of the

colonial parliament. Wherever possible, these local governments should be upheld by under-parliaments composed of representatives of the nations. Education for self-government should always be the *leading principle*. Gradually more and more of the colored people should have an opportunity to give up guardianship and be themselves represented in the colonial world parliament.

The economic order would naturally be of greatest importance in the state organization. Colonies are wanted and kept mostly for economic reasons. In colonial politics all other interests are subordinated to the economic interests. It is therefore a vital condition for the whole great plan that the economic problems find from the beginning a solution which would be satisfactory for all parties. No order will be satisfactory for any length of time unless it is based on the principle of equal rights. The fundamental demands of economic justice must be embodied in the constitution of a new colonial state. To these belongs, for instance, the demand that all nations have the right to carry on trade, industry and every other legitimate economic enterprise.

In order to make permanent the economic freedom and equality which is a fundamental condition for sound development and for good co-operation between different nationalities within the large colonial states, it is of great importance that land monopolization and speculation, useless from a social point of view, should be prevented by establishing land value taxation. All parties interested in productive enterprise would profit by that, not least the nations that are dependent upon the land for their support.

The whole colonial state ought to be neutral territory. There should be a police force sufficiently strong to keep order, but military forces in the ordinary use of the term should not exist. A foreign defense would seem to be altogether unnecessary for a territory which belongs in common to the whole world. It can, therefore, be realized to how great an extent the causes of war in the world will be reduced through such a state organization.

Many small sovereign states also would no doubt find it to their advantage to join as members in the new state. They could do so without giving up their self-government except in

two respects: they would have to abolish their tariffs and so adopt free trade; and they would have to give up their military power, their armies

and navies; but that would not in effect be any sacrifice, it would be an advantage to them and to humanity.

## Labor and Education

By Arthur E. Holder

It may be readily recalled that for a number of years employers have shown a disposition to break down much of the ethics prevailing among skilled mechanics, particularly in two ways: (1) by the abolition or the nullification of the apprenticeship system; (2) by a persistent endeavor to train men as specialists or special operators rather than to encourage a general all-round familiarity with the fundamentals and essentials of the trade or trades. We all recognize this growing tendency and its consequent train of industrial evils, some of which may be attributed to the invention and perfection of labor-saving machinery, the finer division of occupations in a trade, and the variety of labor-saving plans and systems—all designed for the purpose of increasing production and profits.

We have also all recognized the penalties that are bound to accompany the new system, encouraged by those who favor ultra-specialization, because most of the plans and purposes were wrong and contrary to nature. In the final analysis, it has been proven that the purpose has defeated itself, because it was substantially an endeavor to get something for nothing. Even employers themselves, or at any rate those of them who have still maintained a personal interest in their own industrial affairs, finally reached this same conclusion. They found that in their own establishments and in their own industry, they were merely running around in a circle, and while they might be able to get along during times of adverse business conditions, or when trade was normal, yet as soon as an extra demand was made upon them, or when they were confronted with an emergency, the whole machine broke of its own weight, because of the fact that they had no human resources or reserve power to draw upon in the shape of really skilled mechanics who could be depended upon to turn out commodities of quality and in sufficient quantity.

It may be again recalled that because of the

difficulties growing out of and from specialization of industry and industrial occupations, employers in some sections of the country organized corporation schools, and in many localities private agencies undertook by questionable methods to conduct so-called trade schools.

Then we had most forcibly called to our attention a variety of schemes to control education. These schemes were being foisted upon the country through so-called "foundations" and well advertised philanthropies subsidized by many agencies, chief among which were those financed by Rockefeller and Carnegie; the ultimate design being to dominate and autocratically control education so that the resisting power of the people would be completely honeycombed by the insidious activities of the agents handling the funds of the principals, and so that the people would be no longer free or independent in action or in thought.

The American labor movement, through its authorized representatives in the American Federation of Labor, undertook to correct this specialist evil in industry and to arrest the designs of those actuated for profit and power. The men in the labor movement realized that the destinies of future generations and the welfare of civilization rested in their hands and almost theirs alone. They particularly aroused themselves to the growing menace of private control of the founts of knowledge, and resolved that they would do their utmost to curb and strangle this most dangerous foe to human liberty. Special committees on education were created; they took a careful survey of the whole industrial situation; they engaged experts to assist them; they conferred with broad-minded educators, publicists, employers, and statesmen.

Their final decision was to go back to some first principles and to try to bring the people back to those first principles. They unanimously concluded that education to be safe must be in the hands of the people themselves, under public

control, and maintained by public funds and that no private agency and no private funds should be permitted to interfere with or interrupt the fountains of education. They also decided that if industry was to have a firm foundation, and that if the workers were to retain their mechanical abilities and independence, it was essential that either the old-time apprenticeship system should be reestablished or a substitute provided which would be equally efficient or superior to former trade practices. They also decided that the time had come when it was necessary that the future mechanics and technicians of the United States should have a greater versatility in the theory of their trades than they had ever been able to obtain in the past, so that the trade ethics would be more greatly appreciated and more efficiently sustained by the artisans and mechanics of the United States.

With these fundamental designs in mind a bill was drafted. It was introduced into Congress at the instance of the American Federation of Labor by Senator Dolliver of Iowa in the year 1909; and after his decease William B. Wilson, now Secretary of Labor, and Senator Page of Vermont fathered the original measure before Congress. Part of the proposition—that applying to agricultural extension—was enacted into law early in 1913. On February 23, 1917, President Wilson signed the Smith-Hughes Act, better known as the Vocational Education Law. The Federal board for the administration of this law took office July 21, 1917. The members of this Board represent agriculture, education, labor, commerce and industry.

This Federal law is as elastic and flexible as its designers intended. It dictates to no State, nor to any School, but it offers a method of co-operation with the several States on an equal basis of financial sustenance, provided that certain minimum standards are set up which meet the approval of the Federal board which is charged with its administration. The Federal aid is limited to schools under public control and maintenance. There is no interference with nor aid extended to schools of the purely elementary grades giving academic instruction, neither is the aid or cooperation extended to schools of college grade. Schools and colleges of that character were in a measure previously assisted by the Federal Government under the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890; the Hatch Act of 1887;

the Nelson Act of 1907; and other similar acts or amendments thereto.

To show the popularity of this measure, and to indicate how eager the people of the several States have been in their approval of it, it is sufficient to say that on January 1, 1918, or only five months from the date when the board undertook the administration of the law, every one of the forty-eight States had accepted the provisions of the act in whole or in part.

What is the relationship of training in the day industrial school to apprenticeship?

A course in such a day industrial school is expected to be and usually is two years in length. It is intended to give a preparatory course in or for the trades. It cannot and is not intended ever to take the place of apprenticeships required in such trades where apprenticeships are still in existence. Every boy who graduates from such industrial courses in a school should be required to serve an apprenticeship. It may be possible in some trades or some occupations to shorten the period of apprenticeship, but it should not be permitted to take the place of apprenticeships where such exist. It may result that the students or graduates of such industrial schools should be given due and proper credits for the work performed in such schools and that such credits should be applied to the regular apprenticeship course.

To illustrate: When a boy has spent two years in such a school he should receive some equivalent credit on his apprenticeship so that his apprenticeship would be shortened by whatever arrangement has been agreed upon in the locality of the school after full consideration by accredited representatives of the community. Such accredited representatives should come from employers' organizations, trade unions, and educational associations. This concept of administration is the basis of the Federal law. Its administrative forces must be representative of all the active elements in society. The administration of State laws both by State and by local communities must eventually harmonize with this wise Federal provision. *It is, therefore, the duty as well as the privilege and responsibility of trade unionists in every community throughout the United States to see to it that they do not miss their opportunities or shirk their responsibilities.*

If the educational forces or the employers'

agencies undertake to overlook trade unionists and administer the vocational schools on their own responsibility, they will be as much in error as the trade unionists will be if they fail to assert themselves and assume their full rights of citizenship.

No way is left open now to permit any elements in society to say that they "haven't got a chance"; or, "the school people did this on their own responsibility"; or, "the bosses are running the schools"; or any other kind of excuse. The opportunity has been provided without let and without hindrance so that the great work of training the young, coordinating their hands with their hearts, and their hearts with their heads, may go on and on progressively and successfully, in a greater field of opportunity than ever before provided, where people can compete for the real laurels of achievement, where all will be stimulated to do better today than they did yesterday, with the added hope that they may be able to do better tomorrow.

If our fellow trade unionists are wise they will everywhere take advantage of this great law and opportunity. It will help standardize their trades; it will lay emphasis on the need of proper training; it will put trade unionists in touch not only with the industrial but with the whole educational situation. It will eventually insure the entrance of graduates from the industrial schools almost instantly into union shops where the apprenticeship scheme of the union is recognized and where the children graduated from the schools will be better enabled to get their early training from union teachers in real union schools. This is the vision which many of us have. We feel confident that many of our members will see the point and be equal to the emergencies and opportunities afforded.

If the schools are to give real training and not waste the time of the children, they must make real things in a real way, taught by real workmen in the schools. They must, of course, use valuable material, which costs money. As far as possible, everything made in such schools should be absorbed into the school system, of which the industrial school itself is a part. When an occupation or a trade is taught and things are made that cannot be immediately or directly utilized in the school system, as in the case of some kinds of electrical work, automobile instruction, dress-making, sign painting, decorating, cabinet work,

patterns for foundries, metal parts for machine, millinery, etc., the article or articles made by the school children should not be destroyed. That would be a criminal waste of the time of the children and of the teachers, as well as a criminal waste of public money and public material. A reasonable disposition of such articles can readily be arranged by the accredited representatives of all elements in society which are expected to administer the law of the schools in the State and its subdivisions.

It is not expected that the output of such schools will ever disturb the labor conditions. It is not intended that the business of the school is simply to make goods or commodities. The real, genuine business of the school is to give instruction, and to give instruction that will be completely and properly digested by the scholars. The making of articles will be incident to training. The amount produced by the most active of such schools already in existence before the enactment of the present Federal law is practically negligible. In the case of boys the products are valued at less than \$30 per year per boy, and in the case of girls less than \$15 per year per girl. If a complaint should be made that the values of such productions were detrimental to the interests of the workers, it is only necessary to show that the cost of establishing an industrial school usually exceeds the normal output of such a school. The result of establishing such schools, of course, always increases the demands for labor—never decreases it.

It is not expected or intended to introduce the graduates of industrial schools directly into the trades as competent all-round mechanics. It is not intended that their services should be utilized as specialists. To do so would defeat the main purpose of the law. It is not intended and, of course, it is almost impossible to expect, that our own children raised in our own schools at our own expense will or can be utilized in an industrial dispute as strikebreakers. That is one of the reasons why, and the purpose for which, we have championed this law, so that our children and our neighbor's children will not be unfairly treated or exploited. The intent is to use these schools practically, and purely, to give preparatory courses for the younger children, but thorough preparatory courses. It is also the intent to enable those employed at a trade, and who lack expert knowledge in some branch or branches of

the trade, to supplement their knowledge and become all-round artisans or mechanics by attendance at evening classes.

## RELATED THINGS

### The Kaiser's Ecclesiastical Steam Roller

#### I

Junkerism gathered the economic and political power of Germany into its hands during the Reformation, and employed the machinery of the Lutheran churches to control the common people. Theological professors and clergymen were appointed by the junker authorities, while the people were forced to attend church and listen to what the clergy had to say. A huge body of Biblical interpretation was constructed which buttressed the rule of the nobility. German philosophy also, until far into the modern period, was merely an elaborate attempt to explain ecclesiastical dogmas.

Thus it appears that junkerism not only stands for political and economic rule, but that it also represents religious tyranny. The Kaiser's sanctimonious claim of partnership with the Almighty is no new thing. Church and State have been identified in Germany for centuries; and the Emperor has inherited, among other implements of his office, an ecclesiastical steam roller which is used for crushing professors and preachers who exhibit undue tendencies toward freedom of thought. The philosopher Kant, who signalized the break with junker theology, felt the weight of this instrument; while more recently it has been employed for the purpose of suppressing that mysterious and unique manifestation of German radical genius called "Higher Criticism." A new Prussian heresy law went into effect just before the present war, under which a number of clergymen were forcibly driven from their pulpits; and the rise of a liberal church movement in Germany has been temporarily stopped only by the distractions of the war itself.

The story is quite simple:

In early times, the peasants of Germany enjoyed the right to pasture their cattle on the waste lands, to cut wood in the forests, and to fish in the streams. But in the fifteenth century these

rights were gradually withdrawn. The old tribal common lands were enclosed and became the property of the German aristocracy. Along with the monopolization of the soil there went a widespread rise in prices which affected not only the luxuries of the rich, but the commonest articles of household necessity. All Europe seethed and rocked with the social problem; and there was tremendous antagonism between the upper and lower classes when the curtain rose on the stage of modern history.

Then, as now, Germany was at the center of the storm. The peasantry had been restless for generations, breaking out here and there in frequent revolts characterized by demands for ancient rights of access to the bounties of nature. These uprisings passed into a general insurrection which is called the Peasants' War. The common people went about in armed bands, as did the French peasantry at a later date. The junkers rallied, however, and put down the vast rebellion by military force. More than one hundred thousand of the revolutionists were slaughtered; and the uprising was crushed out in blood. The aristocracy was everywhere victorious.

One very quarrelsome junker family with estates in Brandenburg began to come forward in this period—the Hohenzollerns. The meaning of their name is quite significant, though not often noticed. "Hohen" means "high." The next syllable, "zoll," is merely the word "toll," or "tax." The name as a whole is a plural noun, meaning "High-tax-takers," or, freely translated into plain English, "Big grafters." This cognomen should have been adopted by the aristocracy all over Germany, because it expresses in a single term the essence of junkerism, and is thus calculated to save thought. Thus, when you see Mr. Hohenzollern coming, you must at once either pay him an "indemnity" or prepare to fight.

Unless we take into account the foregoing sociological and economic facts, the German Reformation cannot be understood. The religious movement had no independent history of its own. It was cut through by the uprisings of the peasantry; while the new church organization founded by Martin Luther was appropriated from the very start by the aristocracy and used to consolidate their power over the people. Unctuous and perfectly sincere ecclesiastical

gentlemen solemnly informed their congregations and Sunday school classes that Lutheranism and the German translation of the Bible had been handed down from the celestial regions by God Almighty, amid the smoke and flame and thunder of Mount Sinai, in exactly the same way that the civil laws of Germany were handed down to the people by the junker nobles and kings. Thus the people were diligently trained in the idea that religion comes "from above," which of course makes it imperative that they should "look up." And thus it is clear that aristocracy and orthodoxy are both founded on the same psychological principle of unquestioning submission to "authority."

So long as people continue in this frame of mind, with their attention fixed on heavenly things, they will remain quiet under the pressure of the social problem. For they are assured that our life here below is at best a "vale of tears." On this view, religion is chiefly concerned with "the other world." And if we are good people, we will obey without question the laws ordained for us by "our betters." This is precisely what the Lutheran theology became in the centuries following the Reformation.

It was inevitable that some thinker should arise in due time to challenge the established ideas of Germany. That man proved to be Immanuel Kant, a professor in the Prussian university of Koenigsberg in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Kant wrote the famous book entitled "Critique of Pure Reason," which he followed with another volume called "Religion Within the Limits of Mere Reason." The Koenigsberg professor was a liberal democrat, who sympathized greatly with the American and French revolutions. His writings produced a sensation. The conservatives were scandalized; and the Hohenzollern monarch, a predecessor of the present Kaiser, commanded the bold professor to cease lecturing on religion and the Bible.

Kant submitted to the steam roller. But thought cannot be ruled by such means. A passion for scientific investigation swept over the universities of the land. The general spirit of criticism began to animate the more progressive interpreters of the Bible in theological schools. Prominent among scholars who called in question the junker view of the Bible was a young investigator by the name of Wilhelm De Wette,

who was appointed to the chair of Old Testament interpretation in the University of Berlin. De Wette, like Kant, was a political liberal; and he began to take a leading part in the development of the mysterious "Higher Criticism."

It has been well said that De Wette was the first German scholar who clearly felt the impossibility of the junker, orthodox belief that the Bible had been passed down from the clouds by a Divine Autocrat. Much uneasiness was caused by the appointment of this man. The authorities, in fact, did not realize what they were getting. The conservatives and pietists became his open enemies. After a few years of agitation, they succeeded in having him crushed under the Hohenzollern steam roller. The young professor was dismissed from his chair on a mere pretext, over the objection of the entire theological staff at the Prussian capital.

German Biblical scholars always have been hampered and censored. They have never enjoyed real academic freedom. The examples of De Wette and Kant have been ever before them. While scientific investigation of the Bible has been allowed to continue in Germany; and while the investigation has produced remarkable and brilliant results, the work has been permitted to go forward only in an academic vacuum, on the implied condition that professors will engage in no religious propaganda or educational work of a popular character. The professors may talk among themselves in the learned and respectable obscurity of polysyllabic jargon; but their views must not be aired in church; and the clergy must faithfully teach the orthodox, junker theory of the Bible.

The rank and file of the German people know nothing about what has been taking place in German theological seminaries. Even the professors of Biblical science themselves, compelled as they are to work in an atmosphere of aristocratic distrust and interference, have not succeeded in solving their problem. The impression has gone out that they are busily engaged in the destruction of religion. The truth is, that they have dynamited the orthodox theory of the Bible, and have gone a long way toward making religion safe for democracy. Their task has been accomplished in spite of the steam roller; and the startling nature of their investigations will be set forth in a succeeding article.

LOUIS WALLIS.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## The Need and the Churches

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The fires of war are purging our spiritual as well as our economic and political life of dross. Creatures of convention, we cling to old forms of religious effort, while realizing more and more clearly that permeating the soul of the church and the unchurched are unsatisfied spiritual longings. None can foresee all the changes that the war will bring in organized religious life, but every man with religious instincts can see, if he will, that the nation's religious agencies and leadership have fallen short of their greatest opportunity, have failed to keep step with the times.

Without question the world does not possess a nobler body of Christian souls than are numbered in the churches of America. But there are unmistakable signs within and without the formal boundaries of this splendid company that the organized methods of ministering in the name of Christianity are so inadequate that it amounts almost to a great spiritual tragedy for the nation. In the co-ordination of industry, the elimination of duplication in commerce, the centralization of effort in government, there is, most assuredly, a lesson for the churches of America.

Denominationalism is decadent. Evangelicalism divided against itself cannot stand. The coming years must witness a speedy evolution in matters of church organization, or the nation's spiritual life will suffer immeasurably. No doubt as between Protestantism and Catholicism there are elemental differences which justify the existence of both and bespeak mutual Christian tolerance. But for the multiplicity of divisions in the former there remains scant justification. As a prominent divine in the current *Atlantic Monthly* has pointed out in an indignant protest against the shortsightedness of churches, there are nearly 200 different Protestant denominations in America!

Who can measure the waste in spiritual ministration due to such duplication of effort? What logic can succeed in so emphasizing subordinate matters of doctrine and organization as to justify the harm that results to the great central cause?

And America is entering upon a period in its national development when to neglect its greatest spiritual good would be tragedy indeed. England in the throes of war and in a bereavement that is almost universal, has, to an astonishing degree, turned from its churches to Spiritualism in a manner that is fantastic, not to say pathetic. Are we to witness a similar spectacle in the coming months?

Blind ourselves to it as we may, we are passing through an evolution that is political and social as well as spiritual. The masses are clamoring for—and obtaining—powers which, in our so-called democracy of the past, were exercised by the middle class, under the shadow and tutelage of an increasingly powerful upper class.

This new and just redistribution of power must be

accompanied by a lifting of all the levels of our moral life or America will be imperiled. And yet, in what a pitifully small degree are the morals of every American community, industrial, agricultural, or wealthy, ministered to by the churches to-day?

Surely there is need for great vision in the churches—a vision that will see beyond denominational fences and sectarian bars, a vision which will see America's imminent spiritual need because of the trials of war and the changes that must come after the war.

JOHN ANSON FORD.

Glen Ellyn, Ill.

## Co-operation

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Your book review in the issue of February 8th was of special interest to me, as I have just been reading a pamphlet of C. E. Bassett, of the U. S. Office of Markets and Rural Organization on "The Co-operative Purchase of Farm Supplies." In your review the explanation of the failure of co-operation is given entirely from the producer's point of view, as if some fault of condition in the trade were responsible for this. Mr. Bassett in his pamphlet makes a strong point from the consumer's side, and credits the human element with a large part of the responsibility for the failure of co-operation.

As an example of this, the reason given in the review why co-operative stores are successful in mining regions and not in cities is one dealing with abnormal profits, competition and cost of distribution. But it is just such a situation that Mr. Bassett explains by the condition of the consumers. He contends that co-operative stores are successful in mining regions or in similar places because all the conditions among consumers are about equal and simple. They are probably of one nationality, or mostly so, they all have about the same wage, have the same pay day, have the same wants, and these wants are simple and steady. They probably live more or less in one place and know each other. "They do their own delivering and need and expect no credit."

In a city these conditions do not obtain. People are widely separated from each other, do not know their neighbors perhaps, have different standards, different salaries, have all kinds of desires and tastes, want "style," and credit and frequent deliveries and all sorts of service.

To quote from the pamphlet mentioned above: "Communities that have never had any co-operative experience often find it easier to begin with a buying than with a selling plan, where local conditions are such as to warrant that start. When the operation of that plan has educated the members to the spirit of working together and accustomed them to facing the difficulties that are sure to arise, they are better prepared to undertake the more intricate details of a plan for successfully marketing their products. The co-operative spirit of a community is a matter of growth. As the child learns to walk before it runs, so a community should be satisfied to begin working together in the simplest ways and

should undertake more elaborate plans only as their co-operative strength and confidence are developed."

It should not be inferred that Mr. Bassett does not make equally strong points of the need for understanding local trade conditions and business management and other economic considerations. His adding the necessity of *learning* co-operation when the living conditions of a community are complex struck me as a valuable contribution to the interesting discussion in your journal.

H. A. ANDERSON.

Washington, D. C.

## France on Trial

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The article in your issue of January 25 by Mr. Slaughter, headed "France on Trial," may be written in a democratic and an international spirit, but nevertheless it is unconsciously very much in line with the "praise to divide spirit" that has been so much in evidence in some of our press.

France is not on trial. Caillaux and his *défaitistes* are on trial and it is not reactionaries who are asking that France be purged of those who have been seeking a German peace and not a democratic peace. Any suggestion toward a democratic peace is *not* stamped as pro-German. No peace such as President Wilson, in stating our aims, gave to the world has been stamped as pro-German, but any pro-German peace has been stamped with its mark of "made in Germany"; and espoused by its agents everywhere; and it is not reactionaries that so stamp it, but men like Clemenceau, a true republican and Gustave Hervé, a socialist who has not been poisoned by the pseudo socialists of Germany, many of whom were secret service agents masquerading for years before the war as socialists, waiting for "the day," so as to see that the German Socialist Party supported the Fatherland when "the day" came. Hervé, who, more than any one else is responsible for exposing the *défaitistes*, a true democrat, and a Dreyfusard, says that this is no Dreyfus case, and that the democrats of France will see that no injustice is done, but that because a man has been one of them is no reason why they should protect him, but, on the contrary, is a reason why they should be all the more ready to see justice done.

What has France shown the world since August, 1914? Had France lost the battle of the Marne, one hundred years from now Washington and Lincoln would have had an obscure place in *our* German histories, and our children's children in their new native tongue of German would have been taught the heroic lives of Wilhelm II, his ancestors and his descendants. And men preach of a peace, a camouflaged peace under the name of democratic, that would leave this band of miserable wretches as divine rulers over a nation that under their rule would be a menace to the future peace of the world. When the time comes for the discussion of terms of peace, the same propagandists will be doing Germany's work through the press to influence public opinion in Germany's direction, that

they have been doing for a camouflaged peace in these past months. Watch them.

HENRY COLOMBAT.

San Francisco.

## Labor and the N. E. A.

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

Enclosed find copy of letter which was sent to the secretary and president of the National Educational Association, and which explains itself.

PETER J. BRADY.

Dear Sir:—I have read many newspaper announcements of the program of the National Educational Association and am surprised to find that no representative of organized labor has a place on your program, but that prominence is given to the representatives of the foundations, particularly the Rockefeller Foundation.

Can it be possible that the Rockefeller Foundation has already accomplished what the members of our unions believe it set out to do when it was seeking a charter from the Federal Government, which purpose was to secure control of our national educational system? Did you remember, when the Rockefeller Foundation was being considered for a prominent place on your program, that Congress within the last year has passed unanimously resolutions instructing every Federal department to immediately sever any relationship that they had, either direct or indirect, with the Rockefeller Foundation and General Education Board? It seems to me that the National Educational Association is now placing itself upon the defensive, whereby it will have to prove to the people of this country that they are not under the influence of Rockefeller emissaries in matters of education. It is only a few months back that the people of New York City legislated out of office the City Administration because of the city officials' friendliness for the Rockefeller institutions and the suggestions of the Rockefeller institutions in the matter of educational control.

Will you be kind enough to inform me if it was intentional in leaving a member of organized labor off your program? This is important to us for the reason that so much thought is now being given to the question of training injured soldiers and sailors for practical vocations so that they may be able to earn a decent livelihood after the war.

## Taxes on Grazing Land

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I have been a reader of your publication for some time now, and am nearly converted to a belief in the Singletax. It seems to be far and away the best system of taxation yet advocated for the country as a whole, and especially the thickly populated sections in and around our great cities. However, in the State of New Mexico there is still a vast area of government land, entirely unimproved, and used only for the grazing of live stock by a comparatively few

large companies. Now these companies do not own the land, but they do own and pay taxes on the live stock, and it is from these taxes that a great share of the State's revenue is derived.

On the other hand, there is a large number of homesteaders in the State, each settled on a small tract of land, from 160 to 320 acres, who are trying to improve their land in an agricultural way; but their land is worth very little more than the government land, which the live-stock men use but do not own.

Now, to place a tax on land values alone would relieve the live-stock men of practically all taxation and place a very great burden on the small land owner, or so it would seem to me, at least. Will you kindly explain through the columns of your paper just how the Singletax would operate under the above conditions?

EARL BLACK.

Oscuro, N. M.

## Thomas Paine

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

THE PUBLIC has helped to preserve the fame of America's foremost American, Thomas Paine. His clear-cut democracy was more striking in an age when opposition to "divine right" had hardly begun. No doubt he took the edge off the aristocratic impulses of Washington, Hamilton, and the like. Without him Privilege would have had more to say in making constitutions. He made his country "Where freedom was *not*," hence aided the French revolution, beginning his religious writings when expecting to be guillotined. He was not so radical—could now be a unitarian preacher and pass muster. Continually should we read the words of our foremost democrat and philosopher. We have not yet attained his excellence.

C. F. HUNT.

Chicago.

## Land for Use

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

A letter in your issue of February 8 attributes to State Labor Commissioner Austin, of Texas, the following striking expression: "No man has a right to more land than he and his can use, and no right to that unless he is using it."

The name of the Commissioner is C. W. Woodman, of Austin, Texas. This correction gives me opportunity to advertise further his trenchant thought, and to suggest to all propagandists that they "keep it standing."

In 1690 John Locke advanced a similar thought in his "Civil Government." See Sections 32, 35:

"As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the produce of, so much is his property. . . . The measure of property nature has well set by the extent of men's labor, and the convenience of life."

SAMUEL MILLIKEN.

Philadelphia.

## BOOKS

### Europe's Greatest Problem

The Reconstruction of Poland and the Near East. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. Published by the Century Co., New York. Price \$1.00 net.

This is a collection of five papers originally published in the Century Magazine, and now presented in permanent form. The topics covered are: "The Future of Poland," "Constantinople," "Europe and Islam," "Italy and the Balance of Power in the Balkans," and "The Monroe Doctrine for the World." Together they constitute the most useful compendium on Eastern Europe that the reviewer has seen. Although some of the papers were written before the Russian revolution and the intervention of the United States, and on this account must be modified for present application, nevertheless, the discussion of historical conditions, national intentions, and the possibilities of solution, will prove for Americans informative, interesting and eminently useful in preparing their judgment for the inevitable part that America must play in the settlement. We have as a nation considered Eastern European affairs and the Polish problem beyond our scope, but these matters are in truth the very heart of the European controversy. They provide the field in which the despotic and democratic principles contend, and they must reach a satisfactory settlement if the peace of Europe is to be anything more than a dream.

The reasons urged for the remaking of Poland are no less cogent now than when the book was written. No one knows the future of Russia, but no one can safely regard her as extinct, and the value of a strong, buffer state has not been diminished by recent events. Mr. Gibbons covers the history of the partition of Poland and the story of oppression, practiced by Germans and Russians alike. The chief offender was, of course, the old Russia. His discussion of modern Poland will be a revelation to most persons who have not given that country special attention. In spite of the curtailment of liberty and constant economic oppression, Poland is a great modern nation, with a population numerically strong, vital, industrious and thrifty. In the main, they are a nation of peasants, the great industries being carried on, for the most part, by Jews and Germans. Naturally, the Poles had a greater opportunity to realize their independence before the Russian collapse. Both sides were bidding for Polish support. There is now no active force to restrain the aggression of a victorious Germany. It is only through pressure that the Western Allies can bring to bear, the defeat of militarist and annexationist ambitions and the realization that Poland would be another Alsace-Lorraine on a vastly greater and more dangerous scale, that the reconstruction of the most long suffering country in Europe has a chance for achievement.

In many ways Constantinople has been the key to Europe's difficulties. Mr. Gibbons shows in his discussion of "Europe and Islam," that the Ottoman Empire, after it ceased to menace Europe as an active conquer-

ing force, became even more dangerous for European people in its period of decay. The great nations have been busy for over a hundred years in dismembering and devouring Islam. In recent decades, not only in the Balkans, but in Northern Africa and Asia, this competition of greediness has brought Europe to the precipice again and again. As this devouring process approached the center of the Ottoman Empire, the rivalry was the more intensive, for Constantinople occupies a position of incalculable strategic importance as the bridge between Europe and Asia, and the channel between the Black and Mediterranean Seas. To secure this cross-roads has been the traditional ambition of Russia. For it she has fought war after war, always to be thwarted by Britain, eternally working to protect her communications with the East. With the advent of Germany as an imperialist power with Eastern ambitions, all Europe can be considered as driving to this one focus. It was not unimportant that each of the Balkan States as well, regarded the possession of Constantinople as the first of its ambitions. Under these circumstances, trouble was inevitable. Mr. Gibbons' discussion of the matter is full and conservative. He insists that Constantinople be treated as a principle, and not as a pawn. He makes us remember, too, that the Turks cannot be disregarded as to their rights or their power. The same principle of self-determination which is to apply to Arabs, Armenians or Syrians, has its equal application to the Turks themselves. In other words, it is only by removing Constantinople and the remains of the Ottoman Empire from the field of international rivalry, by supplanting cupidity with democratic justice, that this problem can cease to menace the peace of Europe.

Mr. Gibbons, in discussing "Italy and the Balance of Power in the Balkans," comes face to face with the question of irredentism. There is endless confusion in the minds of Europeans and Americans alike, regarding the justification of nationalist ambitions. It is well to understand that little nations can be, and are, as greedy, unscrupulous, and oppressive as any of the large ones. Irredentism is a historical product, a recrudescence of ancient territorial pride, a kind of aspiration that merely complicates and makes trouble. The New Europe is to be settled on a modern basis. Racial affinities have undoubtedly to play their part, and are deserving of respect, but the modern world is shaped by great economic forces, and these are of at least equal importance with historical sentiment. Mr. Gibbons is to be commended for his sound common sense, his great knowledge, and his unvarying application of democratic principles.

## Rural Journalism

*The Country Weekly.* By Phil C. Bing. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. Price \$2.00.

The trouble of the country weekly is that the unfortunate editor must be something of everything in the newspaper game. His difficulties are not exaggerated by Professor Bing when he says his duties

comprise, "news gathering and news writing; type-setting or the superintendence of it; copyreading, proofreading, makeup or the superintendence of it; press work, estimating and sometimes setting up and running off job work; soliciting, estimating and writing advertising; soliciting subscriptions; mailing papers, writing editorials; bookkeeping; collecting bills, and operating a cost system." On top of this he has social activities which can be neglected only at his peril!

Bearing in mind all this, Mr. Bing has prepared a manual for the rural journalist. Very wisely, emphasis is laid on the need of a reliable cost system in country newspaper offices, and actual filled-in forms from a country shop are reproduced and discussed to make the explanation clear. "The Country Weekly" is a businesslike book, which covers its field thoroughly. It will help the wide-awake country journalist to be master of his multifarious duties and make his journal a more vital, community-serving thing.

## Where Reform Still Lags

*The County.* By H. S. Gilbertson. Published by the National Short Ballot Organization, New York. Price \$2.00 net.

Time was when city governments in the United States were the most conspicuous examples of a failure falsely attributed to democracy. Fortunately for the cities, this is no longer true. The commission-manager system together with the initiative, referendum, recall, the short ballot, preferential vote, and proportional representation, are giving the cities more democratic government, fairly representative of the intelligence and morality of the electorates. The county governments, however, remain for the most part unreformed. They are not and have never been as conspicuous to the outside world as the big cities, and their shortcomings have not received attention outside of their jurisdiction. Consequently, there has been no widespread movement for radical changes in regard to them. A long list of elective officers still befuddles the voter. The long ballot is an effective device to make the voter believe that he enjoys democracy when in fact he has nothing of the kind. So now the County has become what the City once was—a horrible example of American misgovernment.

In his book Mr. Gilbertson makes all this clear. He shows how poorly the county governments perform their functions. He explains the causes and presents the remedy. Counties as well as cities need commission-manager government subject to the usual democratic checks. Like the cities, counties must have home-rule including the right to frame their own charters. As an example of practical steps in this direction, the county home-rule provision of the California constitution is reproduced as an appendix, and also the home-rule charter adopted by Los Angeles County.

The book is one that should be circulated wherever county misgovernment is worrying the citizens—that is, almost universally in the United States.

S. D.

## PERIODICALS

**The Single Tax Review.** Published at 150 Nassau Street, New York. Yearly subscription, \$1.00; single copies, 25 cents.

The January-February issue of *The Single Tax Review* presents that magazine in a new dress, and a size and shape more in conformity with prevailing magazine style. A change in its policy is expressed in an announcement, that henceforth it is to be an organ of independent political party action by Singletaxers wherever possible. The issue contains the usual number of interesting propaganda articles, comments on current events and news of the movement.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**The Fetishism of Liberty.** By Harry Waton. Published by The Marxian Philosophical Society, New York. (Booklet.)

**Theories of Social Progress.** By Arthur James Todd, professor of sociology, University of Minnesota. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$2.25.

**The Great Modern French Stories.** Edited by Willard Huntington Wright. Published by Boni and Liveright, Inc., New York. Price \$1.50.

**My Uncle Benjamin.** By Claude Tillier. Published by Boni and Liveright, Inc., New York. Price \$1.60 net.

**A Family of Noblemen.** By M. Y. Saltykov. Published by Boni and Liveright, Inc., New York. Price \$1.50 net.

**Dreams and Images.** An Anthology of Catholic Poets. Edited by Joyce Kilmer. Published by Boni and Liveright, Inc., New York.

**The Crime of Sylvester Bonnard.** By Anatole France. Published by Boni and Liveright, Inc., New York. Price 60 cents.

**The War in the Air.** By H. G. Wells. Published by Boni and Liveright, Inc., New York. Price 60 cents.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending February 26

## Congressional Doings

The Railroad Control Bill, with the amendment providing for return to owners within eighteen months after conclusion of peace, passed the Senate without roll call on February 22. Progressives, led by Senator Johnson of California and Cummins of Iowa, made an effort to eliminate the amendment and to reduce by \$200,000,000 the compensation of \$945,000,000 provided for the owners. Johnson's proposal for indefinite Government control was defeated on February 21 by a vote of 61 to 10. Those supporting Johnson were Ashurst of Arizona, Gronna of North Dakota, Kenyon of Iowa, Kirby of Arkansas, Johnson of South Dakota, Norris of Nebraska, Phelan of California and Poin-dexter and Jones of Washington. Senator Cummins' proposal to reduce compensation was defeated by 52 to 23. Those supporting Cummins were Ashurst of Arizona, Gore of Oklahoma, Hardwick of Georgia, Henderson of Nevada, Hitchcock of Nebraska, Hollis

of New Hampshire, Johnson of South Dakota, Kendrick of Wyoming, King of Utah, Kirby of Arkansas, Reed of Missouri, Thomas of Colorado, Trammell of Florida, Vardaman of Mississippi, Gronna of North Dakota, Johnson of California, Jones of Washington, Kenyon of Iowa, McNally of Oregon, Norris of Nebraska, Sutherland of Utah and Townsend of Michigan. [See current volume, page 248.]

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The Senate Finance Committee reported favorably on February 21 the War Finance Corporation Bill, which provides a fund of \$500,000,000 to loan to war industries. The Overman Bill, empowering the President to make whatever changes he sees fit in governmental departments, was amended in the Sub-committee of the Committee on Judiciary so as to make sure that no new powers are conferred on the President. As drawn the bill declared the President "authorized and empowered" to make changes desired. As amended he is only "authorized."

## Pullman Wage Conditions

A plea for continuance of the tipping system on Pullman cars was made to the Railroad Wage Commission on February 25 by L. S. Hungerford, general manager of the Pullman Company, and L. S. Taylor, Controller. Mr. Hungerford declared that as long as tipping existed elsewhere it must be allowed on Pullmans. He said that while porters are paid from \$30 to \$50 a month on trains where tips are given, on troop trains they receive \$75. In answer to a question, he admitted that the larger salary on troop trains was due to lesser tipping ability of soldiers. A. L. Rhoades, a Pullman conductor, said conductors must work long hours, are not allowed to sleep on duty, are under heavy expenses on the road, in addition to maintaining their families, and their salary after six years' service is \$99 a month. Beginners get \$70 a month.

## The Stockyards Investigation

Nelson Morris, head of Morris and Co., meat packers, appeared before Judge Alschuler, wage arbitrator, on February 19. His concern keeps a welfare and benevolent department, and yet, he said, many employes refused to participate. The men care more for the present than the future. His employes are guaranteed a minimum of forty hours' employment a week. The men are paid as high wages as men of the same class in other industries. He favors equal pay for women and men doing the same work. He opposed the eight-hour day, saying that the ten-hour day is better adapted to conditions in the packing industry. Since the Government assumed control of operations profits have fallen fifty per cent. Dealings with labor unions had been unsatisfactory. He took issue with Frank P. Walsh, attorney for the men, declaring that \$1,288 was too high as a fair budget for a working man's family of five. He thought about \$800 the proper figure. Two pairs of shoes a year for each individual, instead of three as figured by Mr. Walsh, he considered enough. He also thought that

Mr. Walsh's budget allowed too much for carfare, sugar and other items. Three times a year he holds enough for attendance at a theater. He declared Mr. Walsh's budget far in excess of what a majority of working men's families live upon. Under cross-examination he had to admit that he himself spent far more and indulged himself to a far greater extent than he had declared necessary for working men. In reply to Mr. Walsh, James C. Condon, counsel for the packers, declared that the Government estimate of \$1,288 as a fair budget was based on cost of food, rent and clothing in the District of Columbia. He intimated that pro-German propaganda is responsible for the labor troubles in the packing plants and elsewhere. [See current volume, page 249.]

\* \*

Judge Alschuler made a personal investigation of living conditions in the district "back of the yards," where most of the laborers live. Twelve homes were visited; five were selected by a labor organizer, four by the welfare workers employed by the packers and the rest chosen at random. Judge Alschuler was reported to have said afterwards:

Some of these conditions are terrible. There is no doubt about it at all, such homes should not be permitted to exist.

Do you suppose if there were an increase in wages those people would get better living conditions? The homes are there. Even if the workers got more money, so long as those homes remained standing somebody would have to occupy them.

At the first four homes visited were reported to be "ragged children, dark, unsanitary, pest-ridden rooms and foodless kitchens." In some places visited young children were left alone, the mothers being at work. At the home where conditions were found most favorable, a Polish woman testified that her husband earned \$16 a week, and that they were not prepared for such contingencies as sickness or other misfortune. Rents ranged from \$6.50 a month for two rooms to \$12 a month for four rooms. In one home, in a basement, there were seven children, ranging in age from fourteen months to eight years. Both parents were at work. The children were wretchedly clad. There was scarcely any food. In the window was a food conservation card: "Don't Waste Food." In one home selected by the packers' welfare workers the man was said to own his home. He still owed \$3,000 on it, however. With \$40 a month coming in from lodgers, in addition to his wages of \$16.50 a week, he is scarcely able to keep up his payments. What is described as a typical home in Packingtown was one composed of two rooms and a pantry, occupied by a laborer, his wife and four children. The man has worked fifteen years in the yards, and has nothing to show for his labor but a broken down physique. During that time he earned from \$10 to \$18 a week. The larger amount was the result of a week's work of sixteen hours a day. He is now out of work, his oldest child, aged seven, cannot go to school for lack of shoes, and he has no money to pay the \$6 rent bill coming due. It developed that although the production of meat is the

occupation of workers in this district, in most of the homes the principal food is a substitute for meat made of flour.

\* \*

Elbert Beeman, in charge of employes' welfare work for Wilson and Co., testified on February 23. He placed the blame for the poverty and misery of the workers upon the saloon. He said the workers spent \$4,500,000 a year for drink. Other witnesses for the packers told of the pension systems kept up by them and how they sent women employes to summer resorts during the heated term. One witness for Armour and Co. said that she had an emergency fund at her disposal to help in cases of sickness or trouble. The firm keeps a summer vacation camp for women employes at Round Lake, where each visitor may stay two weeks at half pay. Similar evidence was given by welfare witnesses for other firms.

### Soldiers Land Settlement in Queensland

Queensland, Australia, has adopted a plan for settlement of returned soldiers on the land. The land set apart for the purpose is to be held under perpetual lease. The soldiers taking it up will pay no rent for the first three years, then for the next twelve years they will pay a rental of 1½ per cent of capital value, and after that the annual rent for each succeeding fifteen years will be determined by the Rent Court. For the first ten years the holding may not be transferred except to another returned soldier. Settlers may borrow to the extent of £500 from the Queensland Government Savings Bank to make improvements. Civilian settlers are to have the same rights but must pay 5 per cent on loans, while the soldier need pay but 3½ per cent for the first year and an increase of ½ per cent for each succeeding year until the rate reaches 5 per cent. The Government also maintains a training farm where settlers get a working knowledge of farming before going on to their holdings, and where they receive £2 a week wages.

### Russia

The unexpected and decisive movement of the German forces appears to have overawed the Russian Government. No resistance has been offered by the army, which either retreated before the enemy or surrendered unconditionally. The Executive Committee of the Pan-Soviet Congress, on the advice of Premier Lenine and Foreign Minister Trotzky, accepted the German terms of peace by a vote of 126 to 85, with 26 not voting. These terms are said to take from Russia 381,000 square miles of territory and 50,000,000 people, together with the Baltic ports. It is assumed that acceptance of the German terms will end the war in the Ukraine, where the Roumanians have recently made common cause with the Ukrainians against the Bolsheviki. It is announced from Petrograd that the Bolshevik forces have captured from the Cossacks the important city of Rostov, near the Sea of Azov. [See current volume, page 250.]

Discussion of the German peace imposed upon Russia brings out many opinions. The Bolsheviki accept them stoically as "enabling us to prepare a decisive resistance to the bourgeois and imperialism. The proletariat of the whole world will come to our aid. Then we shall renew the fight." The Social Revolutionary members of the Soviet opposed acceptance of the terms, and insisted upon the immediate assembling of a new constituent assembly to pass upon them. Foreign Minister Trotzky says these events will arouse the German workingmen. Reports from London say the people are unaffected. The Russian collapse had long been anticipated. The Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung calls it a "Pyrrhic victory," and says it postpones peace because "imperialism has resumed the leadership of the German Empire, and no power among the German people seems willing or able to withstand it." The Allied and American ambassadors have decided to remain in Petrograd for the present.

### European War

The German forces in the East have continued to advance on their entire front from the Gulf of Finland to the Galician border. Reval, the naval base on the Gulf of Finland, 230 miles from Petrograd, has been taken; Dorpat, a city of 45,000, in Central Livonia, and Pskov, about 160 miles southwest of Petrograd, are reported taken by Berlin. Large numbers of prisoners and quantities of supplies are reported. Russia is offering little or no resistance. Other military operations in Europe have been confined to artillery action, trench raiding and airplane contests. In Asia the Turks are reported to be hampering the Russians on the Black Sea coast, west of Trebizond. In Palestine the British have taken Jericho, one of the main Turkish positions, and now control the country from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. The Arabs are reported to be vigorously attacking the Turks east of the Dead Sea. [See current volume page 250.]

\* \*

The peace terms demanded by the Central Powers on the 23d are reported to include demobilization of the Russian Army and fleet, and complete disposal by Central Powers of Baltic provinces, Lithuania, Poland and the Ukraine. Commercial concessions are demanded, including free export without tariff of ores. After Russian demobilization Germany will evacuate occupied Russian territory east of the provinces relinquished by Russia. Russia must conclude peace with the Ukraine, and must immediately withdraw Bolshevik troops and Red Guards from Finland. "Russia promises to put an end to every propaganda and agitation, either on the part of the government or on the part of persons supported by the government, against members of the Quadruple Alliance and their political and military institutions, even in localities occupied by the Central Powers." These terms were to be accepted within forty-eight hours. Premier Lenine and Foreign Minister Trotzky accepted the German terms on the 24th. It is announced that

Russia will send a delegation immediately to Brest-Litovsk.

\* \*

British losses from mines and submarines during the week were 12 ships over 1,600 tons, and 3 under that tonnage. The number of vessels arriving at British ports was 2,322 and the number departing, 2,393. Allied shipping interests estimate that their available tonnage reached the lowest mark February 1, and they believe the amount will increase from now on.

\* \*

Treaties between the United States and Great Britain and between the United States and Canada, governing the application of the draft to citizens of each country residing in the other, have been signed by Secretary Lansing and Earl Reading, British High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to the United States. The treaties, which were sent to the Senate on the 19th provide that the United States may apply the draft law to British subjects and Canadians living in this country who are between the ages of twenty and forty-five, the British draft limits, while Great Britain and Canada may draft United States citizens residing in those countries who are between twenty-one and thirty-one years old. Estimates place the number of Britishers in this country, subject to draft, at 250,000, and the number of Canadians at 60,000. Americans of draft age in England are put at 18,000, and in Canada at 36,000.

## NOTES

—Saskatchewan grain growers in convention assembled have again demanded the repeal of all import duties on farm implements and machinery.

—David Baird of Camden was appointed by Governor Edge of New Jersey on February 23 as United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by death of Senator Hughes. Mr. Baird is a Republican.

—At a mass meeting of citizens of Easton, Md., on February 4, presided over by the Mayor, resolutions were adopted instructing the City Council to adopt an ordinance putting all local taxes on land values.

—After refusal of the Wisconsin Legislature to give him power to appoint a successor to the late United States Senator Paul Husting, Governor Philipp on February 22 called a special election to be held on April 2 to fill the vacancy.

—The net gold imports for 1917, says the Federal Reserve Board, amounted to \$181,542,000, compared with \$529,952,000 for 1916, and \$420,529,000 for 1915. The net gain in gold imports since August 1, 1914, was \$1,050,785,000.

—The Montana Senate adopted on February 19 the House resolution ratifying the Federal Prohibition amendment and Governor Stewart signed it on the 21st. Montana thus becomes the seventh State to take such action.

—By proclamation President Wilson on February 23 fixed the price of wheat at \$2.28 a bushel in New York City. Lower prices are to be paid in points further west. The minimum of \$2 a bushel is to prevail from Salt Lake City westward.

—Norway, because of the scarcity of small silver change, has put into circulation 20,000 crowns worth of 1-crown notes, 26.8 cents United States currency at normal exchange, and expects to add to this amount as needed. Only 20 crowns are legal tender in a single payment.

—The Red Cross liner Florizel went on the rocks off Cape Race, Newfoundland, in a storm on the night of the 24th. Owing to the heavy sea and the rugged shore only 44 of the 136 persons on board were saved. The four children and ten of the twelve women on board were lost. Great heroism was displayed by the crew of the Prospero in the work of rescue.

—An appeal to refrain from building of new houses was issued to the public by Secretary McAdoo on February 5. "House building is an excellent thing in normal times," his appeal states, "but at present unless there is a real shortage of houses for war workers, I strongly advise that materials, valuable labor and credit be not utilized for this purpose. Whether houses should be built should be determined by the urgency of the need."

—Announcement was made on February 20 that the Federal Government had taken over on January 1 the Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company's tubes under the North River between New York and New Jersey. These tubes were constructed by Secretary McAdoo and he was president of the company at the time he became Secretary of the Treasury. The announcement caused an increase in price of the company's bonds.

—Compulsory rationing of meat, butter and margarine, applying to all, from king down, began in London on the 25th. In four weeks meat rationing will

become general throughout the country, and four or five weeks later a national rationing scheme that can be applied as necessity arises will be operative. No one in the London district can buy butter, margarine or meat without a card. The weekly allowance of meat per person is one and a quarter pounds, and for children under ten years, ten ounces. The butter or margarine ration is four ounces per person weekly.

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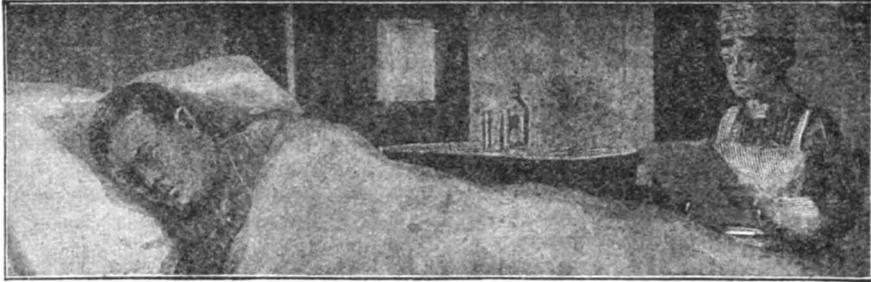
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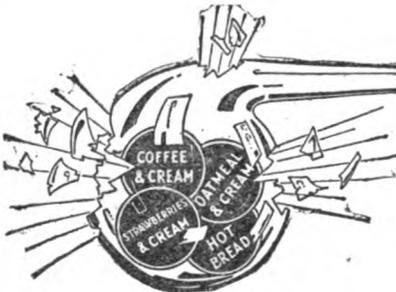
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# Soon or Late it Comes!



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Eugene Christian

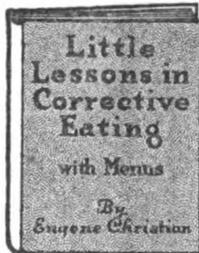
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# ALLIED PEOPLE'S LEAGUE

**OBJECT** The ALLIED PEOPLE'S LEAGUE, now organizing among civilians and soldiers for the purpose of putting the tax burden of the war on public resources and of winning the world over to the practice of true republican principle, states this **POLICY** in the hope of securing the co-operation of every believer in these things.

**POLICY** We hold that God made for all men all coal, ore, oil, timber, water power, farm and city land, and that, to make these resources as nearly as possible of equal benefit to all citizens, the state should have as its only rightful income their full annual rent value, wherewith to pay for all public expenses, desirable betterments and, especially at this time, for war costs.

**JUSTICE, LAW, ORDER** We hold <sup>t h a t</sup> every idea of state for which men give life or labor calls for the absolute and universal recognition of this **POLICY**. For, without the intelligent and united interest of all the people in progressive measures and without the unquestioned control which only the state can effect over education, commerce, banking, inventions and public utilities, such as roadways, railroads, telegraph and shipping, the natural resources of the people could not have grown into the mighty sources of wealth that they have now become. When everyone pays fair value to the state for use of land in every form, there will be no taxes on food, clothes, houses, tools and working capital, which now, without right or reason, weigh down upon the people, blinding them to their own interests, and raising the cost of living outrageously. This goes on continually while profits and usury of fast increasing and enormous magnitude, realized from actual public resources, flow to the pockets of a few who have special advantages in the present laws of every country. The whole people would take, in land rent, merely what the whole people make and no more. Then what every man created would be his and his alone, and unjust conditions in many industries and between capital and labor would at once cease. Free trade between free nations would follow with consequent common advantages by and between them, giving absolute assurance of permanent defensive safeguards against common enemies.

**WAR'S CAUSE AND CURE** We hold that systematic robbery based on class land control is the secret enslaving power that lies in Prussianism, which now has all Central Europe in its bloody grasp—to the peril of all other nations on earth—and that, if the Allies can be induced at this time to favor this people's **POLICY**, then, not only would they be able to open up vast new power and resource in support of their own cause, but they would also be able to drive a mighty wedge between land-fat junkers and landless people in Germany, especially Prussia. This would mean even more than battles won, it would mean lives saved and years of progress gained for ALL the people concerned in the war.

**PLAN** Lists of names of all who respond to this advertisement are sent to some one respondent in each village, town or city school district, from which responses come. These persons then organize neighborhood clubs. Each club is organized to represent all community interests and to establish the people's voice and power in all public matters by dividing working activities among such groups of members as are best fitted for caring for defense and war preparation,—library, schools and education,—recreation, sports and pastimes,—co-operative purchase, investment and insurance,—building, caretaking and town planning. These groups organize

separately into state, national and international branches of the League, each branch permanently acting for one special interest of the whole as need arises. Permanent organization of the League will be established in each country by correspondence, delegates from each district co-operating to effect a head in each capital or most central city.

Since the work of the League consists primarily in equalizing the use of natural resources to all workers and to the owners of industrial machinery, it follows that, to be a power for good, the League must prove its **PLAN** to be increasingly successful to all adherents. It can do this by establishing a profit-sharing system of manufacture and trade that will unite the interests of workers, capitalists and consumers in supplying all of the common needs of its members and the public. This cannot be done at once, but, soon co-operative buying will be established with such manufacturers as encourage and support this **POLICY**, so utilizing trade already established, to interest and ally many workers in many lands in this League of the people.

In view of the foregoing plan, it is apparent that the building of a city of **THE NEW FREEDOM** will lie closer to the hearts and needs of many people than could anything else at this time. It would establish desirable headquarters for the League. It would lead in general civic reform, strengthening every good and great educational movement looking toward justice and better law, order and health. Suggestions are wanted now, while government aid is being sought to establish in some appropriate place the making of munitions and war supplies as a beginning for this city. Profitable business is always to be had from the government—if the people demand it. City land rent, due to the existence of wonderful world-belted public utilities, in which every important city shares, is more productive of wealth than gold mines ever were. This is the *real public treasury*, which the new city will have. Great opportunities wait—only action is required to bring about this one event.

**PLEA** Everybody can help in this work. The **IDEAL REPUBLIC** exists, not in any one place, but in the hearts of men. Government can reflect this ideal only in law. But higher than law is knowledge; or the education which every man gets at the hands of his fellows. Today nations are being shaken to their very foundations, but all troubles can be settled—*even neglect in regard to land*—if the little republic of everyone's neighborhood once takes hold. Soldiers of The Republic will work, as they fight, for a free earth. Their opinion in favor of the **OBJECT** and **POLICY** of the League will exert a mighty influence both abroad and at home. Resultant organization and action in concert will strengthen the allied cause and exist, for all time, as a democratic bulwark of defense among all free peoples.

Believing that funds, to be used only for the spread of this advertisement of the people's need and the people's plan, will be gladly given and that it will spread far enough in the time set to accomplish its **OBJECT** and also help mightily in the Allied Cause *this Spring* we ask everyone interested to contribute 10 cents or more, *but not later than July 1st, 1918*, it being understood by all concerned that all receipts shall be accounted for and, if possible, returned with interest when industrial work is fully organized and profit-sharing established.

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