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# The Public

A Journal of Democracy

## The German Constitution

By Joseph C. Allen

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## Is Liberalism Muzzled?

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## The Promise of Tomorrow

Published Weekly  
New York, N. Y.

May 4, 1918

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# The Public

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXI

New York, N. Y., May 4, 1918

Number 1048

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It becomes clearer every day that the battle now raging in Flanders and Picardy is decisive. If the Allies can hold their lines until the present offensive has been bled to death, Germany will face a crisis worse for her than the loss of the Channel ports for the Allies. Recent German successes in the East carry their own danger for the Government. They were hailed as the beginning of the end, and the German people faced the sacrifices of a western offensive only on the assurance that it would be a final and decisive stroke. German morale today is based on the expectation of an early decision. This would be so even if American troops were not pouring into France in a swift and steady stream, so that the moment when overwhelming Allied superiority will be attained is a matter of absolute mathematical calculation. It would be so because none of the nations that have been nearly four years in this war could much longer stand the strain unless the incentive to continue were absolute self-preservation. England and France can be relied upon because the issue is nothing less for them, while America is a fresh young giant for whom the war has but just begun. Our close association with the English gives us a poignant

realization of what it means to "carry on" after four years of such carnage as this war has involved. We may be sure that the situation in Germany is infinitely worse.

\* \* \*

And while English morale has been rejuvenated by President Wilson's leadership, German morale has had to survive first the Brest-Litovsk demonstration of her rulers' ruthless cynicism, and then the disclosures of the Lichnowsky memorandum, with its official proof that the Imperial German Government wantonly sought a war that could have been honorably avoided without prejudice to the German national interest. It is to be doubted that Germany can rely much on her Austrian and Bulgarian allies. Relations between Berlin and Vienna are strained. Austria's chief incentive in this war was removed with the collapse of Russia. The young Emperor Charles' letter to Prince Sixtus must have produced a profound impression in Austria. If their Emperor considers it not worth while to continue the war, how can anyone expect his people to maintain their enthusiasm? If German leadership and assistance had saved Austria and Bulgaria from a strong and ruthless Imperial Russia, the situation would be different. Instead, their gains fall into their laps through Russia's internal collapse. As for the jubiliations and boasts of the Pan-German party, we know how grossly and yet how loudly a few Tories can misrepresent the true situation and the real feelings of the people.

\* \* \*

But any optimism justified at this time must be based on the assurance that America's contribution is to continue to grow as rapidly as transport capacity will permit. Secretary Baker's weekly report gives us that assurance. Almost without comment or public realization, we have

made the first turn,—our transports have carried hundreds of thousands of troops to France with losses that in a military sense are trifling. Germany's first line of aggression against us has failed, and there is no longer any comforting assurance in Germany that our man-power cannot be applied on the western front. By the end of the year we shall have probably 3,000,000 men under arms, with half of that number actually in France. This will mark the greatest achievement of the war, which is to say in the world's history. And it will be an army eager to take the offensive and gathering momentum as it grows. The prospect for Germany must be staggering when it is soberly faced by her rulers and her people. The test will then come whether she is willing to relinquish her spoils and take her place as a chastened member of a league of nations pledged to justice or whether she will insist on going down to her ruin, a nation morally, economically and physically bankrupt.

\* \* \*

The democratic spirit is not restricted to any sphere or class; nor is it confined to any country. Thus, Canada has shown her extreme devotion by sending a superb army across the seas; but the same spirit was manifested a few days ago when her Prime Minister rose in the House of Commons at Ottawa and announced that the British Government had been requested not to confer any more hereditary titles on Canadian citizens. There is more meaning in this than appears upon the surface. It is not so very long ago that a member of that same House of Commons, Captain "Hal" Burnham, was laughed down for venturing to recommend the abolition of all titles in Canada. But though his proposal seemed so extreme at that time to people in the eastern part of the Dominion, there were even then many in the West who decried this aping of European ways. Meantime a change has come over the minds of the people. Men of all parts of the country have made common cause against the highest expression of privilege, the Kaiser; and it would be strange indeed if they did not grow restive under its lesser manifestations at home. The mischief of privilege may inhere when the title is absent, but there is reason to believe that the forces that have created a public opinion that compelled Sir Robert Borden to notify the British Government that conferring titles upon Canadians produced an effect directly opposed to that

intended will continue at work till privilege itself has been overthrown.

## The Promise of Tomorrow

A very remarkable thing is happening in America. Liberals and radicals of all shades and degrees of opinion are finding a common ground, and see before them a common road leading to that new social order of which we have dreamed and toward which we have striven so long without hope of arriving at our destination in this generation or the next. That common ground is the program of the British Labor Party. It has electrified liberal America as the speeches of President Wilson have electrified liberal Europe. And if liberal England looks to Wilson today as a Moses, we in turn look to the British Labor Party's program as the Ten Commandments. Yet the strength of them is that they are not commandments, nor dogmas, nor final things, but a successful attempt to strike at the roots without attempting the impossible, and to be constructive without being trivial and merely ameliorative. It is that thing for which we have waited so long,—a program practicable enough for today and tomorrow, yet radical enough to bring our ultimate destination within view.

Some of us have applied to liberals as a sort of acid test the question of whether they understand and support organized labor. And liberals in America, or progressives, as we have called them, have not met this test in the past. Today their instant and enthusiastic response to the program of British labor raises the question of whether they have held off from labor's struggle not because of any shortcoming in democratic understanding and sympathy, but because labor has never asked enough to make it seem worth while to join forces. At any rate, today "labor" is the word on everyone's lips, and thousands of American liberals who heretofore rather scorned trades unionism are asking "how can we get into touch with labor?" These liberals are of two sorts. There are the preachers of fundamental democracy who have looked beyond labor's gains of today and tomorrow. And there are the vast number who have been politically "progressive" but never progressives in the economic or industrial sense. These latter have made great strides since the war came along to shake their preconceptions and to prove by the inexorable logic of

events the necessity for profound economic changes. And today they all recognize organized labor as the most closely-organized and effective nucleus for those democratic forces which must unite in guiding us through the changes ahead. On the other hand, labor's willingness in England to cooperate with "brain workers" has encouraged them to hope for a similar development in this country. They see in it the best opportunity to effect revolutionary economic changes while avoiding the bitterness of a class war and the horrors that have paralyzed Russia.

These liberal forces are immensely strong. They are already more united than at any time in the past generation, and by the leadership of President Wilson. From many a Republican of the progressive school the question "Did you support Wilson in 1916?" will bring the answer: "No, I am ashamed to say I did not." If the war should go on and 1920 find us with our present problems still unsettled, the demand that President Wilson take a third term,—a possibility now being discussed on all sides,—would place under one banner and one leadership the mightiest force for true democracy ever mobilized in this country. Lacking such leadership, they must be united on a program, and with any leadership a program is of the utmost importance if we are to take advantage of a situation rich with promise. And that program must have the support of organized labor. For it is, after all, the organized workers who can be counted upon to keep their feet on the ground, to exclude vagaries, to insist on leaders who have been tried by fire, and to push on unremittingly toward whatever goal they have set themselves.

Progressive leadership in the American Federation of Labor is, therefore, the need of the hour, the need of the year, the need of an era. The potentialities are there, and it is for labor men who see the promise to find and develop them. It is a job for labor to do, and until it is accomplished labor's new friends among the liberals would do well to interfere as little as possible with the process, which must inevitably go on. Labor has good reason to fear Greeks bearing gifts, and the enthusiast outside of labor's ranks who meets with a rebuff would do well to fight down discouragement and resentment and look for the cause. In the meantime, liberals outside of the movement have their own field in which to work. Never was the need greater for

agitation and discussion in order to procure a better public understanding of the various international and economic issues that must be decided within the next few years. The world will move as rapidly in the next two years as it has in the past two, and there is no man or woman who cannot have his part in guiding its movement.

The ferment and enthusiasm now prevailing means one thing very definitely. Whether this or that reform step be taken is beside the point. The thing of which we can now be assured is that henceforth we are to have in this country a political group of major size and importance, whose immediate program will go to the roots of our social and economic evils. We are done with a politics in which the best men of the party whisper to each other that they believe in this thing or that, but they mustn't say so publicly, for "it would never do." This group will rely very frankly on those who are primarily producers,—on organized wage earners and organized farmers. But with the steadying influence of self-interest as a nucleus, the party about to be born will enlist also the enthusiasm and support of every man and woman who wants a better social order. Nor is there anything 'invidious in the use of the word "self-interest" in characterizing the labor group or the farming group. We surely have reached a point where our thinking is realistic enough to admit the superior interest in economic changes of those classes who have been most disadvantaged by the existing order, who have seen it limit their lives and the lives of their children and shut them out from the blessings that redeem existence on this earth. It is a self-interest sanctified by its coincidence with the parental instinct and the demand that those we love shall lead full and beautiful lives. And as the driving power of American liberalism it will prove irresistible.

## Human Salvage

Patching up the wounded from the battle front and supplementing the lost members and organs by ingenious mechanical substitutes is not the only way of conserving humanity. There are the subnormal children who will grow into men unfit even for soldiers, or into women unable to meet the battle of life. To conserve and restore the wounded streaming back from the front is in the highest degree commendable, but not less so are

the efforts put forth in behalf of the children whom nature or man has not given a fair start in life. The Children's Bureau at Washington is doing a work of inestimable value in teaching mothers what might well be called the art of child bearing and in aiding those whom a false economic condition has deprived of the necessities of maternity. But unfortunately the scope of the Children's Bureau ends at the schoolhouse door. There remain the precious years that take the child on through the period of adolescence, when ignorance of physical laws and simplest rules of life lay the foundation of a weakened constitution, if not an early death.

To meet this need of the school child many organizations and individuals are giving their attention. It has been assumed by too many that the school problem consisted of only two factors, the child and the school. The parents furnished the child and the school board supplied the building and teachers. But here again the same false economic system clutches at the child to deprive it of its full opportunities. The needs of those unable to buy books have been met by the school board; the victims who had to quit school to enter the ranks of the bread winners have received only partial relief. The State has compromised with the child by compelling it to attend school part of the time and permitting it to labor the remainder of its growing years.

But this is not all. Society is still tardy in its work of conservation. Many of the children who do attend school are lacking in physical power to take full advantage of their opportunities and are destined to premature death or to imperfect maturity. The New York City Board of Health in its last report says that 611,000, or 61 per cent, of the children in the New York schools are below the normal standard of nutrition; while 216,000, or 21 per cent, are suffering from under-nourishment. But it is one thing to have such startling facts tucked away in volumes of statistics in municipal reports and altogether a different thing to have them burning their way into the public conscience. Mankind was never before confronted with such a bewildering array of things claiming attention, and it is long in seeing even the obvious; but see them it must, willy nilly. And in order that there might be no blinking of facts, the People's Institute of New York, the School Lunch Committee, and the Post-Graduate Hospital undertook a demonstra-

tion that might appeal to the imagination and convince both parents and school board that under-nourishment and malnutrition can be remedied.

Thus came about the now famous experiment of the "Food Scouts" of Public School 40. The Board of Education gave permission, the People's Institute furnished the plan, the Lunch Committee supplied the food, the Post-Graduate Hospital kept tab, and the children did the rest. An appeal was made to the 1,500 children between the ages of nine and twelve for volunteers to show the rest of the children of the nation how they could grow into big, strong men. They were told they would have to eat the food furnished at the school lunch according to directions, report what they ate at home, and be weighed once a week. Of the 150 volunteers, 25 were chosen for the experiment. And never did more earnest and conscientious co-operators set out in quest of truth. About half of the number were Italians, there were a few Poles and Jews, and one Armenian; but all were wide awake little fellows, suffering from no other disability than lack of proper nourishment. Had they been tolled off by authority and commanded to submit to an arbitrary regimen there would have been rebellion on the part of the children and protests from the parents; but when it was put on the basis of patriotism, the volunteers were eager to "go over the top" and the home folks were proud of them.

Therein lay the chief merit of the experiment. To give the children a balanced ration of scientifically adjusted ingredients, composed of common foods simply prepared and palatably served, did secure the desired result in increased weight, strength and efficiency; but it did more—it interested the mothers of the children. Demonstrate to the big commercial men that school lunches will save more than their cost by decreasing the number of children who from lack of nutrition have to repeat the course of study, and they will favor the proposal to make it a part of the school service; but the mothers of the children will be indifferent. Show the mothers, however, that proper food means strong and healthy children and they respond with enthusiasm. The very people who had coldly received those in charge of the Food Scouts' experiment when they asked them to economize on food in order to win the war, were all attention and eager to cooperate when they saw the new life and spirit

in the children. A large or a small school budget was a matter of indifference to them; but when Tony's flabby muscles began to harden and Abe's appetite for breakfast returned, the mothers were all eagerness to know how to prepare the food that produced such results.

The Food Scouts' experiment has demonstrated: 1—Proper food and hygienic surroundings will restore under-nourished children to normal condition. 2—This food can be furnished at a cost less than what their present food costs. 3—The School Board should furnish a lunch similar to that given the Food Scouts on these conditions: (a) that it be available to all the children, (b) that the price be fixed at bare cost of food, the Board meeting the overhead charges, and (c) that classes be opened for mothers to teach them the properties of food and methods of preparation. 4—The city should supply means for recreation and summer outings. 5—The welfare of the child has given a new meaning to woman suffrage.

The last named fact has yet to be grasped by the politician. He is accustomed to exploiting public office for private gain. He knows that if the abuses are not too flagrant he will be excused on the plea that the other party is just as bad. But woman is not so philosophical, not to say stoical. She thinks concretely, and the child is never out of her thought. Mayor Hylan may replace all other experts in the employ of the city with political henchmen and the men voters will grimly smile at the doings of Tammany. But if he discontinues or weakens the Bureau of Child Hygiene and the kindred service for children, he will discover that the she-bear's defense of her cubs is the only simile to describe the anger of the women voters.

Conservation is the cry of the times, and the world must give its attention to husbanding its resources; but no other thing will appeal to the heart of the mothers—and all women are potentially mothers—like the conservation of the child. Men when confronted with the alternative of weakling or fully developed citizens may calculate the cost; but the mother of an under-nourished child, once she knows the cause and remedy, will stop at nothing till the defect is cured. This is not to ignore or belittle the great underlying economic problem; but it is to call attention to secondary means of relief immediately at hand.

## Attacking Federal Farm Loans

The sporting injunction to play fair might well be applied to some of the critics of the Federal Farm Loan system. If this agency of the Government be defective in principle or wrongly administered, intelligent criticism should be directed toward its correction; but to attempt to discredit it by misrepresentation will in the end only bring confusion upon its critics. George W. Norris, Federal Farm Loan Commissioner, has issued a statement to the effect that a group of Kansas mortgage brokers are attempting to discredit the system of banking devised for the relief of rural communities by representing that the money of the Farm Loan banks has been put out on insufficient security. In order to prove their contention they have listed a number of loans made in Kansas against which they have placed the tax assessor's valuation of the property upon which the loan has been made. By this means they are able to show that the aggregate of loans amounts to seventy-three per cent of the value of the security. This information is being supplied to Congressmen and to those newspapers and periodicals that can be relied upon to exploit it.

One of these periodicals, Commissioner Norris states, a Boston financial weekly, has been able to find among nearly two thousand loans eighteen where the loan actually exceeds the tax assessor's assessment. To make certain that the forthcoming article will produce the desired effect, the journal in question is circularizing banks and bankers who may be interested in making their own farm loans and assuring them that the article is certain to create a profound impression and that its effect "cannot help but be to turn the attention of Eastern investors toward good farm mortgages."

The Federal Farm Loan system as operated in Kansas may or may not be at fault; but it must be submitted that the Boston financial journal has not adopted the best method of proving its contention. It has, indeed, shown itself to be an interested party in the case, and the evidence submitted is not of a kind that will appeal to well-informed people. To estimate the value of farms by the appraisal of the tax assessor is much like judging the virtues of the dead by the epitaphs on their tombstones, but in inverse ratio. Had the Eastern representatives of farm loan mortgages been interested in arriving at facts rather than in making out a case, and had they

adopted some means of making a disinterested appraisal of the farms in question, it is much more likely that they would have convicted the assessor of dereliction of duty, instead of the agents of the Federal Farm Loan system. The president of a bank in North Dakota to whom one of the Boston circulars was sent wrote the Federal Farm Loan Board that if the article had been based upon North Dakota conditions it would be misleading and unjust, "for the reason that assessed valuations here are invariably from 20 to 30 per cent of the actual value, in spite of the fact that the law says that real property shall be assessed at its full value." But it is not necessary to go to Kansas or North Dakota to find the relation of tax assessors' valuations to real values. The Boston editor has but to ask himself if he would sell his plant on the assessor's valuation or if any banker whom he has circularized would give his own assessment as a fair representation of his bank's assets.

Misrepresentation of this kind may retard a good movement in the earlier stages of its development, but it will make its success the more certain in the end. Commissioner Norris dismisses the matter as of interest only in showing the amount of money that private loaning agencies are willing to spend in efforts to discredit the Farm Loan system and "the unscrupulous use which they are willing to make of the material that they collect." But there is more at stake than that. The country is in a state of transition. It is breaking away from the old moorings and venturing forth upon imperfectly explored seas. Never before has there been such willingness on the part of the people of all classes to try new experiments nor such eagerness to arrive at better results. It is a crime against justice and truth to attempt at such a time to deceive the people in their quest. Let us have criticism, by all means, the sharper and severer the better—for a hundred wrong courses will be proposed for every one that is right; but let the criticism be of a kind to distinguish the right course from the wrong and not to oppose the right because it happens to run counter to some private interest. The Federal Farm Loan system is an attempt to place credit within the reach of a class who have been unable to borrow money except at prohibitive rates. The machinery for carrying out this idea may require many alterations, but care should be exercised to distinguish between pro-

posals to correct the faults of the machine and those that would destroy the idea itself. The present course of interested opponents of the Farm Loan system reflects little credit upon them and will make small appeal to the disinterested public at large.

### Is Liberalism Muzzled?

There are in this country at the present time several distinguished English journalists representing the liberal press of their country. And their opinion is at least worth recording that there exists in America at the present time an intolerance and hysteria that discourage liberal thinking and so threaten to prevent the mobilization of that very support on which President Wilson must some day rely when it comes to an issue between his policies and those of advocates of a nationalism that believes in special privileges for its traders and bankers and foreign investments, and therefore in the preservation of the old diplomacy that depended upon armed force and fear. These journalists came to America enthusiastic over President Wilson's leadership and success in arousing the peoples of every Allied nation for a war against Germany that would be unquestionably a war also for the extermination of special privilege and the enthronement of justice and fair dealing between nations. And they have been appalled since their arrival by the tone and substance of editorials and articles in the metropolitan press and by other phenomena which they interpret as showing the absence of a dominating public opinion that understands and supports the President's liberal views. Mr. Philip W. Wilson, of the London *Daily News*, tactfully expresses his feeling by contrast in an article contributed—of all papers!—to the *New York Tribune*. Discussing the British Labor Party and urging American cooperation with it, he writes:

Rightly or wrongly, British labor stands for freedom of conscience and liberty of speech. If a man disagrees with the war he is permitted to say so. We find that our people fight better and work harder when they are encouraged to speak their minds and hear not one side only, but all sides. You do not understand us. We do not mind fighting Germans, especially when Germans are up against us three to one. Out of the young men in the houses immediately adjoining my own five are wounded, four are dead, and two were killed after returning to service healed of wounds. We are always ready to fight majorities—with the odds against us.

But if you require us to trample down minorities—if that is to be our test of patriotism—if the few and the weak are to be battered into silence, you must seek other allies than the English. We listen to our pacifists because we hold that every British subject of the Crown is entitled to his opinions. That is what we mean by personal liberty. In our Parliament and in our labor congresses pacifists are heard freely. It was so when we fought Napoleon. Fox was instantly up against Pitt. You must take us as we are—those that are left of us.

Even Americans who cordially agree with English liberals in this are moved to defend the American democracy and to say the much that can be said in explanation of phenomena which they misinterpret. No other nation is made up as we are of peoples from all nations of the earth, each retaining more or less of its ancient prejudices and influenced, in spite of judgment, by old allegiances. And no other nation at war has had to combat an aggressive, organized German propaganda confidently undertaken in the belief that our millions of citizens of German origin would respond to it by preferring Germany to America. It is the only Allied country where the Socialist Party was under the leadership of men several of whom can be justly suspected of cloaking, whether consciously or not, a very real nationalist adherence to Germany under the mantle of internationalism. It was the only Allied country containing large groups who were not assimilated, who spoke and read a foreign language, and whose mental processes and intentions were not an open book to their neighbors and fellow citizens. There has been reason enough why we have insisted, during this first year, that every man stand up and be counted. Considering everything, we have reason to be proud of our record. The loyalty of the overwhelming majority of Americans of German origin or descent has contributed much to this, but the spirit of President Wilson's utterances and his executive orders have contributed more. Only those Germans have been interfered with whose conduct has shown a deliberate and overt antagonism to the purposes of the country. Considering the great size of the country and the laxity with which it is policed, mob violence has been exceedingly rare.

It is when we read the metropolitan dailies, or the outgivings of the American Defense Society, or the speeches of reactionary Republican Senators, or the testimony of the Chairman of the

Minnesota Public Safety Commission that we are tempted to become heavy-hearted and question the country's capacity for that tolerance and respect for free thought and discussion which are so essential in a democracy. THE PUBLIC has been as susceptible to that mood as any one. But by placing events in their true perspective and surveying carefully the whole field we have arrived at what we are sure is a justified optimism. Certainly none of us ever cherished any illusions about our metropolitan press. It is no new thing for special privilege to attempt to turn any prevailing wave of prejudice or emotion against its enemies. And when we come to a consideration of the specific and the concrete what do we find? The gains of organized labor need no recounting. The Farmers' Non-Partisan League is having an uninterrupted growth, and the persecution which it is undergoing at the hands of the discredited Minnesota State Administration has only served to increase its strength and solidarity and rally to it new friends. For every local public official who is attempting to discredit the movement there is a Federal official who indorses it and spreads its praises. In this field, as elsewhere, President Wilson's influence and the power of his ideas have been forces aiding democracy. THE PUBLIC has criticized the Department of Justice's handling of the I. W. W. cases. Yet the Department of Justice is only the prosecuting arm of the Government, and since when have we looked to prosecutors for liberal thinking or generous impulses or social and economic understanding? And in this field, too, the net result of the Government's activities has been helpful rather than otherwise. The War Department, the Forest Service and the Food Administration have handled the I. W. W. situation from a different angle, and the result is that today the rank and file of I. W. W. members are enthusiastically behind Wilson and the prosecution of the war. Even their leaders in jail in Chicago discriminate between their prosecutors and other arms of the Government. And they are frank to admit that the talk of a few of their more irresponsible members and the writings of some of their editors were foolish and wild and violent, that they are more than a little to blame for the fix they have got themselves into. The net result of the I. W. W. experience during the past year will probably be a more responsible, effective and powerful organization among unskilled and mi-

gratory laborers,—an organization destined before many years to take its place as an important part of the labor movement with which other democratic forces can cooperate. According to all reports, I. W. W. leaders are prepared to cut out what Dr. Veblen calls their “atheistic jubilatations” and their blood and thunder talk and go about their job of organizing workmen for a program of fundamental economic reform.

If non-pacifist individuals or publications are today holding back any presentation of facts or discussion for fear they will be branded as disloyal, only their own timidity can be blamed for it. The Postoffice censorship may create a situation where spokesmen for liberalism will feel called upon to organize an opposition to the method and go to President Wilson or to Congress with a proposal to place the censorship authority in other hands. Until such action is taken the liberals have only themselves to blame for a situation they do not like. And that situation at present is no worse than a feeling that intelligent consideration and friendly cooperation are not to be looked for, and that the method of administering the censorship is extremely arbitrary and bureaucratic. But the Department cannot act until there is at least a technical violation of law. And we have not the slightest fear that any agency of the Government would long be permitted to act to the discouragement of that “real thinking and sincere action” which President Wilson enjoined upon the New Jersey Democrats as a preparation for “the days of political and economic reconstruction which are ahead of us.”

The truth is that any abatement of liberal discussion concerning international problems or economic problems which is in force today is the result of cowardice and timidity on the part of those who refrain from such discussion. But we are not prepared to admit there is such an abatement. Never, on the contrary, was there such a quickened interest in these matters. No censorship, no prosecutions, no amount of patrioteering by private interests and reactionary newspapers can offset the tremendous impetus given to the democratic movement by the events of the past year, not the least of which have been the utterances of President Wilson. More and more as time goes on it will be true that the phrase “standing by the President” will fall from the lips of radicals and liberals, while mentions of the President and his policies by reactionary indi-

viduals and newspapers will have for their theme rather the discrediting and opposing of his leadership.

## Agricultural Legislation

The American Association for Agricultural Legislation is a new organization designed to aid in bringing order out of chaos in farm life. No other industry has been more lacking in intelligent assistance; no other has had more promises from politicians; and it may be questioned if any other has seen so few fulfilled. This has not been from design, but rather from a lack of intelligent understanding of the problem. Too many persons have looked upon agriculture as a primal industry of but two factors, land and labor, in which results depend upon strength, endurance, and the weather. In earlier days, when abundance of rich land was to be had for the asking, and farming was considered extensively rather than intensively, little more was needed in the way of legislation than simple laws to guide the settler to a homestead on the public domain. But now that the public domain is practically gone and good land commands a round price, agriculture has assumed a new aspect. When land rose in value during the life time of its owner from a dollar and a quarter an acre to one hundred or two hundred dollars an acre, it did not so much matter whether that owner farmed well or not; he had only to keep himself alive. But the man who goes upon that same land today and undertakes to pay interest upon its inflated value needs all the aids that government and science can give him.

This is what the American Association for Agricultural Legislation proposes to do. The Association, organized at Philadelphia, December 28, 1917, has as its aim the investigation as well as the promotion of agricultural legislation. Its founders realize that economists and agriculturalists have been too accustomed to move along separate lines, the agricultural societies lacking the best scientific and economic thought, and the economists too often failing to appreciate the significance of agricultural problems. The Association is broad of scope. It will take up such questions as legislation on food production, consumption and price, as well as problems connected with land settlement, which will include the settlement of the soldiers and sailors on the land. The Association disclaims having any pan-

aceas or formulas to be applied to all cases; but proposes to make investigations first and then endeavor to find a solution.

"Work on land settlement," says the prospectus of the Association, "will be stressed. The land question is one of the greatest economic problems of the twentieth century, and perhaps the greatest. Exploitation of settlers by unscrupulous speculators is a crying evil, injurious to all legitimate landed interests. . . . Already speculators are working on plans to exploit the returning soldiers and sailors, which it will be the purpose of this Association to thwart, while it will investigate, so far as its means permit, the best methods of putting the soldiers and sailors on the land, so far as they wish to become cultivators and owners of the soil." Attention will be given also to farmers' marketing organizations and to improvement of conditions of rural life. It is the hope of the founders, men like Professor Mead of the University of California, its president, and Professor Richard T. Ely of Wisconsin University, its secretary, to bring into the movement progressive, constructive minds of the grange organizations and the specialists and experts who have given thought to the problem.

There is no more worthy field of endeavor at this time. The need is tragic. Great and powerful governmental agencies are at hand, manned by men eager to do the work if Congress can be got to adopt practical legislation. The Agricultural Department, the Labor Department, and the Interior Department embrace among them all the factors save one, the plan, and this must be found. The dramatic intrusion of the food ques-

tion upon public attention merely accentuates what intelligent observers have long known regarding the chaotic conditions in rural communities; and as this massed public opinion will ultimately compel action, it is highly essential that it be intelligent action.

The agricultural problem separates itself naturally into two general divisions. First, the relation of man to the land. This includes the questions of ownership, settlement, the placing of soldiers and sailors, as outlined by the Agricultural Legislation Association, and the question of taxation, which doubtless is implied in its proposal. Second, the use of the land. People are awakening to the fact that intelligence and knowledge are as necessary in farming as in any other industry. The fact that man in primitive conditions can support himself upon land has led some persons to think of farming as a crude and primitive industry. Never was there a greater mistake; and little will be done to mend conditions till this idea has been corrected. People must be made to realize that the world has reached a stage when agriculture is no more to be conducted on the basis of the isolated, unprepared, individual farmer than manufacturing is to be carried on by untrained workmen in separate shops. Farming, because of physical conditions, cannot be industrialized in the way manufacturing has been; but cooperation in the use of machinery and in buying and selling are possible, and the use of science is certain. To the degree that the American Association for Agricultural Legislation aids in bringing this about it will have fulfilled a great purpose.

## Democracy and the German Constitution

By Joseph C. Allen

Our President, in replying to the Pope, intimated that we could not discuss peace terms with "the present rulers of Germany" until their word is explicitly and convincingly supported by "the will and purpose of the German people themselves." He did not, however, mean to demand that Germany should become a republic, or to insist on any change in her constitution. What he said should be understood in the light of his addresses to Congress on December 4 of last year and January 8 of the present. In the former he

said, "We intend no wrong against the German empire, no interference with her internal affairs." And in the latter he declared that we do not "presume to suggest to" Germany "any alteration or modification of her institutions," but that we must, "as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part," know whether her spokesmen speak "for the Reichstag majority or for the military party."

The implication is, that while the Government of Germany cannot be trusted to keep its word,

the word of the German people themselves might be trusted if it were given. And the suggestion is, that in any peace parleys the representatives of that nation should practically be appointed by the Reichstag, and that the terms arrived at should be ratified by that body. Now, granting that the German people themselves are trustworthy, the question is pertinent, whether they would, under the present system of Government, be able to keep their word. Could the Reichstag compel the Government of Germany to do what they would promise for it? On this point we may perhaps reasonably presume, that the Government of that empire would hardly dare to break a promise that had been expressly endorsed by the Reichstag as the word of the people, or that if the Government attempted to break such a promise the people themselves would rise against their rulers.

Another pertinent question is whether the act of the Reichstag in ratifying the treaty would become a precedent. If it should not, the Government of Germany would remain untrustworthy as to any other promises it might make. It would not then be sufficient for the Reichstag to ratify the peace treaty after this war, unless all treaties hereafter were to be ratified by that body. But to establish such a precedent and abide by it, would be in effect to change the system of Government of the German empire. And this change would bring with it another; for if the Reichstag asserted the right to pass on all treaties, it would also demand power to see to it that its treaties are enforced. Hence it would be requisite that the Chancellor should be responsible to the Reichstag, the Government becoming in this way parliamentary like that of Great Britain.

The demand of the President leads then logically to a democratic development of the German constitution. And it may be asked whether Germany is more likely to move toward democracy by just the steps that have been here outlined or in another way. The Reichstag is not the only legislative body of the Empire. There is an upper parliament called the Bundesrat, having far more power than the Reichstag. One of its exclusive functions is to declare war. The Bundesrat is in fact an administrative as well as legislative body, and may be considered as corresponding in a general way to our Senate and Cabinet if these should be combined. As compared with the Bundesrat, the Reichstag is little more than a talking body. When measures desired by the

Government are not passed by the Reichstag, that body is dissolved and a new election is ordered; and this process is repeated, if necessary, until a compliant Reichstag has been obtained.

The Bundesrat is like our Senate in that its members represent the various states as states. But it is unlike our Senate in that the states are represented in it unequally. And through this unequal representation, and also from the method of voting, Prussia possesses an inordinate power in the Empire and becomes the greatest obstacle to democracy. Most of the states have only one representative or vote in the Bundesrat. But there are several that have 2, 3, or 4, and Bavaria has 6. But Prussia has 17 in a total of 58. In other words, Prussia has nearly three times as many as those of the largest other states, and almost one-third as many as those of all the states together. And it is the custom to cast the votes of each state solidly for or against every measure, so that the vote of Prussia is never divided. The members of the Bundesrat are not elected, either by the people or by legislative bodies, but are appointed by their state governments. They are besides, not appointed for a term of years, but specially for each session. The Prussian members are accordingly appointed by the Prime Minister in that state—who is also by the way the Imperial Chancellor—specially for each session as the representatives of their King. So the Kaiser, as King of Prussia, controls nearly one-third of the votes of the Bundesrat. And he and his kingdom have besides sufficient influence with some of the smaller states, to secure as a rule a majority of votes in that body.

Germany of course cannot have any approach to a democratic government, while the Bundesrat retains its powers and Prussia its predominance in that body. There is, however, a very simple way in which the character of the Bundesrat could be transformed and the Prussian Government deprived of its control of that body. Let each state have only one representative by appointment, any others that are now allotted to it becoming representatives of the people and elected from districts.

This plan would be perfectly just to the large states. They would return as large a membership as before, to the Bundesrat, but only one representative from each of them would be appointed by the government, and the vote of the others might be divided. The Bundesrat would in this

way be transformed from an instrument of autocracy into a semi-democratic body with one-half its membership composed of elected representatives of the people. And these democratic members would come from the larger states, so that the powerful influence of those states in the Bundesrat would go, not as it does now, for autocracy, but for government by public opinion. Then, as to the Kaiser's influence in that body, he would have the appointment to it of only one member, instead of the 17 that now represent him.

Such a plan would go far to create a parliamentary government of Germany, because it would make it impossible for the Kaiser or his Chancellor to control the Bundesrat. But, to bring about an effective parliamentary control in which the Chancellor should be responsible either to the Bundesrat or to the Reichstag, it would be necessary to separate him from the other office he holds, namely that of Prussian Prime Minister. It is, of course, quite logical for the Prime Minister in Prussia and the Chancellor of the Empire to be one and the same person, as long as he is responsible in both offices only to his King and Kaiser. But of course he could not, in a parliamentary government, be responsible at the same time to the parliament of Prussia and to that of the Empire. In order, then, that there may be a parliamentary government of Germany, the

Chancellor of the Empire must not be the Prime Minister to the King of Prussia.

These changes would be simple and not humiliating even to Prussia, however unwelcome they might be to an autocratically disposed Emperor. Will Germany take such a course, or any other in the direction of democracy? That depends on the German people themselves. Our government has declared officially, and the British government has likewise declared officially through Mr. Lloyd George, that there is no intention to dictate to Germany how she shall be governed. Even if there were such an intention, we could not force democracy on Germany. A nation may perhaps be compelled to become a republic, or of any other form of government. But no nation can be made democratic except by its own will. Let us hope, however, that Germany will develop the will to become democratic, for until it does so it cannot be a powerful nation without continuing to be a menace to the peace of the world. Germany, however, may by defeat or by exhaustion in this war become convinced that the present policy, the present personnel, and the present system of her government are alike unsound. If, then, by pressing the war vigorously and unitedly, we drive this conviction home to the German people, we shall be liberating them while bringing freedom and peace to the world.

## Land Value and the Police Power

By Lawson Purdy

The police power is a great power of government upon which we rely for the accomplishment of many things that are vital. On the other hand, many of us have felt that the courts have been slow to expand the police power to meet changing conditions and human needs. Professor McBain has written a book of two hundred and fifty pages.\* The type is good, the page is small. It is packed with information that no one who is working for a city can afford to do without.

The author says he has not written the book to express opinions as to policies, but only to explain the decisions of the courts so far rendered.

He really does more than this, because he frequently shows clearly why a court has held unconstitutional some plan for city betterment, and has pointed rather clearly to the way in which the same plan could have been carried out and received judicial sanction.

In large degree the exercise of the police power affects the rights of land owners, and a good part of the book is devoted to the consideration of how the rights of owners have been limited and should be limited. The courts are beginning to perceive that the rental value of land measures its desirability, and that it is legitimate to restrain owners from so using their land as to cut down the value of the land of their neighbors; that, further, it is legitimate to im-

\*American City Progress and the Law. Columbia University Press. \$1.50.

pose restrictions under the police power which will tend to enhance the value of land—not a particular piece of land, but all the land of the city or of large sections of the city, because this enhancement of value is the evidence that the restriction is in the interest of land users.

Billboard regulation is an illustration of the restriction of private rights for public benefit which enhances value. Billboard restrictions of quite a drastic kind have been upheld and some of the courts are indicating that they are willing to regard æsthetic considerations as having weight. Back of æsthetic considerations so-called, however, is this question of value still. If the city is made more beautiful to the eye and people like it that way, they will pay more for it and the price they pay measures the value to them of the restriction. The exclusion of billboards from residential sections benefits all the persons who reside in those sections. If the people appreciate the value to them of the exclusion of the billboards, that appreciation will be expressed in an enhanced value of the land.

There is a good discussion of zoning ordinances and the regulation of the height, bulk and use of buildings. While such regulations are designed to afford safety from fire and protect the health of the inhabitants, if the regulations are wise they will tend to enhance the value of the land of the city. They will make the city a better place in which to live, a better place in which to produce wealth, and these advantages will be expressed in terms of money. The amendment to the New York Charter, made in 1914, which empowers the New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment to prescribe such regulations, provides that the regulations shall be such as will tend to enhance the value of land and conserve the value of buildings.

Proposals to regulate the use of land often strike individualists as being undue restrictions of liberty. Individualists who believe in a natural order in economics are disposed to think that when there is a natural order no land regulations will be necessary. It seems, however, that experience demonstrates that this is an erroneous conclusion. There is no conflict between proper regulations for the use of land in cities and individual liberty. Everyone has the right to do all he wills, provided he does not infringe the equal liberty of others. A man has the right to

use his own land as he pleases, but only in such fashion that he does not infringe the right of his neighbor to enjoy the use of his land. In order that each person may be so protected in the exercise of his own rights, no building should be permitted which would not be suitable as a model for all buildings in the neighborhood. Each lot of land should supply a reasonable share of open space for light and air for the common good; and no lot should be so used as to make an excessive demand upon the means of access.

In the City of New York the first very high buildings paid well and seemed to prove that the land on which they stood had a very high value. Presently other buildings of like height were erected. The value of the first buildings was reduced, because they no longer had adequate light and air. The apparent value of the land proved in many cases to be imaginary. Buildings of too great height and covering too large a percentage of the land imposed an excessive burden upon means of access. It became apparent that there was not even standing room in the street for the occupants of the buildings. Very few of the high buildings earlier erected return a reasonable income. In the long run no one was benefited.

In every small city and town in the country and in all suburbs there may be found illustrations of buildings unsuitable to the neighborhood, which have damaged all neighboring buildings and often reduced land values. A pretty, home-like street, developed with single-family houses set back from the building line, is ruined by the erection of a garage and seriously damaged by the erection of one small retail store set on the building line.

The city of Minneapolis prohibited this in a certain street, but it required an existing store to be taken away. The Supreme Court of Minnesota said this was unconstitutional, that it deprived the owner of that store of his property without due process of law. One of the judges wrote a dissenting opinion in which he argued that men chose residential streets for their families in order that their children might have surroundings that would be good for their manners and morals; that the value of the land on such a street was enhanced by these considerations, and that it was proper regulation to prevent the intrusion of a retail store, which would change the atmosphere of the street. He said it was com-

mon knowledge that the intrusion of such a store would cut down the value of all the houses on the street and might decrease the value of the land as well. In effect, the judge was pointing out the fact that the value of the land measures all the advantages given by any community to those who dwell there or work there. It measures all the advantages given by government and, in addition, those advantages which spring from the character of the social life.

Professor McBain discusses excess condemnation, but does not lay stress upon what seems to many the most important feature. When streets are cut through old parts of cities or are widened, lots of irregular shape and inadequate size are left fronting on the new street or widened street. It generally takes years for those lots to be gathered into appropriate parcels for development. The improvement of the street is delayed, its utility is forever lessened, and the assessments imposed on owners are often very onerous, because they cannot utilize the potentially increased value due to the improvement. Several States have procured amendments to their constitutions to permit excess condemnation, but in this country the power has as yet been hardly used at all.

There is an interesting discussion of price

fixing by cities. It appears that the City of New York in early days fixed the maximum prices of many commodities, including bread and beer. In those days there was no distinction at all apparently between public business and private business. It now seems settled that prices and services may be regulated only for businesses that are affected with a peculiar public interest. The author draws the distinction clearly as follows: "It is certain that all of these lines of business that require a grant of special privilege from the government are in the category of public businesses."

Very few have any idea how little thought was given by cities to the amenities of life until recently. It is said that when Central Park, in New York, was established, about 1855, it was the first park ever established in the United States for exclusive use as a pleasure ground. Today cities have no trouble in acquiring land for parks, and they are now establishing public halls, auditoriums, opera houses, and even theatres.

Professor McBain supplies a table of cases of great value and convenience. The book has a good table of contents and an adequate index. For any one who wants a book of ready reference it is indispensable.

## Freedom in Wartime

By David Starr Jordan

Democracy is not merely government by the people. It is the recognition of the welfare of the people as the purpose for which government exists. This purpose involves individual freedom, individual obedience to the laws or agreements which save freedom from anarchy, with justice as the final aim of both freedom and obedience. In democracy the minority bows to the will of the majority, but not to its opinions. It is essential to freedom that personal opinion should be safeguarded, for it is the backbone of democracy. It results, therefore, that the touchstone of democracy is found in its treatment of minorities. A republic, no more than a monarchy can claim infallibility or impeccability. So the will of the majority is always subject to revision. The will of a democracy is the composite

of the wills of all its sovereign people. The aims of these may not always be wise or righteous. Their motives are sure to be mixed, hence a democracy cannot suppress adverse opinions by force, only by conciliation and argument. Only a despotism can make a desert of opinion "and call it peace." A democracy without tolerance is a contradiction of terms. In a democracy, each voter is a ruler and each one must be a "conscientious objector" to something. Every minority is held together by the hope that it may some time become a majority. Even one with right on his side may become a majority, "His soul goes marching on."

When a minority represents folly, it soon evaporates in free air. Under forcible repression, folly becomes dangerous. Suppression of

thought and speech is the discredited weapon of autocracy. That the land of freedom should be secure in its minorities as well as in its majorities, our fathers wrote into the Federal Constitution those articles which guarantee freedom of the press, of speech and assembly. They valued freedom more highly than we do because they knew what it was to be without it. They had lived under a Prussian King of England. Wrong action may be put down by law, but wrong opinions never.

But this freedom of minorities exacts certain duties as well. Not every act which is legal can be defended as wise. Wisdom of utterance in time of stress should have a definite and defensible purpose behind it. At the present moment our nation is in the strain of a gigantic world war. Our people as a whole believe that their entrance into this war was righteous and unavoidable. They have no military or economic ends to serve. They use the potential force of the nation to assist the self-governing nations of Europe to resist the aggressions of a conquering dynasty. The questions as to whether we could or should have held aloof are no longer pertinent. We are in the war, and in so far as any war may be righteous we are on the right side.

In spite of the careless and abusive use of the word "pacifist," every democrat is a pacifist at heart. "Pacifist" means "peace-making," the "will to peace." But the way to peace is not necessarily non-resistance. It cannot be found in condoning wanton aggression or military conquest. What is called a "German peace" is no peace at all, for it brings no security or conciliation. Neither is a "Tory peace," a peace to promote the trade or prestige of any other nation.

Security comes with the passing of armaments, of kings, emperors and all the paraphernalia of control by force. Our forefathers wrote on the sheltering boulders of East Rock at New Haven: "Opposition to Tyrants is Obedience to God." Cromwell wrote across the statute books of Parliament: "All just powers under God are derived from the consent of the people." The French *poilu* in the trenches, Barbusse, asserts: "The people have been nothing; they must be everything." Only in harmony with these declarations of struggling democracy can Europe find lasting peace.

It is our duty as good citizens to look forward

and not backward in these days, and the more intelligent our conception of the restoration of Europe, the more effective will be our share in the great work of the century.

Whatever our opinion as to what our course should have been or might have been, we cannot change it now. We are already in the grasp of history. There is no chance of recession, no gain in obstruction, no policy to be altered this side of the end. Old issues are dead; if we influence the future, it must be along lines still living. The one great aim is a just and lasting peace. Every detail of war is wanton destruction unless it proves in fact a "war to end war." And the only visible road in this direction is along the lines the President has indicated. We have no selfish ends of our own to serve, we will serve the selfish ends of no one else. We have no quarrel with any people. We are willing to consider peace at any time, with any of them. But there are hands too bloody for us to clasp, and there is a diplomacy too serpentine for us to meet. And both these are inseparable from irresponsible autocracy, the government of the Dark Ages.

In these days it seems to me that nothing is gained by mass-meetings of protest of whatever sort. They will not change the popular will; they will not bring peace; they will not define our national aims; they will not even obstruct, even if obstruction were contemplated, and their purpose is easily misapprehended. In every gathering of this sort, when feeling runs high, violent words are sure to be spoken, utterances untruthful or foolish or truthful and tactless are to be expected, and the press records those matters only which are extreme and unseemly. But the suppression of such meetings by force is equally unfortunate. Illegal and unwarranted repression has its still longer train of evils.

Lord Courtney of Penwith, assures us that "wartime is the opportunity of fools," and extremists on both sides live up to their opportunities. But in this we are sinners all and if every foolish word in wartime were punished we should have to recall our armies, we should all be in jail at home.

To speak seriously, we should avoid needless discord. Unless some point is to be gained by standing out, some matter of conscience or advantage in action, we should present a solid front. No worthy achievement comes through aimless discontent. But our aim should be tolerance and

conciliation, not lip-service and conformity. As Europe has proved through the ages, there are no heresies that can be cured by "stamping them out." Free discussion and friendly relation are the high road to sanity.

It is a necessary part of the dynastic scheme to fill the civilized world with its professional spies and agents. No nation has ever developed this system on so great a scale as Germany. With the expansion of transportation and the dissemination of intelligence, this organization has been correspondingly expanded. It has had a disreputable part in stirring up discord within the United States.

But not all of its agents are Germans and the great body of German-Americans have had no connection with its operations. As a matter of fact, the political agents expected to control the sentiment and acts of Germans in America have utterly failed to do so. In return they have tried to discredit German-Americans in the minds of their fellow-citizens. We must remember that these people occupy a very difficult position, swayed by personal sympathies on the one hand

and civic loyalty on the other. We must remember that this is their country as well as ours, the only country they have or we, and for the most part they come to America for the same reason as our own British ancestors—to find freedom and opportunity. We have no quarrel with their language, their thoughts or their sympathies. And we have no wish to play into the hands of Prussian intrigue. The German agent, Horst von der Goltz, confessed that failing to win over the German-Americans (a few paid agents excepted) the next effort was to discredit these people among their fellow-citizens, to make them feel as outcasts in the republic.

The promotion of discord among the democracies, by whatever means, has been for years a part of the "Pan-German" propaganda. Discord cannot be put down by fines and imprisonment. It is disarmed by frankness, friendship and conciliation, and only through frankness, friendship and conciliation can we win the final victory in this war, a democratic peace. "The people have been nothing; they must be everything."

## Democracy and Religion in Britain

By Louis Wallis

In striking contrast with German ecclesiastical autocracy, as outlined in recent issues of *THE PUBLIC*,\* the organized religion of Britain has a fundamentally democratic tendency which asserts itself with increasing power and disproves the claim of German Socialists that all churches are merely the allies of a capitalistic master class. The distinction between Germany and England in the field of religion has been largely overlooked thus far in the great international struggle, because everything is so complex and many things are happening all at once. But we are now in process of casting up accounts and taking stock as never before in the history of nations; and it is surprising to discover how many important facts are not generally realized by the intelligent public.

Apparently it requires the stunning shock of the world-war to make us perceive that the

Kaiser's notorious claim to partnership with God is a bare, brutal, horrid *Fact*, with which we have to reckon in the same way that we reckon with small-pox or insanity or any other fact that we hate. The Kaiser actually believes that God is with him in the rape of Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania. Anybody who thinks the Emperor's references to God are mere stage play misunderstands the psychology of medieval royalty and misinterprets a vast range of human history. The dogma of God's partnership with the Kaiser is an actual *Force*, which gives punch to German armies and airships and U-boats. "For God and Fatherland" is the inscription on the front of the German soldier's spiked helmet. The power of this dogma grips the ecclesiastical system of Germany and bends the churches of the empire to the service of junkerism. The Church of Germany is the handmaid of the Hohenzollerns; and a German clergyman is absolutely debarred from telling the people about the startling

\* "The Kaiser's Ecclesiastical Steam Roller," *The Public*, March 2 and 16.

democratic discoveries made by modern theological scholars.

But in England how different is the atmosphere! The widening democratic evolution of the nineteenth century, which delivered the government over to the plain people, was also marked by a famous decision of the British Supreme Court, which made it legal for a Church of England clergyman to expound religion and the Bible in terms of modern scientific scholarship. This decision was promulgated in the year 1861.† Hailed by the irreverent as "the dismissal of Hell with costs," it is one of the great landmarks in the growth of British polity, standing out in utter contrast with the Prussian Heresy Law, which gags the clergymen of Germany. And although German *scholars* have undoubtedly done more than the scholars of other lands in promoting theological research, the British *people* are in a far better position than the German people to grasp the democratic truth of the Bible, never yet fully appreciated or put into practice by the world.

A patriotic British clergyman, the Reverend Herbert Gray, of the White Memorial Church, Glasgow, has just published a volume the like of which could not be given to the world by any clergyman living under the Hohenzollern régime. The book is entitled "As Tommy Sees Us," and it is a stirring indictment of the methods and outlook of organized religion. One of the chief weaknesses of the Church, he says, is the fact that it has failed to bear witness against the great social injustice embedded in British national life. We cannot deny the existence of social injustice in Britain; but Britain has what Germany has not—a social system which includes the healing principle of readjustment within the terms of orderly, constitutional procedure. Another British clergyman writes to me as follows: "There is an awakening, especially among the younger clergy, in regard to the social application of Christianity, which is cheering, and will, I am sure, be the means of saving the Church and making it a more vital power for good in the community than it has ever been."

A notable sign of the new epoch is the "National Mission of Repentance and Hope," a war movement originating within the pale of the Established Church and making its appeal to the

nation at large—rich and poor, Episcopalian, Nonconformist, and Roman Catholic. The nature of this movement is indicated by the selection of a committee for the definite consideration of social problems from the religious point of view. This committee has collected a number of reports by various writers; and the material is embodied in a volume issued in New York and London. The publication is edited by two Church of England clergymen stationed at Liverpool, a great industrial and commercial center of seven hundred thousand population; and it has a foreword by the Bishop of Liverpool. The book is issued under the suggestive title, *Social Problems and Christian Ideals; Short Papers on Points of Importance in the Reconstruction of Society on Christian Lines*.\* It is not our purpose to review this publication, but rather to consider it as an item in the "National Mission of Repentance," and as a piece of evidence bearing on the whole process of British religious evolution. It is, in fact, a manifesto rather than a book.

In a striking section on "The Need for Strong Leaders," it is said that in this time of universal flux the Church wants men who are not afraid to intrude; who are not suffocated with prudence; who are not awed by wealth and position; who are not held back by complexities, technicalities and red tape; who are prepared to champion unpopular causes that upset vested interests and intrude on private precincts; men who love religion better when barefoot, she treads stony ways than when she mounts the carpeted steps of privilege and precedent in her satin shoes. The call of the Church, continues the writer, is to rouse the whole nation to see that the blessings which the more fortunate ones have so long enjoyed shall descend on those who, *by circumstances*, have been debarred from participation in the good gifts God meant for all mankind (pp. 5, 8). Just imagine a National Mission of Repentance promoted by German clergymen along such lines, and you begin to get the difference between the religious atmosphere of Germany and that of England.

Pursuing the subject of class distinctions, this remarkable work, issued under Church auspices, points out that the reason for the industrial unrest which preceded the war is very clear: The

† This was a "Crown in Council" case. The decision was written by Baron Westbury, Lord High Chancellor of England.

\* Longmans Green & Co., London and New York, 1917. 129 pp. Price \$1.00.

men who were so turbulent in the recent strikes were those whom the country had wronged—men who had been deprived of their rights by circumstances which they fancied they were powerless to change in any way but by violence. If a man is a wage earner, he stands on one side of a chasm. If he is an employer, he stands on the other side of the chasm. Labor in such a case has become a caste—a species of slavery supposed to be inevitable. The war has closed this chasm for a moment; but let peace conditions return, and the old problem will again press for solution (pp. 24, 25).

The manifesto declares that the Church has been dealing far too exclusively with spiritual matters. Henceforward equal attention must be paid to material questions (xiv). Instead of futile scolding of individuals, we should direct our righteous indignation upon the processes and conditions which have made individuals what we now find them. The irreligion of the past is a symptom of causes over which irreligious individuals have little or no control (p. 3). The conditions of labor in a vast number of cases are unfavorable to the growth of religion, since they transform a man into a machine. And a machine cannot receive religion. Only a free man can do that. Only a free man can have status (p. 32).

But we ask, What is to be done about it all? And one of the editors of the volume inquires, What do Christian men and women really expect and desire in connection with the movement for national repentance? Do they want a few more people to attend church? A few students in the schools? Such aims, he concedes, would be paltry. Jerusalem, he declares, cannot be built in England's green and pleasant land until men grasp the central idea of Christianity—that *God wishes none to perish* (xiii). The social conscience of the Church, says one of the writers, must not only be awakened, but informed. Preaching alone will not suffice. Opportunities must be organized for considering the problems patiently and scientifically by lectures, study circles, and free, frank conference between clergy and laity; and in this the advice and cooperation of Nonconformists and others should not be neglected (p. 3). The churches, then, should become community centers, where the great social problems can be discussed in a spirit of friendly counsel.

Through this crisis, the British people will soon enter a new chapter of national experience. The clergy, living under conditions freer than those of Germany, have begun to assimilate the principles of scientific scholarship as applied to the origins of religion; and presently the British people themselves, without undue shock or strain, will become conscious that every church spire is ultimately a symbol of democracy and a threat against privilege. Not only the people of Britain, but we of America, will become aware that the Interests have largely controlled the ideas and machinery of religion from ancient to modern times. And as soon as this truth flashes before the vision of the multitudes, the emotional energy of the people, which has been guided so largely through wrong channels in the past, will be turned into its normal course and will furnish power for the democratic reconstruction of the world.

## RELATED THINGS

### Science and the Revolution

The letter that follows was received by an American scientist recently from a distinguished Russian colleague. It portrays vividly and poignantly what the Revolution has meant to one class of Russians, and that not the least worthy. There is abundant use for this really great man in America, and steps are being taken to get him over. Names are necessarily omitted. The letter follows:

"First of all, I beg your pardon for applying to you in a personal affair, although knowing you only as a scientist.

"The Revolution that burst out in Russia in consequence of the war has assumed most dreadful forms, threatening to destroy altogether the feeble germ of our culture. The half-wild common people have fixed all their hatred on the educated classes, the whole of which they rank with the bourgeoisie, without even understanding the meaning of these terms. The people do not at all value science, literature and culture in general, which are, according to their opinion, superfluous luxuries, and only impede equality. Unable and not willing to elevate themselves, the people strive to equality by lowering the other classes to

their own level. One earnestly speaks of the impending abolition of the universities, academies and all higher schools in general and even about the shortening of the course of the secondary schools to four years. The 'government' proposes to confiscate all the capital, to annul all the rents, to deprive all the retired functionaries of their pensions, etc.

"Together with the other intellectuals, I run a serious danger of being reduced to a helpless position, after having been professor for more than thirty years. I not only lose my pension, the little sum of money put off for a rainy day is liable to become confiscated or become quite valueless; nobody will stand in need of my labor. However, although 60 years old, I still have a sensation of a considerable amount of intellectual energy and I could still continue working for science many years, provided there is demand for my work. Since in Russia, which is sinking to savagery, my work will scarcely find any application, I am compelled to look for an application of my labor abroad.

"I am sure my scientific work, especially in the field of entomology, is well known to you. Being a member of many scientific societies, I also have the honor of being a foreign member of the Association of Economic Entomologists. Do you not think it would be possible for me to obtain even a modest employment as an entomologist in one of the States of America, in order to have a living for the remainder of my days? I should be glad, for instance, to obtain a place of a forest entomologist, but I would most readily study the Aphids, especially the Chermes or Phylloxera, the American fauna of which seems to be very rich and excites my greatest interest. No doubt it is very difficult to begin a new life at the age of sixty, but, I repeat, I am still conscious of much strength and energy, and physically I am in good condition. As for my knowledge of the foreign languages, I can read and speak German and French; I also read English quite freely, but I do not speak it fluently. However, I hope to become sufficiently acquainted with the English speech after a few months of sojourn in America.

"Do not, my dear colleague, refuse an answer to this letter, and please write me if I may hope to find some application of my knowledge and my work in America, and upon what remuneration

I can reckon in case my offer should meet a favorable reception."

## Our Country, Right or Wrong!

The Chicago *Tribune* continues to expound Decatur's slogan, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." The *Tribune* would do well to compare the text with the circumstances in which it was spoken. A very excited militant militarist was discussing the merits of this question more than a year ago and put his head in the noose to this extent: "Why, Stephen Decatur was a United States Naval officer and he could not think or act otherwise!" The *Tribune*, however, endeavors to put the doctrine on sure foundations in political philosophy. Citizens must stand by through thick and thin, and through right and wrong, in order to keep the nation intact and its unity unbroken, especially in times of international crisis.

Have the Editors of the *Tribune* ever universalized this philosophy? Would it not oblige every German citizen to "carry on" behind the Kaiser and the Pan-German Junkers? Why not? So the *Tribune* itself must be inconsistent in allowing that President Wilson is right in his appeal to the German people to eliminate their masters and unite with the free peoples of the world to make democracy safe.

We want the world made right. We cannot compromise, even for our country's sake, if she be in the wrong at any time. Thank God we can believe she is now trying to do the right thing for the whole world. And it is imperative that all who see that right, with the vision of the President, should insist in every possible way that our national course point only in that one direction. To swerve from it to the extent of adopting a policy of universal military service (as the *Tribune* advocates with unabated intensity) at this time when the world is racked in settling to a finish the issue of militarism, is to put our country in the wrong and to betray its sincerity. We must not betray or be betrayed. Mr. Baker is right in saying that we must wait until after the war is over before determining a military policy for the future.

"Our country! May she always be right!"  
FRED A. MOORE.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## United for Democracy

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

I am greatly pleased to see that you recognize the tremendous change that is coming within the Socialist Party itself. I have sweat blood over what has seemed to me to be a very unfortunate position that we all have been put in by this St. Louis resolution, and I have just been defeated for Alderman in the Twenty-seventh Ward by one of the most vicious and terrific combinations of Republicans and Democrats, backed by every big daily newspaper in the city, all beating at us with the charge of disloyalty. They had no other issue and made no attempt to meet any of our propositions, but endeavored desperately to cover up their corporation records and plutocratic tendencies by the cry of loyalty and patriotism. And they got away with it. And what is more, they got away with the same scheme in practically every ward in the city.

I am and always have been against the St. Louis platform, as you doubtless know. But, with what has happened within the last few weeks before us, I feel that we have now come to the parting of the ways. Any one who cannot see now that it is our duty as citizens of the United States, and as defenders of the rights and liberties of the republics and democracies of the world, to take sides with the Allies upon the terms laid down by President Wilson is hopeless, and any socialist party or organization that refuses now to take a stand for the prosecution of the war until Prussian militarism is crushed, the Kaiser and the Junkers overthrown and peace and democracy established upon the basis of the terms laid down by President Wilson and the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference—that organization is doomed, and it ought to be.

With all my mind and might, from this time on, I am for the war until the terms of President Wilson and of the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference are established.

After what has happened in Russia; after the humiliating failure of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk; after the pitiable failure of the general strike in Germany, in which both the majority and the minority factions of the German Socialists united; and after what has just now happened in Helsingfors, Finland, where the German militarists have landed their armed forces and are strangling, murdering and crushing the Finnish socialist republic—after all of this, any socialist who cannot see that German militarism must be crushed is blind, deaf and dumb, it seems to me, and fails to understand either socialism or democracy or the facts and forces in modern history.

The Socialist Party has lost thousands of its members since the adoption of its St. Louis resolutions. It is losing more every day, but I am convinced that what it has lost in the past is nothing compared to what it will lose from this time on if it persists in maintaining its impossible and utterly indefensible and entirely unsocialistic position. Our task now, those of us who remain in the party, is to see that the facts in

the matter get to the membership of the party, and that at the earliest possible moment the party officially rescinds its St. Louis resolution and endorses in clear, positive and unqualified terms the program of the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference, which are the terms set forth by President Wilson, with the addition of a thoroughly democratic program for the reconstruction of the social order after the war.

This is not going to be an easy task, but we are already at work at it. Within a few weeks I feel confident that the whole socialist movement of America will be alive and alert in the effort to have the issue clearly drawn, the facts fully understood, and the right and the true socialist position declared.

CARL D. THOMPSON,  
Secretary National Public Ownership League,  
Chicago, Ill.

## Eight-Hour Beds

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The eight-hour law was so popular in Pittsburgh last year, that two Democratic Congressmen were elected in that Republican stronghold, with that as a slogan. But no one would expect it to be extended beyond the hours of labor and I was very much surprised to find it being applied to beds. I spoke last Sunday at one of the Settlement Houses in Pittsburgh on "Housing Conditions and War Workers" and suggested the taxation of land values was a remedy for the bad housing conditions in Pittsburgh.

During the course of my talk I mentioned a number of houses in the city where sleeping quarters were doing a double turn, being used in the day time by men who worked at night and when the day shift came from work would be occupied in turn by them. When I was through my talk one of the audience rose and said, "I agree with Mr. McNair, as to his remedy for our bad housing conditions, but he is not up to date with his investigations. There are many houses in this neighborhood where, instead of there being a twelve-hour arrangement you will find an eight-hour arrangement for the roomers. For instance one place in this neighborhood, there are twenty-four men rooming in two rooms, each man occupying his place for eight hours, then working eight hours, and then loafing on the street or in a saloon for the remaining eight hours."

Things are moving fast nowadays and it is hard to keep up to date. Coming down in the car this morning I mentioned this situation to one of our social workers and found that such conditions were common among the munition plant workers in this city.

It may be true that eight hours sleep is enough for a worker, but eight hours sleep means more than the right to occupy a bed for eight hours. A man ought to have a house or at least a room that would be his to occupy for twenty-four hours of the day and not be forced out on the street as soon as his eight hours were up.

This is probably an explanation for the large number of arrests for corner loafing recently. Yet these men are not to blame if they are forced from their room,

in many cases cellars, by some one else who has a right to the place for eight hours.

The movement to speed up the graded tax law so that houses will not be taxed at all is gaining headway rapidly and this movement is the only relief in sight for eight-hour beds.

W. N. McNAIR.

Pittsburgh.

## The Irish Question

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The hesitancy or flat refusal of many of the most widely circulated newspapers, to advocate self-determination for Ireland is too common not to oppose your announcement of sensationalism or heterodoxy in leaning toward the Ulster, or rather Unionist point of view. Newspaper utterances on this subject do not coincide with those of the public, and you probably unduly discredit American common sense in so far as it has concerned itself with European affairs, in supposing that the demand for Irish self-government has gained too easy an approval. Certainly no sensible Irish nationalist desires an uncritical acceptance of his demands, although he could wish that the openminded thinking on them which you hurriedly call for, had preceded this critical juncture in world affairs. Your editorial on the "Irish Question" is not without evidences of this hurry and haste. I can find little in the quality of your argument to justify so radical a change of view. One reads "inherited prejudices" substituted for "nationalist aspirations," "disaffected" instead of "patriotic" or "abandoning a formula" instead of "holding to a principle," without finding an explanation for believing as you incline to believe, that one viewpoint is common sense and the other froth and rhetoric.

Doubtless, Irishmen share in the defects you mention. As a transplanted Irishman I agree with Plunkett that "it is illogical to say one has been morally robbed and is yet morally whole." That indeed is the strongest of reasons for Irish national integrity. Your Unionist correspondent belittles as much as most nationalists exaggerate the value of nationality. He evidently wishes that Irishmen should lose all consciousness of nationality and think entirely in economic and imperial terms. He forgets that economics is but an instrument for subserving and not overruling the differing instincts, cultures and souls of peoples which is what is meant by nationality. Diversity of peoples is as natural and desirable in the world as diversity of plants and free air as well as good soil is necessary to both. It is as silly to quarrel at the biological dissimilarity between Irishmen and Englishmen as to attempt to train the ash to grow in the fashion of the oak. In his book, "Home Life in Ireland," Robert Lynd, himself an Ulsterman, testifies to what Ulster has lost by its denationalization mania.

Engrossed as it has been in the effort to rid itself of alien and bureaucratic rule, and lacking facilities for education, intellectual liberty may not be well developed in Ireland. Theoretically, religious intolerance should be prevalent in the Catholic South rather

than the Protestant Northeast. Yet we have much testimony to the contrary. G. W. Russell, best known of living Irishmen as well as the man who knows Ireland best, is a notable witness. The desire for ascendancy, not an inherited creed is the strongest factor making for intolerance. The relationship of Protestant Prussia and Catholic Belgium has a parallel here. Hence we no longer hear British Tories stressing points of correspondence between Protestantism and progress or insisting that slavery is a well merited penalty for Catholicism.

On the whole it will be difficult to exclude Ireland from self-government in that self-governing world which mankind now realizes to be imperative.

Brooklyn.

DANIEL MALONY.

## The Wail of the Land Grabber

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The wail of Mr. Wm. Floyd over the fate of the poor lot-owner on the adoption of the singletax is more amusing than pathetic to one who has a little knowledge of the incidence of taxation.

In the first place, if his land is properly improved his taxes would be less under the singletax than under the present system. If it isn't well improved, it ought to be, and here again he would be the gainer by making use of his land. If he is holding his land idle or poorly improved, of course his taxes would be higher than under the present system, but that is where the present system is wrong. It encourages land grabbing.

Who ever heard of compensating any one because a bad law is amended or repealed?

When did society ever guarantee to any land speculator that his little private graft on the public values would be permitted to continue indefinitely? He should be thankful that it has not been ended sooner. I own two hundred acres of absolutely unused land.

St. Paul, Minn.

C. J. BUELL.

## The Bone in the Bonus

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

There is a distinction between beneficence and mere bonus-giving. Paying wages over the market may be benevolent, or it may be "good business," but it is not philanthropy.

In practice any social advance must increase land values sufficiently to enable those who own land to appropriate the main gain benefits.

Mr. Boyd Fisher of the Executives' Club of Detroit, an association of thirty-five industrial corporations and a branch of the Detroit Board of Commerce, on the authority of the head of the Ford Sociological Department, states that within a week of the announcement of the Ford profit-sharing plan the value of real estate in Detroit jumped \$50,000,000, or the value of the expected distribution for five years.

And as a result of his own investigation he said that the Detroit workingman is paying one-third of his wages for rent and that high rents have indirectly

increased the cost to the workingman, of food and clothing.

New York.

BOLTON HALL.

## BOOKS

### Germany Self-Convicted

German Imperialism and International Law. By Jacques Marquis de Dampierre. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price \$3.50.

This is an attempt to set forth the world's and the German conception of international law. Time was when such an impeachment of a nation by a member of another country would be looked upon as biased, but in this instance Germany's known practice so implicitly supports all that the author charges that were he to be guilty of exaggeration in particular instances, one has the feeling that he is still well within the bounds of truth.

The author makes clear the fact that the inhuman practices of Germany are not the acts of madness brought on by desperation, but are the deliberate carrying out of plans based upon previous thought. And, what is still worse, he shows that this thought is not confined to a few men like Bernhardt, but has been the teaching of the nation for half a century. It is scarcely likely that the mass of the German people realized the inevitable conclusion of such doctrines as they were taught in times of peace, nor did the people of other nations realize it; but it is now quite plain that those who molded and directed public opinion understood and worked consistently toward that end. This was the easier of accomplishment because of the natural conditions.

Modern civilization had found one of its chief manifestations in the care of the strong for the weak. It had been one of the cardinal principles of religion; and so persistently had it been taught by the church that it had very perceptibly modified the rigors of war. The rights of non-combatants, respect for private property, the care of prisoners, protection to women and children, had all become so well fixed in the thought of the world that soldiers could not depart from the practice without bringing down upon their heads the moral condemnation of the world. The question will arise in the reader's mind: Was not Germany a part of the world, and was she not subject to the same teaching? The author attempts to answer this by saying that "the Teutons, as a result of their merciless secular conflicts with pagan and half-barbarous races, have handed down to the Prussian army, from the time of its origin, an inheritance of traditions very widely different from those of the knights of Western Europe."

It was upon this foundation, and out of this material, that German scientists and philosophers built the superstate. The people at large were not taught that merchant ships might be sunk without warning, that open cities might be shelled, that women and children had no more rights in war than soldiers in uniform, that small nations had no rights that great nations were bound to respect; but all this was implied in what they were taught. German philosophers seized upon the theory of the survival of the fittest, and by giving it a ma-

terialistic interpretation drew the deduction that those nations only should survive that could withstand the shock of physical battle. They ignored the moral law and restored the rule of tooth and claw. Coddling the weak, they said, had weakened races; indulging small nationalities had littered the world with feeble countries who accomplished little themselves, yet stood in the way of those who would. The German race was marked by nature to dominate, and it was the duty of the German nation to demonstrate it by physical might. The argument worked both ways; for if there were any whose compassion rebelled at such a doctrine they were silenced by the statement that this was the doctrine of other nations, and if Germany did not prepare herself for the shock she would be overborne by her jealous neighbors.

A whole nation taught such a doctrine from childhood up could arrive at only one end. When called to arms to overwhelm little Serbia the excuse was to resist Russia and France. When neutral Belgium was invaded it was because France had and England was about to enter the country. Women and children on merchant ships were destroyed because England had with her blockade shut off the food for German women and children. And so it was with each departure from the usages of nations, and from her own sacred covenants. It is most interesting to note the way in which the author has connected the teaching and the practice. What might have been looked upon earlier in the war as gross exaggeration and unwarranted deductions has been entirely fulfilled by later events.

One would like to give copious extracts to illustrate the author's style, but space will limit this review to one. Speaking of the disposition of people to attribute Germany's course to the Kaiser, or to the ambition of some military party, and of the slowness with which they attached blame to the nation as a whole, the author says:

It needed the notorious manifestoes, first of the ninety-three intellectuals and then of the German universities, to awaken some doubt of the existence of this imagined moral disagreement between the various social elements of modern Germany. It might, of course, still be opined that these scholars and artists, being little acquainted with questions of politics and International Law, and without any proof of the actual occurrence of the events in question, would be the first to deplore the outrages against the weak and the useless devastations committed by their countrymen as soon as they were in possession of the tragic details. To the astonishment of the world, far from seeking to minimize the importance of the charges brought against Germany, a series of compositions made their appearance, which had been produced for the occasion by various notabilities in the world of German scholarship and art, for the purpose of enlightening the minds of neutrals concerning the principles upon which Germany claimed to justify completely both her aggressive policy and the new and hitherto unheard of methods employed by her troops in invaded areas. After this, the attention of the public was at length drawn to the intellectual ele-

ments which had helped to shape the curious mentality of modern Germany, elements which until now had only been revealed in all their terrible originality by a few discerning critics.

## Chesterton's England

A Short History of England. By G. K. Chesterton. Published by The John Lane Company, New York. Price \$1.50.

The reader of conventional histories may experience something of the same feeling of surprise on opening this book as did the English farmer who purchased Ruskin's "On the Construction of Sheepfolds" and found himself in possession of a treatise on ecclesiastical architecture instead of a guide-book on pastoral farming. It is to be hoped that in both cases the purchaser has had a sufficient endowment of the artistic temperament to realize that what he got was better than what he expected to get. In the case of G. K. Chesterton, if one may for the moment adopt his own form of language, it is always prudent to expect the unexpected. A history of England that is innocent of dates which the reader can memorize, and by which he may assure himself he has learned something definite, and which contains fewer references to kings and their doings than may be found in one of the Waverley novels, demands to be judged by a standard of its own. Some of Mr. Chesterton's admirers conceive of him as the spiritual successor of Carlyle. Whether or not this must be regarded as an over-valuation of his genius, it is certain that the "History of the French Revolution" is the only book with which "A Short History of England" can be compared. In both cases some acquaintance with the succession of events in the annals of Europe is pre-supposed. In both, there is required for the full appreciation of the brilliant literary craftsmanship, a particular quality of mind—a sense for large impressionistic effects with a corresponding disregard for details—and a feeling for atmosphere, perspective, proportion and relation. To the readers possessed of these qualities the book will be fine reading, to the others it will be more or less unintelligible.

To give an account of the contents of this book would task the ingenuity of a more capable reviewer than the present one. Paradox and epigram chase each other through its pages like the alternating themes in a Bach fugue. Coruscations of subtle but brilliant humor flash across the field of vision and disappear, to be followed by another and still another, giving vivid glimpses of the kaleidoscopic changes in the passing show that has been staged in the theatre of history. Indeed, the reader who expects for the time being to find some mental repose in adjustment to a well-defined line of thought or color of temperament will feel like the chameleon who has inadvertently alighted upon a web of Scottish tartan of the Clan Macpherson. To real Chestertonians, however, such drawbacks are negligible and will yield readily to the charm which resides in the very eccentricities of G. K. C.

But we live in strenuous times. Life seems all too short for grappling effectively with the problems that must be solved if we are to go on living. With ample leisure of mind we could enjoy the spectacle of Mr.

Chesterton's flights in the upper air of sportive humor where human hearts beat faster and men breathe with greater exhilaration. But with the world as it is now, we want our prophets to prophesy for us, our teachers to teach us, our sages to trace for us the finger of destiny in the events of the moment; we want all men and women, to whatever intellectual stratum they belong, to take life seriously. With the slight qualification implied in the last two sentences, all of G. K. C.'s admirers, among whom the reviewer gladly ranks himself, will welcome this book.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

## An Immigrant's Biography

An American in the Making: The Life Story of an Immigrant. By M. E. Ravage. Published by Harper and Brothers, New York, 1917. Price \$1.50.

Occasionally the somewhat blasé reader and reviewer comes across some volume, all unannounced and unlooked for, which he opens with his usual languor, reads ten pages, grins with joy and dives into it for a solid evening's reading. Joyfully he strides through pages and chapters, with ready pencil marking things he wishes to read again. He retails snatches of it to his long-suffering wife, who for once does not suffer. And he not merely recommends it in his review, but goes about telling his own personal associates to buy and read that book. Such a delightful and unusual experience met this reviewer when he had sent him the volume listed above.

Just who M. E. Ravage is or what he does in the world I do not know. I am miles away from the nearest *Who's Who*. I do not, however, care much about that. I know Mordecai Ravage—Americanized into Max Ravage—from this book. I know him, and I like him. I have seen him as a young Roumanian Jew, with no future. I have observed him newly landed in New York, disgusted with the East Side and the deterioration in manhood and womanhood of his fellow Roumanians who had preceded him here. I have smiled at him, a peddler of candies and toys on Fourteenth Street. I have walked the streets with him during the whole month of January while he was getting "purified." I have seen him tending bar for three dollars a month and found. I have been along while he learned to sew sleeves in shirts, and I have understood that the sweat-shop can be a more human institution than the hygienic factory which has succeeded it. I have watched him abandon his ancient faith and feel the splendid pull of that new religious fervor which is of radicalism. The companionship of Esther, the girl of the slums—would that we heard more of her—I understand the clean, pure, fiery joy of having. I have felt his struggles for a primary and high school education, gotten without ever going to a public school. And I have traveled half way across the continent to Columbia, Missouri, and gone with him through the agonies of a freshman year at the University of Missouri. I know you, Mordecai or Max, quite well. I hope by this review I am introducing you to many another man and woman who will like you as well as I do.

This book is as fascinating as any novel I have read in five years. It has a vitality that most biography lacks. Its sociological sidelights upon the life of our newer population even Miss Antin never was able so vividly to give. You understand the Roumanian Jew back home. You share the joy of his festivals and the dignity of his family life. You smile and yet you more than smile at the sorrows and the ridiculous humors of readjustment. You understand why the Ghetto reeks with wild-eyed radicalisms, half-baked sociologies, and white-hot passion for justice.

There is but one fly in the ointment of my huge pleasure in reading this book. That is the ending of it. Not that the ending is unhappy. It is flat. Ravage discovers at the University that mid-western Americanism has weaned him away forever from the Ghetto. That is not hard to understand, of course—for, as he says, the Ghetto of America is not the beautiful Judaism of the old country, but a ghastly compromise. But one does wonder at a man of Ravage's intelligence falling so completely in love with mid-western blustery optimism and intellectual compromise as revealed and personified in his room-mate, Harvey. One wonders a bit at Missouri University. Was it utterly free from that spirit which is moving the trans-Mississippi mid-west so powerfully, the spirit back of the Non-Partisan League? Had the old grange enthusiasm quite died out before Ravage arrived? The virtues of the mid-west Ravage saw plainly enough. Its vices he talks about, too. But in the final outcome, apparently he was so thoroughly satisfied that he forgot all the vices. Why, even Senator Sherman would applaud the last chapter!

However, one feels sure that this was not the end of Mr. Ravage's reactions on America. Will he please write us another book, soon, and tell us how, after he had let America do so much for him, he proceeded to try to help America? BERNARD IDDINGS BELL.

## The Awakening Churches

**Manual of Inter-Church Work.** Published by the Federal Council of Churches in America, 105 East 22d Street, New York City. Price \$1.35.

**Our Bible: Its Origin, Character and Value.** By Herbert L. Willett. Published by the Christian Century Press, Chicago. Price \$1.35.

Like other volumes now becoming frequent in the religious world, the first of these publications is to be described as a manifesto rather than a book. It is the product of clerical and lay committees from a number of denominations; and the material is given its final form by an editor. In many ways it resembles the manifesto recently issued in England under Episcopal church auspices, and referred to in *THE PUBLIC* in an article entitled "Democracy and Religion in Britain." The British and American volumes are highly significant of the times.

The manual is published in connection with the Church Federation Congress held last year at Pittsburgh. It is divided into sections considering such subjects as the relation of the churches to the problems of international justice, social service, publicity, education, missions, etc.; and while it is intended mainly

for the use of church workers, it has a decided interest for general students who are following the main currents of the present age.

Under the head of "Social Service," it is declared that every church will ultimately be highly socialized; will participate in community movements; and will become more and more of a community center. This is in refreshing contrast with the conventional appeal to the narrow self-interest of the individual sinner, who is supposed to be yearning so intensely for a fire insurance policy to keep out of hell and a safe-conduct to heaven that he overlooks and minimizes the social problems of the world around us. The forum movement is emphasized as one of the most outstanding illustrations of the changing religious order; and the reader is assured that churches which have introduced this form of service discover that it adds greatly to the power of the church's ministry. When one service each Sunday functions on the social side of life, and the other on the personal side, this course gives balance and a sense of contact with human realities. For information on this theme, the book wisely refers to our good friend George Coleman, of Ford Hall fame, who has been honored recently by election to the presidency of the Baptist Convention.

One of the most unique items in the book is a quotation from the "Hobo News" relating to outdoor meetings held in St. Louis, in which the same crowds were addressed by churchmen and radicals:

"Now that the open meetings on the Court House steps are closing down on account of the chill in the weather, we think it advisable to look back and find out if we can what good has been accomplished.

"The meetings have been run in the main without friction, in spite of the sharply divergent views of many of the speakers. The churches have had the first hour with their choirs and ministers, and the radicals the remainder of the time. On the whole, it has worked very well; and we are proud of the fact that the speakers and friends of the International Brotherhood Welfare Association (the Hobo society) have taken a not inconspicuous part.

"It does not look as if the church has made many converts from their evangelical point of view; yet this has been gained—there is a spirit of fellowship in these meetings, churchmen, socialists, anarchists, I. W. W. and A. F. of L. men giving credit where credit was due, and when criticism seemed called for, giving it in all kindness and without malice or vituperative language.

"This is a great gain, for if this method could be used with all classes and conditions of the people throughout the country, a great many misunderstandings would be cleared up, and we should be a great deal nearer to the promised land."

The book deserves more extended notice; but we have cited enough to show its essential spirit; and we turn to another publication which marks the democratic awakening of the churches along a different line of approach.

The book by Professor Willett will do good service in the movement which is now rapidly discrediting the aristocratic theology of the past. The author is a pro-

fessor in the University of Chicago and a prominent clergyman in the Disciples denomination, one of the more conservative divisions of Protestantism. A close associate of President Harper in the work of establishing Bible study in the University, he is doing a great work toward enlightening and liberalizing his own and other denominations. The book is of a popular nature, and averages the ideas of progressive church leaders in reference to the correct manner of unfolding the mysteries of Higher Criticism for the benefit of the laity.

Criticism, says Professor Willett, *appears* to be an audacious digging around the roots of the tree of life. It has brought dismay to multitudes of souls firm in their inherited and traditional views of the Bible, and convinced that any modification of such views is heretical and inexcusable. But it becomes increasingly evident that in the Bible the student is dealing with an ancient literature for which the modern intellect demands a rational explanation. Inquiry into the structure and peculiarities of this literature is inevitable. Only timidity and submission to traditional opinions can withhold us from such a task. The merest reading of some Biblical books shows that they are compiled from various sources by editorial activity, which has in turn become responsible for additions to the original material. The author points out that the work of the Higher Criticism is not yet completed; although the main lines of its affirmations have been established. The near future will see a vast increase of popular interest in this department of historical investigation, which will go along with the advance of democracy and the retrocession of ancient dogmatisms.

LOUIS WALLIS.

## The German Idea

*The Fallacy of the German State Philosophy.* By George W. Crile. Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918. 50 cents.

This is a short argument designed to expose the flaw in the German reasoning that if the fittest are to survive, there will be nobody left except the Germans and those whose continued existence is compatible with German supremacy. It is true that force, physical and intellectual, may bring about the elimination of antagonists, but if the antagonists, or potential antagonists, realize their danger in time, and if they hold views, whether illusory or not, that they have a right to live, a protective reaction may be awakened. Then the strong man or the strong nation may find that fitness to survive is not complete unless it includes truthfulness and honesty. And so Dr. Crile finds that "the nations are opposed to Germany for the same reason that the individuals are opposed to a robber or a murderer."

He thinks that, "whether the German state wins or loses this war, it stands to lose ultimately." To most of us, however, this hardly seems a sufficiently consoling thought. We hope to see the truth of Dr. Crile's conclusions demonstrated in our own times, and we trust that the Kaiser, the Crown Prince, Von Hindenburg, Ludendorff, et al., will be alive and in good health when it happens.

WM. E. MCKENNA.

## Charles Frederic Adams

Who takes the last highway must tread alone—  
The way is dark for him, and reft of sight  
He goes as goes a pilgrim into night,  
His errand and his destiny unknown.

And he, this pilgrim, with his staff and scrip,  
Whom we can reach with no assisting arm,  
Sets on his journey with unquivering lip  
And the stout heart that feared no mortal harm.

So we who knew him, and to whom were known  
His gentleness and courage to endure,  
Know, through the shadowed way he treads alone,  
His step still moves unwavering, and as sure.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

## Books Received

### Biography and History

*The Mind of Arthur James Balfour: Selections from His Non-political Writing, Speeches and Addresses—1879-1917.* Selected and arranged by Wilfrid M. Short. Published by George H. Doran Co., New York, 1918. Price \$2.50 net.

*Reconstruction in Louisiana: After 1868.* By Ella Lonn. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918. Price \$3.00 net.

*Rising Japan: Is She a Menace or a Comrade to be Welcomed in the Fraternity of Nations?* By Jabez T. Sunderland. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918. Price \$1.25.

*Japan: The Rise of a Modern Power.* By Robert P. Porter. Published by the Oxford University Press, New York, 1918. Price 5s. net.

*The Russian Revolution.* By Alexander Petrunkevitch, Samuel N. Harper, Frank A. Golder. *The Jugo-Slav Movement.* By Robert J. Kerner. Published by Harvard University Press, New York, 1918. Price \$1.00.

*The Sum of Feminine Achievement.* By Dr. W. A. Newman Dorland. Published by the Stratford Company, Boston, 1917. Price \$1.50 net.

### Domestic Science

*The Backyard Garden.* By Edward I. Farrington. Published by Laird & Lee, Inc., Chicago, 1918. Price \$1.00.

*Home Vegetable Gardening.* By Adolph Kruhman. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.25 net.

*Economy Cook Book.* By Maria McIlvaine Gillmore. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.00.

### Drama

*The Militant God.* By Clifford Greve. Published by Burton Publishing Co., Kansas City, Mo., 1918. Price \$1.00 net.

*Social Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero.* Edited by Clayton Hamilton. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1917. Price \$2.00 net.

### Education

*The Prussian Elementary Schools.* By Thomas Alexander. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York, 1918. Price \$2.50.

### International Topics

*Approaches to the Great Settlement.* By Emily Greene Balch. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price \$1.50 net.

*Germanism and the American Crusade.* By George D. Herron. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York, 1918.

*The President's Control of Foreign Relations.* By Edward C. Corwin. Published by Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. Price \$1.50.

### Poetry

*The Old Huntsman.* By Siegfried Sassoon. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1917. Price \$2.00 net.

*Songs and Sea Voices.* By James Stewart Doubleday. Published by Egmont Hegel Arens, New York. Price \$1.25.

### Politic and Economic

*Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule.* By Charles Downer Hazen. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1917. Price \$1.25 net.

*Are We Capable of Self-Government: National Problems and Policies Affecting Business—1900-16.* By Frank W. Noxon. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1917. Price \$1.50 net.

**Back to the Republic: The Standard Form of Government.** By Harry F. Atwood. Published by Laird & Lee, Inc., Chicago, 1918. Price \$1.00 net.

**Postal Savings.** By Edwin Walter Kemmerer. Published by Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. Price \$1.25 net.

**The Town Labourer, 1760-1832: The New Civilization.** By J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1917. Price \$3.50 net.

**Use Your Government.** By Alissa Franc. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1918. Price \$2.00 net.

**War Time Control of Industry.** By Howard L. Gray. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.75.

### Science and Philosophy

**Climate: Considered Especially in Relation to Man.** By Robert De Courcy Ward. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918. Price \$2.00.

**Man's Supreme Inheritance.** By F. Matthias Alexander. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1918. Price \$2.00 net.

### The War

**Blocking New Wars.** By Herbert S. Houston. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.00 net.

**Front Lines.** By Boyd Cable. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Price \$1.50 net.

**Lloyd George and the War.** By an Independent Liberal. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. Price 80c.

**Men in War.** By Andreas Latzko. Published by Boni & Liveright, New York, 1918. Price \$1.50.

**The Way out of War: A Biological Study.** By Robert T. Morris. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1918. Price \$1.00.

**The Winning of the War: A Sequel to Pan-Germanism.** By Roland G. Usher. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1918. Price \$2.00 net.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending April 30

### Congressional Doings

Efforts have been made to bring before the Senate the question of declaring war on Turkey and Bulgaria. The President for diplomatic and other reasons opposes this action at the present time, so the majority of the Senate declines to act. The bill providing for the registration for military service of youths who have attained to the age of twenty-one years since June 5, has passed both houses, and has been sent to conference. It is estimated that the number to be registered will be between 500,000 and 700,000. The Overman bill passed the Senate on the 29th by a vote of 63 to 13. The bill, which must now go to the House, authorizes the President to "make such redistribution of functions among executive agencies as he may deem necessary" and to "utilize, co-ordinate and consolidate any executive or administrative commissions, bureaus, agencies, offices or officers now existing by law, to transfer any duties or powers from one existing department, or to transfer the personnel thereof." But these powers, however, "shall be exercised only in matters relating to the conduct of the present war." All amendments tending to limit the powers of the President were voted down. Among the measures still pending are the proposed appropriation of \$50,000,000 for housing workmen, the mineral control bill, and Secretary Baker's plan for Army expansion. [See current volume, page 546.]

### Organizing National Credit

President Wilson nominated on the 29th the four directors of the \$500,000,000 Government War Finance Corporation, who, with Secretary McAdoo will conduct the work of aiding in financing essential war enterprises. The names submitted for the approval of

the Senate are W. P. G. Harding, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board; Allen B. Forbes and Eugene Meyer, jr., New York bankers, and Angus W. McLean, banker and lawyer, Wilmington, North Carolina. The corporation has authority to issue \$3,000,000,000 bonds in addition to its half billion of capital. This, it is believed, will enable it to finance all the legitimate enterprises that may be necessary during the war.

### American Labor Abroad

The American labor delegation that is visiting England was entertained at luncheon on the 28th in the banquet hall of Whitehall Palace. In addition to the eighteen members of the delegation there were present eighty newspaper men, including editors of the London papers and foreign correspondents. James Wilson, head of the delegation, in replying to the address of welcome, said:

The American labor movement, in whose behalf my colleagues and myself have been authorized to speak, declare most emphatically that they will not agree to a peace conference with the enemies of civilization, irrespective of what cloak they wear, until Prussian militarism has withdrawn within its own boundaries, and then not until the Germans have, through proper representatives, proved to our satisfaction that they recognize the right of peoples and civilized nations to determine for themselves what shall be their standard.

### Speeding Up Preparations

John D. Ryan, "copper king," and successful manager of large business enterprises, has been made Director of Aircraft Production by President Wilson. The Senate has amended the Overman bill authorizing the creation of a separate division of aircraft production that will make Mr. Ryan directly responsible to the President. Charles M. Schwab, the new Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, expresses himself as satisfied with the progress of the work. Four steel and four wooden vessels, aggregating 41,105 tons, were launched during the week. About 50,000 tons of steel shipping were completed and delivered. He is highly pleased with developments at Hog Island, and thinks expectations will be fully realized. Orders for 30,000 box and coal cars, to cost in the aggregate between \$80,000,000 and \$90,000,000 have been placed with the American Car and Foundry Company by Director-General McAdoo. Orders for 70,000 additional cars are pending with other companies.

### Espionage Trials

The trial of the editors of *The Masses*, Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, Art Young and Merrill Rogers, charged with violating the Espionage Act, resulted in a disagreement of the jury, after being out forty-eight hours. It is announced that a new trial will be had in June, when John Reed, who also was indicted, but who was at the time of the first trial, in Russia, will appear with the others. The trial of the 113 members of the I. W. W., in Chicago, has been delayed on account of the difficulty of securing a jury. Eleven men

have been chosen, and the twelfth man may be secured at any time. Twenty-nine persons, Hindus, former German consular officers, business men and others, were found guilty in San Francisco by a jury in the Federal Court of conspiracy to violate the neutrality of the United States through plots to foment revolution against British rule in India.

#### German-Born Oppose Kaiser

Eighteen German-born professors in American college and university faculties, in order to make clear their position in regard to the present war, have issued a statement setting forth the causes of the war, and calling upon German-American citizens to support the American cause. The statement concludes as follows:

We view with abhorrence and condemn without reservation the part which the German imperial government had in provoking or permitting the present world conflict; we disavow and disown the doctrine, subversive of international security and future peace, that international covenants may be set aside whenever it is to the interest of any nation to do so; and we condemn unqualifiedly, as unworthy of the German nation, the various acts of violence in disregard of such covenants; finally, we express our firm adherence to the political principles and ends for which the United States has entered the war, the vindication of international right, the self-determination of nations, the discrediting of militaristic and imperialist, and the substitution therefor of liberal and democratic ideals and principles of government, and we pledge our unalterable loyalty, our material support and our influence until these ends shall have been attained.

#### Reform of House of Lords

The report of Lord Bryce's committee on reforming the House of Lords recommends that the House consist of two sections, one of 246 members selected by panels of members of the House of Commons distributed in geographical groups, and the other to consist of persons chosen by a joint standing committee of both Houses of Parliament. The term of the members is to be for twelve years, one-third retiring every four years, and their places being filled by election. The salaries are to be the same as those of members of the House of Commons. The second chamber will not have the power to amend or reject a financial bill passed by the House of Commons. The membership of the second section of the second chamber is fixed at 81, all being chosen in the first instance from the Peerage, but subsequently the number of Peers in this section shall be gradually reduced to thirty, and the remaining fifty-one seats thrown open to non-Peers. Clergymen of the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Scotland, and the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland are eligible, but the number of seats will be determined after the settlement of the Irish representation in the House of Commons. The committee agreed that the second chamber would not have equal powers with the House of Commons. It would have nothing to do with the making and unmaking of ministries. One of the chief

purposes of the new plan is to prevent one set of opinions from having overwhelming predominance.

#### European War

The Germans, reinforced by great numbers of fresh troops, continued their drive at points between Amiens and Ypres. Gains were made east of Amiens, at Hangard, and south of Ypres, where Mount Kemmel was taken, and the line pressed back to within two miles of Ypres, which is substantially where it was in 1914. But the heavy assaults on the 29th, on a fifteen-mile front, failed to make any gains. This is announced as the hardest fighting since the beginning of the great battle. Ypres is in ruins, and critics predict its abandonment by the British for a line just west of the city. Lesser battles, both in the region of the Somme and east of Verdun, are of almost daily occurrence, but no material changes in the lines have resulted. The Germans are slowly advancing in the Crimea and in Finland. [See current volume, page 548.]

\* \*

The British naval forces, co-operating with French destroyers, raided the harbors of Ostend and Zeebrugge for the purpose of destroying them as bases for submarines. Five obsolete cruisers, filled with concrete, were run aground, blown up and abandoned by their crews. Men were landed on the Mole at Zeebrugge that protects the harbor, where they fought for an hour. Great damage is reported, but it is not known definitely whether the harbor mouth is sealed. The German commander has been removed for permitting himself to be surprised.

\* \*

One or two of the long-range guns that have been shelling Paris have been destroyed by French guns, but others are reported to have been brought into action, so that the random shelling of the city continues, with the slaughter of non-combatants.

\* \*

The British Admiralty announces that hereafter it will report submarine losses once a month instead of every week. The American losses of men in Europe for the week are: Killed in action, 47; died of disease and wounds, 73; wounded, 345; missing, 4; total casualties for the week, 469.

\* \*

The Republic of Guatemala has declared itself through the National Assembly to be at war with Germany and in full accord with the United States. Uruguay, which broke off diplomatic relations with Germany last fall, is dissatisfied with the German reply to its inquiry as to whether Germany's action in capturing a Uruguayan mission to France is to be taken as an act of war.

#### Japan

The numerous political changes in Japan are taken to indicate an unsettled Government. Baron Goto has succeeded Viscount Motono as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Viscount Ishii, who headed the

special Japanese Mission to this country last year, has succeeded Ambassador Sato as Ambassador to Washington. It is announced from Tokio that \$10,000,000 has been lent to China to be used in extending her telegraph system. Further action in Siberia awaits local developments or an agreement among the Entente Powers. The retiring Foreign Minister Motono said: "The Imperial Government absolutely will not adopt such an aggressive and predatory policy as the one Germany has actually assumed in European Russia. I do not hesitate publicly to announce in all sincerity that it is the desire of the Imperial State to maintain at all times harmonious and intimate relations with the people of Russia in general and to deal with them with the deepest and utmost sympathy." Baron Goto, the new Foreign Minister, expresses similar sentiments, and declares that Japan's friendship for America and Great Britain shall remain unbroken.

### Russia

The question of the disposal of war prisoners appears to have assumed first importance. It is reported that there are 1,000,000 German prisoners in Russia, and a great many more Russian prisoners in Germany. The exchange of these men was announced as part of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, but there appears to have been much misunderstanding at least on the part of the Russians. A congress of war prisoners of all nationalities has been held in Moscow for the purpose of making "preparation for a social revolution in western Europe and the establishment of a Soviet republic." The German Government is reported to have protested against Russia's treatment of these prisoners, both as to permitting the congress, and as to allowing the prisoners to bear arms. Under date of the 29th the following announcement was made at Washington:

The Department of State has learned that there will shortly leave for Russia a German commission, consisting of 115 members, which will take up the question of the exchange of Russian and German prisoners. It is reported that it is the purpose of the commission merely to present to the Russian authorities an ultimatum from Germany requiring, first, the immediate release of all German prisoners who are in good health; second, that those who are ill will remain in Russia under the care of neutral physicians, and third, that the Germans on their side will release only those Russian prisoners in Germany who are invalids or who are incapacitated. In the event of a refusal on the part of Russia, Germany will order that Petrograd be taken.

## NOTES

—The school age in Alberta, Canada, has been raised from fourteen to fifteen years, in order to make it conform to the factory act which does not permit a boy or girl to be employed under fifteen.

—The land under wheat in England, February 1, is officially placed at 2,504,000 acres, as compared with 1,725,000 in 1917. This is an increase of 45 per cent over the year 1917, and 56 per cent over the average of ten years before the war.

—The New York Board of Estimate has voted \$50,000 to enable the Commissioner of Public Markets to buy and sell food products with a view to relieving consumers from what is charged to be exorbitant profits of middlemen and trusts.

—The planting of community forests by villages and towns in New York is urged by the State Conservation Department. Cheap and unprofitable land, it is claimed, might be set out to trees. For this purpose the Department will furnish the trees for 50 cents a thousand.

—While the United States Senate hesitates to pass the Federal Suffrage amendment England has enfranchised her women, and Premier Orlando, of Italy, says the time is ripe for extending the suffrage to women, and that he hopes the present Italian Parliament will grant it.

—Speaker Clark of the House of Representatives who was offered the Senatorship of Missouri by Governor Gardner to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Stone declined on the ground that he could be of more use to the country at this time in his present position.

—Indictments have been returned by an Illinois grand jury against sixteen men charged with participation in lynching Robert Paul Prager, at Collinsville, because of alleged pro-Germanism. Twelve of the indictments are against civilians charged with murder, and four are against policemen, charging malfeasance in office.

—Red Cross workers abroad, not actually enlisted in the army or navy, of whom there will be several thousand by the end of the year, will be protected by insurance under a plan arranged by the War Council of the American Red Cross. The plan provides that all foreign workers are to be given free of cost \$1,000 life insurance.

—Fuel Oil Administrator Mark Requa served notice on claimants of oil rights in Naval Reserve No. 2, in California, that unless they could agree with the Government before two weeks on a bill to permit production in the reserve to begin immediately he would recommend to the President to commandeer the land and settle the litigation later.

—Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, stated while attending in New York a conference with the British Mission to the United States that Canada would continue the war "to the last breath and the last dollar." He said that the Dominion had already sent 370,000 men overseas, and that the Canadian casualties had reached a total of 150,000.

—Fifteen hundred Armenian survivors of the thousands exiled by the Turks two and a half years ago to the wilderness, east of the River Jordan, are making their way to Jericho, now held by the British. The original number is said to have been over ten thousand, but they have died of starvation and hardship at the rate of twenty to thirty a day.

—A conference of city and county school superintendents in session at Jefferson City, Missouri, advocated the formation of a union among teachers, and de-

clared the teachers must have more pay or the service would be crippled. Fifty per cent of the teachers are unable to live on their salaries, and are compelled to engage in farming or other outside work. Most of them are reported to be making an average of not over \$60 a month.

—Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor and chairman of the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, spoke on the war before a joint session of the Senate and House of Commons at Ottawa on the 26th. His declaration: "We cannot fail; we must not fail; we shall not fail; but it is better to fail fighting than willingly to submit to the yoke," awakened great enthusiasm from the large audience.

—Vacant lots in Athens, Ohio, are to be turned into war gardens regardless of the wishes of their owners. The City Council, impatient at the exorbitant rentals asked, passed a resolution seizing the land not under cultivation by April 15, and allowing a rental of one dollar a year. Federal Food Commissioner for Indiana, H. E. Barnard, has authorized his agents to "take possession of and cultivate all lands suitable for gardening purposes which are owned by persons unknown or by non-residents whose permission cannot be secured, and all vacant lands suitable for gardening purposes which are owned by residents, and which will not be used by them for the purpose of war gardens."

—Increases in food prices from January 15, 1917, to January 15, 1918, according to the March issue of the Monthly Review of the Federal Bureau of Labor were: Corn meal, 77 per cent; bacon, 64 per cent; lard, 53 per cent; pork chops, 44 per cent; ham, 42 per cent; milk, 35 per cent; hens, 29 per cent; butter, 25 per cent; eggs, 23 per cent; bread, 19 per cent; sugar, 18 per cent, and flour, 17 per cent. From January, 1913, to January, 1918, corn meal increased 135 per cent; lard, 114 per cent; potatoes, 107 per cent; flour, 100 per cent; bacon, 91 per cent; pork chops, 83 per cent; eggs, 81 per cent; bread, 66 per cent; sugar, 63 per cent; hens, 62 per cent, and milk, 51 per cent. Food as a whole advanced 63 per cent.

## The Public

A Journal of Democracy

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