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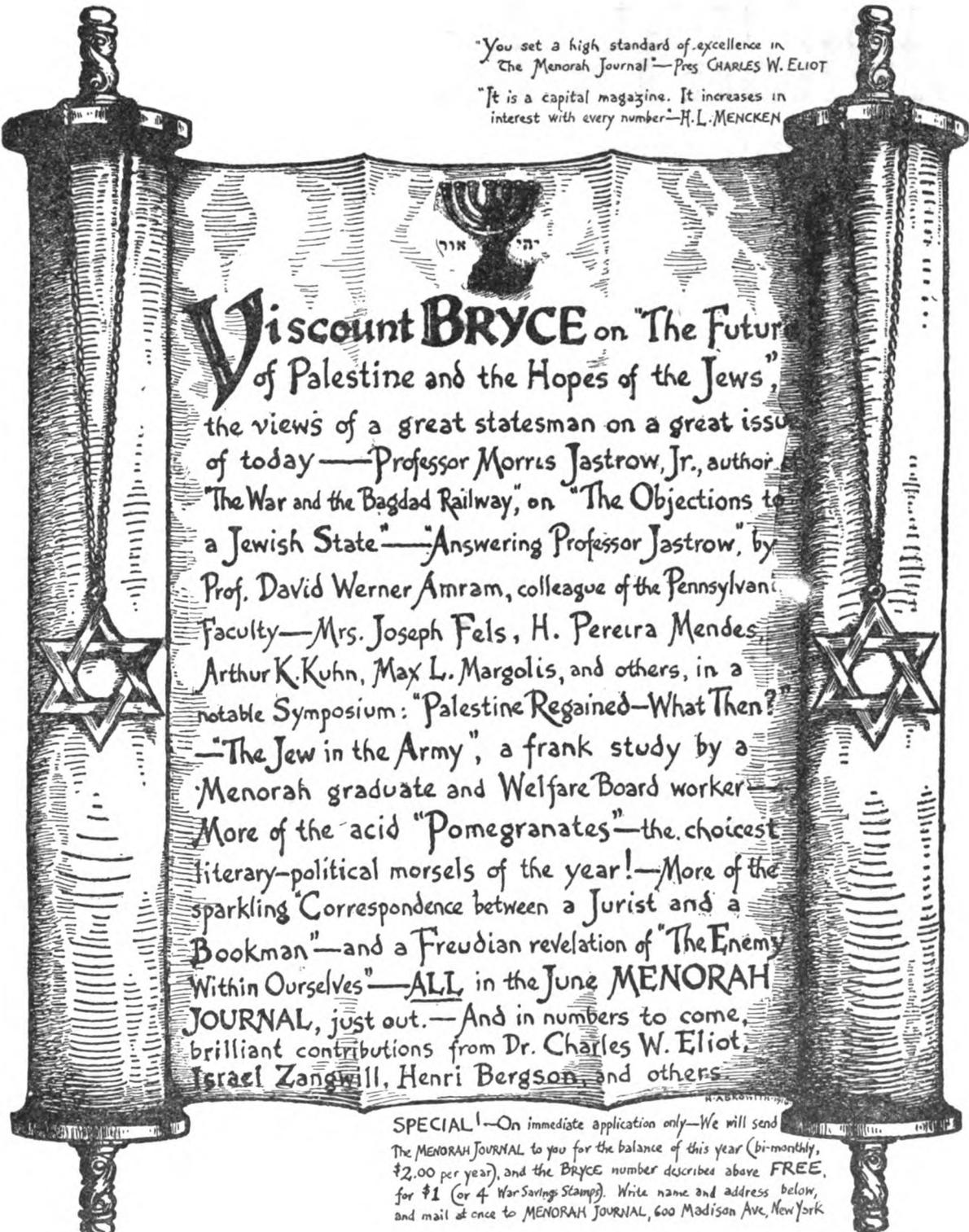
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The Public

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXI

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Number 1051

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The President has given his word that he means to stand by Russia as he stands by France. Every American worthy of the name will stand with him. But it is a serious matter to make this promise. The President is bold, thus to run counter to the wishes of some of our newspaper dictators who would not be guilty of pursuing a principle or upholding an ideal, but would act in an infinitely significant juncture according to the wishes of a few Japanese and Parisian imperialists. Forceful intervention on the part of Japan would be Germany's golden opportunity. It was Bolshevik aggression on the Ukraine and Finland that threw these provinces into German hands. Russians have no love for Teutons, but a Japanese menace will seem to them a greater evil. There would hardly be a surer way of giving Germany a "free hand."

* * *

Instead of surrendering to cynical and fatal opportunism inspired by panic and guided by greed, let us see the situation with long vision. The disposition of a great people is not a matter of weeks and months, but of decades and centuries. The Germans are, of course, trying to fix their grasp upon the economic life of Russia. But why treat the buying of Russian industries by Germans with almost gleeful despair instead of buying them ourselves? America can and must beat Germany in the Russian economic

struggle. It is ridiculous to suppose that Germany is having or will have an easy time in Russia. Resentment of their actions is fixing into hatred. Since the acceptance by the Soviet of the Brest treaty there has never been a moment's swerving even by the Bolsheviki from the intention to take up the struggle again when there is sufficient recuperation. It is in the logic of the situation that Germany must fight free Russia to the death. No Russian suffers from misunderstanding in this respect. We now appreciate the value of the Eastern front and its possibilities for ending the war. If we feel petty resentment that it is not being used, that is no reason for making its future use impossible. Germany halted in the West, will, this autumn, endeavor to make peace on the basis of her gains and with promises of liberal concessions. If the Allies are not trapped by such proposals, there will be for 1919 the program to which America is irrevocably committed, of the complete destruction of Germany's military power. This work can be carried on from the East as well as the West. With only these few months of respite, with the privation and confusion that flow from Bolshevik mania, Russia can again be the steam roller. For it must be remembered that German exhaustion, while slow, is sure. This situation can be brought about in the summer of next year. For it Siberia is indispensable, not as a battlefield with Orientals, but as a wheat field for the Russian army and nation, secure from German encroachment. The part of wisdom is to mass supplies ready for Russian use. If soldiers are required from a foreign power, the only soldiers that can at present go to Russia without fighting Russians are American soldiers.

* * *

Mr. Gompers' dispatch of a labor commission to Mexico is a bit of the statesmanship we should like to see more of. German propaganda has been active in Mexico, and the situation has been complicated as to Mexican labor by the experience of some 14,000 Mexican miners and labor-

ers in Arizona. These men, originally imported to keep down wages and discourage organization, have proved themselves good citizens and good unionists. In the Clifton-Morenci strike of two years ago they acted moderately through union officers and won a strike that was remarkable for its freedom from violence. Since then their stock has fallen in the eyes of the copper company managers. After the strikes of last summer the Mexicans were discriminated against, refused employment, and made the butt of what prejudice could be stirred up in war times against foreigners. Mr. Gompers' commission is composed of just the right men to increase understanding and fellowship. Mr. John Murray, who conceived the project, is an undogmatic Socialist whose work with Mexican labor has been a big and little-recognized factor in maintaining good relations. Mr. James Lord, president of the mining department of the American Federation of Labor, is a labor leader of broad understanding and liberal tendencies. The third member of the mission is Mr. Santiago Iglesias of Porto Rico, leader of the organized plantation workers on that island.

* * *

The spirit of emulation that has appeared among the shipyard workers is another evidence of the changed conditions that have followed upon the assurance that the men will receive fair treatment. As long as men felt that wages would remain at the minimum regardless of output, and that speeding-up meant only increased profits to employers, workers looked askance at proposals to set a faster pace; but now that labor has been officially recognized as an integral factor in production and given a voice in its management, workmen will feel freer to express their individuality. It was natural that the rivalry among the shipyard men should have been the first to express itself, for shipbuilding is so closely associated with the men at the front that the spirit of emulation among the men in the trenches and in the air service caught the men behind the ships. A short time ago a riveting crew at the Wyandotte plant of the Detroit Shipbuilding Company drove 3,415 rivets in nine hours. This was soon surpassed by a British crew who drove 4,422 rivets in the same time. As this was a trifle over eight rivets a minute throughout the nine hours, and was so much faster than the previous record, it was thought to be hard to beat. But it has

been beaten by an American crew in the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation at Sparrows Point who drove 4,875 rivets in nine hours. An added fillip in this last performance is the fact that the riveting crew were all Negroes; and as the work was done under the eyes of four official inspectors there can be no question of the fact. The rivalry of nationalities was thought to be the highest stimulus, but the introduction of race emulation will add yet another incentive. The challenge of a negro prize-fighter might fairly be ignored as an invitation to an unworthy contest; but the nine-hour riveting competition is clean and legitimate. Charles Knight and his six helpers have knocked at the door of the world in the name of the Negro workman.

* * *

The matter of books for soldiers appears to have in it more possibilities than was supposed. There has been a generous response to the appeal for books. The New York Public Library has collected nearly a half million volumes, and similar work has been going on throughout the country; which means that the soldiers, both here and abroad, will have practically the same reading facilities hitherto enjoyed by the men from large cities and better than those who have come from villages and farms. But a new angle has been discovered by those who are giving special attention to the Negro soldiers. Complaint is made that practically all the books contributed are written by white people, about white people, and do not for that reason make the greatest appeal to the colored men. Hence the Negro Books for Negro Soldiers movement, which is cooperating with the American Library Association Library War Service, and has the endorsement of Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, and Dr. James H. Dillard. Dr. Dillard, who as trustee of the Slater and Jeanes Foundations has done so much for Negro education in the South, says the movement deserves support as an "efficient means of developing race pride and confidence." This appeal to the pride of race is most stimulating. It is the line pursued by Booker Washington, who continually expressed pride in the achievements of his race, which, in a century from savagery and a half century from slavery, and handicapped by race prejudice, had distinguished itself in all the walks of life. Few persons realize the amount of literary work that has

been done by Negroes. Probably many of the colored people themselves do not appreciate it. The collection of Negro works, therefore, to be sent with books by white authors to Negro camps will have a quickening effect upon the men's natural pride, and stimulate their ambition to keep up abreast of the whites.

Nationality and World Policy

In a recent lecture before the Dante Society, Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, M.P., one of the most brilliant of English historians, expressed small confidence in the world's ability to change the basis of international relations. He is reported to have said that if the war "should end without a serious attempt to provide for the organization of peace, statesmanship would have confessed its bankruptcy. The experience of the last four years had proved that in the sphere of international politics our boasted advance was almost entirely illusory. The task of fulfilling contracts must be given to a supernational authority, but that could not be reached without the world repenting in sackcloth and ashes."

It must be admitted that Allied statesmanship has not yet applied itself to the task even of thinking out a basis for future peace. In some not unimportant quarters traditional, national aims, the debris of the passing epoch, obscure and confuse the progress of new tendencies. Here in America it is apparently taken for granted that no effort is necessary; we need only repeat the phrases of President Wilson and they will magically create a new world. The time is rapidly arriving when noble aspirations need to be translated into concrete terms of policy, and this policy applied in definite acts to shape toward the ends we desire the melting and changing countries of the world.

While we are making no effort to establish the great principles laid down by Mr. Wilson, the Germans are seizing Central and Eastern Europe with a definiteness, skill and persistence that show completely they have thought out their policy and prepared their agents to apply it. The Allied world looks on with open-mouthed astonishment as the abominable German plan moves to the next stage, and then counters it only with more references to German wickedness. What is needed in addition to German defeat no one seems to know.

Nearly all the problems of the war and of the peace relate directly or indirectly to that undefined thing called nationality. When Joseph de Maistre said, "Put a Slav aspiration under a fortress and it will blow it up," he was only indicating what this potent explosive was capable of doing to political restrictions everywhere. Nationality represents a racial, cultural, linguistic, moral kinship that strikes deep roots into the souls of men and makes them capable of disregarding their selfish economic interests when the existence of the more vital group is menaced. For the Irishman it is not merely the English landlord with his history of oppression that is resented; it is the eternal humiliation of being subject to foreigners and held, in consequence, as inferiors. Ireland resents conscription not of itself, but merely because of its application by England. The oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary,—and the oppression universally takes the form of foreign landlordism,—are quite capable of enduring an equal degree of hardship if administered by their own kind. It is this factor of national consciousness that has made European history since the breakup of the Roman Empire. It is indeed true to say that a crop of nationalities is the offspring of imperial methods—a statement confirmed even more by the history of the peoples of the Balkans than by general European history. Nationality is an unstable asset, but so powerful that it is demonstrably capable of altering political contours. To disregard it is fatal. The great world problem is, therefore, what is to be done with this multitude of people risen to self-consciousness and determined to express themselves in political terms? The two answers to the problem are perfectly distinct. That of Germany is unequivocal. Austria-Hungary has not been a composite empire for nothing, and her great experiment has provided the method. Germany has, therefore, devised ways of handling the complex nationality problems of Central and Eastern Europe under a systematic policy, which may be described as the policy of balanced oppression. The secret is simple: Keep each nationality a disparate unit with as many reasons for hostility towards its neighbors as can be devised; flatter and feed the voracity of each, but invariably at the cost of the others. When boundaries are to be fixed between Poland and the Ukraine, take a bite out of Poland for the benefit of her neigh-

bor—the Polish landlords of the Ukraine can be depended upon to provide the counterpart in hatred; in the settlement with Rumania take away the Dobrudja, and by holding the Carpathian passes, insure the Magyars in their oppression of Transylvania; never neglect an opportunity provided by a division; intervene in the interest of one of the parties.

German methods in the Ukraine and in Finland are instructive. The ultimate object was, of course, the dismemberment of Russia. No province of that country was less inclined to strike out for independence than the Ukraine. Every racial and economic reason dictates her inclusion in the future Russian nation. While the Finns have always desired and worked for independence, the Ukraine has consistently, for generations, supported the idea of a Russian federation. After the revolution and until the Bolshevik *coup d'état* of November, Ukrainian leaders like Kovalevsky, Vinnichenko and Hrushevsky, refused to entertain the thought of separation. There was, of course, a small party of Separatists, the Samostinniki, actively supported by enemy funds, but without influence with the Ukraine people. Steps toward independence were forced by the contest with the Bolsheviki, due not to any reaction on the part of the Ukraine, for the Government was a coalition of socialists, but to the frank determination of the new proletariat internationalism to exterminate every nationalist basis of political organization. This gave the Germans their opportunity. The Ukraine was more desirous of protecting its nationalism than even of saving itself from Germany. With some modifications, the same story is true in Finland. What it all means is that Germany has a positive method for exploiting nationalist aspirations in her own interest. It happens, however, that that interest is reversionary,—holding the nationalities back in a regime from which it is their essential nature to escape. Seen in the large over a century of time, the German and Austrian Empires can no more restrain nationalist development than could the Russian Empire, or before it, that of the Ottomans.

But if nationality is a term of evolution beyond empire and is itself non-political in character, the question arises as to what is the political term into which it must issue. This is the problem of the Allies. They are fighting a war of lib-

eration. They are determined to give scope to all legitimate nationalist aspirations. How can this progress be achieved? There is not yet even an effort to answer the question. The mere liberation of nationalities is to provide more material for the Germans to gulp. We are watching nationalities merely in the hope that their exploding point is not far distant. But obviously they are to go on living in the world after the boundaries of empire are broken. A suggestion made in a recent number of *The New Europe*, by Mr. John Mavrogordato, is worthy of attention: "The group who are commonly credited with the intention of 'breaking up Austria' would be remarkably short-sighted if they failed to recognize the inadequacy of the merely national solution. If the pretensions of Czechs and Jugoslavs were merely an arbitrary demand to break an unpleasant empire into small pieces, one might well hesitate to support them, for one result of such a disruption would be to provide a friable soil through which German rivulets would percolate to the Mediterranean. It would do for Germany on the south what she herself is attempting (by the Flemish movement) to do in the West, and what she has just succeeded in doing in the East. Germany's policy, in short, is obviously to create a fringe of small satellites to be 'attracted' by German strength and 'penetrated' by German culture; or, to change the metaphor, to break up her neighbors into small constituent states so as to facilitate their digestion."

Clearly, if the problem is not thought out and a positive policy inaugurated, the whole process of liberation may play into the hands of Germany. We in America believe that the problem of conflicting nationalities is soluble in terms of liberal administration, freedom for every cultural activity, the greatest possible local autonomy and individual freedom. If the nationalities of Austria-Hungary could drop the carefully fostered quarrels among themselves, if they could consent to live together in the same world, at that moment Austria-Hungary would cease to exist. If the peoples of the Balkans could arrive at any basis for a federation that would end their mutual hatreds, oppressions and ambitions, at that moment Middle Europe would begin to have only a historical interest. If this is to be the issue of nationalism; if it is to cast itself in a new political form with which we in America

are inadequately but still in some degree familiar, it then becomes our duty to inaugurate an active policy, carry out propaganda, form tentative organizations, devise commercial arrangements, and proceed to give reality to the thing for which, until now, we have merely hoped. Great Britain is working upon the problem, but only within the limits of her own Empire; outside she is still hampered by the old exclusiveness. Most Americans have the idea that our work is done with the defeat of Germany. As a matter of fact, it is then only started. We ought by now to know that there is nothing magical in liberty. It only provides an opportunity for doing something else. This something else in this case is the recasting of international relationships in a manner so right and just that the people of the world will have a chance to live together in peace.

A Needless Division

Cheering reports come from England of a more whole-hearted acceptance by British statesmen of President Wilson's international policy. Lord Robert Cecil has set at rest all fears that the British Government might be inclined to negotiate a peace at the expense of Russia. His declaration that the war must go on until Germany relinquishes her grip on Russia's western provinces may have differed from President Wilson's recent utterances in immediate motive. But in the end both the motive and the effect are identical. Cecil sees clearly enough that a Germany fortified by control of Russia's material resources could wage the next war almost indefinitely. And President Wilson, undoubtedly more idealistic in his determination to support the Russian people, nevertheless stands for democracy in Russia, not as a dogma, but because (as we have all come to realize) the only security for democracy anywhere lies in its becoming universal. At any rate, no one need any longer be troubled by Lloyd George's rather casual and extemporaneous remark of five months ago to the effect that Russia must now shift for herself. Other indications that the British Government accepts both the spirit and letter of President Wilson's policy were the remarks of Mr. Balfour last week in the House of Commons and the statement from Mr. Barnes, Minister of Labor in the War Cabinet, in favor of a League of Nations.

This agreement between the authorized spokesmen of England and America makes it all the more remarkable, and all the more regrettable, that American and British labor should not reach as full and cordial an understanding. That they have not is the word just brought back to us by Mr. Arthur Gleason, an American journalist who has spent most of his time during the past four years in France and England and whose services to the Allied cause have won him the confidence and friendship of liberals in those countries. Those services began when he volunteered for work with the Belgian wounded during the first retreat,—service which kept him under fire during those early weeks of the war and enabled him to gather the material which later gave him the distinction of being the only American whose testimony was quoted by the official Bryce report on the Belgian atrocities. Mr. Gleason was in England when the American labor delegation selected by Mr. Gompers arrived there, and during their visits and conferences with British labor leaders. And he reports that the course of the American delegation in lecturing and scolding the British Labor Party produced anything but a favorable impression. He brought back with him various clippings and papers showing that a lively resentment had been aroused among these men and women (nearly all of whom had lost sons, brothers or other dear ones, and who themselves have worked long shifts for seven days a week in the interest of the Allied cause) by the implied intimation that they were leaning toward some sort of pacifism and paltrony. The talking point for the Americans both in England and France seems to have been, not the many points of agreement, but the proposal, advanced long ago and not much heard of of late, for an inter-belligerent labor conference. It was a proposal that originated many months before the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and the invasion of Russia and before the present German offensive. It sprang from the same faith in an influential liberal movement within Germany which Americans once shared, and at no time did it involve compromise with German imperialism. Of late it has been so modified as to become innocuous: German labor must first renounce imperialism and subscribe to the terms of peace as drawn up by the Inter-Allied Labor Conference. And the bringing forward of the proposal is to be delayed until the circumstances are favorable. But, Mr. Gleason

tells us, a project that had lost its vitality and been shorn of any invidious pacifist trend has been resurrected and strengthened for the very reason that British labor has been pushed into a corner with it. We cannot blame the American delegation for this outcome. They were merely carrying out the instructions given them by Mr. Gompers. Nor would we withhold our approval if Mr. Gompers had endeavored to dissuade British labor by some effectual method. The proposal to meet German working class representatives will get no support in this country. It does not appeal to the hard common sense of the American worker. It would have been easy to say this tactfully to British labor and to bring about a substantial agreement by taking advantage of the modifications and provisos with which Mr. Arthur Henderson and other spokesmen for labor in England and France have surrounded the project.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that Mr. Gompers is temperamentally and by conviction unfriendly to the recent developments which have vested in British labor the hope of the liberal world for an orderly but profound reconstruction of the whole social and economic order, and that he is "rationalizing" this antipathy, as the psychologists would say, by selecting for attack the weakest point in their program, a point that has been all but abandoned by themselves. He has already dismissed the Labor Party's proposed reconstruction program as a Utopian day dream of no practical use.

At any rate, we have Mr. Gleason's word as a reporter that the immediate effect of the Gompers policy has been to strengthen the pacifist minority in British labor and make harder the task of those who have placed the workers of England and France squarely and whole-heartedly behind President Wilson. It is to the President's methods that we must look if we wish to be successful in combatting pacifism. An English journalist has said that his moral leadership was worth "ten army corps and a regiment of angels" to the Allied cause, and he accomplished this rehabilitation of morale not by scolding or lecturing, but by speaking to the hearts of the people, by putting into words what they themselves felt and so convincing them that here at last was a leader in whose unselfish and noble purposes they could put their faith.

Mr. Gompers is known and understood by the

workers of America. His usefulness to the Government and the wisdom of the President in utilizing his authority here at home are recognized and applauded by, among others, THE PUBLIC. But it is highly important that British labor should not have its confidence in America's leadership impaired. Mr. Gompers must either find that Mr. Gleason is an inaccurate reporter or take steps to repair the damage which Mr. Gleason finds has already been done. The proposed delegation from British and French labor should receive a cordial invitation to come to this country and present their views. At present they feel that they have been misunderstood and misjudged. The delegation which visited us earlier this year represented a distinct minority of British labor. It was this group which apparently had charge of the entertainment of the American delegation in London. What our cause demands is a clearing up of all differences and resentments between American Labor and the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labor Party.

Vancouver's Experiment in Taxation

The reported action of the Vancouver City Council in resorting again to the taxation of labor products and improvements on land may be seized upon by uninformed critics as evidence of the unsoundness of the principle of land value taxation. It is only the uninformed, however, who will draw this conclusion; for it is clear to those who understand land value taxation that every claim that has been made for it has been borne out by the experience of Vancouver.

The claim still stands, without diminution or qualification, that the removal of all taxes from labor products and improvements on land, and the taxing of land values to defray public expenses, will produce the following results: (a) Stimulate business; (b) multiply wealth; (c) increase wages; and (d) lower rent. The truth of this must be apparent upon a little reflection. Taxes are recognized as a burden to the owner of the thing taxed. If they fall upon buildings, merchandise or other form of labor products they tend to discourage production of those things. If they fall upon unused land they tend to force it upon the market. The contrary also is true; that is, the removal of taxes from labor products stimulates production, and the remission of taxes on unused land, by making it easier for the owner to

hold it, tends to take it out of the market. Hence the removal of taxes from labor products, by increasing production, means a greater demand for labor, with a tendency toward lower prices and higher wages; whereas the laying of taxes on unused land, by forcing the owner to use it or sell to some one who will, means to lower the selling price of land and cheapen rents. In short, the shifting of taxes from labor values to land values tends to take from the land owner the amount he is able to collect as a land owner, as distinct from a land user, and divides it between labor and capital, that is, between the users of land.

The City Council of Vancouver, British Columbia, ventured a few years ago to make a partial application of this principle of taxation. As the Dominion taxes were beyond its control, the experiment was necessarily confined to local taxes. Buildings and other labor products were exempted from taxation, and local revenue was obtained by a tax on land according to its value, irrespective of improvements. Theoretically this action of the City Council should have stimulated business, multiplied wealth, increased wages and lowered rent. It did all this save the last. And therein lies the moral to be drawn from Vancouver's experience.

It is never safe to be too hasty in drawing conclusions from insufficient data. Other cities have had business booms without changes in taxation; and they have had slumps under the same conditions. A business boom is always accompanied by a greater demand for the things that satisfy human desires. All these can be produced without limit save land. No matter how large a city may grow, shoes and sugar and furniture can be produced in response to the demand, and there will be little change in the price. The price may, indeed, be less in the metropolitan city than in the frontier village. But the amount of land within a given radius of the city hall being fixed, any increase in the demand is accompanied by an increase in value. Speculators are aware of this, and they buy land, not for immediate use, but to hold for the increase. The general knowledge and belief that land values will increase in a growing city begets a speculative spirit throughout the community. To buy land "for a rise" is the common thing to do; and the more land "rises" the more eager people are to buy. Consequently speculative buying ultimately runs the price of land above what the user can make out

of its use. Users stop buying in that city and turn to other places where the price of land does permit a profit to those who use it. Speculators, seeing the falling off in demand, begin reducing their prices in the hope of luring back the land users. But as they are holding vastly more than is demanded the competition of sellers produces a wild scramble for buyers, and there follows the inevitable panic. Land values slump back to a point below even their former use value, for users have gone to other places and it takes a long time to win them back.

This is the story that has been repeated in every growing city. It is inevitable under present conditions. But there is a remedy as certain as the disease. It is to take for the use of all citizens the annual value that comes to land because of the growth of the community. If the owner of land is required to pay into the city treasury annually what it is worth to use the land he will have no interest in it but to use it. If he has no use for it he will surrender it to some one who has. As he cannot charge another for the use of the land more than he has to pay himself, there is no element of speculation, and no land will be held out of use. Under such conditions a city may grow to any extent demanded by commerce and there will always be land for land users. There will be no slump because there will have been no speculation.

This is the explanation of Vancouver's trouble. By removing taxes from industry wealth increased. When it became known that the owner of a building lot would be taxed no more with a house on it than when vacant, he was disposed to build. As a ten-story building was taxed no more than a one-story building—which was nothing at all—he was prompted to put up the largest building he could. Since the large merchant was taxed no more than the little shop-keeper occupying the same amount of land, there was a tendency for men looking for business opportunities to go to Vancouver. The same was true of manufacturers and all kinds of producers of wealth. But as houses could not be built nor wealth produced without labor, this business activity meant a greater demand for men and a tendency to higher wages. Vancouver seemed to have solved the problem of municipal progress.

One thing, however, had been overlooked. Land speculation had not been stopped. The removal of taxes from industry stimulated business

to such a degree that the demand for land upon which to do business increased land values so fast that little change was made in the rate of the tax. Thus the land values, real and speculative, were so great that a rate of 2 per cent provided sufficient revenue for local purposes. As this left 4 per cent to the land owner—rating interest on money at six per cent—land speculation continued. Valuations rose so rapidly that the greater local revenue needed was met by only a very slight increase in the rate. The desire on the part of the people to avoid a return to the taxation of buildings kept down municipal expenditures, so that sufficient revenue was obtained by increasing the rate to 2.4 per cent.

But something else had happened, something that had been foreseen by all who understand the principle of land value taxation. The failure of the Vancouver City Council to increase the rate of the tax on land to cover the rise in value that came from the growth of the community led owners to hold their land at a higher value than it was worth to the user. Ultimately this began to turn incoming population to other places, to newer towns where land was still cheap. Vancouver values stopped increasing; but as municipal expenses continued to grow because of war prices the City Council found itself in the predicament of raising the tax on land to 2.75 per cent, or taxing industry. It appears to have chosen the latter. Improvements are to be taxed to one-quarter of their value and a reduction of five to ten per cent is made in the assessment of land to cover the shrinkage in land values caused by over-speculation. The net result to small home owners from a tax on one-quarter the value of the house and the reduction in the value of the lot will be an increase in the amount of the tax of from fifteen to twenty per cent. But to the owners of buildings worth a quarter or a half million dollars the change is serious. And worse even than this may follow, for the Council is seeking power of the Provincial Legislature to tax businesses and professions.

Vancouver's predicament has come about because of its failure to apply the full program of land value taxation. Exemption of industry from taxation did stimulate business and increase wealth, just as free trade stimulated business and increased wealth in England. But neither the increased wealth of Vancouver nor of England was distributed; it went to the owners of land instead

of to the men and women who created it. Had the increase in Vancouver land values been taken under the form of taxation for the use of the whole city there would have been ample revenue for all governmental needs, and, what is of far greater importance, there would have been no speculation in land. Each incoming land user would have found land ready for him upon the payment of its annual value. This annual value must be paid by the user in any event, whether he buys or rents, but if he pays it to the city he is free from all other taxes; whereas if he pays it to a private owner he must pay in addition the cost of the government, while the speculator grows rich at the expense of the industry of the community.

Had Vancouver, instead of resorting to a tax on buildings, increased the tax on land values, the price of land would have fallen. As all wealth is produced on and out of land the lower price would have made it easier for land users to get raw material and a place to work. By continuing to increase the land value tax till no advantage remained for mere ownership, but only for use, the selling price would practically disappear, speculation would cease, and business would go on uninterruptedly, with all wealth going to the producers.

One thing prevented. It is the thing that has checked progress in all cities and has kept wages at a minimum in spite of the increase in the power of labor, and has continued poverty notwithstanding the growth of wealth. That thing is land speculation, land ownership, the drawing of an income without rendering any service in return. The Vancouver City Council dared to relieve business from taxes, but it did not dare to deprive land owners of their unearned incomes. It wanted to eat its cake and have it too. The result was inevitable. But taxing business will not restore Vancouver's prosperity. Only cheaper land will do that. When the speculative values of land have slumped to a point that will permit users to make a profit, industry will recover. To lighten taxes on land values will make it easier for speculators to hold land out of use, and to that extent delay the recovery. Had the council had the courage to make a sharp increase in the land value tax the added burden upon speculators would have compelled them to sell, and the cheaper land would have relieved business.

There are no unknown factors in this problem.

The principles have been demonstrated throughout all history. Business can be stimulated, wealth multiplied, wages increased, and rents lowered, whenever—and only when—the values

of land that come from the growth of the community are taken for the use of the community. Vancouver's mistake lay not in taxing land values exclusively, but in not taxing them enough.

Alsace-Lorraine in Wartime

By David Starr Jordan

The world outside of Central Europe is agreed in its condemnation of the iron discipline enforced from above known as Prussian *Kultur*. Its system of military and industrial regimentation is deadening to the people of Germany, and mortally menacing to their neighbors. Men who have once known freedom revolt to the depths of their souls against the coordinated serfdom which the people of Germany have accepted from Prussia. The world has surrounded Germany "in an angry ring" to prevent the spread of this menace. Is this decision retroactive? Does a half-century of subjugation smother the right to freedom on the part of Alsace-Lorraine, of Northern Schleswig, of Posen? Have four centuries of despotism lost Armenia's right to existence while four years of "military necessity" have not impaired the integrity of Belgium or of Serbia? These are problems which the world will have to face so long as Absolutism and Democracy are encamped on the same continent.

Meanwhile we may ask as to present conditions in Alsace-Lorraine. We hear few complaints and there is perhaps a general belief that this uneasy province is at last satisfied. We know that its agitators have been imprisoned or shot or else have banished themselves. We know that the French sympathizers (called *Französlinge* or *francillons*) have been suppressed and that Lorraine is furnishing some four-fifths of the iron of Germany. We know that before the war, the leading men of Alsace had agreed on a condition of despair and hope: despair of liberation except through war, and war meant to them abject ruin; hope that they might join with the liberal elements of Germany towards the passing of the Bismarck régime of "blood and iron," becoming themselves through their double culture, the bridge between two great civilizations.

We know that this ambition found no sympa-

thy with the alliance of aristocracy, plutocracy and militarism, which, in the name of the Kaiser, has the whip-hand over Germany, and that the local rulers who found their country's chief glory in Sedan and Gravelotte, were ingenious, if in nothing else, in administering pin-pricks to people in every way their superiors.

All this before August 1st, 1914. What has happened since? The censor has drawn the curtain close and little information gets past him. But in spite of the censor we hear that prominent Alsatian leaders have been condemned to death, but fortunately each of them had already found refuge in France or Switzerland. We learn that the most conservative of the well-to-do classes have found it necessary to banish themselves, while German officers have engaged in miscellaneous looting, the booty being sold at auction in Stockholm and Amsterdam. An Alsatian friend writes me from another country that he "had never thought that war could be so cruel and lawless and that officials and people could so lose every notion of morals or law."

We have learned that Alsace-Lorraine has been officially treated as an "enemy country," the true meaning of which term to the Prussian has been already indicated in Belgium, France, Serbia and Armenia—examples which place the German military directorate outside the range of civilized comprehension.

We have, therefore, a special interest in a little book entitled "*L'Épreuve d'Alsace, par un Alsacien*" (The Ordeal of Alsace, by an Alsatian), which sets forth the conditions in that region for the first two years of the war. The book is made up of articles printed in the *Journal de Genève* in 1916, and it is now published by Payot & Cie., Paris and Lausanne. It is unsigned, but I am assured by the highest authority that it is truthful as to facts. Many of the incidents are de-

scribed from German official sources or quoted from the Pangermanist newspaper, an exotic in Alsace, the *Strassburg Post*.

The outbreak of the war was preceded by a preliminary skirmish at Saverne (Zabern) in which German civil authority was laid supine under the feet of the German General Staff. The events which succeeded this failure of civil justice were progressively alarming to the people of the province. Von Wedel, the "Statthalter" or governor of Alsace-Lorraine, and Mandel, the Secretary, both of them men of character and ability, as generous to the people as their superiors would permit, resigned their offices, to be replaced by the reactionary von Dallwitz, who would stand no nonsense from people prostrate at his feet.

The people tried to be law-abiding, though new "laws of exception" or "laws of protection" were forced on them day by day. The Alsations had no part in making these laws and none in their enforcement. "Germany had become one vast barrack ruled by Prussian subalterns" and barrack law was the law of Alsace.

All French journals were promptly suppressed in Alsace-Lorraine and their editors sent to jail, unless these had fortunately escaped. A letter sent by the writer to Léon Boll, editor of the influential *Journal d'Alsace-Lorraine*, was returned from Strassburg by the military authorities marked "flüchtig" (fugitive), and "fugitive" also were Blumenthal, Wetterlé, Helmer, Waltz, Frölich, Zislin, men who loved France, because France respected personal freedom.

Black lists of "*Französlinge*" arose to meet the demand and the reign of annoyance gave place to a reign of terror.

At first, the Alsations accepted the official fiction that "war had been forced on Germany" and that Germany had no choice save to fight. The return of soldiers from the Belgian campaigns destroyed this illusion and the feeling against Prussia grew stronger and stronger as the opportunities for expression grew less.

At a banquet of German sympathizers at Gebweiler in Upper Alsace in April, 1915, the orator, Professor van der Pforten, used these words:

"Germany is now completely united and Providence has chosen the German people to subject all Europe to a radical cure which shall be to her a blessing of heaven."

This cure was then rigorously applied in Alsace

as well as in Belgium. "After the war," said the wife of a Strassburg professor, "the Alsations ought to lick our feet."

It was made clear that the "laws of exception," with their excessive limitations of personal freedom, would not end with the war, but were "rather to be continued until the whole population had made a complete submission, that is, for an unlimited time."

The new Pangermanist governor, von Dallwitz, spoke of the liberal hopes of the Alsations as "the extravagant and altogether grotesque fancies of a double culture" with "that and other chimera of the role of mediator of the national frontier." . . . "The Alsations are called by the geographic situation and their past history to form an impassable rampart of culture and mentality purely German." This was a warning that all their ambitions of culture and liberalism must be given up and that they must henceforth become like the mass of the Prussians, intellectual and spiritual slaves, "bricks in the wall of an edifice they could not see and need not understand." "A broom of iron," said the Pangermanist Lienhardt, "will clean up Alsace, if the young Alsations do not take up this duty themselves."

Only since the war began has the value of the iron mines of Lorraine been appreciated. Some eighty per cent. of all German iron is derived from Eastern Lorraine. This ore, called "Minette," contains (according to Professor C. C. Eckhardt, *Scientific Monthly*, May, 1918) two per cent. of phosphorus. This made the ore useless until Thomas and Gilchrist, Englishmen, invented, in 1878, a process by which the phosphorus was thrown into the slag, becoming of itself a valuable fertilizer while the iron was relieved of its presence.

This discovery gave Lorraine a special value in the eyes of Germany. It was proposed to dismember the joint province of the "Reichsland." This would, of course, weaken its opposition to the severe but "necessary" process of "*Entwelschung*" (deforeignization), while making another substantial addition to the wealth and power of Prussia. It was argued that this adjustment would be a great boon to Lorraine, while inflicting on refractory Alsace a just punishment. She would thus find herself excluded from Prussia, "a great state alone capable of guaranteeing to the Alsatian people the free opportunity of

public manifestation of their national sentiments." One German journal showed that a "Prussia enlarged by the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine could realize by her all-powerfulness the destinies of the Empire." Meanwhile Prussians neither in this case nor any other have regarded the will of the people concerned as a factor in determining their future.*

In the same vein, Professor Treitschke asserted: "We know how to govern Alsace better than the Alsatians do."

Early in the war, the German authorities took possession of all properties belonging to French owners in Alsace-Lorraine,—all employees suspected of French leanings being dismissed. It was intended at the end of the war to buy up all these properties with the aid of the German banks, and to replace their owners and their personnel by Germans. All this, it was said "would be a benefit to the provinces, as they had not realized the system of intense agriculture practiced in Germany." By this means old soldiers were to be colonized in Alsace "thus assuring to the veterans a comfortable existence in the country with profit to the national cause." Meanwhile all Germans resident in foreign lands were ordered home on penalty of losing their rights as citizens.

This plan immediately affected Alsace-Lorraine, for on its rolls of citizenship were undoubtedly thousands who really were "Germans only in name" and many of them had left for other countries as the war began. Thus were expatriated most of the intellectual leaders, including not only the avowed "nationalists," but also those in general who stood in opposition to Pangermanism.

The author of the *Epreuve* cites many individual cases of punishment administered under the "laws of exception."

At the outset of the war, the French made a most ill-considered invasion of Alsace—ill-considered because all who gave the army any sort of welcome were severely dealt with by the re-

turning Germans. This was the harvest for the informer.

A prominent manufacturer, M. de Bary, at Gebweiler, was sent to prison for pointing out to a French officer a bookstore where maps could be obtained. Another, Wagner of Mühlhausen, was imprisoned for three years for the wholly unproved offense of laying a map on the saddle of a French officer. A justice of the peace, Acker at Cernay, was similarly punished for opposing the formation by a German family of a blacklist for proscription. A merchant at Mühlhausen (Meyer) was condemned to imprisonment for life for "high treason." The military commandant set the verdict aside, calling a new court, which pronounced a sentence of death. A woman at Colmar (Madame Blaise) was charged with warning the French commandant of a projected betrayal. She was acquitted for lack of evidence. The German commandant, Gæde, annulled the decision, condemning her to ten years imprisonment because it was shown that whether guilty or not "she was perfectly capable of committing the crime charged against her."

The usual brutalities were meted out for "seditious speech." Several journalists at Strassburg went to prison six months for the cry "Vive la France." Others were similarly punished for "Vive la belle France," and "Vive la République," as well as for singing the Marseillaise, itself an Alsatian protest against tyranny.

Similar punishments were given to some hundreds of people for leaving home without permission or for other infractions of military police regulations.

Punishments less severe, but equally insistent were given to those who wrote letters in French or spoke it in public. All commercial letter-heads in French were destroyed. A citizen in Strassburg was sent to jail for eight days for writing his name Henri instead of Heinrich, and another for several months for calling himself Charles instead of Karl. In the prison at Strassburg, a newcomer was greeted in these words: "Do not weep, Madame, you will find here an excellent company; our house is the only one where one may speak French with impunity."

All these high-handed proceedings tended naturally to create counter-manifestations, and these led to still greater severity. A barber in Mühlhausen said: "No one dare speak in our country; we would better sew up our mouths." For

*Just as I write, I have received a letter from a valued Alsatian friend thoroughly acquainted with the present conditions in that country. He says:

"No doubt that the feeling among the people is now thoroughly and strongly in favor of France and that everybody hopes the country will return to French citizenship. It is the only way of definitely putting an end to the German misgovernment which, especially since the war, has become more and more odious to everybody.

"The country is too small to remain independent, the possibilities of developing industry, trade and agriculture would be too small. Besides the Germans would always try to regain their influence, their people would remain in the country, the intrigues would be perpetual as now in Flanders, and no hope left for internal and external peace."

this he went to jail for fifteen days. A milkman served a month for saying: "The Germans always speak of their victories, never of their defeats." A young woman spent a week in jail for waving her hand to French prisoners. For offenses of this sort thousands of persons have been arrested and punished.

A more important case was that of the Pastor Herzog of Waldersbach who declared that this was "an unjust war, provoked by Germany" and moreover omitted in one of his sermons to pray for the Emperor. For this he was imprisoned for a month.

Pastor Gerold of Strassburg, a man widely known and beloved, eighty years of age, was accused of giving money to wounded Frenchmen in the hospital. More than this, in a sermon he had uttered words "which wounded the German sentiments of a high functionary who was present." In substance, he deplored the hard rule to which his people were subjected and prayed for the final triumph of justice. He was imprisoned for a month.

In this connection, it may be well to remember that none of these acts are the work of lawless mobs, such as sometimes over-ride the law in more favored countries. The governmental machine in Germany reserves to itself all forms of oppression, subject only to the harsher rule of the military. Moreover, the General Staff of the Army has always held civilian authority in contempt, and does not hesitate in the name of "military necessity" to set aside any manifestation of leniency of which civil authority may sometimes be guilty.

In spite of all this "necessary discipline," the "lost brothers" of Alsace, "being German, are more obstinately French than any Frenchman can be."

Should a new Germany with a new spirit arise from the wreck of the war, and should the people of Alsace-Lorraine be recognized as equal partners in a self-respecting, self-governing nation, the old sores would in time be healed and Alsace-Lorraine would recover its old ambition to be the bridge of friendship between two great culture-nations.

The author of "*L'Epreuve*" thus sums up the case:

When a people whose whole history is made up of struggles for political and intellectual independence sees at one stroke its traditions and all its liberties stricken down before a pitiless dictatorship, it reacts with all its vigor against the violence. Strong with the clear vision of men and things inherited from its fathers, it looks unflinchingly towards the new hope which rises on the horizon.—(*L'Epreuve*, p. 69.)

The question of Alsace-Lorraine is no longer a matter of the conflicting claims of two sovereign powers. It is a human problem, in which the people of Alsace and Lorraine on the one hand and the civilized world on the other are primarily concerned. To leave these people in the clutches of the Germany of today would be to restore fugitive slaves to their masters.

No such adjustment can be made consistent with lasting peace in Europe. For freedom can take no steps which lead downward or backward.

The Newspapers and a Just Peace

By Edward Paul

Millions of sturdy, hopeful young men have been sent through hell on earth to an unnatural death. We are all of us coming to realize that we are responsible for our form of government to the extent of purse and life. This realization has been inspired in us by the leaven from Russia and the declarations of President Wilson. So the peace which follows this war must be a just peace in which the last one of us, who has con-

tributed his blood or his money, may feel that he has a share. Each day as the negotiations proceed he must be kept fully informed of the progress made, for the calm enjoyment of his fire-side, the peaceful and uninterrupted development of his unborn children are at stake.

We have heard a great deal about the terms of a lasting peace—one that will leave no germs of hatred to develop into another return to barbar-

ism. President Wilson, of all the Allied statesmen this side of the pale, has led the way. Writers almost without number have translated and expanded upon these terms. We are tempted to say that such elucidations are growing hackneyed. On the other hand, very little has so far been said about the *means* of bringing about this sought-for and fully paid-for millenium.

Our President has two alternatives, one good and the other ideal. He may send to the Peace Conference with full powers labor delegates (along with the traditional sort) who will be backed by the labor delegates of the other countries. These men will not have to refer back to the will of the people, merely carrying out the program laid out by the Leader, highly satisfactory as it is. The ideal negotiations, however, will keep constant touch with the people, whose war this is. Each delegate will keep his public fully informed of each step as it is taken, and will attempt to give at the same time sufficient background in order that public opinion may be qualified in a considerable measure to take from their shoulders, and the President's, total responsibility for the future peace of the present war-ridden world. This alternative, which takes into account those whose veins and purses are being drained, is preferred, strangely enough, by those whose confounded greed and jealousy has precipitated the cruelest and most barbaric war in the world's history. These enemies of humanity and prostitutes before their god Moloch are already laying their trap to warp public opinion to provide for the continuation of a system which is inevitably productive of such crisis as humanity is at present experiencing.

Steps should immediately be taken to safeguard the means to the attainment of the aims of a deeply suffering humanity. A few months may see the end of the war. The interest on the enormous debts piled up by the enemy, greater than the total cost of government previous to the war, the growing apprehension that the enemy cannot be beaten into contributing to their alleviation, must sooner or later cause in the foes' countries an irrepressible internal pressure. The failure on the western front will help. What if, in another repetition of a costly drive, they are driven back as at the Marne? Charles of Austria has asked Germany to feed two of his provinces. He has likewise shown the precariousness of his position by proroguing his Parliament. Who will

venture to assert that the next few months may not see the conclusion of the war?

It is well and not impertinent, therefore, to consider with the gravest concern any power the reactionaries may possess to counteract the accomplishment of the peace aims for which we are still giving the blood of our veins and the blood of our economic lives. The chief mental food of "the average mass of struggling men and women," who spend their body and soul in a well-nigh hopeless attempt to develop them, is that predigested provender which they get from the newspaper. The people pay their pennies, won through toil, to contribute to the powerful circulation of dailies of great capitalization, owned and controlled by forces which they cannot see, but which they can duly feel, in the practical hopelessness of their mentally and physically benumbed existence. These newspapers, hostile to the well-being and happiness of humanity, will frustrate the sincerest attempts of the friends of humanity unless they are curbed, precisely because they have led an unthinking democracy to realize that it is to control the destinies of the world—which is just, provided that that democracy be given the true facts in lucid manner, wherefrom it can draw but one conclusion—that justice and truth mean peace and good-will.

This distrust of the powerful press of this and other countries is not without foundation. But first consider one instance of how the Junker press of Germany, for example, will capitalize the ignorance and fatigue of the German people. On a certain day the discussions will have turned upon slight "rectifications" of the border of Austria-Hungary, for which this country will relinquish claims to a much more extensive tract elsewhere. The newspapers will not stress the fact, if they mention it, that these geographically slight "rectifications" will be of very great economic importance and may leave the little germ from which another great world war may develop. Thus the German people, as fondly desirous of lasting peace as any other people, will be led to give its consent to the insistence of its delegates on the slight "rectifications" under discussion. The Junkers of the Allied countries will have corresponding questions to lay before the people, whose war this is.

In such manner will the democracies of the Allied world be called upon to take the responsibility of drawing up a treaty so equitable that

no one will want to break it—and this on carefully sifted information. For confirmation of this apparently harsh statement, one has but to consider the recent and present attitude of the press of this country on all questions where the rights of humanity conflict with the rights of property which has settled in the hands of the few. We may or may not agree with the Russians. But as between the all-exclusive rights of inanimate property against the all-exclusive rights of a living humanity which yearns for perfection, there can be no choice by him whose heart is not frozen by blood that has turned to gold. The great mass of our people, who are yearning as the Russians have yearned, believes that its fellow pilgrims yonder are little more than a band of anarchists bent on crushing into the earth the last vestiges of a civilization that partly realizes the attainment of their Utopia—and ours.

How have these powerful dailies treated those men of our own country who expressed truly democratic ideas? Ideas in the mouths of statesmen never before were so inimical to them, as for the first time these ideas have meant corresponding actions. The cycle of attacks has passed from Daniels through Baker, Garfield, Hoover, Secretary Wilson, Claxton, Creel, Gregory and others to President Wilson, who has borne the brunt of all these clandestinely purposeful assaults with his customary patience. A canvass of the opinion of the country would reveal the fact, for instance, that Creel is considered too indiscreet for his position. Mr. Creel said that he was glad that we were not holding out an olive branch in our left hand while sneakingly using our right to pull our gun out of our hip-pocket to get the "drop" on our enemy. The essential justice of the remark has passed practically unnoticed because the press has for several years had a practically free-hand in perverting our remnant of chivalry and our moral sense.

There have recently been two great battles between the Administration and the powers shielded from view by the newspapers which our sweating democracy considers bona fide. The first was waged over the direct issue of money—and its phases have been profiteering scandals. The second was a great political battle whose victory by the interests would have permitted them to come very near laughing to scorn the attainment of that peace which will make this, paradoxically

enough, a people's war of emancipation. This was the drive to sanction Japan's encroachment in Siberia.

The profiteering scandals are a double-edged sword that cuts more keenly on the side toward the Administration. The estimated appropriations for Hog Island were scarcely half enough to get the ships started and to provide sufficient remuneration for patrioteering "know how." Indeed, as the matter looks now, it seems that the Administration was at fault for suspecting a corporation which, having been paid for the demonstration of "know how" coyly refrained from any exhibition of precociousness. Compared with Hog Island, however, the Aircraft scandal is as the bucket to the drop. It appears that hundreds of millions of the people's money have been given into the thoughtful care of a group of men who have refused to take "outsiders" into the ring, although the "insiders" could hardly provide for the needs of the government at any price. This group has delayed manufacture of necessary airplanes while it was indulging in exceedingly expensive experimentation to provide a better engine than the ones the Allied governments were willing for us to copy. I venture the group had the patriotic desire to keep invention royalties this side of the Atlantic. In short, hundreds of millions of hard-earned people's dollars have gone to swell the pockets of aeronautical "know how," and not one airplane is in actual service at the front to show that "know how" is qualified for more than being expert in the art of sleight of hand.

Look back over the files of most of our powerful dailies, and you will see by headings to news-items and editorial comment that they are on the side of "know how" which does not show results. *The Times*, for example, presses for investigations when Borglum said in his first letter that an adequate investigation to bring these unconscious aids of the Kaiser to justice would, with all the wagon-loads of papers that might be procurable, be well-nigh impossible. *The Tribune* raps at the "pro-administration" papers which would have it appear that there was any profiteering on the part of those wealthy gentlemen who became the administrators of vast sums of our money. And about all of them with more or less innuendo seek to throw the blame on an Administration which they have proved, to their satisfaction and to that of a good part of an un-

thinking democracy they feed, has already been guilty of gross inefficiency. They take pains to avoid mentioning the crux of the whole matter: "Know how" has been liberally paid to come to the service of the country; it has been given a free-hand to show its heart; it has absorbed tens of millions at Hog Island and hundreds of millions in aircraft production and so far, after months of effort where time is our greatest necessity, it has produced practically nothing. The system which these "kept" newspapers upholds condemns itself with the man who has the energy to think for himself. But do not the masses think that Baker comes very near treason when, with his hopeful pronouncements of progress he supposes was made, he spurred the enemy to added production? The papers say so—and there it is in black and white.

A more momentous battle has just been waged between the newspapers and what they stand for, and Woodrow Wilson and what he stands for—the new era where those that exist now will begin to live and hope for the attainment of greater perfection on earth. The world is at war with the Teutons because they dared to enter with armed forces the country of another nation. The issue these same newspapers have made as clear as an axiom. Yet when it was a question of Japan's entering with armed forces into Siberia to protect it from the spirits of Germans whose bodies were intent on that terrific western drive, our journalistic "friends" isolated Wilson from all but the thinking portion of our public opinion and held him up to the scorn of the overwhelming residue for more of his "watchful waiting." These "friends" of the public that supports them joined the English, French and Japanese press in converging on the most courageous and finely spirited man this side of Russia. This was patriotism, was it? This was devotion to one's country before devotion to any other, was it?

That lies on the surface. Beneath lies the question of partisanship which is at the present moment coming to the front to shield from view the real issue involved. This issue is this: Will Wilson be permitted to bring about the "birth of a new day—a day, we hope and believe, of greater opportunity and greater prosperity for the average mass of struggling men and women, and of greater safety and opportunity for children . . ." as he said in his letter to the New Jersey Democrats? The success of our hopes de-

pends on the attainment of that peace which will leave no rancor in human hearts against human beings. The success of a just and lasting peace depends primarily on Wilson's refusal to sanction, during the remainder of the war, any act that may permit leering diplomats, moral prostitutes to the old order, to sneer at the "fine words" of the delegates of humanity, and say: "Look at what Wilson sanctioned in Asia. Now in peace you wish to change a social order that was good enough for you to assent to in times of stress."

A lawyer pleading his case has sought precedents. The diplomat does likewise, but can go a step farther in bringing about a precedent in fact that bears no relation to equity. Diplomats of the decadent order have just attempted to do that. The lawyer can be seen, however, as he seeks to create a helpful precedent through appeal to equity. The operations of the diplomat are *sub rosa*. This "kept" gentleman (a paradox that will be perfectly evident when women come into equal power) is aided in his clandestine operations by a press that reaches the very vitals of an unconsciously mentally and morally poisoned public. The Administration and the future peace of the world lie in too great measure in its power.

It is well to consider the matter of taking over the daily press of this country in exactly the same fashion that we have taken over the railroads. It is far more important: government administration of the railroads permits greater and more economical transportation facilities; government administration of the press would protect the public mind from further corruption by lies and misrepresentation and give that mind a chance to reach the real issues of this war by the only means within its pecuniary, mental and physical reach. Moreover, if this is a people's war, as Wilson and his Vanguard insist it shall be, the peace must be a people's peace. For the people to be kept in daily touch with peace proceedings in which are involved the future of their souls and bodies, the truth must be carried to them through other channels than the present, which have for long been seeking to discredit the Administration for other than partisan or patriotic motives and which, with their great volume of polluted waters have recently sought to break that great Bulwark which staunchly protects those who are draining their veins and their purses "to make the world safe for *democracy*."

Mobilizing New England Farmers

By Harry W. Olney

New England, land of the Pilgrims' pride—for one who wanders for a first time through that "land where our fathers died," there is a new thrill to the words, today more than ever pregnant with meaning, "from every mountain side, let Freedom ring." The city chimes chant the music at sunset, when the factories are closing for the day and thousands of workers, themselves pilgrims to the land dedicated to freedom, free for the night, come pouring out. Along the old Bay Road, through woods and templed hills, little villages are surprised out of their slumber, in their sleepy hollows, with white church spires lifted above the trees. At every turn one comes upon a Lexington, a Ticonderoga.

New England today, like the country as a whole, is alive with the fervor of the new War for Democracy. And that word, which for so long has meant little more than political freedom, is gradually taking on a new meaning—we are beginning to understand what the President means by "making the world safe for democracy."

Production, especially of foodstuffs and war materials, is being pushed to the utmost by emergency measures. War gardens are everywhere. The county farm bureaus and the agricultural colleges are showing the farmers the best methods in production, the crops most needed in the emergency; they are conducting pig and chicken contests among the boys' and girls' achievement clubs, and are doing what they can to increase the raising of sheep and other livestock.

The state legislatures are appropriating funds for increasing farm production, by providing farm tractors, and in other ways, in conjunction with agricultural colleges and farm bureaus, are trying to solve the so-called labor shortage. For years the cities of New England, as elsewhere, have drawn workers away from the farms, by offering better wages, better living conditions and greater stability of employment, and because of the greater difficulty of engaging in farming, due to mounting land values and increasing costs of equipment and supplies.

Grange organizations are widespread in New England, the Granges, with their "stewards" and "lady assistant stewards." At the present

time there are 1,750 such local organizations in the district, with a membership of 181,000. The meetings of the "locals" are largely devoted to "sociability," and to discussions of farm problems. The State Granges take an active part in legislation, and are responsible for such measures as: The "small-towns road acts," for the improvement of rural roads outside the main highways; the development of rural schools, including rural high schools, agricultural courses in the rural schools, and free transportation and tuition for pupils from the smaller districts to the larger high schools; state appropriations for the development of agricultural colleges; and acts providing for the so-called "equalization of the burden of taxation." Down in Maine the State Grange secured the passage of an act providing for a State Board of Assessors, in preference to the system of town or country assessments for purposes of taxation; and a former Master of the State Grange is chairman of the present Board.

These Granges offer an exceedingly fertile field for economic propaganda, and, with the growth of economic knowledge, should play an important part in achieving social reform.

In co-operative buying and marketing, New England farmers in general have not accomplished a great deal. Their nearness to populous markets has made that end of the problem less acute than in less populous localities, and an old-community conservatism has prevented their seeing the advantages of a united front in buying and selling. There are exceptions to this rule, however: Through the Granges, fertilizers and other supplies are frequently purchased in quantities and distributed at cost, and the county farm bureaus are aiding in this service. At Houlton, Me., in the center of the Aroostook potato district, there is a farmers' co-operative general store serving 1,200 members. In Rockingham County, New Hampshire, in the cranberry belt of Cape Cod, and in the onion district of Franklin County, Massachusetts, co-operative buying and marketing of supplies have made substantial progress.

The competition of the organized farmers of the West is only just beginning to be felt, but this very competition, together with the pressure of

other economic burdens, is driving New England farmers to organize in self-protection. A notable instance of this is in the apple-growing industry. New England cities, like those of many other eastern states, are flooded with apples from the states of Washington and Oregon. The apples from those two states are carefully graded and packed, under the supervision of farmers' co-operative associations, and are shipped east literally by the trainload. New England apple growers, from time immemorial, have been accustomed to shovel a barrellful of apples, good, bad, different and indifferent, take them down to Hen Weatherby's store, and sell them without outside competition. That good old custom, however, is nearly past, and within the past few weeks an organization of New England fruit growers was formed at Springfield, Mass., to meet the competition of their western cousins by adopting their methods. These things take time, but the tendency is well-defined. The county farm bureaus help in this and many other lines.

The first of the New England county farm bureaus, the Hampden County Improvement League, of Massachusetts, was organized in 1912, and since that time the movement has spread to all parts of New England. These leagues are a "cross" between farmers' boards of trade and agricultural college extensions. Funds are provided by membership dues, by county appropriations and by contributions from public-spirited individuals. The idea originated in the Southern States, under impulse of the boll-weevil, and in 1911 the plan was transplanted into Broome County, New York, by the Lackawanna Railroad, in conjunction with the United States Department of Agriculture and the Binghamton Board of Trade. Hon. Raymond A. Pearson, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, at Washington, is authority for the statement that of 2,850 rural counties in the United States, 1,900 now have county farm agents, and about 1,200 have women demonstration agents, as an outgrowth of the farm bureau idea.

An interesting phase of New England farming is the "abandoned farms" of the back districts, notorious the country over. Contrary to current belief, this abandonment is not due to worn-out soil merely, but rather to competition of more favorably located farm lands, and to unscientific farming and lack of co-operation among farmers. The owners have fought losing games against tax

collectors, mortgage holders, commission men, and the high cost of living, and then "sort o' g'in out." Thousands of acres of grazing lands would come into use if thrown into larger tracts, freed from the burden of excessive taxation, and developed by modern methods. Much of it is excellent apple land, which should come into use with the development of co-operative marketing. Winston Churchill, a few years ago, called attention to a "back-to-the-home-state" movement on the part of New Hampshire men, who have not found the West all their fancies pictured it. The free lands of the West, whose passing marks nothing less than a turning-point in civilization, have lured the younger generations away from lands, which, situated near the greatest markets, should be developed.

Senator Harding, of Ohio, recently mildly estimated the unused cultivable farm lands of New England at half a million acres. Even the lands of the fertile Connecticut River Valley, and of other rich New England districts, are far from adequately cultivated. The population of New England in 1910 was seven millions, half a million less than that of Belgium at that time; yet New England's area is 66,424 square miles, six times that of Belgium. And New England imports apples from the Pacific Coast, grain from the Middle and Northern States, and meat from Chicago and points west, and therefore competes with starving Belgium, France and England for such supplies.

The Granges and their allies are fully aware of the fact that for the past three-quarters of a century New England farming has been undergoing a process of demobilization. According to the Federal census of 1860, there were then about 12,000,000 acres of land in cultivation in New England, and that figure had dwindled to seven and a quarter millions in 1910. One of the factors in this demobilization appears in the increase of farm land values. Land values were not segregated in the census of 1860, but from 1900 to 1910 New England farm land values increased from \$283,000,000 to \$381,000,000, nearly a hundred millions—a tough obstacle for the advocates of mobilization to climb over. In the same ten-year period the acreage of farms of over 500 acres increased from 10.4 per cent. of the total acreage to 13 per cent. The decrease in land cultivated was fairly uniform in all states except Maine, where the cultivated acreage increased

from 2,039,000 acres in 1850, to 2,360,000 in 1910. The average annual gross income per farm in 1910, including products raised and consumed on the farm, varied from \$715 in New Hampshire, the lowest average, to \$1,400 in Massachusetts, the highest. The proportion of tenant farmers in the district decreased about eight per cent. between 1880 and 1910, there being 15,000 tenant farmers in 1910, to 174,000 farming their own land. The proportion of tenant farmers is practically uniform in all the states except Rhode Island, where one-fourth of all farmers are tenants.

In knowledge of political economy, rural New England is about as far advanced as—well, as America as a whole. We have been too busy plowing—and speculating in real estate—to pay much attention to that all-important subject. The relationship, for instance, of billions of dollars of land values in New York city alone—to say nothing of the cities of New England and all the world—to the high cost of living and the consequent net income of all members of the productive community—that relationship is about as Greek to the great bulk of New England farmers as—well, as to people everywhere. The Granges are the real hope of the farmers in this respect. And some day a modern Paul Revere, many of him, let us hope, will ride through every village and town and rouse the new New England to a new battle for human rights, proclaiming the doctrine that the fruits of the earth are for the producers thereof, that the means of acquiring unearned wealth, whether through land values speculation or otherwise, should be dammed at its sources. And when that time comes, honest and patriotic men will differ as radically in their opinions on the subject as they have differed at every crisis in the Nation's affairs.

But first there is an ugly job in Europe to be finished. And New England farmers are mobilizing in the face of the forces of demobilization to meet the common foe "over there."

RELATED THINGS

"Automatic Tax System" for Ohio

The Ohio Tax League is spending money for advertisements as follows:

"Lower taxes in Ohio on business and realty will result from fair taxation. More revenue to cities for war purposes will also result. Bring above about by

mortgage recording tax, nominal rate on deposits, low rate on securities, and strict limit of 1 per cent on business and realty."

At the last session of the Ohio Legislature, a resolution was passed submitting to a vote of the people next fall an amendment to Section 2 of Article 12 of the state constitution, which amendment, if adopted, will add the following words:

"And laws may be passed to provide against the double taxation which results from the taxation of both the real estate and the mortgage, or the debt secured thereby, or other lien upon it."

If the people adopt this amendment, the Ohio Tax League will ask the Legislature to abolish the annual mortgage tax, which is said to be dodged to such an extent as to yield little revenue, and substitute therefor a mortgage recording tax.

The Ohio Tax League's field manager, C. P. Lockwood, says:

"The mortgage recording tax is the first step toward an automatic tax system in Ohio by which every man will pay his share, based upon income, and levied in such a way that the system will collect itself with scarcely any cost and without opportunity for evasion. It (the recording tax) will furnish much more revenue for the schools and cities, and the tax is payable but once, when the mortgage is recorded, thus making the mortgage tax free thereafter. This will reduce the interest rate to all who borrow money to build homes, and will reduce rents because it will decrease the expenses of property. Five states have adopted the mortgage recording tax, and it is the greatest advance in taxation in a thousand years."

I believe that the effort will be made to make the mortgage recording tax as heavy "as the traffic will bear," but that is not susceptible of proof at this time. The Ohio Tax League openly advocates larger revenue by this method, and in order to accomplish that result, the recording tax must equal at least as much as one year's tax amounts to at the present rate of the annual tax on mortgages; and I have heard a hint that a demand will be made on the Legislature that the recording tax be made equal to at least 3 or 4 per cent. on the face value of the mortgage.

The Ohio Tax League having published no further details of its automatic tax system, I can only give conjectures based on the above statements and on rumors that have reached me.

First, however, I want to notice the peculiar constitutional amendment upon which the people of Ohio are to vote next November. It professes a desire to abolish double taxation, yet the ac-

knowledgeed aim of its promoters is to raise more revenue than is now raised by the annual mortgage tax. How the recording tax will abolish double taxation is, therefore, a mystery; for there is no hint that the Ohio Tax League will ask to have the realty tax abolished. If double taxation is to be abolished, either the realty tax or the mortgage tax must be wiped out. My explanation is—and I admit that at present it is not susceptible of proof—that the League hopes ultimately to have the English system adopted, whereby the present direct tax on real estate would be abolished, and, substituted therefor, a tax on the occupiers and users of real estate in proportion to the annual rent, leaving vacant land and real estate having no tenants without any tax whatever.

The landed interest in Ohio is the most powerful financially in the state and is highly organized. Under skillful leadership, it can control the press, the courts, the pulpit, and the college, and can pretty nearly have its own way. A small number of families own the enormously swollen land values in the business sections of the cities and they literally fight any attempt to raise their assessments for purposes of taxation. Many of these families reside elsewhere and contribute nothing to the development of the state. They draw millions annually in unearned incomes; yet, like Oliver Twist, they ask for more, without Oliver's excellent excuse.

One of Mr. Lockwood's statements should be noticed. He promises that the mortgage recording tax will not only compel money lenders to pay a heavier tax, but will make it easier to borrow money.

The constitution of Ohio requires all property to be assessed, for purposes of taxation, at its true value in money. This was passed by pioneer farmers when most property was out doors and its value could be fairly well ascertained by ordinary assessors. As the state grew in population, and intangible personal property came to figure in the statistics, and large land values tempted the cupidity of men, Ohio Legislatures, session after session, exercised extraordinary ingenuity in devising methods to get more and more personal property on the assessment rolls. Even tax spies were employed and offered as high as 20 per cent. for the detection of hidden property. A state commission appointed by Mr. McKinley when he was governor, reported that

Ohio's personal property tax system was "a school of perjury."

The theory of the law is that the state shall find and assess property, but this was frankly abandoned by the present Legislature in setting up new assessing machinery, and now only such personal property is taxed as citizens are themselves disposed to list.

This threatens an increase of taxes for the landed interests, and hence the work of the Ohio Tax League to establish its automatic tax plan.

What the full plan is, must, as I have said, be described from conjecture and rumor.

As regards money in banks, which now almost wholly escapes taxation, I think it is safe to predict that the Ohio Tax League will ask the Legislature to enact a law to compel all banks in the state to pay a tax of one mill on each dollar of deposits and charge the amount to the depositors. This would involve vast clerical labor for the banks, for which they could justly ask compensation; and, whether the amount of the tax would equal the cost, I am not able to say. There are millions of small depositors. A tax rate of one mill on a \$250.00 deposit certainly would hardly pay, when it is considered that the bank would be obliged to make an entry on its own books and on the book of the depositor.

The banking and landowning interests are not clear and distinct. Many bankers are large landowners. It is possible that the banks might consent to this plan, although they have been powerful enough heretofore to prevent the taxation of bank deposits. Every time the Legislature has been engaged in making a new tax law—and it occurs nearly every two years—the bankers have quietly secured the insertion of a paragraph forbidding assessors from asking for or receiving information regarding deposits from anyone connected with a bank.

In spite of the constitution, it has been the custom for years in Ohio to exempt from taxation all stocks of Ohio corporations, and to assess stocks of outside corporations, doing business in Ohio, at par rather than at actual value. Large owners of capital stock might consent to pay a small tax rate on their holdings for the sake of reducing or abolishing taxes on land values, for many of them are landowners, and they know that a land value tax cannot be shifted.

As for household goods, I am inclined to believe that the automatic plan contemplates abol-

ishing the present tax and substituting therefor an annual license fee to be paid by householders for the privilege of enjoying a home.

What the advertisement of the Ohio Tax League means by demanding "a strict limit of one per cent on business," I am at a loss to explain; but I have heard a hint that it is planned to extend the occupation tax into all fields of human endeavor. Perhaps it means a tax of one per cent. annually on wages, salaries and manufacturing and mercantile profits.

If this all were possible of realization, the landowners of Ohio could be free from taxation as landowners.

HOWARD W. HOLMES.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Australian Prime Minister

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

In the issue of THE PUBLIC of March 9, 1918, Mr. Paul Kellogg, editor of *The Survey*, states that the British Labor Delegation then in this country "has been selected without reference to or consultation with the British Labor Party, and are not in any true sense representative." There was undoubtedly an effort on the part of the press in this country to mislead the American people as to the true status of the Labor Delegation. A similar misrepresentation of the facts of the case seems to be about to be perpetrated in regard to Mr. Hughes, the prime minister of Australia, who is now passing through the United States on his way to the Imperial War Conference in London.

Mr. Hughes, according to some press reports, is a labor leader and, it is implied, represents the Labor Movement of Australia. Be it said, however, that Mr. Hughes does not in any way represent the Labor Party of Australia; it is even doubtful that he represents Australia at all.

In the federal election of 1914, the Labor Party was returned to power with 41 seats to 34 in the House of Representatives and Mr. Andrew Fisher, the leader of the Labor Party, became prime minister. In the latter half of 1915, Mr. Fisher was appointed High Commissioner for Australia in London and Mr. Hughes became prime minister and leader of the Labor Party. In 1916, Mr. Hughes as prime minister went to England and was lionized by the press of Great Britain. He absorbed certain ideas in England and returned to Australia with the determination to apply conscription to Australia. However, the Labor Party would have none of it. Finally the question was submitted to a referendum of the people of Australia and Mr. Hughes' proposal was rejected by a majority of 61,000 on October 28, 1916. After the referendum, Mr. Hughes and other laborites who had supported him against the wishes of the party were dismissed from the party. Mr. Hughes and his ex-Labor supporters formed a National

Labor Party. The Nationalists with the aid of the Liberals (the anti-Labor party) had a majority against the Official Labor Party.

At the federal election held on May 5, 1917, the Nationalists and Liberals were victorious, obtaining 52 seats to 23, although the popular vote gave 47 per cent of the total vote to the Labor candidates. Mr. Hughes won the election on a Win-the-War program and a promise that conscription, if necessary, to win the war, would again be decided upon by the voters at a referendum. A second referendum was therefore taken on December 20, 1917, and Mr. Hughes' proposal was defeated by a majority of nearly 170,000. At the second referendum it was apparent that Mr. Hughes no longer had the confidence of the country. It was expected that Mr. Hughes would either resign or that a general election would be held. Mr. Hughes resigned only to assume office again. The Labor Party is expecting a general election at any time, but it seems that the anti-Labor forces are determined that at all costs a general election must be prevented. Sir William Irvine, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party and a member of the Hughes coalition cabinet, in a speech delivered in March, 1918, said that a general election must not be allowed to take place as such an election would return Labor to power. This result, according to Sir William, would be fraught with danger because the war aims of the Australian Labor Party are much the same as those of the British Labor Party. Sir William Irvine's prediction that Labor would be returned to power is substantiated by the fact that in the state election in Queensland on March 16, 1918, the Labor Party defeated the combination of Nationalists and Liberals by winning 48 seats to 24 in the State House. Queensland in the federal election of May 5, 1917, went anti-Labor by a small majority; now it has gone Labor by a huge majority—in fact, the largest majority Labor has ever had in any of the parliaments, state or federal, of Australia.

In view of these facts, it is evident that Mr. Hughes can in no way be considered as the mouthpiece of Australian Labor.

AUSTRALIAN LABORITE.

St. Paul, Minn.

Monopolizing the Press

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

The monopoly of the daily press would be a very serious matter if public opinion any longer permitted itself to be guided by that agency. Recent elections indicate that whatever it may be which determines public opinion, it is no longer the press. Wilson was very generally supported by the Metropolitan press. The papers which pretended to support Hughes were half-hearted where they were not treacherous. Yet Wilson carried New York City, an unusually Democratic stronghold, by only 40,000 and lost the State by 110,000.

Whitman was generally opposed and Seabury favored by the press. Yet Whitman won by 150,000. The Hearst papers, of an enormous circulation and supposed to exert a great influence on the type of

citizen who reads them, opposed Seabury bitterly. Yet he received more votes in New York City than did Hylan, whom Hearst favored in the recent Mayoralty election.

In the Mayoralty campaign of 1917 Mitchel had all the papers except the Hearst and Socialistic papers; yet he only polled one-fifth of the vote cast.

If these facts mean anything, they show that journalistic control of the Government is a myth. Of course, it seems that the people must get the facts to base their opinions on from the newspapers, but the conclusions at which they arrive are their own. From recent indications, unanimous press support of a candidate dooms him to defeat. The daily press no longer reflects the *opinions of the masses*. Even though press sentiment be divided, which would seem to make it easy for some group of papers to be on the winning side, they usually fail to accomplish it. What the man in the street is thinking about, if he is thinking about anything, remains as much of a mystery to the editors as to the politicians.

JONATHAN J. MAGRUDER.

New York.

BOOKS

Mr. Baker's War Speeches

Frontiers of Freedom. By Newton D. Baker. Published by George H. Doran Company. Price \$1.50 net.

To read this volume of short, and, for the most part, extemporaneous addresses by the Secretary of War is to be stirred by many emotions. And for one reader at least these culminated in a great pride in America and a great faith in us as a people. For Mr. Baker is disclosed to us here as not only the organizer of great armies who is also gentle, kind and just, the scholar who is also the politician, the radical and the dreamer who is intensely practical, a man of action on a great scale. He is disclosed also as essentially American, as one of us, as the possessor of qualities that we can identify in the life about us. He is as American as the smoking car, or the church social, or base-ball, or Chicago. So that one feels in reading these addresses that the generosity and the idealism of them are the generosity and idealism of a great people, with whom Mr. Baker shares them and for whom he serves as truly representative. There is no "fine writing," there is no rhetoric. There is first and last the animating ideal of democracy as a rule of action, as a growing thing ever adapting its methods to the needs of the hour and applying in each new situation the test of whether or not our political and economic arrangements are so ordered as to procure for each individual the highest possible measure of liberty and well-being and justice. And spoken as most of the addresses were to public bodies interested in an account of his stewardship, theory is everywhere checked by practice, so that before the book is finished we cannot fail to realize how well every ideal, every fine precept, has been exemplified in action. His account of the measures taken to safeguard labor standards and keep our industrial life at home healthy during the war is a case in point.

It is this squaring of the ideal and the practical, this assurance that in Mr. Baker we are getting not merely promise but performance, that makes his book so tremendously heartening. To be an idealist and at the same time intensely practical is characteristic of the best Americans. Yet history records very few instances in which men of such conspicuous success in action have possessed the scholarship, the insight, the vision, the power of expression, to illuminate as Mr. Baker has done the true meanings and bearings of the events in which they were playing leading parts.

But even if Mr. Baker were not Secretary of War, if he were instead a retired essayist, this book would be well worth reading. There is meat in every one of its 335 pages—keen observation, intense practicality, ripe scholarship, clear analysis of our times and our institutions by a mind that understands the significance of the modern machine process and the changes it has wrought, a mind that sees the defeat of Germany as the immediate task of over shadowing importance, but also as only a part of the work that still lies ahead for democracy.

The quotations that follow do not sound the keynote of the book. They are not the finest bits. But they show the quality of Mr. Baker's mind and heart. In one of the addresses he likens Germany to the King in Shakespeare who lay before his tent on the eve of battle and in a dream saw the figures of those he had done to death trooping before him. And he draws this lesson for America:

"It teaches us that some day we may have to sleep in front of the tent; as a nation there may come a critical hour in our national life when we will be called upon to review our past and see whether we are worthy to live, whether or not we ought to give place to something stronger and more virile, and more righteous than we; and if the figures that pass our tent door are denials of democracy, are refusals to recognize our environment; if they are injustices to great groups of our fellow citizens; if they are arrogations and special privileges to particular groups of men or women, of either to the exclusion of the other; if those are the figures that pass before the tent—then we may be very sure that the battle on the morrow will go to the stronger race. But if the figures that pass before that tent door are figures of a people who really do love democracy and progress, who at every step in their national career sought to readjust themselves to the environment in which they lived—if they are figures representing recognition of the rights of individuals to the highest fine development of which their capacities are susceptible; if the figures that troop by are justice, in the adequate and fundamental sense, and real recognition of the rights of others; then we can face the breaking of the morning and the onset of battle, just as we can face it now in the contest that is ahead of us, . . . sure that endurance and perpetuity must in the very nature of things and in the justice of nature, be awarded to those who are faithful to such ideals."

Elsewhere he shows that far removal from narrow nationalism which must condition any great gain to

come of this war. "I would far rather," he said in addressing the Southern Society of New York, "have the triumph of democracy the reward of the associated effort of democratic peoples everywhere; so that when this war is over neither we nor they can have any monopoly of that virtue, but will be partners in its glory, and so associates in the further progress which is to be made."

Appropriate just now is this from an address to college presidents who met in Washington to consider how they could best help:

"This is the time for physicians of public opinion to exercise a curative impulse. You gentlemen and the young men who are in your colleges, and who go to their homes from your colleges and write to their homes from your colleges, making up a very large part of the direction of public opinion, you can exercise a curative influence by preaching the doctrine of tolerance, by exemplifying the fact that it is not necessary for a nation like the United States, which is fighting for the vindication of a great ideal, to discolor its purpose by hatreds or by the entertainment of an unworthy emotion. . . . We ought never to lose sight of the fact that the purpose of this war is not aggression, is not punishment; it is not inspired by resentments nor fed by ambitions, but it is loyalty to an ideal, and that ideal is freeing the world from an impossible international philosophy, a philosophy in which, if it should prevail, no freedom is left or is safe."

The book contains Mr. Baker's comprehensive statement of war preparations before the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, and his addresses to American troops in France. The material was collected and put together by Mr. Ralph A. Hayes, private secretary to Mr. Baker, without the latter's knowledge. Mr. Hayes has thus done us a real service. The book is beautifully printed.

Democracy vs. Leadership

The Nemesis of Mediocrity. By Ralph Adams Cram, Litt.D., Le.D. Published by Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 1917. Price 75 cents.

Dr. Cram is not merely the world's leading authority on Gothic and, probably, America's greatest architect. He is also a keenly analytical thinker who is ever brave enough to say, when he believes them, even those things which are heretically opposed to popular prejudices. In this not very long volume he has said his interesting say more clearly and convincingly than anywhere else, at least to my knowledge.

Proposition one in this book is that this age of ours, in its art, literature, statecraft, education, philosophy, and religion is lacking in adequate leadership. It must be admitted that the pages of comparison in this respect between today and even as late as a generation ago are rather startling to one who may not have thought much about leadership. In education Newman and Arnold are followed by Flexner; Browning is succeeded by the exemplars of *vers libre*; Burne-Jones and St.

Gaudens give way in art to the cubists; even in German statecraft Bismarck is worth fifty Wilhelms or Hindenburgs; Disraeli and Gladstone give place in England to Asquith and Lloyd George; and in religious leadership Martineau, Brooks, and Manning are gone, while H. G. Wells and Billy Sunday seek to prophesy. Bitter medicine these pages to any complacent modernist. The disgusting thing is that the writer proves his thesis so convincingly!

Of course it is admitted that we do have leadership in materialistic science. Dr. Cram thinks, though,—and anyone observing our very efficient, scientific world hell of today will surely agree with him,—that such leadership cannot supplant, with safety to the race, strong idealistic leadership. Man lives not by bread alone, or, when he does, he sinks to beastly levels and perishes of soul rot. Nor is this the only danger to the race at present. Men must follow some leaders. If great men are not raised up for them, they will follow puerile men who will lead us all into such incompetence that we and our institutions will not find brains enough for self-maintenance. The imminent danger of mediocrity is Dr. Cram's second point.

His third contention is that this deplorable incompetence, this reliance upon mediocrity is due to and to be blamed upon Democracy. The author cheerfully admits that today almost no one will admit this contention. That, however, bothers him not a whit. *Ralph contra mundum!*

Democrats, however, should not give up here, in anger or disgust. Dr. Cram proceeds to a differentiation, between essential democracy and democracy of mere method and mechanism, that is most thought provoking. Essential democracy, says he, is a fundamental demand for "three things: abolition of privilege, equal opportunity for all, and utilization of ability." It is not that ideal which has produced mediocrity. It is, rather, the lack of that ideal among most so-called democrats, who see in such things as direct legislation, parliamentary reform, abolition of upper legislative chambers, universal suffrage, and laws and ordinances innumerable such marvelous social panaceas as make grim, fundamentally democratic efforts quite unnecessary.

There are a good many self-styled, cock-sure democrats who will fling this book from them in anger. There are many others, though—outlandish radicals, "undesirable citizens," hair-brained dreamers, and people of more than common common sense—in one of which classes I belong) who are as sick as is Dr. Cram of perpetual tinkering laws enacted by incompetent and pettifogging legislatures and by congressmen capable of the unbelievable inanities of the Congressional Record; of the clouding of clear issues by unending creations of so-called democratic machinery which, as anyone might have foreseen, when established fail because they are used by an undemocratic citizenship; of the discouragement given to true ability; and of the everlasting puffs handed to "the common man" who, as Kelly of Kelham once said to me, "is, as all democrats ought to admit, quite commonly a silly ass." Those of vision enough of life to compre-

hend that the form of government is of small importance compared with the intent of government, those who perceive that the vilest enemy of true democracy is neither autocracy, or aristocracy, but plain, vulgar, complacent materialism—such democrats will be glad this book was written.

The conclusion, showing how little an allied victory with arms will profit the world without an awakening to fundamental democracy is alone worth reading the book for.

This is a real volume for real people. Parlor democrats should save their money and not invest in it.

BERNARD IDDINGS BELL.

The Mysticism of Love

Lover's Gift and Crossing. By Rabindranath Tagore. Published by The Macmillan Company. New York, 1918. Price \$1.25.

"Life forgets for she has her call to the Endless, and she goes on her way unburdened, leaving her memories to the forlorn forms of beauty."

In these "forms of beauty" the poet embodies his moods and spiritual adventures, and gives the mystery of love and the mystery of death as they appear to the soul of a man reared in the philosophy of the East, who is also familiar with western ideals. The rhythms of life with their undertones of death pulse through his music; we feel them in the poignant passion of spring as it comes to the sad heart; in the dreams of elusive and timid love; in the scent of the native flowers as the Beloved leans from her balcony, unveiling her beauty in the twilight; in the gleam of sunset waters and the splash of oars, as the boatman ferries a mysterious maiden to a mysterious shore; in the lure of the long road and in the rapture of abandonment to the unknown.

The first part of the book contains the love poems rich in oriental imagery, but expressed with an almost western restraint. The symbolical language used gives occasion for pictures of Indian life to which the series owes its individual character. Among these poems are some that are reminiscent of "The Crescent Moon," and some, such as that beginning, "Take back your money, King's Counsellor," that have the pure flame of "Chitra." In this part is to be found the strongest poem in the book, "You had your rudder broken many a time, my boat, and your sails torn to tatters," which concludes, "Then break your chain, my boat, and be free, and fearlessly rush to your wreck." A hint of the doctrine of re-incarnation is given in "There is a Looker-On who sits behind my eyes," and the same gentle mysticism becomes increasingly apparent in the second part of the book.

This part is written in the mood of a man who has had a revelation that has filled him with awe and exaltation; joy in physical beauty passes into a kind of spiritual ecstasy on the death of the Beloved, and thence into faith in a divine ordering of the universe and of individual experience, the faith of a child

clinging to a strong hand and looking out upon the world with wondering eyes. Love and religious feeling are here closely akin, and are expressed in similar terms; wonder, worship, tenderness, suffering, are involved in both, hence it seems fitting that these two series of poems should appear together. In the second part we are haunted by echoes of David and the English mystics of the Seventeenth century who expressed the same intimacy between the soul and its lover; by echoes of Shelley in its passionate pantheism; and of Whitman in its spiritual daring.

There is a certain monotony of theme and imagery in these poems which might become wearisome did it not seem like a kind of refrain, or under-current of accompaniment to the more striking and individual movements.

VIOLET B. DISMORR.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending May 21

Congress

The House Public Lands Committee reported favorably the Administration leasing bill, designed to "free producer and consumer from monopoly, insure competition, prevent speculation" and amicably settle litigation that sprang up from executive withdrawal of mineral lands. The Senate authorized an appropriation of \$4,432,000 to purchase the pneumatic tubes in New York and five other cities. The act was opposed by Postmaster Burleson. The Post Office appropriation bill containing \$381,000,000 was passed by the Senate. This is \$47,300,000 more than the House bill. The bill contains increases in postal salaries estimated to amount to \$40,000,000. The House adopted the conference report of the registration in the draft of youths who have become twenty-one years of age since last June. The bill provides that youths registered under it shall be placed at the bottom of the lists of those classes to which they will be assigned, and that students now in medical and theological schools shall be exempt from the draft. The Senate Naval Committee reported the naval appropriation bill carrying \$1,587,000,000, which is \$202,840,000 more than the House bill. [See current volume, page 643.]

America's War Preparations

The total subscriptions for the third Liberty Loan were \$4,170,019,650. The minimum asked was \$3,000,000,000. Every Federal Reserve District exceeded its quota. The number of subscribers was over seventeen million. With more than 500,000 men already overseas, it is estimated that the number will exceed a million before the end of summer. To facilitate the gathering of supplies Quartermaster-General Goethals announces thirteen zones with depots at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Atlanta, Jeffersonville (Ind.), Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Fort Sam Houston, Omaha, El Paso and San Francisco. What is announced as the largest gun plant in the world

will be established on Neville Island, near Pittsburgh. The cost of the plant is estimated at \$50,000,000. Another "largest in the world" undertaking is the erection in Brooklyn of a building and piers to serve as a new supply base for overseas transport service. The estimated cost is \$40,000,000. The 5,548-ton steamship launched in 27 days was turned over to her crew ready for sea in 37 days from the laying of her keel. Wooden ships have been launched at the rate of more than one a day for the past four weeks. Additional loans of \$200,000,000 have been made to Great Britain, \$100,000,000 to France and \$100,000,000 to Italy, making the total loaned to the Allies, \$5,763,850,000. The Railroad Administration has decided to expend in betterments \$937,961,318, of which \$440,071,000 will be for additions, stations and other property improvements, \$479,686,000 for cars and locomotives, and \$18,203,000 for track extension.

President Wilson and the Red Cross

The President came to New York to take part in launching the movement to secure one hundred million dollars for the American Red Cross. He marched on foot at the head of a procession of 70,000. In the evening he spoke at the Metropolitan Opera House in behalf of the society, and uttered some statements regarding the country's relation to the war. Our first duty, he said, was to win the war. Our second duty was to win it in a way to show our real power and our real purpose. "We are not to be diverted from the grim purpose of winning the war," he said, "by any insincere approaches upon the subject of peace. I can say with a clear conscience that I have tested those intimations, and have found them insincere." And he added significantly regarding the German proposal of concessions in the West for a free hand in the East: "So far as I am concerned I propose to stand by Russia as well as France." Again he said: "If they wish peace let them come forward through accredited representatives and lay their terms on the table. We have laid ours, and they know what they are." The Red Cross, he said, gave us an opportunity to demonstrate character, and declared that the war was knitting us together closer than a hundred years of peace. Friendship, he declared, was the only cement that would hold the world together. "The duty that faces us all now is to serve one another, and no man can afford to make a fortune out of this war."

League to Enforce Peace Convention

The League to Enforce Peace held a "win the war" convention in Philadelphia, May 16 and 17. The platform adopted gave unstinted support to the President, and denounced Germany for her false peace moves, which it declared would be merely a truce, pending a still greater strife hereafter. No peace can be lasting till militarism has been destroyed. The platform welcomes the declaration of the representatives of organized labor that the workingmen sympathize with these views and promise "top speed and 100 per cent efficiency."

European War

All military operations on the Western front have been confined to local attacks, artillery duels, and air fighting. Numerous small advances have been made by the Allies, involving in some instances the capture of several hundred prisoners. The renewal of the German offensive appears to be delayed by wet weather, which has made the ground too soft for the rapid movement of heavy guns. It is reported that the Germans have 1,900,000 men ready for a new attack. Greater activity is noted on the Italian front, where the Italians have won several smaller successes. An advance is also noted on the Macedonia front. Operations in Palestine are reported by the British to have been successful east of the Jordan. The Turks are still advancing in Transcaucasia, and the Germans have taken Abo, formerly the capital of Finland. [See current volume, page 645.]

* *

Air raiding appears to be growing in frequency and intensity. Numerous assaults have been made by Allied planes on German military depots. Thirty-seven persons were killed and 155 wounded by a German raid on London the night of the 19th. Both the British and the American naval authorities report great gains in the anti-submarine war, with fewer ships sunk and more U-boats destroyed. The British have laid an extensive mine field in the North Sea, between Scotland and Norway, to hamper German submarines and cruisers. Italian naval forces entered the harbor at Pola and sank an Austrian battleship of the *Viribus Unitis* type (20,000 tons), by torpedoes.

* *

The question of the Prussian suffrage continues to be a vital issue. The provision for equal manhood suffrage was rejected in the Prussian Lower House by a vote of 236 to 185. Herr Friedberg, Vice-President of the Prussian State Ministry, speaking in the Lower House, said the Government continues to adhere to equal suffrage, and is resolved to employ all constitutional means to carry it through. The Government, however, takes the view that the Upper House is an equal factor, and must first pronounce its decision. Should the Upper House reject the bill, the Vice-President said, the House will be dissolved at the earliest date consistent with war conditions.

* *

The prospect of new thrones in the East appears to have led to a considerable rivalry among German Princes. So keen, indeed, is the campaign conducted by the friends of the various families to whom the honors may fall that the *Vorwarts* is moved to observe ironically that lest German unity be endangered the thrones should be filled with Turkish princes. A new Polish cabinet, the third since German occupation, has been formed at Warsaw under the Premiership of J. K. Steczkowski, who proclaims "a policy of conciliation toward the Central Powers in exchange for their support of the Polish national aims." This

is supposed to be in opposition to the wishes of the mass of the Polish people, who are opposed to both Germany and Austria. Germany and Austria have ratified the new ministry.

* *

German capitalists are reported to be making extensive purchases of mineral lands, banks, and industrial plants in Russia, and are devising means of ousting the French holders of mineral rights in German Lorraine. The British Government announced in the Commons its intention hereafter to adopt the policy of the French Government of excluding from commercial conventions the "most favored nation" clause, which means that a renewal of trade treaties with enemy countries will not necessarily contain all the privileges of the most favored nation. The war treaty between Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia has been superseded by a new treaty, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, which eliminates the original bargain with Italy as to territorial concessions.

* *

American casualties to date, as given by the War Department, May 20, are: Killed in action, 701; killed by accident, 242; died of disease, 1,062; lost at sea, 238; died of other causes, 82; total, 2,325; wounded, 3,407; captured, 64; missing, 226; total casualties, 6,022.

Ireland

No progress is apparent in the Irish question. Both conscription and home rule appear to be held in abeyance. The discovery of what is reported to be a conspiracy between Irish revolutionists and the German Government has led to the arrest of the leaders of the Sinn Feiners, including Professor Edward de Valera, president of the league, and Arthur Griffiths, founder. The number of arrests is given as 500, all being made at night and without any disorder. The arrests were preceded by a proclamation of the new Lord Lieutenant warning the people against treason, and calling upon them to aid in suppressing traitors. A meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party, in Dublin, issued an appeal to the President and people of the United States to avert Irish conscription, and aid in securing Ireland's Independence. New leaders have been chosen in place of those arrested, and the members have been counseled to remain quiet. A conference was held in New York of the Friends of Irish Freedom on the 18th and 19th, at which resolutions were passed calling upon the Administration to intercede in behalf of Ireland. [See current volume, tpage 613.]

Russia

Food continues to be a matter of grave concern throughout European Russia, particularly in the cities, and in the territory occupied by the Germans. Petrograd is reported on the verge of famine. The Ukraine and the provinces within reach of the German arms have been drained till there is not seed enough for planting. Peasants are suspicious of both the Germans and of their own Government. That the supplies obtained by the Germans have been inconsiderable would appear from the reduction of the German rations at home. War has been proclaimed by Berlin in the

provinces of Odessa, Poltava and Ekaterinoslav. The Soviet Government has again appealed to the German Government to respect the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and to withdraw its troops from Russian territory. Martial law has been proclaimed at Odessa by the Austrian commandant. Street fighting is frequent, and thousands are leaving the city. The Russian Foreign Minister, Tchitcherin, declined Germany's offer to act for Russia in the negotiations between the Transcaucasian Government and Turkey, and says Russia does not acknowledge the independence of Transcaucasia. Germany in making a treaty with Lithuania says: "We assume the conventions to be concluded will take the interests of the German Empire to account equally with those of Lithuania, and that Lithuania will participate in the war burdens which secured her liberation." [See current volume, page 645.]

End of the British Anti-Suffrage

The British League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was formally dissolved at a special council meeting. Lord Weardale, in moving the resolution, said they had been overwhelmed not by argument or logic, but by a wave of sentimentality. The Dowager Countess of Jersey said, in seconding the motion, that women would use their new power wrongly because they believed in the spirit of womanly devotion and self-sacrifice. The surplus funds of the League, amounting to "several thousand pounds," are to be devoted to the Royal National Pension Fund for Nurses.

Compulsory Marriage in Germany

The German commission appointed to examine into the decline in the birth rate in Germany recommends compulsory marriage of Germans before their twentieth year is passed. Financial aid is to be provided where necessary, with punishment for failure to comply, and penalties for married couples that remain childless. The report shows a decline in the birth rate for the three years 1915-16-17 equivalent to 2,000,000 infants. Forty per cent fewer births occurred in 1916 than in 1913. The decrease for the corresponding period in England and Wales was 10 per cent. Infant mortality in Germany is 50 per cent higher than in England and Wales.

New York's Barge Canal

The new Barge Canal connecting the Hudson River with Lake Erie, and having laterals to Lakes Champlain and Lake Ontario, was opened on the 15th. The main canal which follows in part the famous Erie Canal, has a length of 352 miles. To this is added the Oswego and Cayuga-Seneca Canals, 100 miles; the Champlain Canal, connecting that lake with the Hudson, 80 miles; making a total of inland navigable waterways of 532 miles. The new canal cost \$150,000,000, or about one day's cost of the war. It has a depth of twelve feet and a minimum width of seventy-five feet. There are fifty-seven locks, 44 by 300 feet. Its freight capacity is estimated at 10,000,000, equivalent to half a million freight car loads.

NOTES

—British imports, according to a statement in the House of Commons, were 40 per cent less in 1917 than in 1913, and the exports 30 per cent less. The aggregate output of the various industries was little less. A million and a half more women had gone into industry, and both men and women were working harder and longer hours.

—When the Hungarian authorities, shortly after the beginning of the war suppressed the Slovak newspapers, the Slovaks turned to the Czech press for information. Now the same authorities, in order to quell the revolutionary spirit among the Slovaks have forbidden the Czech newspapers published in Bohemia and Moravia to circulate in Slovakia.

—Twenty-one of "the most prominent" citizens of Bisbee, Arizona, are under Federal indictments for "conspiracy to deprive a citizen of the United States of his legal rights in violation of Section 19 of the Penal Code." These indictments grew out of the deportation of copper mine workers in May, 1917. The men, who are well known throughout Arizona, are under bonds of \$5,000.

—The National Education Association Commission on the National Emergency in Education and Necessary Readjustment During and After the War, representing thousands of loyal and patriotic teachers, believes the practice of giving instruction to children in the common branches in a foreign tongue to be un-American and unpatriotic, and we believe that all instruction in the common branches for all children in every state in this Union should be in the English language.

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Act of March 8, 1879.

Government Has Good Jobs for Statisticians and Accountants

The United States Civil Service Commission announces that the Bureau of Ordnance of the War Department is in urgent need of statistical experts at \$1,800 to \$4,500 a year; statisticians at \$1,800 a year, and clerks qualified in statistics, clerks qualified in accounting, and clerks qualified in business administration at \$1,000 to \$1,800 a year. These examinations are open to both men and women, except the examination for statistical expert, which is open only to men.

Competitors will not be required to report at any place for examination, but will be rated upon their education, training and experience, as shown by their applications and corroborative evidence.

The Commission urges qualified persons to offer their services to the Government at this time of great need. Important war work is likely to be delayed by this shortage of trained help. Further information and application blanks may be obtained by communicating with the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., or with the representative of the Commission at the post office in any important city.

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THE KAISER IS RIGHT

On the 16th he was quoted in the Cologne Volkszeitung as saying: "The soldier who has struggled through the iron time of the world war will be a teacher and leader of the growing youths at home."
The thing is, of course, to pound the right stuff into Frits—so that as "teachers and leaders" those of them who are left will not be a menace to the world.
Our soldiers are to do the pounding, and it will be well for them to be kept in touch, week by week, no matter how long the war lasts, with the democratic thought of the world—well, for the sake of Frits's education and our own institutions in the years of reconstruction. Use the Coupon.

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