

The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

A Message to Russia

The Food Question

BY

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Editorial

If it were not for our faith that the forces of democracy are to prevail in this country in the war against privilege and economic tyranny, those of us not blinded by nationalism might feel there was little choice between Prussianism and the ills that already beset us. This is not a land of free men and women. Opportunity is ruthlessly controlled by the few, and the right to live is a right that can be purchased by millions of our people only at the cost of their spiritual independence—a right, too, so limited that it carries with it not even the right to live healthily, much less beautifully.

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President Wilson would be the last American to deny that our democracy is a hope and not a fulfillment. He has faith that our hope will be realized if we are left free for the task, and it is this faith that underlies his and our determination that we shall win for ourselves that freedom. First of all, then, will he wish to foster and strengthen those forces in America that are in action on the front here at home against the Hindenburg line of privilege and arbitrary economic power. Preoccupied as he has necessarily been with international affairs, it is natural that the President should be impatient with the slowness of those absorbed in the fight against autocracy at home to rally to his side in the fight against autocracy abroad. Yet it is a situation where patience will be rewarded, and where irritation may do infinite damage to a cause that is near his heart. Let us concede that the filibustering Senators put the President in an awkward position and thwarted the impulse of Congress at a ticklish moment. But when the President denounced them as "a little group of wilful men" he unintentionally demolished with a breath all radical leadership and initiative in the United States Senate. Only now, after the elapse of nearly three

months, are such outstanding Democrats as La Follette, Norris and Vardaman regaining a fraction of their usefulness.

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Again, in his Flag Day address, the President unintentionally aided reactionary and anti-democratic interests in the United States when he sweepingly condemned as "friends and partisans of the German Government" all who "proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters, declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations, and seek to undermine the Government with false professions of loyalty to its principles." The President added: "It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly-disguised disloyalties." Surely the President would have modified this statement if he had been free, during the past three months, to mingle more with the people and to learn how many Americans of the sort he highly esteems believe and utter one or more of these heresies. Discerning citizens will get beneath the words to the President's meaning and to the righteous contempt for divided national allegiance that inspired him. But the callow reactionary and the newspaper in bond to special privilege will seize his words and convert them into an instrument to discredit men whose prestige and influence are among the country's most valued assets. To brand as disloyal any American who expresses fear of England's economic imperialism, for instance, is to stigmatize many of the bravest and finest champions of democracy our country possesses. It is to dignify and assist German Government agents in this country

by identifying them with those numerous sterling Americans whose minds are so constituted as not to be able to give instant and enthusiastic acquiescence to the war and to the alliance with England. Better treatment is deserved, not only by thousands of good Americans of German and Irish descent, but by many of other descents whose study of British foreign policy has raised an obstacle to an instant acquiescence in the nation's present alignment. Disagree with these as we do, we cannot forget that many among them are of the salt of our democracy.

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Laudable was the action of the Senate Finance Committee in approving exemption of \$200 income for each child in a family. If the income of the head of a large family should be taxed as much as that of a childless couple the rearing of a new citizen would be penalized and race suicide stimulated. Now that the committee has progressed so far perhaps it will yet realize that every tax on labor products works the same way. Whether the income be taxed directly, or whether the cost of things be increased which the income must be drawn upon to buy, the effect is the same. If Senator Simmons and his colleagues were to eliminate all the bad features of the House revenue bill, they would have to substitute a land value tax for every one of the many different varieties proposed.

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The prospective action of Congress in making hoarding of food a crime is an example of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. Withholding of food from use would be an unprofitable undertaking if the Government did not encourage withholding from use of the source of the food supply. And as long as the source of supply can be held out of use with impunity, penalizing of food hoarding is not adequate to solve the food problem. Secretary Lane has publicly called attention to the fact that food scarcity is caused by hoarding of land in the hope of getting an extortionate price. Congress should no longer ignore this fundamental cause of the whole difficulty.

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A resolution recommending suppression of free speech passed Chicago's City Council with but nine members recorded in opposition. "Patriotic" reasons were urged in support of this action. The "patriots" in this

case were headed by "Hinky Dink," "Bathhouse John," and other members who have consistent records for voting away public rights and public property to public service corporations. Although the measure would be no more defensible, if the quality of its supporters were otherwise, yet the quality of its supporters indicates the quality of "patriotism" which lies back of such action.

* * *

THE PUBLIC presents in this issue two authoritative statements of controlling factors in the nation's food problem. Mr. Vrooman is a farmer, a land owner on a large scale, and a landlord. As Assistant Secretary of Agriculture he is supplying much of the knowledge, initiative and energy that will contribute to an effectual governmental handling of this all-important war problem. He has recently returned from a tour of many agricultural states, during which he talked to thousands of farmers and canvassed the farm situation at first hand. He discusses the problem of food production not as a theorist or a doctrinaire, but as one of the government executives most responsible for finding and applying adequate measures for dealing with the threatened shortage. Mr. Dillon discusses for THE PUBLIC with equal authority the problems of food distribution. He has distinguished himself as Commissioner of the New York State Department of Foods and Markets by exposing a monopoly control of food distribution in New York City, by formulating a programme for dealing with existing abuses, and by enlisting such support for that programme that its adoption by the State Legislature at an early date is probably assured. In a state administration chiefly distinguished by its tender regard for the established order, Mr. Dillon stands out as an official with no fear of the powerful interests that are supposed to (and do) make or break public men in New York. It is of tremendous significance that both of these men,—practical, hard-headed, uninfatuated with any theory or doctrine—should come on the trail of landlordism in their search for the causes of food shortage and high prices. Mr. Vrooman finds the farm land speculator at the bottom of the problem of production; Mr. Dillon finds in city landlordism the key to a situation by which middlemen and rent-takers conspire to cheat the farmer on the one hand

and to exploit the city's toiling millions to the verge of starvation, on the other.

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Until very recently practically all discussion of the war in this country has taken for granted the ultimate defeat of Germany. Opinion was divided as to whether we should go in and help do the job. That the job might not be done never occurred to most of us. American pacifists were drawn into an extenuation of Germany not in order to justify a German victory, which was unthinkable, but to justify an early peace on terms short of Germany's utter humiliation. In the days when German success seemed impossible, our strongest argument for neutrality and a peace without victory was the certainty that a whipped and dismembered Germany would constitute, not a guarantee of future peace, but an assurance of future warfare, to be renewed at Germany's first favorable opportunity. Today the advocate of immediate peace must go infinitely further. He must be prepared to approve a situation in which not Germany, but France, would be dismembered, Belgium and Serbia obliterated, Austria-Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Turkey reduced to the status of Prussian provinces, England humiliated. Can he find here any assurance of future peace? Is English and French psychology so different from that which we so understandingly conceded to a defeated Germany? We have said that under similar circumstances Germany would nurse its bitterness and sharpen its sword against the day of reckoning, and we have argued that in acting thus she would be obeying a natural and universal impulse. Can we ignore the certainty that the same impulse would sway a defeated France and England, and that at the earliest opportunity the world would again be drenched with blood?

* * *

It is doubtful if in all the record of Prussian military policing of a domestic population anything could be found more offensive to the spirit of democracy and freedom than the conduct of certain guardsmen in New York City during the past three weeks. Squads of uniformed rowdies have systematically hectoring and insulted peaceful meetings of Socialists. Alleging orders from commissioned officers as their authority, cordons of armed men have surrounded halls where Socialists were meeting, while others have en-

tered the halls, interfered with the speakers, harangued the unwilling audiences, and arrested any who dared to protest. Young men emerging from these meetings have been seized, made to show registration cards, and carried off to jail if their cards had been left at home. Bayonets have been drawn to menace groups daring to express their indignation. This is Prussianism of the most hateful type. Governor Whitman and the local military authorities apparently give their tacit approval to a course that could not be better planned if there was a deliberate purpose to foment rebellion and breed hatred of government. A commissioned officer who would either order or countenance this conduct by men in uniform should be court-martialed and stripped of his uniform. He proves his patriotism to be nothing less contemptible than a brutal impulse to pugnacity and to bullying.

Democracy cannot stoop to the use of such instruments. The matter is of sufficient importance to call for decisive action by Secretary Baker.

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In calling the attention of Police Commissioner Woods of New York City to the same unlawful disturbances of orderly meetings the local Socialist Committee pays him the compliment of assuming that he will not allow his disagreement with the views expressed at these meetings to keep him from putting an end to the outrages complained of. The Committee takes for granted that the Commissioner will do his duty without fear or favor. That they have made no mistake in such assumption will be manifest as soon as the Commissioner makes clear that disorderly persons in uniform are sure to be dealt with as though they were civilian disturbers of a pro-war assemblage.

* * *

While much is being said about making the world safe for democracy an opportunity presents itself in Massachusetts to make democracy safer at home. The Constitutional Convention now in session must pass upon the Initiative and Referendum. The value of these safeguards to popular rule has been demonstrated by experience in the States where they are in practical operation. And in States where they are lacking the need of them has been felt frequently. The Convention should not fail to provide these defenses.

Progressive Policies Gain in Oregon.

The result of the special election in Oregon on June 4th shows that years of education on taxation are beginning to bear fruit. But five years ago the voters were urged to reject a land value tax proposition on the ground that all property should be taxed equally. All the specious fallacies were presented about the alleged injustice of exempting certain kinds of property and putting the entire burden on one kind. The argument had the desired effect. The proposed amendment was defeated, and its victorious opponents planned to prevent by law any further attack through the Initiative upon the general property tax. But in this they failed.

This month a vote was taken on a proposition to allow abolition of the general property tax through classification of property. It carried by more than 9,000 majority, and constitutional obstacles to the Singletax, or any step in that direction have been removed in Oregon. It does not follow that advantage will be taken of this at once. But there is cause to look for it in the fact that North Dakota, under a similar amendment, has taken a long stride toward exemption of industry and increased taxation of land values. The influence of the Farmers' Non-partisan League and of the Canadian Grain Growers' Association must sooner or later open the eyes of Oregon farmers to the way they have opposed their own interests in rejecting Singletax legislation.

Another wise action was the defeat of a proposal to cripple the Initiative. Its sponsors did not dare to openly present it as such a measure, but misnamed it the "Harmony" amendment. Nevertheless it was defeated by a large majority. Popular government is still in demand in Oregon.

Liberty Loan and Debt Slavery.

There is danger that the successful floating of the first American war loan will have a sequel not so conducive to national pride. A large part was taken by small investors. Many of these have subscribed on the installment plan, and therein lies a danger that the bonds may create bondage.

The payments required of these installment purchasers make it almost certain that

a majority will be compelled to default. The initial payment of two percent will be easy, but the second payment on June 28th of 18 percent will be a serious burden to a great number. The third payment of 20 percent on July 30th will be even harder to meet and the succeeding payments of 30 percent each on August 15th and 30th will be almost impossible unless the purchaser goes into debt. Every installment merchant and money lender knows that only in exceptional cases can payments so heavy within so short a time be met promptly.

The penalty of failure to be prompt is heavier than any installment merchant would impose—popular impressions to the contrary notwithstanding. The would be bondholder who does not pay promptly forfeits all payments already made. Hard as these terms are, they would not call for criticism if the purchasers had made their bargains voluntarily. But many have not. Many employes were subjected to the same form of coercion which was resorted to to secure marchers in preparedness parades. They will probably look upon their forfeited payments as the price of a more or less lengthened tenure of their jobs.

In view of these facts there is doubtful merit in the announcement that small investors will be given the preference in allotting purchases. The Government would do better to release at least the coerced ones, including some of its own employes, from their pledges. If there is to be no conscription of the fortunes of the wealthy, let there be none of the earnings of the poor.

Capitalized Privilege.

The extent to which predatory power has been capitalized by the great trusts and monopolies cannot be definitely ascertained until an official investigation has been made by experts able to distinguish between privilege and rightful property. But that the power to exact unearned tribute is enormous can be inferred from facts which from time to time become available. A pamphlet concerning the Standard Oil interests issued by the New York brokerage firm of Carl H. Pforzheimer & Co. sheds some light on the situation. Economic propaganda was not the object of the pamphlet. It was issued for no other purpose

than to advertise Standard Oil as an investment proposition.

The income producing power of any corporation may be approximately ascertained if the market value of its stocks be known. Should this show an excess over all values it may possess, produced by labor, the difference will show to what extent some special advantage increases its power. The market value of all Standard Oil stocks is stated in Pforzheimer's pamphlet to be \$2,154,482,627. The same corporations are capitalized at \$508,108,382. But since undercapitalization is the rule with Standard Oil, it would be unfair to assume, without further investigation, that the entire difference represents capitalized predatory power.

A statement of the assets of each individual corporation in the system shows the combined tangible property to be worth approximately \$1,265,000,000. This is consequently as much as all value due to service can be estimated fairly, and it shows nearly \$900,000,000 of market value unrepresented by any classified tangible assets. It would be an underestimate, however, to assume that this sum, enormous as it is, represents the entire value of privilege. Included in its assets listed are lands, terminals, rights of way and similar property. The value of these, aside from all labor value, cannot be computed accurately from information at hand. They are included in such items as "pipe line plants," "oil lands," "leaseholds," "real estate," and others less clear. More than half of the trust's \$2,154,482,627 of market value must be credited to the monopoly power conferred upon it through its control of public highways and natural resources.

That oil consumers are being overcharged is implied in a statement explaining why the parent corporation, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, purposely limits its domestic business, leaving the greater part of the field to its "one-time subsidiaries:"

In the first place the enormous resources of the parent company would have made real competition with its segregated companies impossible without leading to the ultimate extinction of the latter and the recreation of the monopoly, which the Government had opposed. In the second place, the parent company had so long been the object of aggressive activity by those, who found in baiting "big business" an easy avenue to political preferment that its activities in the domestic field would have invited continued hostility from the same sources.

From which is to be inferred that this corporation could give consumers cheaper oil but for desire to "protect" its one-time subsidiaries. It is also clear that its monopoly is due to its "enormous resources." Pipe lines constitute a large part of these. Its ownership of natural resources is not confined to the United States, but includes Canada, Latin America, Galicia, Roumania and elsewhere. That gives it the power to crush all competition. There is nothing gained by its refusal to use it. But if it were not allowed to monopolize resources and public rights of way, the use of which would give consumers cheaper oil, other producers could meet its competition without fear of ultimate extinction. Possibly it feels some fear lest this course should be taken by the politicians "who find in baiting 'big business' an easy avenue to political preferment."

If, instead of applying income taxes, which do not get at the root of the matter, legislators would tax the value of the natural resources and revoke the privileges which create the monopoly value of the trust's holdings, real relief would be given. Fundamental evils require fundamental remedies. Until these be applied there can be no safety from monopoly.

A Message to Russians.

It is curious but significant that so much energy has been devoted to hair-splitting, deadening, trimming discussion of a formula which merely embodies the passionate wish of Russian Liberals to know that their Allies are not fighting a war of conquest and despoliation. This wish does not deserve evasion or sophistication. Nor does it deserve the veiled menace of Japan. There is no obstacle to an honest reply. The formula of no annexation and no indemnities does declare the principle on which liberal Western Europe and liberal America are fighting the war. That clean high motive is increasingly dominant. That it is qualified by certain elements in each country, it would be folly to deny. Can not America talk to Russia in a way that is less diplomatic and more human?

Can we not say in effect?—You Russians have just entered the family of nations in which the principle of freedom has struggled to emergence. Until recently, you, next to the Prussian autocracy, constituted the greatest menace to the future of that principle.

You have achieved the most notable transformation of all history. That you have arrived by one great step at a complete solution of your problem we frankly do not believe. That tremendous and as yet unmeasured forces will emerge and help to shape your destiny is the conviction of those of us who know your country. You will have to account with much stupid conservatism, even reaction. You are trying to consolidate your liberal elements while in the midst of a great and desperate war. The basis of unification is renunciation of imperialistic aggression. Your success is assured if your allies can give you support by a like declaration of policy. Germany is confidently expecting your disintegration and that she can victimize you at her leisure. Your revolution is as valuable to the allied cause as your participation in the war. Your repudiation of aggression will have more effect on the course of the war than a summer offensive. The American people are with you in your intention. Only diplomats can construe that intention as a legalistic formula by which you are trying to force the hands of your allies. In some ways we believe we can see the ultimate results of the war better than you can. France is not bidding farewell to her school-boys and passing them on to the mill of destruction because she is dreaming of empire. England is not in a deadly clutch with the mad-dog from under the sea, and sounding the call to assemble the remaining manhood of all her dominions because she wants territory. This is a war of defense, a war to protect all that makes the world a decent place to live in. Because we believe this profoundly, because we passionately desire that democracy, a young thing and far from realization, shall be given an opportunity in the future, because we see the grave danger that the liberty of man and the liberty of men may perish under the heel of an efficient barbarism, in the jaws of a wolf that has just learned to hunt in packs—because of all this we are plunging ourselves into the war up to the hilt, we are grimly stepping into a future of immeasurable sacrifice, we are imposing upon ourselves means of concentrating our power that are utterly abhorrent, we are daily deepening our determination that the Prussian autocracy shall get off the world and are staking all that we have and are to carry through our purpose.

To the German people, our President has

spoken our aim with absolute sincerity. We have no desire to dismember them or anybody else. They are in no danger of having our political forms thrust upon them if we overcome them in battle. The Germans can have peace, so far as we are concerned, when their state ceases to be a menace to peace-loving peoples. We believe that to seek domination through war is the vice of irresponsible power. The German people must choose between curbing that power and fighting us to the bloody and bitter end. They believe in their sufficiency and ultimate triumph. So do we, and we shall test the matter through whatever number of years is necessary.

You Russians can see, then, where we stand. We are fighting for that tolerant liberalism which will live and let live. That, we understand, is what the new Russia stands for—to erect and maintain in the world a standard of fair play. You have done great things but you do not want us to cajole you with flattery and the appearance of agreement back to the firing line. Permit us to say, then, that you have not yet earned the right to instruct France and England in the ways of democracy. Whatever of liberalism the world possesses was born and nurtured in those countries. They have many shortcomings; we have even more; you will have them tenfold before you have gone ten years on your new course. The enemies of democracy are not all on the other side of the battlefield. We are under no delusion as to the patriotism which prompts some of our citizens to a participation in the struggle. There are those in every country who stand ready to fill their purses from the generous impulse of the nation, who, when men's minds are fixed on the object of their sacrifice, seek to steal a mean advantage. Our rich men as a whole are showing small title to nobility. Our steel kings, that you mention, are indeed alive to the advantage that events have given them, and know how to exploit the nation's necessity. But we are aware of this menace to our liberties, the monopoly of natural resources, the groundwork of our economic oppression, and shall most surely deal with it.

The only international policy tolerable to the American people is one of the co-operation of nations. Imperialists everywhere are striving for personal and national advantage at the cost of foreign peoples. We liberals believe with you that the only permanent good in dealings between nations is a mutual

good. It is only through a community of liberal ideas that internationalism can be born into the world. Let us stand together in the fight against the danger which unmistakably threatens to overwhelm all our liberal institutions, and be thus freed to win against the enemies of democracy everywhere.

Taxation a Sacrifice or Investment

The canons of taxation hold the same in war as in peace but the greater revenue demanded by war produces a different relationship between the citizen and the Government. Taxation of wealth is a burden upon the person who pays it. Taxation of privilege, the greatest of which is the private appropriation of land values, is payment for value conferred by the Government upon the citizen. When the citizen pays a tax upon any form of wealth he is making a sacrifice. When he pays a tax upon land values, or any other form of legal privilege he is making an investment. In the one case he is out of pocket the amount of the tax; in the other he receives as much as he pays. Justice therefore demands that the cost of government be met by a tax upon those citizens who have received a pecuniary benefit from the Government; that is, those who derive incomes from legal privilege.

But since some estimate the annual income from land values at approximately the yearly cost of government, local, state and national, an increased demand for revenue, such as accompanies war, may require some kind of a tax upon wealth. This temporary and abnormal tax incident to war, if necessary, may be laid upon citizens in various ways. It may be placed upon business or goods in the process of production and exchange, and so fall upon the consumers of the goods, or it may be placed upon incomes. It might be urged that this tax should rest upon a percentage basis, each citizen paying according to his wealth. But a little reflection will show this to be unjust. The poor save little; many consume their whole income. The rich lay aside a much larger part of their income. Hence, taxes on goods that enhance the price deprive the poor of necessities, while they merely eat into the savings of the rich.

War means the loss of life and property. The very essence of armed conflict is sacrifice.

If the state be based upon the principle of equal natural rights, and a sacrifice is to be made by the citizens, then that sacrifice should be of a nature to bear as equally as may be upon all. How then shall the war tax be distributed among the citizens? One of the first effects of a war is that prices advance faster than wages, that is, they increase the cost of living. Manifestly this is a greater burden to the poor who have no surplus, than to the rich who have; and it would add to this disparity in burdens if the cost of living were still further enhanced by taxes on goods.

Keeping in mind the principle of equality of sacrifice in contributing wealth to the war, the first source for the state to levy upon should be excess profits due to the fact of the war. For manifestly it would be unjust for some citizens to profit from the war while others are making sacrifices. The second source to be tapped should be incomes, exempting a comfortable minimum, and making the tax rapidly cumulative till it reaches the point of confiscation above a generous maximum. Such payments would be a sacrifice in form only, since they would be made out of surplus savings. The third source of war revenue should be a tax on inheritances. Since an inheritance is in the nature of a gift to the recipient the state may well take a part without its being a burden in the sense that it would have been if taken from the earner.

These three sources of revenue, that is, taxes on excess war profits, incomes, and inheritances, would be less burdensome to those who paid them than would be the advance in prices to the wage earners; hence, it is evident that they would tend toward an equality of sacrifice upon the part of all citizens. As a matter of fact the state has not met the first canon of taxation, that of paying current peace expenses of government by a tax on land values. This policy of allowing private citizens to put in their own pockets values created by society compels the state to resort to taxes on goods in time of peace, and still greater taxes in time of war. Justice dictates that the state should confine its tax levies to land values until they have been completely absorbed. If additional revenue is needed, as it may be under the abnormal condition of war or disaster, it should be derived from excess profits, incomes, and inheritances.

Open Up the Land!

By Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

In addition to the emergency food bills in Congress, the country is in need of a land programme that will permanently insure maximum use of our food resources. The farmer's greatest difficulty has been inadequate facilities for marketing and distributing his products. The new legislation will go far toward solving these problems, but there is another side to the food problem.

Millions of acres of farm land are being held out of use and other millions of acres are being cultivated on a wasteful and inefficient basis. Land values have risen at an unprecedented rate. They are based not upon what the farm will earn at the present time, but on an expectancy of what it will be worth in the future. The farmer's son or the tenant farmer, with little or no capital, cannot hope to acquire possession of a farm when the price of land is so high that his earnings would not pay the interest on the investment. The result is that land remains idle or in the hands of tenants and thousands of farmers' boys desert the country for the city.

We cannot expect to get them back on the land unless we hold out to them the hope of becoming farm owners. The economic condition of many farm tenants is below that of

the skilled or semi-skilled day laborer of the industrial centers.

What we need, and need badly, is a programme of taxation which, without throwing additional burdens on the bona fide farmer, will place land now idle within the reach of men of limited means who possess the ambition and the ability to cultivate it.

A proposal has been introduced in Congress by Senator Kenyon to direct an investigation by the Federal Tariff Commission or some other competent body into additional sources of revenue, including the possibility of levying a surtax on idle land and other natural resources held out of use.

A doubt exists as to the possibility under the Constitution of a Federal surtax on idle land. There is a sharp difference of opinion as to whether or not such a tax could be levied. The situation should be clarified by an investigation and a report from some competent body. If a constitutional amendment is necessary it should be initiated without delay. In the meantime, State and local governments should direct their attention to this phase of the food problem and take what steps are wise and practicable to place unused land within the reach of all who are willing and able to cultivate it.

The War and Food Problems

By John J. Dillon, Commissioner of Food and Markets, State of New York.

The men now in the trenches of France are fighting our battles. They must be fed. Our men will soon be there, too, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the French and the English, the Russians and the Italians. They must also be fed. The civil population of the countries fighting the Teutons will need food, and they will look to us for much of it. Lastly, our own people at home will need food, and we must see that they have it.

Already our farmers have responded to the appeal for more food products. In New York State the promise is that we will have a third greater planting than last year. The reports from other States are about the same. The result may be affected in some sections

by the late Spring, and by unfavorable conditions in other parts of the country; but, as a whole, the reports should indicate approximately the increases to expect. A large supply is therefore reasonably expected. A large demand is certain. With so many people to be fed, to waste food would be criminal. Many people are anxious to do something unusual or romantic to help in the war. All cannot shoulder a gun. Everyone can save waste in food. We hope every person in America will have *abundance* and eat three full meals every day. This may be done without waste.

The great saving of waste in the farm home, however, will not be at the table, but

in the fields. The farms abound with implements to produce food; but they are lamentably lacking in facilities to store and preserve and distribute food that give the speculator his opportunity to control foods when crops are light. When the supply is large, and surplus appears, the speculator is not in sight, and the want of storage and manufacturing facilities are all the more apparent. Last year in onion-producing sections dealers paid 2 cents per pound for onions. During the Winter they sold for 14 cents a pound. On Long Island farmers sold potatoes for 90 cents and \$1 a bushel. In the Winter they saw the same potatoes sold for \$3.75 per bushel. Last year eggs were put in storage at 22 cents per dozen. They were sold out at wholesale at 45 cents and retailed to families as strictly fresh eggs at 60 cents to 65 cents a dozen in competition with really fresh eggs that cost 60 cents to produce in cold weather. The producer is selling milk to-day at 4½ cents per quart. For this grade the city consumer pays 11 cents and up. These speculations and speculative profits are possible only because the farmer lacks the facilities for storing and preserving, and is also without the implements of distribution such as cans and pasteurizers for milk and cold storage for butter and eggs.

Another influence that favors the speculator is the want of credit facilities at the farm. The speculator places the food in a storehouse and takes the warehouse receipt to the bank, and gets a liberal advance on the goods. This is also done by farmers in sections of the State where farmers have established storehouses of their own and developed their credit. In sections where no storehouse is controlled by the producers, credit has not been developed, and the farmer is often obliged to sell in order to secure ready money to meet obligations. The speculator takes advantage of the necessity, and refuses to buy except at prices favorable to himself. As a result, prices are always low at harvest time, and advance promptly when the goods have left the hands of the producer. An examination of the records will show that this rule works regularly every year in such products as wheat, eggs, butter and cheese, and a score of other speculative products.

In this situation the logical thing to do is to provide the essential things we need to save food and distribute it. The community

interests must include the city or village and the farm environment. The implements required are:

- Markets.
- Cold storage rooms.
- Storage warehouses.
- Canning rooms.
- Drying plants.
- Root cellars.
- Fruit presses.
- Assembling rooms.
- Packing-houses.
- Grading machinery.
- Pasteurizing plants.
- Abattoirs.

Every community in the State has its own peculiar problems. Some communities may need all these facilities, others may need one or more of them. The wealth of produce in one place may justify elaborate and expensive equipments. In another place cheap or even temporary facilities only would be justified. The facilities must be provided to meet the local requirements. There is no other way to prevent waste and to forestall destructive speculation. There is no other way to permanently encourage the production of a full supply of food. Temporary expedients and an appeal to the patriotism of farmers will tide us over a crisis, but from now on, to insure a full supply of food, it must be produced on an economic basis. The two blades of grass theory for the price of one will not do any longer. Vacant lot planting, vacation help for farm labor, and seed distribution at cost help in a crisis; but these gratuities cannot be relied upon to stabilize the great and important agricultural industry of this State and of this Nation. If the farm is to endure as an institution, it must be operated on a sound financial basis. The farmer must furnish his own seed, and compete with the factory and the contractor for his help. He must reckon on wages for himself and for the members of his family who work. He must be rewarded for the capital invested in his enterprise. He must not depend on the gratuities of the factory, the advice of the railroad or the charity of the city philanthropist. They all have axes to grind and he knows it. The railroad wants freight; the factory wants cheap food for its operators, the philanthropist wants the Government to name prices for food, and then he wants to be the Government. Under the present system, the farms are not operated on a sound

financial basis, because there is too much waste and too much loss through the speculative system of marketing. The admission of a short food supply is the severest indictment of the present system that can be spoken or written. As soon as we make the farm pay, we will make food plentiful. We must save the waste and eliminate the speculation and then pay the cost of production for the food we need. The farm will then be on a sound, economic basis and we need never fear a shortage of food.

If we except the food speculators, no one else will dispute the necessity of the facilities enumerated above. There will be differences of opinion as to the best methods of establishing them. So long as we get them promptly, it will not matter how they are produced. They will benefit every one who produces or consumes food, and that means all. They will pay their way from the start, and will pay for themselves every three years. The quickest and most efficient way would be to furnish the most important facilities by the State. Others might be furnished jointly by the State and cities and farm communities, but it is all the same in the end. The shortest way is the best. The State could well assume it all, and repay itself through very modest charges for the service. It would cost less than the barge canal and be worth a million times more. Under this system, food will be graded, preserved, distributed and sold under State supervision. Distribution will be made at a reasonable cost. Speculation will be eliminated and the producer will receive a fair share of the consumer's dollar.

We are spending the cost of these facilities in temporary expediencies to increase produc-

tion. Why not go at once direct to the source of the trouble? Everybody knows that the farmer will produce all the food we want if he is paid for the job. We may as well make up our minds now that we cannot continue to cheat him out of his goods after he produces them, and continue to induce him to produce food at a loss on patriotic grounds. Give the farmer the facilities to save waste and the implements of distribution to prevent speculation, and farmers will be in a position of healthy competition with each other in the markets of the world. Distribution will be effected under the law of supply and demand, and the flow of food from the American farms will feed the world.

Even if the processes of marketing and distribution in New York City were freed of monopoly control and privilege, there would still be the problem of organizing the food distribution and preventing wasteful duplication of facilities. But the processes are not free, and cannot be so long as such high rentals are charged for marketing space in the crowded metropolitan districts. Landlords conspire with jobbers and retailers of food to create an artificial monopoly condition. Even the sidewalk food peddlers on the East Side must pay rent to the owners of stores in front of which they do business. And the New York City government does its part by exacting license taxes and by prohibiting the use of public spaces by farmers and independent food dealers. I say this is a conspiracy, because even the sidewalk peddlers profit from the monopoly control of food distribution thus created. They assert they would rather pay rents and license taxes than throw the field open to competition.

The Railroad Situation

F. L. Hutchins

The psychological plea of the railroads, and of the owners of railroad stocks and bonds, put before the Interstate Commerce Commission in the application for permission to increase freight rates, is that additional surplus earning is needed to strengthen credit so that money may be obtained to provide better terminals and more equipment for the service to the community.

Ignoring all other, and possibly more per-

tinent, reasons for this demand, the plea forms a convincing argument for government ownership of the physical property devoted to transportation service.

In effect the community is asked to increase the value of railroad stocks and bonds by contributing, not to cover the cost of service, which is now amply covered, but to increase the surplus; a surplus that will be the property of the railroads, and which may

possibly be distributed later in stock or money dividends.

The claim is that with the increase of surplus the credit of the roads will be improved to the extent that they will be able to secure the necessary money to make improvements and to buy rolling stock. It is even suggested that this increase in surplus might be used to secure such additions, which would work to make valid any watering of stock that may have occurred in the past.

The idea that a great nation having the resources of these United States should be dependent upon the greed, or whims, of investors for the creation and extension of its transportation system is surely grotesque. Only a distorted vision, unable to see beyond present conditions, could be blind to the fact that the railroads are NOW financed from the savings of the people, and that the nation as a unit is amply able to provide all necessary transportation facilities.

Judge Brandeis, in his work "Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use It," well shows that the thrifty individual hands his savings over to a bank, an insurance company, a broker, and, presto, immediately loses all control over its use. The financiers, linked together by that invisible connection that ties the smallest to the largest, obtain full control by virtue of having possession of the money (symbol of real wealth), which has been saved in dribblets by the industrious people of the nation.

Through that control the financiers are able to lay a tax upon the community for the use of the wealth that the community itself had created.

Practically all of the evils associated with the present conduct of the railroads, only the most aggravated cases of which have obtained publicity, are due to this unsocial control of a social necessity.

Railroads exist because they are the most economic device yet discovered for the annihilation of distance; the community demands this service, and the ever-increasing demand should be met with ever-increasing facilities to meet those demands; but it does not follow that the community should be taxed to provide a huge profit to those who control, while they do not own, the means necessary to provide those facilities.

It is not in regulating the issue of securities, not in prescribing methods of operation,

not in accounting regulations, that will bring the railroads under the control of those who actually own them, but in divorcing them from the existing financial control.

The only way that such a divorce can be realized; the only way in which railroad securities can be removed from the corrupting influence of the stock market; the only way in which the real owners can regain control of their property, is in substituting government securities for present corporate securities. Such substitution calls for no radical change from present conditions except in the vital matter of control.

To take railroad securities out of the hands of those who are now using them for the purpose of securing a speculative profit; to take these credits away from the dominating influence of stock market manipulators; to prevent the accumulation of great fortunes through bonuses, commissions, and juggling of securities; to restore control to the great public that has supplied the capital, requires but a slight, easily effected, step forward.

Replacing the present corporate securities with securities of the nation will, at once and forever, eliminate the evils that have arisen through opportunities taken advantage of by scheming men in manipulating the securities of individual roads.

The ownership and control of the physical property does not necessarily entail government operation; under present constituted government the latter may be undesirable.

The operation of a railroad requires initiative resourcefulness, quick decisions, and a high degree of ability to deal with the psychological conditions connected with the control of human effort; such qualifications are to be found in individuals rather than in bureaucracies; the latter are necessarily tied down to rigid rules, and wholly unfitted to adopt that free movement which is needed in the control of an ever changing, moving, living organism.

On the other hand the plant and equipment is inanimate; its control may be scientifically determined; its management reduced to a mathematical formula. The functions concerned with the creation and maintenance of physical property are alone efficiently controlled by experts, and such are more available to and more freely used by governments than by individuals.

However the basis of substitution of public for corporative securities may be brought about, the public would secure enormous gains. The present generation would gain in a vastly improved service in that duplicate services would be eliminated, freight moved by the most economical routes, more efficient use of cars, which would be "at home" wherever located, but, more than all, it would conserve the values to transportation service of the almost unbelievable sums now falling into the hands of bankers and brokers because of their interposition between the real investors and the treasuries of the roads.

While the transfer of ownership of the physical property from the controlling stock holdings to that of the nation would be the only step necessary to transfer control, a further step would be a logical outcome—that is, the leasing of the property for operation, not as single roads, but by groups governed by zones of traffic. There are many men in this country who are experts in railroad operation. These men would become eager bidders for the opportunity to put their knowledge to profitable use. As was the case respecting the street railways of Toronto, there would be no dearth of bidders even under drastic conditions that would best assure an adequate and economical service to the public. Particularly would this be assured if the operators were rewarded in direct ratio to the degree of efficiency with which they gave the service.

Under present conditions there is little inducement to work for economical operation, on the contrary there are many reasons for neglecting this feature. Many managers deliberately set a limit to the amount of net income above which they do not desire it to go. They say that it would be suicidal to do otherwise because any economies effected would not be to the benefit of the financial interests which controlled them; it would surely lead to demands on the part of their employees for higher wages, which it would be impossible to withstand, and which, if granted, would swamp the road in times of depression. They are therefore content to let the expense of operation take its own course so long as it does not threaten the margin they have set up. Ample evidence of this truth is to be found in the reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission, for only in times of business depression, when the margin of earnings is in jeopardy, is there any evidence

of reduction in expenses. Such a policy of expediency is antagonistic to all principles of efficiency.

Future generations would not only secure the advantages of more scientific operation, but would possess its transporting machine free of debt, permitting of great increase in facilities or a reduction in rates. A still greater benefit would be realized in the saving to the community of that increment which it alone creates. An increment that has been of enormous value to those in control, benefiting them in untold millions of dollars; an increment that has raised the value of \$7,000,000,000 of stock from practically no value up to approximately par in the market; stock that was originally given to bankers and promoters in return for which only an infinitesimal amount in value was ever actually invested in transportation facilities.

Many of the questions now perplexing the publicists would be solved by such ownership of the property. Regulation of securities would no longer trouble any one. Supervision would be simplified along direct and scientifically determined lines. The public itself would then take an active, intelligent part in all things having to do with the proper and efficient use of their property devoted to transportation.

See the Radical.

By Ellis O. Jones

See the Radical!

What, O Sage, do you mean to tell me that intelligent and earnest looking fellow is a Radical?

Exactly so.

Then I have been misinformed. The editor of my paper always speaks of a Radical in the most contemptuous of terms, as if a Radical were the most reckless and the most ignorant of men.

The trouble is, my son, that your editor is careless in the use of terms. When he uses the word "radical" that is not what he means.

What does he mean, O Sage?

When he uses the word "radical" he means rabid.

But aren't those—synonymous terms? I always thought so.

Many people think the same way, but it is not so. A Radical is a man who is not content to be superficial, a man who goes to the bottom, to the root, of things. It takes a

profound and earnest and careful man to be a Radical.

And one who is rabid?

Is one who flies off the handle because he is superficial. A rabid man would rather be angry than be studious.

Then tell me, O Sage, who would you consider the greatest Radical of the day and who the most rabid?

No, my son, in discussions of this sort it is not safe to be too personal.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending June 19.

Congressional Doings.

The Senate Finance Committee on June 14 voted to put a tax of \$60 on each 100 pounds of grain used in manufacture of whiskey. This is 2½ times the amount previously agreed upon and if adopted would make the retail price of whiskey no less than \$20 a gallon. On June 15 the Committee voted to restore the drawback on sugar eliminated by the House Ways and Means Committee. This would refund 99 per cent. of the duty paid on raw sugar when refined for export. The Committee furthermore voted to put a tax of five per cent. on net profits of newspapers derived from advertising. An income tax exemption was approved of \$200 for each dependent child of a taxable parent. The proposed stamp tax of ten cents on bank checks was reduced to one cent. [See current volume, page 579.]

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The Senate Committee on Agriculture reported on June 13 the bill empowering the President to commandeer all intoxicating liquors. The House passed on June 13 the Webb bill allowing combinations for export trade, now prohibited by the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

* *

On June 16 the Senate passed the rail control bill giving the President power to determine the shipments which shall have priority. The bill carries an anti-strike provision which makes it a misdemeanor to interfere with the make-up, movements or disposition of trains.

* *

The President signed the espionage bill on June 13.

* *

Senator Sheppard of Texas, who has already introduced a bill for investigation of the land situation, introduced a resolution for a constitutional amendment on June 14 as follows:

The Congress shall have power to purchase land anywhere in the United States, hold, improve, sub-divide, and sell the same, and also to make loans for the purpose of encouraging and promoting farm owners in the United States; provided, however, that the amendment shall not be deemed

to authorize the sale of such land at less than the cost thereof.

* * *

The Massachusetts Constitutional Convention.

In a letter to the members of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, Dr. Charles Fremont Taylor calls attention to a plan of state government "to give the maximum of efficiency and democracy." This comprises a unified administration with concentrated authority, a single legislative chamber, and the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. In his letter Dr. Taylor says:

It is imperative that a way should be found to make government in our States both efficient and democratic, for all of our States are still struggling with governmental machinery more or less antiquated and cumbersome. The extraordinary conditions presented by the war are forcing every nation to demand new instrumentalities for greater efficiency. In every direction obsolete methods are being thrown aside and better ones adopted.

Can the government of our States remain longer in the old ruts? Some State will soon say "no" with an emphasis that will be heard in the other 47 commonwealths. Massachusetts has the first opportunity, and she has it now. She has seen her duty and opportunity in the past, and she has nobly responded. Eyes are turned to her now from every part of this great country, pleading that she will again prove herself to be a leader.

It is in the hope that Massachusetts will rise to this splendid opportunity that the accompanying proposal of a plan of government is respectfully offered for your consideration. Identical copies of this plan are being sent to the newspapers of Massachusetts as well as to members of the Convention. Later it will be published in the July *Equity*.

* *

The first test of strength between progressives and conservatives in the convention will take place on June 19, when the question will come up of submitting separate amendments to the constitution or submitting to the voters a new constitution as a whole. The progressives favor the former method.

* * *

Referendum in Oregon.

At a special election on June 4 Oregon voted on seven referendum propositions. The most important ones related to taxation, limitation of the Initiative and a bond issue for good roads. The taxation amendment allows general classification of property for taxation at different rates. With all but three counties heard from it carried by a vote of 50,114 to 40,416. The proposal to impede use of the Initiative was defeated by 85,192 to 56,068. It required that initiated constitutional amendments must name all parts of the constitution affected thereby. If adopted any measure carried could have been nullified by a court decision declaring it should have mentioned some part of the constitution which its framers had not held affected. It would have applied moreover to referendums on recall of judicial decisions. The road bonding proposition carried by a vote of 68,618 to 51,368. It authorizes issue of \$6,000,000 in bonds. At the same time the city of Portland sustained by an overwhelming vote the commission form of government.

People's Council.

The People's Council, the organization which has grown out of the Conference on Democracy held in New York on May 30 and 31, has established permanent headquarters at 289 Fifth Ave. Its purpose is expressed in the following program:

I. To secure an early, democratic and general peace in harmony with the principles outlined by New Russia, namely:

No forcible annexations.

No punitive indemnities.

Free development for all nationalities.

II. To urge international organization for the maintenance of world peace.

III. To urge our Government to state concretely the terms upon which it is willing to make peace.

IV. To work for the repeal of the conscription laws.

V. To safeguard labor standards.

VI. To preserve and extend democracy and liberty within the United States.

The Council is a representative body consisting of delegates from any organization endorsing its principles, or from local organizations of its own containing at least fifty members. The names of persons in sympathy with its object are solicited.

Soldiers Rioting in New York.

A protest against the frequent invasion of public meetings by uniformed soldiers was sent to Police Commissioner Arthur Woods of New York City by the Socialist party committee. A number of instances were cited where these soldiers had tried to provoke disturbances, had even gone to the extent of searching participants for registration cards and arrested those on whom none was found. A complaint was made also to Major-General O'Ryan of the New York militia. General O'Ryan denied that soldiers were authorized to behave in that manner. Commissioner Woods ordered an investigation, and on June 18 declared that reports made to him showed the soldiers' conduct to be unlawful, that he did not believe the military authorities would countenance them, and that the police would protect all lawful meetings. A letter on the same matter was sent to Secretary of War Baker by Frederick A. Blossom of the Free Speech League. He said in part:

I have watched the soldiers closely, having been a member of the New York militia for years and having always been interested in police questions. I can testify that their overbearing insolence has been in flagrant opposition to traditional American ideas, and their unwarranted brutality in handling both men and women and their illegal assumption of authority have not only been the direct cause of rioting and disorder, but have bred a deep-seated contempt for the United States uniform they wore and sowed the seeds of anarchistic rebellion against authority.

Mr. Blossom wrote to the President also, telling him that soldiers in New York City were running amuck.

European War.

The British continue to advance on the Flanders front. On June 14 the Germans in the Messines region fell back toward the Lys river. This was admitted by Berlin on June 15 in a dispatch which stated: "The enemy pressed back our detachments

situated further east between Hollebeke and the Douve region, and southwest of Warneton, which had hitherto successfully screened our fighting line against all reconnoitering thrusts by the British since May 10." On June 18 the British lost to the Germans positions on Infantry Hill on the Arras front recently taken. [See current volume, page 581.]

* *

A raid on London by German aeroplanes took place on June 13. Fifteen machines were reported as taking part. No military damage is reported, but 55 civilian men, 16 women and 26 children were killed and 223 men, 122 women and 94 children were wounded.

* *

The Standard Oil steamship Moreni was sunk by a German submarine after a two hour battle. Four of the crew were killed. The remainder, 43 in number, escaped in the lifeboats and were later picked up by a passing steamer.

* *

In response to the demand of France, Great Britain and Russia, King Constantine of Greece abdicated on June 12 in favor of his second son, Alexander. Prime Minister Zaimis notified M. Jonnart, representing the allied governments, that the King and his eldest son George would leave the country. A dispatch on June 16 stated that they had left for Switzerland. In a public proclamation on June 18, the new king, Alexander, disappointed the Allies by pledging continuation of his father's policies.

* *

The American war loan of \$2,000,000,000 has been oversubscribed to the extent of about \$900,000,000. Small subscribers will be given the preference in making allotments. Many of these subscriptions have been made on the installment plan, two per cent. being paid on application, eighteen per cent. on June 28, twenty per cent. on July 30, thirty per cent. on August 15, and a like amount on August 30. The subscribers forfeit previous payments on failure to meet installments promptly.

* *

The note of Secretary of State Lansing to the Allied powers to associate with the United States in advising China to compose her internal troubles, has brought a negative reply from Japan. Great Britain had already replied expressing sympathy but adding that she viewed the Chinese situation "from a slightly different standpoint than the United States." Japan's refusal is attributed to the failure to consult her before Secretary Lansing's action was taken.

* *

In a public address on June 14, President Wilson declared that the United States had been forced into war through the insults and aggressions of the German Government. The Austrian people, he said, desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin. He said that much peace talk had come from Berlin, but "never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept." The military masters of Germany see, he declared, that if they fall back or are forced back an inch their power at home and abroad will fall.

Their only chance to perpetuate their power is to secure peace with the advantage still in their hands. He spoke of the peace movement as an "intrigue" and intimated further that Socialists and Liberals, the "thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence," are being used for their own destruction by German autocracy. He said further in part:

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. The Government has many spokesmen here in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purpose of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world. . . . But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government, whom we have already identified, who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties. . . . For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution, when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

* *

In opposing Premier Borden's conscription bill in the Canadian Parliament, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal leader, offered an amendment postponing compulsory service until approved by a popular referendum.

Russia.

In a formal greeting to the American Mission to Russia at Petrograd, on June 15, Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Tereshtenko declared that Russia will fight "to secure liberty, freedom and happiness for all the world." In response Elihu Root declared faith "in the competence of the power of democracy" and "faith in the coming of a better world in which the humble and oppressed of all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity." [See current volume, page 580.]

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A London dispatch of June 13 states that early returns from the election in Petrograd show that the Socialist bloc has won. Women voted on the same terms as men. The Constitutional Democrats came second.

* * *

In a special cable from Petrograd to the New York *Times* of June 12, Harold Williams states that President Wilson's note of the 9th has met with a cold reception from the Council of Workmen and Soldiers' Delegates, but he does not explain the position of the Council or report the exact comments of its newspaper organs. He states, however, that publication of the American and British notes "was the signal

for an outburst of pacifist chauvinism in the greater part of the Socialist press. The Allies were included in the condemnation of the British. The notes were savagely analyzed, and an old bourgeois imperialistic contention was discovered under a new form."

Ireland.

That all the prisoners taken in the Dublin insurrection of last year will be released was announced in the House of Commons June 15 by Chancellor Bonar Law. The approaching Irish convention and the desire to create an atmosphere of harmony had moved the Government, Mr. Law declared, to take this conciliatory step. The prisoners were released on June 18, as also were the Sinn Feiners arrested on June 9 while holding a protest meeting. All were released unconditionally.

Spain.

Reports from Spain continue to indicate spreading unrest. Discontent in the army brought from the Officers' Defence Committee a demand that promotion be based on merit instead of seniority. Their example is being followed by civilians, small profession and trades; defense committees are reported as being organized to demand political changes. "A new political system totally different from that hitherto in existence" is the demand of the Cordova Defense Committee, composed of professional men, business men and laborers.

Social Workers for Peace.

Charity workers from all over the country, in session at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Pittsburgh on June 13, sent Edward T. Devine to Washington to-day to convey to President Wilson a memorial signed by 600 delegates pledging their support to the administration and urging the President at the same time to press the Allies for a fresh statement of the terms of peace based on the suggestions laid down by Russia.

Dr. Devine, who is secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, and identified with the Red Cross work, presented the memorial to the President through Secretary Tumulty. It read in full as follows:

Acclaiming the democratic principles set forth in the President's address to the Senate in January, and reaffirmed in his war message of April; welcoming the response thereto by English liberal opinion; hailing the democratic purposes of the Russian revolution with its disclaimer of territorial aggrandizement; and recognizing that the democratic elements of the central empires are at a disadvantage so long as their war groups can claim they are resisting annihilation, we pledge the administration our support in such steps as will elicit a fresh statement of peace terms by the Allies, repudiating autocracy, disclaiming conquests and punitive indemnities and focusing the liberal forces of all mankind for a democratic organization of the world.

Among the six hundred signatures appended were those of: New York City: Samuel McCune Lindsay, John A. Kingsbury, Homer Folks, Paul U. Kellogg, George W. Kirchwey, Maude E. Miner, Francis H. McLean, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Morris Hillquit, and A. M. Wilson. Chicago: Graham Taylor, Minnie F.

Low, Charles A. Graves, T. W. Allinson, Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and William T. Cross. Boston: Robert A. Woods, Robert W. Kelso, Jeffrey R. Brackett and Herbert C. Parsons. Buffalo: Frederic Almy, Wm. A. Abberger, Cecil B. Wrenner and Bryant Fleming, as well as those of Allen T. Burns and Sherman C. Kingsley of Cleveland, Roger N. Baldwin of St. Louis, Mrs. Francis C. Axtell of Washington, and others.

NOTES

—The national convention of Rotary Clubs met at Atlanta on June 18.

—Interstate Commerce Commissioner Judson C. Clements died at Washington on June 18. He had been a member of the Commission since 1892.

—Dr. Gilbert Reid, the American editor at Shanghai charged with sedition, was released on June 13 and the charge against him withdrawn.

—Viscount William Waldorf Astor, formerly of New York City, has brought suit against the New York Board of Taxes, claiming that his property has been unfairly assessed.

—Emma Goldman and Alex. Berkman were arrested on a charge of violating the Conscription Act on June 15. Bail was fixed in each case at \$25,000. A protest that the Federal Constitution forbids excessive bail was disregarded.

—President Wilson issued a blanket pardon on June 15 to nearly 5,000 persons under suspended sentences imposed by the Federal Courts. It applies to all cases of convicted persons at liberty under such sentences whose term of sentence is less than the time between date imposed and June 15, or upon whom sentence was passed prior to June 15, 1916.

—Governor Lowden of Illinois vetoed on June 15 the bill for abolition of capital punishment for murder. In vetoing the bill the Governor declared that it still left death as the penalty for treason, and the enactment of this discrimination in favor of murder "would arouse resentment against the enforcement of such discipline as may be necessary with our troops in the field."

—Prosecutions for violation of the Conscription Act resulted in the first conviction in New York City on June 12. The defendants were Morris Becker and Louis Kramer, who were alleged to have distributed anti-draft circulars. The judge refused to consider constitutional points presented by their attorney, Harry Weinberger. The case will be appealed to the Supreme Court.

—Several thousand East Side women marched to the New York City Hall on June 16 to enter a protest against conscription. After three of their number were admitted to present their resolutions, the police sought to hasten dispersal of the crowd by striking the women with clubs and fists. Five of the women were arrested charged with "disorderly conduct." A protest to Mayor Mitchel has been sent signed by Helen L. Fisher and Josephine Campbell Nixon. They have gathered statements of witnesses, asked the Mayor to see that the arrested women are discharged, and that the police guilty of brutality be punished.

PRESS OPINIONS

Enslaving Babies in Name of Patriotism.

Louis F. Post in *The Woman Citizen*, June 2.—At this time of appalling stress, military and economic, could anything need emphasis more than the public duty of maintaining humanizing standards in industry? One might expect this duty to be almost self-executing. Its appeal is strong, and not alone to human sympathy, but to every impulse of patriotism. Sympathy, however, is not always sensitive to such appeals, and sometimes patriotic impulses are lost in the dull paganism that mistakes symbol for things symbolized. Emphasis is therefore necessary, if humane industrial standards are to be maintained; and for effective emphasis the country must depend largely upon its woman citizenship.

Among men there are many reckless demands for war measures to loosen laws which, with much pains and after long struggles, have been enacted for the protection of American workers. In the name of patriotism, proposals to conscript Labor, not for direct government service, but for the immediate profit of private interests, are frequently heard. So are proposals to nullify eight-hour laws and other statutory regulations for shielding working men and working women from the fierceness of their perennial fight with Hunger and Cold. There is also a notable eagerness to crowd women of leisure, to whom wages are not even pin money, into the workplaces of bread winners whose livelihood is conditioned by wages. Notable above all is an apparent readiness, which the President has justly and pointedly rebuked, to weaken school laws and child-labor laws so that children may be swept before their time into the "tooth and claw" struggle of the disinherited for existence.

The last of those sacrifices would be one which the country does not yet need. It would be one for which the country can have no need until its need demands all that employers may make as well as all that little children have to give. Children cannot be taken out of school for industrial drudgery without impairing their future usefulness. Our little boys and girls cannot be subjected to long hours of monotonous toil in mines or factories or stores, nor even on farms or in gardens, without our nation's paying an exorbitant price in terms of national decline.

Circumstances may possibly arise for exacting that very last measure of devotion to the cause of democracy. Possibly children may yet have to be sacrificed upon industrial altars for the common good. But those circumstances have not yet arisen; that time has not yet come. Nor can it be decently said that the circumstances have arisen or the time is here so long as common needs may be translated into private gain.

Until the President sounds an alarm calling for the ultimate sacrifice, let the public schools continue their democratic work, and child labor laws as well as other labor laws remain in force unimpaired. The President has distinctly declared the importance of this policy. The Department of Labor,

along with the President, is committed to it. Let no thoughtless sentiment allow autocratic greed to break it down. It is a policy, too, which the women of the United States are in a peculiar sense charged with conserving and promoting. Though every one of mature years and sound mind must be held responsible for this policy of child conservation, the task of stimulating a nation-wide sense of obligation to it is a vital function of what one may not inaptly call the motherhood of the Republic.

Everybody Knows But Congress.

Capper's Weekly (Topeka), June 16.—That idle land held for speculative purposes should be heavily war-taxed is a suggestion that is coming in from every hand. *Capper's Weekly* has received a number of letters urging such action, and one or two from farmers. A reader at Haviland writes: "Don't tax the farmer for raising wheat, corn, cattle, or for building houses, barns or fences, or buying new equipment or articles advertised in newspapers, but tax the land speculator who holds land idle and out of use, who produces nothing on the land and refuses to let anyone else use it, who builds no houses, barns or fences," etc. A large landowner in western Kansas tells us that thousands of idle acres are held in his neighborhood the property of Iowa farmers, who refuse to sell or lease and are "holding the land for their grandchildren as a speculation." A former Kansan now living in San Luis Obispo county, California, writes that thousands of acres in that county are held out of cultivation by syndicates, taxes being very light. War taxation of such land would force it into cultivation and there would be far less farm tenantry.

Militarism Dominant in New York.

New York *Evening Post*, June 16.—If there is growing popular unrest in this city, it seems to be chiefly among the militia. This city is not under martial law, and there has been no request that we are aware of by any constituted authority that the militia be called out to aid in preserving the peace. But last night soldiers raided several perfectly lawful and law-abiding meetings. For instance, the *Tribune* reports that "bayonets were brought into play by members of the Eighth Coast Defence command who mounted guard at a meeting of the People's Council held in Arlington Hall, St. Mark's Place. The speeches at this meeting were mild and inoffensive, the hall was draped with American flags, and many in the audience wore tri-colors in their lapels." Yet without warrant of law these soldiers took charge of the meeting, arrested twenty-five men whom they claimed as violators of the Registration law, and generally ran things to suit themselves. This is nothing short of a scandal. It ought to be stopped at once by Gen. O'Ryan, if Mayor Mitchel will not attend to it, and for the simple reason alone that the presence of armed soldiers at these meetings is increasing and not decreasing dislike of conscription on the East Side. Lawlessness by persons representing authority does infinitely more harm in arousing public passions than the words of any number of loose-tongued orators.

CORRESPONDENCE

DEMOCRACY AND WAR.

I am writing to register my extremely strong objection to the opening editorial in your issue of June 15th.

That, "The war is a supreme test for the radicals of America" I fully agree, but I am unable to fathom the logic of the suggestion that they should "co-operate with all the elements in American society that have aroused their distrust and scorn and hostility." Is a radical to use his intellect to distinguish qualities and tendencies and realities, or is he to "take his place among the great undistinguished multitudes" swept along by the crowd hysteria of fear and hate, of distorted values and clouded vision that has possessed Europe for the past three years and is now so rapidly enveloping America?

Is life a gust of unreasoning emotions; are we to be blinded by names and phrases, or is there a real meaning in the things the radicals of America have worked and hoped for? Is it worth while to consider what things really are autocratic and what democratic or must we now placidly accept the labels and the assumptions of the plutocrats, the politicians and the press?

Most surely is it true that "the issue of overwhelming importance is the survival of nations that maintain liberal political institutions and of the prestige of the democratic idea." It is also true as has been written, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father." Do you see the connection? Also possibly the survival of liberal political institutions in a nation may be as important as the survival of a nation in which liberal political institutions did at one time exist. Does THE PUBLIC believe the "prestige of the democratic idea" has advanced in England since 1914 or in America since April 6th?

"The right of the common people of the world to live according to the principle of liberty is in deadly peril." "'Tis true, 'tis pity." How shall this right of the common people be conserved? By the Prussianization of Great Britain or by conscription in America? Are the liberties of our people to be preserved as Caesar preserved the liberties of Rome and Napoleon the liberties of France?

You assert, "It was no longer possible to be confident that, with this country abstaining from active participation, the war could be brought to a conclusion on terms that offer hope for the future peace of the world and the security of democracy." What reasons can you give for this statement? War is essentially anti-social; it is necessarily autocratic; it can be waged only by the suppression of the intrinsically social qualities of liberty and equality and democracy. This is truer now than ever before because war is more and more dehumanized and becomes increasingly a matter of machinery and "efficiency." How can you hope for peace and secure democracy through their destruction?

Has THE PUBLIC the imagination to visualize the horror and misery, the murders and devastations,

the millions of wrecked homes and the billions of wasted treasure involved in those two innocent words "active participation?" Does THE PUBLIC believe in the potency of force or of fraternity? Does it believe that the reaction of people grouped into nations is essentially different from the reaction of these same people as individuals? Does not force breed resistance and aggression breed hate and destruction breed vengeance? Are we to yield to the hypnosis of a crowd psychology which sees "a Germany no longer kept within bounds" etc., etc., or should we as radicals, if not as a nation, have the faith to try the golden rule and the courage to risk the consequences?

Philadelphia, Pa. MARSHALL E. SMITH.

* * *

Your editorial on the test of the war is true and very brave, exposing you to fanatical misunderstanding. To hold to the high ideal of a cause is to enable it to persist upon that plane and surely the address of yesterday gives justification to the attitude forced upon us and so clearly stated by the President who has synchronized your own statement of the menace which drove us to participate in the horrible necessity of the war.

ERVING WINSLOW,

Secretary, The Anti-Imperialist League.

Boston, Mass., June 15.

CONSCRIPTION AT NORTHFORK, CAL.

This is a small mountain precinct in Madera County, Cal. Congressman Denver S. Church represents our district. He voted against the conscription law.

Northfork is a representative precinct, having three power plants, Natural Forest Headquarters, stock-ranches—a little village.

There were 39 boys registered, of these 11 were aliens—6 Spaniards, 3 Chinamen, 1 Frenchman, and 1 Austrian. There were 9 Indian boys, several of whom could not sign their names. None were voters or taxpayers.

The remaining 19 boys were natives and voters.

Of these 19 I interviewed 14 to get their views on the draft and the volunteer system. I asked: "Do you think the conscription law ought to be repealed?" Ten of the 14 favored repeal and 4 were for the law as enacted.

I counseled the boys to register and obey the law, but assured them of their constitutional right of petition.

Northfork, Cal. A. W. FREDERICK.

* * *

If it is shameful for the individual to spy on his neighbor, to betray his host and break his given word, then the mother country must not do these things. If it is shameful for the individual to obtain profit through fraud or threat, or to secure it by violence, then the mother-country must not do those things. And the citizen, if he be a patriot, cannot and must not permit these things, or approve of them. He cannot and must not become their accomplice, or their agents even if he were to receive for it the wages of an ambassador.—Paul Richard in "To the Nations."

BOOKS

WAR AND DEMOCRACY.

"Essays in War-Time." By Havelock Ellis. Published by Houghton Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. Price \$1.50.

The name of Mr. Havelock Ellis has held an honored place in the great Republic of Letters for well nigh quarter of a century, and during that time he has brought the searchlight of a keenly critical intellect to bear upon almost every aspect of human experience, individual and social. It seems therefore singularly appropriate that to-day, when the very sub-stratum of traditional thought and opinion is being rapidly disintegrated and the most venerable of our theories of human nature thrown into the melting-pot, he should re-state his views in the light of the mighty conflagration that has been the immediate cause of these hitherto unconceived-of changes.

The little volume now under consideration, "Essays in War-time," comprises eighteen edifying discourses on so wide a variety of subjects as to cover almost the whole gamut of social interests, from the evolution theory and the production of ability, to the problems of national health and birth-control; and all in their respective relations to the anticipated psychological and economic effects of the war. In the introduction some exceedingly interesting references are made to the Epistles of Erasmus written 400 years ago, and again to the opinions of a certain John Rous a century later, both having bearings on wars of those days, strikingly similar to the reflections which might well be supposed to occupy the scholarly mind of to-day.

In the essay entitled "Evolution and War," the author disposes of the theory which holds war to be a biological necessity, by showing that it is not even suggested by Darwin, and is repudiated by "those authorities in natural history who speak with most knowledge." It is of course, important to remember that the "struggle for existence" has always been mainly an effort at adaptation to environment rather than a war of extermination between members of a species; and though Mr. Ellis does not refer either to Prince Kropotkin or Professor Huxley, the well-known "Mutual aid among animals and men" might be quoted as proof that the instinct towards combination and helpfulness has been one of the chief factors in organic evolution. Not less significant is Huxley's famous dictum that progress in all we call civilization is contingent upon a complete reversal of the cosmic process,—a substitution of friendly co-operation for the competitive struggle for place and power.

The relation of war to eugenics,—the inevitable deterioration of a nation's average quality, physical and mental, by the slaughter of its most promising members, is set forth convincingly. The question of whether there can be such a thing as morality in warfare, is dealt with from the affirmative point of view in the fourth essay. The probable effect of the eruption of feeling that is now taking place, upon the Feminist movement and the future political and social status of women, is regarded sanely from all points of view, including that of the essential

physiological and consequent mental differences between the sexes. The bearing also, of the "The Great Change" upon the questions of marriage and divorce, the white slave problem, the decline of the birth-rate, etc., are treated in a manner that will compel the assent of whatever is in the reader of sanctified common-sense.

The essay on "War and Democracy," however, is that which will make most direct appeal to the healthy-minded American. The utter incompatibility of sabre-rattling with the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity, only requires consideration to be at once conceded. But in stamping out the disease of militarism the danger is imminent that those who undertake the work may catch the infection. There is therefore every reason that the Allies should rigorously exclude from their minds any thought of ostracizing or encircling Germany. For this will not only involve the cultivation of the militaristic spirit in themselves, but will inevitably produce the effect which always follows "shutting down" or suppression. Combustible gases are generated which, instead of escaping harmlessly, are accumulated and compressed and made ready for the possible explosion which by the touch of a child's finger, may one day be made a grim reality.

"More is at stake," says Mr. Ellis, quoting the opinion of a German writer, Rudolf Goldscheid, "than a mere question of national rivalries; democracy is at stake and the whole future direction of civilization." If in the spirit suggested by, and strictly limited by, those words, the United States with her allies, can pursue the work of liberation on which she has entered, surely the great heart of the Nation will go with her?

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

UNDERSTANDING ATROCITIES.

"The Growth of a Legend." By Fernand van Langenhove. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price \$1.25.

Amidst the cataract of books that have been let loose upon the world as the result of thoughts provoked by the great war, "The Growth of a Legend" is not only full of psychological interest, but points an important moral to all sincere men and women. The truly remarkable feature of this book is that though written by a Belgian man of science, it may without unduly straining the meaning of words be described as an "apologia" for Germany's attitude towards Belgium and her consequent actions from the moment when the frontier was crossed in August, 1914. Were it not indeed that we must respect the dispassionate and purely scientific viewpoint into which M. van Langenhove seems almost to have forced himself, we should resent the attempt to account for the actual facts of vandalism, slaughter of civilians, and destruction of property, which in the eyes of ordinary common sense bespeak a brutality of character that seems almost incredible.

The astonishing fecundity of a legendary seed is known to all who have observed its rapid growth. A simple story told in the morning, especially if it have a snap of the interest which unfortunately attaches to scandal, will run quickly from ear to ear and return in the evening to its originator in an

absolutely unrecognizable form, without conscious falsification on the part of any of those through whose minds it has passed. Moreover, the inaccuracy with which even highly intelligent people will observe the simplest happenings, and the constant tendency for the mental presentations of such happenings to wander further from truth with the lapse of time, is a matter of common knowledge. The author tells of certain experiments made at the Congress of Psychology at Gottingen, proving that the ratio of true to false descriptions of an extraordinary event is usually about 5 or 6 per cent.

It is on the basis of such scientific facts that M. van Langenhove seeks to qualify the condemnation meted out to the German army in its treatment of Belgium. The German mind, he says, had been obsessed by recollections of the war in 1870, during which the German soldiers had suffered much from "Francs-tireurs" or civilian free-lances, shooting from behind hedges, or the shutters of apparently untenanted houses. They therefore had fears of similar treatment at the hands of Belgian civilians, but carrying with them as they did a proclamation by the German Commander-in-Chief, apologizing to the Belgian people for the unavoidable intrusion on their territory, begging a free passage for the troops, and promising liberal payment for accidental damage done, such fears were held in abeyance. The Belgian Army, however, conscious of its numerical inferiority, posted itself on the frontier and, "concealed by the topographical features of the country, welcomed the enemy with a lively fusillade. A feeling of anger naturally associated itself with the first surprise of the German soldiers. Who could have fired upon them? It could only have been the civilian population."

Thus the legend of the treachery of Belgian civilians began. It quickly grew until it included the Catholic clergy as instigators of the civilian uprising. Not much time was required for tales to get on the wings of the wind, telling of unspeakable cruelties by the Belgian people to wounded Germans. These were printed in full by German newspapers, and believed. The new contingents of the German army arrived with their imaginations inflamed by those tales of horror, and with whatever of the milk of human kindness is permitted to a soldier soured within him to the point of fermentation. When finally the German Chancellor in addressing representatives of the Associated Press frankly accepted these legends as truth; and the Kaiser in his letter to President Wilson Sept. 8, 1914, gave them the highest official sanction by uttering a protest against "this way of conducting the war, the most barbarous known to history," the psychological wind-storm was at its point of highest pressure. The German soldiery believed they were dealing with a people in whom the tiger, the serpent, the fox and the primeval savage still predominated, and with whom humane methods would be worse than useless.

Such are the considerations by which M. van Langenhove seeks charitably to convince his readers that Germany has been the victim of an avalanche of legendary untruths. That the tales of cruelty and treachery by the Belgian civilians were unfounded, is demonstrated in the second Chapter. A Catholic Society in Germany aroused to indignation

by the odious charges levelled against the Clergy of Belgium, demanded of the German Government inquiries as to the truth of certain allegations. Fear of internal dissension along religious cleavages compelled the Government to institute these inquiries, with the result that in every case they were proved to be utterly baseless as regards the Belgian clergy, the implication being that they were equally without foundation where others were concerned.

The book is full of interest, is not unduly long, and should commend itself to all who have that instinct, which by cultivation becomes a passion, and which prompts to a desire to see the wheels go round which underlie all human action:—to the people who are not satisfied with facts only, but who want to understand.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

* * *

One of those ladies who go about asking, "Why are you not in khaki?" was passing near a farm, when she saw a man sitting milking a cow. "Why are you not at the front?" she demanded. "Why, ye see, ma'am, we get the milk at this end."

* * *

"How would you classify a telephone girl?" asked the old fogey. "Is hers a business or a profession?" "Neither," replied his friend. "It's a calling."—*Sacred Heart Review*.

* * *

"Father, what do they mean by gentlemen farmers?" "Gentlemen farmers, my son, are farmers who seldom raise anything except their hats."—*Sacred Heart Review*.

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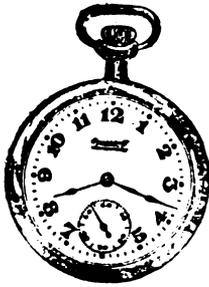
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