

The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

Wilson vs. Autocracy

Human Nature or State Nature

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

There is as yet no public evidence of the way in which the Allies are meeting the Russian demand for clarification of terms. If it is true that the Russian leaders of opinion generally are acquainted with secret treaties that they want revised, it may be taken for certain that the acquiescence which amounted to evasion will not carry Russians back to the front. Probably the whole programme of arrangements is being recast. This war is mother of profound domestic transformation; it would be strange if the whole conception of international relationships has not undergone evolution. Nationalist ambitions regarding either territory or trade, become petty when measured against the events of the past two years. The Russian attitude leaves us in no doubt as to Russian intentions. Continued participation depends upon the possibility of attaining the right kind of peace, and the terms of that peace can no longer be the guarded secrets of European chancelleries.

* * *

Mr. Root's expressions of sympathy with Russia and with the war aims enunciated by the new democracy there are admirable. But it is not enough that this sympathy should be expressed in graceful phrases by a trained diplomat whose sincerity in this direction is open to question by the people of his own country. Not only the new Russia, but the liberals of every country, and of America most of all, are waiting for a sign that the American Government not only shares the spirit and purpose of the Russian peace formula, but stands ready to co-operate with Russia for a peace equally intolerant of political imperialism by Germany and of economic or political imperialism by any of the Allies. The present Russian Government may collapse tomorrow. Even if Washington foresaw such a collapse and held the Russian military power as a negligible asset, it would still win a victory of paramount im-

portance by proclaiming hearty acquiescence in the spirit and purpose of the Russian formula. Such an acquiescence would vitalize liberal forces in every allied country that are now half-hearted and doubting.

* * *

Americans of liberal tendency—and there are many of them—can only consent to war for the purpose of securing and perpetuating international justice. We have as little interest as the Russians in remaking the map of the world to satisfy the old imperialist ambitions. To curb the vicious German expansionists is one thing. So long as that menace exists, there will be absolutely no limit to our sacrifice. But Americans quite frankly have no interest in the winning of irredentas or the extension of colonial possessions. We want a world in which national cupidity seeking the privilege of exploiting weaker peoples has received its death blow. The mutuality of justice is as certain as that of aggression. Russia's attitude is having its inevitable effect on Austria, shown in the latter's increasing dissociation from Germany and preparation for peace on the basis of a liberal federalism.

* * *

Usually fair in its comment, the *New York Evening Post* deviates from its customary course in its issue of June 21 in discussing democratic opposition to Mayor Mitchel. It quotes garbled extracts from remarks of various speakers at the dinner of the Municipal Ownership League, and facetiously declares that these show Mitchel's respectability to be what makes him objectionable. As a matter of fact, the chairman of the meeting and most of the speakers had made clear that the Mayor has offended in more serious ways. There was the incident, for instance, of his pre-election promise to the Lower Rents Society, which he hastened to violate after election. For some reason the *Evening Post*

failed to quote the story told by Chairman Leibuscher concerning the Mayor's meeting with Senator Ogden Mills, wherein he assured the Senator that he was going to "can" the proposition of these Lower Rents Society cranks. And it neglected to repeat the statements of other speakers laying emphasis on how he had violated his pledge, in accordance with the assurance given Senator Mills. Having failed to refer to this incident at all, the *Post* necessarily gave its readers a wrong impression of the remarks of another speaker who declared that he would not support the Mayor if he adopted the Ten Commandments as his platform. All who heard the talk understood that a pledge to support the Ten Commandments would be subject to reasonable doubt if given by one who had violated a pledge to put no obstacle in the way of a local referendum on untaxing improvements. Yet the *Post* construed the Mayor's offense to be not bad faith but respectability. Is it respectable to break a proper promise to a radical organization?

* * *

The Adamson eight hour law is urged by the railroads as one reason why they should be allowed a fifteen per cent. increase in rates. Now comes Clifford Thorne, State Railroad Commissioner of Iowa, and shows that the increased expense put upon the railroads by this law amounts to less than two per cent. of their revenue. Moreover, the railroads themselves had agreed to abide by the Adamson law, before the Supreme Court upheld it, as a patriotic contribution toward national security. Now it seems that they want their patriotic contribution repaid with manifold interest. Will the Interstate Commerce Commission allow it?

* * *

The food-control bill, as it passed the House of Representatives, contains a section easily construable as prohibitive of strikes. The record of the courts shows that many judges may be depended upon to so understand the bill. It is furthermore significant that the House rejected a proposed amendment by Congressman Keating to the effect that it would not affect the right to strike as defined in the Clayton act. Every effort should be made to secure such an amendment in the Senate. President Wilson but recently condemned the efforts being made

to overthrow labor's legislative safeguards under cover of war necessity. It is only reasonable to look to him to exert his influence to block this latest underhanded attempt to accomplish what he has condemned.

* * *

By a vote of 162,054 against 144,544, the people of the State of Washington adopted an act in 1914. By a two to one vote the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals upheld it. But now, by a vote of five to four, the United States Supreme Court has nullified it. The adverse majority of one overrides the majority of 17,510. The act was one forbidding collection of fees from workers for obtaining employment. Regardless of its merits, it was clearly wanted by the voters of Washington. Of twelve judges who passed upon it six were convinced of its constitutionality. With no question as to the popular will and much question concerning legal justification for its nullification, why should there be more power in five men holding seats on the Supreme Bench, than in 162,054 voters?

* * *

If the excess profit tax on business is no violation of the constitutional direct tax provision, then by what reasoning would it be a violation to levy a Federal tax on profits that come from holding unimproved land?

* * *

If a shortage in coal production justifies governmental seizure of coal producing lands, why does not shortage in food production justify similar confiscation of all land withheld from use which could produce food? And why does it not justify opening up, regardless of the owners' wishes, of all land on which wealth of any kind may be produced?

* * *

If some knowledge of history were made a qualification for appointment either upon the judicial bench or on the police force, judges and policemen would know better than to arrest or convict persons for public expression of their opinions, whatever they may be. They would know then that to meet any propaganda with force instead of reason, while unpleasant for the propagandist is helpful to propaganda. It is evident that there is a woeful amount of ignorance of history among New York City's magistrates and higher judiciary as well as among its police and national guardsmen. They hope by arresting

speakers and breaking up meetings to accomplish what every tyranny known to history has failed to do. The same seems to apply to the officials of the District of Columbia who have interfered with the suffrage pickets at the White House. Though these pickets have resorted to bad methods of propaganda for a good cause, the way the officials have met them is worse. And even higher up, in the Post Office Department, there are bureaucrats who could profitably take a high school course in those periods of history wherein it was attempted to prevent through censorship spread of ideas and activity of political movements.

* * *

Nation-wide prohibition is included in the food-control bill which has passed the House. So be it. But if it brings no more than a fraction of the benefits predicted by its advocates, it must increase land values enormously. At the same time it raises another issue. Some means must be devised to secure \$600,000,000 of Federal revenue which the tax on liquor was expected to yield. Two ways are open to Congress. One is to put more burdens on industry. The other is to tax land values. If it does not tax land values, increased land prices due to prohibition will force workers who have never spent a penny for drink, to pay higher rents and at the same time contribute to the revenue deficit. For them abolition of the liquor traffic will bring economic loss. If that happens prohibition will be discredited in spite of all the good it may do in putting an end to intemperance. Prohibitionists should be among the first to realize the danger to their cause. They can avert it by joining with advocates of land value taxation in insisting that Congress adopt that method of providing for the prospective deficit.

* * *

Closer co-operation between Congress and the executive departments and therefore a greater measure of democratic control is the object of a bill introduced in Congress by Senator George P. McLean of Connecticut. By its terms, cabinet officers would be seated in Congress with the right to participate in debate on matters affecting their respective departments. They would also be subject to interpellation on Mondays and Thursdays in the House and on Tuesdays and Fridays in the Senate. While this ar-

angement would demand more of a Cabinet officer's time than it would be either wise or necessary to demand, it could easily be modified in detail to provide for the giving by Cabinet officers of say four hours a week to participation in Congressional discussions and the answering of Congressional interpellations. A similar proposal was urged recently in the pages of THE PUBLIC, as a means of providing every Congressman with the facts required for intelligent discussion and action. These facts are now transmitted in private to the chairmen of important committees or to small favored groups of Congressmen. The opposition, in particular, is left without knowledge on which to base its criticism. Executive departments and the public interest often suffer from the opposition or indifference of uninformed Congressmen, while in other instances executive policies are indorsed or tolerated because Congressmen who might be inclined to oppose them refrain for lack of knowledge. No doctrinaire adherence to the principle of separate legislative and executive functions should be permitted to stand in the way of favorable consideration for this greatly-needed innovation. It is the least degree of executive responsibility that we can safely provide in these days of the all-powerful State.

The Latest in Censorship

It looks as though the cry of "sedition" is to be made a pretext to hamper any movement causing discomfort to plutocracy. There is no other way to explain the efforts in North Dakota to construe as seditious the campaign carried on by the Non-Partisan Farmers' League to meet war expenses through conscription of wealth. So far no official has taken it upon himself to make this charge a pretext for arrest of any speaker, but reactionary papers are urging that course, and it need occasion no surprise should it be done.

In Texas, where the Farmers and Laborers Protective Association has become formidable, an effort has been made to invoke a Federal act in its forcible suppression by bringing the false charge that it is an organization formed to oppose the draft. And, what is worse, the Post Office Department has assumed the function of passing upon each edition of its organ, the *Hallettsville Rebel*, before admitting it to the mail. This

is made evident in the following order published in the Hallettsville *New Era* of June 12:

"Washington, D. C., June 7, 3:30 p. m.

Postmaster,
Hallettsville, Tex.

Submit to this office future copies of *The Rebel*, published at your place, for instructions, before accepting for mailing.

LAMAR—Solicitor."

This is even worse than the late Russian censorship. The Russian censor would but black out the passage in the paper to which he took exception and let the rest go. But the postal censorship would hold up a whole issue. The publishers of *The Rebel* truly comment on the Department's action:

This is the most remarkable form of censorship the world knows, where the postmaster general becomes the managing editor of *The Rebel* with authority to waste-basket an entire edition of 25,000 copies each time any large or small article therein does not conform to his idea as to how a Socialist newspaper should be conducted, involving a delay for each issue or from two to three weeks, even if it is approved.

The Rebel and the organization it represents have been fighting landlordism in the State, especially in the rural districts. That the landed interests wish to suppress the agitation is natural. But can the Post Office Department afford to let itself be used as their instrument?

Testing a Dream

There are persons styled "dreamers and theorists," who believe that men would be safer if governments protected them less. They are usually pushed aside by practical men with the information that when the millennium comes their ideas may be tried, but so long as human nature remains as it is, it were best that there be no relaxation of the grip of government on the individual.

But now there comes strange news of a people suddenly released from the firm grip of autocracy, who have had no time to change their nature, and who, nevertheless, are showing no stronger disposition to infringe upon their neighbors' rights than when the strong hand of the law seemed to be all that prevented them. The *New York Herald* of June 20 reproduces a private message from Petrograd from Charles R. Crane of the American Mission to Russia. Mr. Crane is a practical man, and, though broad, democratic and liberal, has never been classed among dreamers

and theorists. Yet he describes conditions in Petrograd as follows:

The First of May demonstration was remarkable. Notwithstanding a great deal of inflammatory oratory and speaking all through the streets, there was not a particle of brutality. The crowds were entirely orderly and good-natured. The actual government is practically a peaceful anarchy. There is no method of enforcing its decrees except by persuasion and consultation, but nevertheless it is a very orderly government and without the use of force through soldiers or policemen, and the jail doors are wide open. It is perfectly safe to wander around the streets anywhere at any hour of the day or night. It is a most impressive picture. Out through the country the people generally recognize their responsibility and carry out in a simple way work formerly done by officials. The people seem to get along without any of the old symbols, such as the Emperor, the flag, the national hymn, and even the cross of St. Sophia.

All this may seem a vindication of the philosophy of Tolstoy, but it is too soon to be sure of that. No doubt the people are inspired at present with a great hope. They look to the revolution to abolish involuntary poverty, the chief cause of crime. This has not yet been done, but to the confident expectation that it will soon be an accomplished fact, may well be attributed the spirit, affecting even the morally weak ones, which has created the conditions described by Mr. Crane. Whether these will continue must depend on the promptness and extent to which their hopes will be realized. The news that great estates are to be broken up and natural opportunities opened to all who will use them, is somewhat of an assurance against disappointment. But if too long delayed, it need cause no surprise should disorder and violence begin. A vital part of Tolstoy's philosophy was the restoration to all men of equal rights to the use of the earth. Until Russia does that there will be a serious defect in her democracy which may easily prove fatal.

Wilson vs. Autocracy

President Wilson has again justified the faith of the plain people who returned him to office. He is not a revolutionist in method; in our eagerness we sometimes grow impatient and some of us doubt. On the battle front of democracy his is the more prosaic task of bringing up the main body and consolidating advances won by more daring but less responsible leaders. Recent developments at Washington demonstrate again that his face is set against privilege, that he is

something more than a champion of the democratic political tradition that has failed so lamentably to make men free in fact as well as in name. THE PUBLIC was one of the first to chronicle the fact of Big Business having enlisted for the war and the passing into the hands of commercial and industrial executives of governmental powers incident to our mobilization. The facts were set down with misgivings, but with an assurance that President Wilson still held the reins. It has been a situation at Washington that seemed to threaten much of evil and very little of the progress toward socialization that has been hailed abroad as one of the mitigations of war. Given the war, with a multitude of tasks requiring quick action by experts, we could only accept at its face value the professions of a willingness to serve that came from men and organizations whom we distrusted, and alertly await the course of events. The inevitable has transpired: Mr. Peabody's Committee on Coal Production in the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense has proposed a contract price for coal that would multiply by nearly three the normal profits of the operators; the Steel Corporation, conspicuous among our industrial volunteers, proposes a Red Cross dividend on the one hand and an exorbitant price for steel on the other; the railroads have failed utterly to grapple adequately with the car shortage and the anarchistic scramble for advantage between road and road, shipper and shipper, commodity and commodity.

President Wilson chose the only possible course when he accepted the offer of our great industrial executives to nationalize our basic industries on a basis of patriotism and service. Pending the outcome, he has armed the Government to cope with the situation that was sure to ensue and that is now upon us. The Federal Trade Commission after a thorough analysis of the fuel and transportation problem, comes in with a recommendation for government operation of railroads and coal mines. Secretary Daniels rejects Mr. Peabody's offer of coal at \$2.95 a ton at the mine and insists on deliveries at \$2.25 a ton. (Producers have been glad to take \$2.85 a ton for the same coal delivered at tidewater after they themselves have paid \$1.40 a ton freight charges.) Similarly, Secretary Daniels, armed with the power to commandeer, has reduced the price of oil from \$1.85 a barrel to

85 cents. Mr. Hoover is to have full power to deal with the food situation as drastically as the public welfare requires, which means very drastically indeed. Says the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, a newspaper never yet suspected of "subversive" tendencies: "It can be said also that Big Business, in attempting negotiations along lines of their own suggestion, have run up against a stone wall in dealing with the men who have been selected by the White House. The railroad situation, the coal situation, and the row which has been stirred up over a steel shipbuilding plan, which called for \$95 steel, have all driven this message home. There has come on top of these developments the determination of the President to place Mr. Hoover in power as food administrator and give him a free hand regardless of the attacks made upon such a system of food administration by middlemen, hoarders and speculators. The President has turned a deaf ear to such classes of men and they have not found the slightest sympathy on seeking interviews with Mr. Hoover. They have found him a man who has told them frankly that he is determined to accomplish a single end, serve the people and the country. There has been more of this going on than the public has any knowledge about, but all the information has been before President Wilson and his cabinet."

Only the superficial will see in these developments cause for outraged denunciation of the captains of business who have failed so lamentably. That they have tried to subordinate motives of profit to motives of service, that scores of volunteer business men have done and are doing big things in a big spirit at Washington, only the most jaundiced will doubt. The fault for their failure is not theirs. It is the fault of an economic arrangement under which the organizers and engineers of industry,—the men who make dreams come true in the field of production and distribution,—have been able to win their opportunity only by becoming subservient to groups of profiteering bankers,—by first swearing allegiance to a social order based on privilege. Not less than the great artist who perforce accepts the offensive patronage of rich vulgarians, is the organizer or engineer of American industry the victim of a social system that exalts not the creative, but the possessive instinct. And he has worked in this poisoned atmosphere too long,

and too unquestioningly, to permit of a complete change in motivation now. As for the men who rule them from directors' rooms and banking offices, to forego private advantage at this time would be to repudiate utterly the carefully-built-up philosophy by which they and their class, aided by the schools and the preachers, have rationalized their motives and justified the established order. They are men so nurtured in privilege, so accustomed to looking upon their control of the nation's necessities as a sacred trust for which no payment could be too generous; so certain that civilization endures and multitudes live because their superior wisdom and talent are given free play; so habituated in motives and impulses of exploitation and selfish advantage, that not the warmest wave of patriotic feeling could purge those motives and impulses for the performance of such service as the country now needs.

And so it is a welcome relief to turn from the patriotic effusions and professions of support for the President so common a few weeks ago to the following pious lament, uttered more in sorrow than in anger by the misunderstood president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Said Mr. Rea anent the recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission:

I regret that at a time like this, when the railroads of the country and the shippers are exerting every effort to make the railroads of the greatest possible use to the Government in the prosecution of the war, the Federal Trade Commission should make such far-reaching recommendations respecting the railroads, based on what is evidently an incomplete investigation.

Let us leave Mr. Rea to the sadness of disillusion, and in thanking Providence for Woodrow Wilson express the confidence we feel that in more fundamental matters as well he will strike still stronger blows against domestic privilege and autocracy. It is for American liberals to aid him by formulating at this time a minimum programme of those reforms that both the national efficiency and the national self-respect of a nation fighting for democracy demand should be carried through with the least possible delay. Such a programme must be not only formulated, but formulated in workable terms of specification, and it must then have the insistent support of organized farmers and wage earners,—of all who see this as a crisis for democracy at home as well as abroad. By dis-

crediting precedent and destroying inertia, as well as by advertising democracy on a new and grander scale, this war presents to radicals the great opportunity. Can they subordinate their own differences, their temperamental antipathy to co-operation among themselves,—sufficiently to grasp it?

Prussianism Undefined

We are indebted to Mr. Frederick J. Koster, president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, for such a glimpse behind the scenes as is seldom permitted by those who administer our invisible government. Frederick the Great had a formula for maintaining an appearance of personal democracy and of devotion to popular religious and social fetiches which he passed on to Prussian princelings in letters of an amazing frankness and cynicism. Just so our financial and industrial autocrats have been careful to conceal their belief that they are ordained of God to control our economic and political destinies. Not so Mr. Koster. He returns to San Francisco and sends for the reporters.

"I have just been in New York taking part in a serious conference of some of the great industrial leaders of this country," begins Mr. Koster, himself a maker of barrels. "I find that among the leaders in finance and industry there is full realization of the seriousness of our country's present position."

But all shall be well:

"The services of those who are at the head of the great industrial institutions are being offered without stint to the Government, and the Government fortunately is beginning to avail itself thereof."

Before we proceed let it be explained that Mr. Koster, as President of the Chamber of Commerce, had raised a fund of a million dollars to fight unionism and establish "open shop" conditions in San Francisco. He is the chief support of District Attorney Fickert, first put into office by the United Railroads and the tenderloin to defeat Heney and stop the bribery prosecution, and now engaged in the prosecution of labor leaders charged with bombing a preparedness parade. Nor has he faltered since *The Bulletin* caught Fickert's chief witness in an attempt to procure perjured testimony. It is natural, therefore, that he should refer to these modest efforts and record for them the approval

of the "great industrial leaders" whom he met in New York. He tells the reporters:

"Realizing how essential it is that there be infused into industry the strongest possible co-operative spirit, there is unqualified approval of the awakening which it is generally recognized has come upon San Francisco in the handling of her industrial situation.

"There is tremendous gratification that the vicious and destructive anti-injunction law put forward at our last Legislature failed to receive the signature of the Governor of California, thus preventing adoption of a law which would practically have nullified the power of our courts to execute their mandates. There is unqualified approval, too, and unstinted praise for the spirit in which the commercial community of San Francisco has undertaken to deal with her industrial question, endorsement of the policy of the square deal in employment and of the open shop; of dealing with the labor unions in a spirit of fairness, recognizing fully their value in the industrial and social scheme and insisting only that in their dealings they observe the same respect for the law and the integrity of agreements as is expected from any other set of individuals or any other organizations."

Mr. Koster's regard for the co-operative spirit in industry and his respect for law will be lost on the reader unfamiliar with the background. At the public meeting where the law and order campaign of the Chamber of Commerce was born, President Koster's first lieutenant in the person of Capt. Robert Dollar advocated the filling of the hospitals with union men. Since then Mayor Rolph, himself a millionaire ship-builder and operator, has had occasion to denounce Mr. Koster's committee for the employment of private armed guards where none was needed. And more recently, Mr. Koster in page advertisements called upon San Francisco business men to stand behind District Attorney Fickert in spite of a perjury expose so ugly that the trial judge had denounced it and asked for a new trial for one of the labor union victims.

But we have gone astray. To return to Mr. Koster's message from the East. He sums it up thus:

"The one outstanding fact, and to which every discussion reverted, was that the practical man of affairs, be he industrialist, a

leader in the professions, financier or merchant, must be prepared through proper organization, conceived in a statesmanlike spirit of service, to take a much more definite part in the business of government; that the nation's danger has pointed out the obligation resting upon him to do his share toward bringing to bear the influence of the intelligent and more enlightened and personally unselfish upon the politics of his locality, and through that in turn upon State and Nation, to the end that we might be governed by ability and intelligence rather than by the product of a certain facility of appeal to the temporary and more or less superficial prejudices and whims of the uninformed masses; that upon him naturally should rest—and rightfully—the obligation of so organizing and informing the great mass of the people that appeal to prejudice based upon misunderstanding through lack of information should no longer be possible. This is essentially the day of the business man's duty."

THE PUBLIC thinks it hears some readers dismiss this with a chuckle and the good-natured observation that Mr. Koster had better go back to his barrel factory. To regard it so is to undervalue Mr. Koster's service in exposing and stating in definite terms an attitude toward "the uninformed masses" that is nearer the rule than the exception among the men who wield economic power in this country. Even Mr. Koster himself, fatuous as he sounds and is, is a phenomenon so seriously regarded in San Francisco that he is said to command the undivided and enthusiastic support of that city's bankers and public service corporations and all the lesser crew who benefit from privilege either directly or by picking crumbs from the tables of their masters.

No good will come of underestimating the size of the job that lies ahead of us: in blinking the fact that here at home, as in Prussia, privilege and absolutism have built up for their protection a doctrine of divine right that invests their champions with fanatical and almost religious egotism and zeal. Perhaps our greatest obstacle to progress in America has been the effect of our nominally-democratic political institutions in creating an illusion of freedom and blinding us to the reality and the power of our junker class. This is why Mr. Koster's clear-cut statement does us a real service.

Human Nature or State Nature

By Victor S. Yarros

The idlest thing in the world is a sweeping indictment of human nature. How easy, and at the same time how futile and meaningless it is to say, for example, that the terrible world war, which can settle nothing, proves that civilization is a sham and a hollow mockery, and that men fight because "it is their nature to fight," because at bottom they have not made any notable advance on the savage ape. The war is criminal and terrible, but it does not justify any such bitter, cynical conclusion. It proves that even the most civilized and progressive of nations have not yet learned to avoid physical warfare and to settle their disputes by conciliation, arbitration and impartial adjudication. To say this is to say the obvious. But, on the other hand, we must not overlook the facts that attest the steady upward advance of civilized nations—the growth of internationalism, the more and more frequent recourse to arbitration in inter-state controversies, the growing popular opposition to war, the multiplication of truly international agencies and activities. Do savage apes and tigers indulge in such things? We are what we are; nothing is more eloquent than fact, but even at our worst we are better than humanity was in earlier stages of its slow and painful ascent.

The war is horrible, but in the midst of war we hear talk about permanent peace tribunals, leagues to prevent blind and impulsive resort to brute force, limitation of armaments, the establishment of a world parliament composed of members of existing parliaments. Do apes and tigers plan such things?

In the midst of war books are being written on "true" religion, on a new social order, on fundamental economic and social reforms that shall do away with causes of war, on the future destiny of man, etc. In the midst of war men and women continue to worship beauty and seek truth. The cathedrals, the churches, the art galleries, the symphony orchestras, the poetic drama, the reform clubs, the charitable societies, the civic bodies continue to flourish. Love, devotion, moral courage, public service show no signs of vanishing from the face of this vale of tears—and of joys.

However, it is necessary and possible, without indicting mankind, to re-study very earnestly and searchingly, the causes of war. Psychologists, philosophers, historians and moralists do well to ask themselves, Why do men continue to fight? To answer this question scientifically is to lay the foundation of a new internationalism.

One metaphysician and philosopher, Prof. L. P. Jacks, the brilliant editor of *The Hibbert Journal*, has made some suggestive contributions to the more serious literature of the war. He has aroused the more interest because of his frank self-reversal on the question. At first he was disposed to place the blame for war on human nature pure and simple. He has, first and last, had a good deal to say about this mysterious thing, "human nature," and has often poked gentle fun at pedantic, dogmatic, metaphysical reformers who remember everything, provide for everything, but forget human nature. Men fight, Mr. Jacks told us early in the war, because it is their nature to fight; because they are still half-savage; because they are narrow, parochial, tribal; because they dislike the unlike and either hate or despise every foreigner. Further evolution—and it may require millennia—will slowly eliminate war as past evolution has abolished the duel, the private feud, the rule of the strongest or of the mob. The tribe made way for the nation; the nation was transformed into the federal republic; in time certain forces and factors that are even now at work must bring forth a federation of federations, a world republic, with international tribunals and international machinery for the maintenance of peace and justice.

This view, expressed not in anger or cynicism, but in regret and sorrow, seemed quite sensible and rational. After all, what is must be. Man is what man does. By our acts we shall be judged. If we were incapable of doing certain things, these things would not be occurring. If we kill and maim and devastate without sufficient cause, clearly it is our present civilized nature to do this. But Prof. Jacks did not long remain satisfied with such simple ideas as these. He recanted and publicly withdrew his charge against human

nature. No, wholesale murder, rapine, destruction, ferocity, ruthlessness cannot be debited to human nature. That would be cruel slander. Human nature is not so bad, not so depraved. An alibi must be found.

Prof. Jacks finds it in "state nature." The crimes and atrocities we could not commit as human beings we are induced to commit, or bring ourselves to commit, as subjects or members of a state. The present war is the expression of a nature that is lower than that of the average human being. It is in the name of patriotism, country, the state, that the average inoffensive individual goes forth to slay and ravage without cause. What we must reform, then, is state nature. We must, therefore, exalt the individual and subordinate the state. We must shake off the tyranny of the state. We must place the responsibility for all action on the individuals who act, and accept no excuse based on the idea that responsibility may be shifted or avoided.

Curiously enough, several intelligent writers have accepted Prof. Jacks' distinction. They did not stop even to ask whether the possibility of silencing the voice of human nature and obeying the dictates of "state nature" is not necessarily a trait of the very human nature that is exonerated at the expense of the villain, state nature.

Now, it is true that men will do as jurors, as members of a body corporate, as agents, as representatives, what they would not do as responsible individuals. A corporation is soulless, it is said. The individual directors or stockholders have souls, but they find it easy to suppress their souls and to act anti-socially in the name of the corporation. It is equally true that men will do "under orders," as soldiers or policemen or sheriffs, what they will not do on their own direct and personal responsibility. But it is difficult to believe that those who are indicting state nature have this shifting of responsibility alone in mind, or that they really suppose society could revert to personal responsibility and do away with corporate or co-operative activities. It is difficult to believe that they suppose that the destruction of the state—granting for the sake of the argument that the state can be destroyed—would cause "state nature" to vanish or evaporate. The state may be at times lower than human nature, but at other times it is higher. Are lynching mobs animated by state or by human nature? A mob implies the evasion of per-

sonal responsibility, but it also means defiance of authority and the state. Or is there still another nature, one lower than state nature? If so, how are we to reform *that*?

There is another point to be considered. To say that men will commit brutal and criminal acts as subjects or members of the organized state because that state relieves them of responsibility and drowns their human nature, is to forget that the orders thus obeyed are given by other men, by men of intelligence and character who do not hesitate to assume responsibility. What are we to call their nature? They, too, act for the state, or country, but the point is that they neither wish nor can avoid responsibility. It follows that the root of the matter does not lie in the ability to shift personal responsibility.

Perhaps the alleged distinction has no basis in fact. Perhaps it is superficial and convenient only up to a certain point. Does not the state itself rest on traits of human nature? The state is not supernatural, but natural. It responds to a need, like any other strong and enduring institution. To indict the state is to indict the individual, after all, for the individual supports the state, changes the state, is the state. If few give orders and many obey—and often obey blindly, or reluctantly—it is because the many need leadership and follow it. What happens in the state happens in any voluntary organization, in any occasional and temporary form of collective action. Mobs have leaders. Clubs and leagues choose officers and adopt rules by plurality or majority vote. The desire to avoid responsibility is one of the traits of human nature, and lack of initiative, boldness, self-confidence is another trait. Human nature has called the state, the church, the family, the institution of property into existence, and we shall abolish or reform none of these institutions until human nature outgrows them and evolves different and better institutions. We do not, however, outgrow institutions in a day. The process is gradual. Not all of us understand this process; not all of us see the same facts at the same time, or see them in the same light. Some are keener and better observers, and we call them seers or reformers or revolutionists. They announce the coming event; they facilitate our reception of it when it does come. They explain it; they remove opposition based on prejudice and false teaching.

With reference to war and peace, while hu-

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending June 26.

manity is outgrowing war as an institution; while commerce, invention, science, art, popular education, and many other factors are fighting war and promoting internationalism, the fact must be faced that even the most advanced peoples have not consciously accelerated and facilitated this process to the extent some had hoped for and predicted. Three years ago internationalism broke down; the militarists, the imperialists, the protectionists, the chauvinists, the reactionary apostles of might and brute force still had strength enough to plunge the world into a needless, a criminal war. Many of these were deceived, and not a few were self-deceived. State nature did not defeat human nature. Hate, envy, arrogance, greed, fear, vanity—all human traits—triumphed over common sense sympathy, justice and the sentiment of international amity. Has not this mad, criminal war tragically demonstrated the futility of the sword? Has it not convinced millions that the way to prevent war in the future is to prepare for peace, to multiply peace agencies and safeguards, to remove certain potent causes of friction and irritation that lead to war—such as colonial privileges, special favors, trade restrictions, secret diplomacy and class rule? Is it not realized by thousands of “new converts” that economic injustice is one of the chief causes of war; that those who are condemned to live dull, monotonous, hard lives see in war only adventure and excitement; that poverty, ignorance and brutishness in the masses constitute the most formidable obstacles to peace; and that to make democracy safe in the world at large we must first make democracy and popular government safe and real at home?

Our quarrel, then, is not with a mythical “state nature.” Our quarrel is with tyranny, monopoly, special privilege. Our hope for the future lies in education and in popular appreciation of the benefits of liberty, justice, democracy and international amity.

There is nothing new in this to the enlightened, consistent radical. But, alas, there are not enough enlightened radicals in the world. Let the radicals labor to make the world safe for democracy by the simple means of educating more democrats and more foes of aggression and monopoly.

* * *

Brotherhood is only possible among equals. Land monopoly prevents equality.—*Joseph Fels.*

Congressional Doings

By a vote of 365 to 5 the House passed on June 23 the Lever Food Control Bill with an amendment prohibiting use of foodstuffs in manufacture of alcoholic beverages and further empowering the President to requisition all whiskey now held in bond and re-distill it for Government use. As passed the bill contains a section easily construed as repealing the anti-injunction section of the Clayton law. It states in part:

Sec. 4. That it is hereby made unlawful for any person . . . to conspire, combine, agree or arrange with any other person (a) to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing or dealing in any necessities; (b) to restrict the supply of any necessities; (c) to restrict distribution of any necessities; (d) to prevent, limit or lessen the manufacture or production of any necessities, or to enhance the price thereof, or (e) to exact excessive prices for any necessities, or to aid or abet the doing of any act made unlawful by this act.

An amendment was proposed by Congressman Keating of Colorado declaring that nothing in the bill shall be construed as repealing the labor section of the Clayton law. This was rejected by 162 to 45. [See current volume, page 603.]

* *

In an address to the Senate on June 19, Herbert C. Hoover, in advocating food control, declared that production must be increased and waste eliminated, that speculators have overcharged the American people at the rate of \$50,000,000 a month for flour alone during the past five months, that exports must be regulated, that prices are higher in the United States than in countries which have been longer at war, that flour should never have sold for more than \$9 a barrel, and that unless a further advance can be prevented there must be an advance in wages.

* *

The Senate Finance Committee decided on June 21 in favor of an advance of one-quarter cent a pound on second-class postage and a tax of 5 per cent. on publishers' profits in excess of \$4,000. Religious periodicals, previously exempt, are included in the new schedule.

* *

In addressing the Senate Public Lands Committee on June 23 in opposition to Senator Phelan's bill to open public oil lands in California, Secretary Daniels declared that if these lands were opened the Senate “should place them in the hands of the Government or some agency and not those who now hold title in such lands by fraud.” He said further that it is only a question of a short time when the Government must commandeer all oil and coal.

National Woman's Party Suffrage Movement

A delegation of the National Woman's party led by Mrs. Robert Baker called on the National Democratic Committee in Washington on June 17 and urged it to advise the President to recommend to

Congress passage of the suffrage amendment as a war measure. The six committeemen present voted four to two in favor of the action, but later reconsidered the action.

On June 20 the pickets of the Congressional Union who have been stationed for months before the White House hung out a banner for the Russian Mission as the members were entering the grounds, saying:

TO THE RUSSIAN MISSION

President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say we are a democracy. Help us win a world war so that democracy may survive.

We, the women of America, tell you that America is not a democracy. Twenty million American women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement.

Help us make this nation really free. Tell our government that it must liberate its people before it can claim free Russia as an ally!"

A mob assembled and tore the banner down. A banner with the same statement was displayed again on the following day with the same result. One of the rioters, Mrs. Dee Richardson, was arrested but later released. On June 22 the pickets displayed a banner containing the following extract from the President's war message:

We shall fight for the things we have always held nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government.

The two pickets, Miss Katherine Morey and Miss Lucy Burns, were arrested on a charge of "blocking traffic" and "disorderly assemblage." On the following day four pickets were arrested for displaying a banner stating:

"Mr. President, you say we in the United States are interested only in human liberty."—An extract from Wilson's address on "The New Freedom."

Those arrested were Mrs. Lawrence Lewis of Philadelphia, Miss Gladys Greiner of Baltimore, Miss Mabel Vernon of Minnesota, and Miss Virginia Arnold of North Carolina. On June 25, twelve members of the union were arrested for displaying banners. They were Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Virginia Arnold, Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Townsend Scott, Miss Florence Youmans, Miss Pauline Clark, Miss Bertha Crones, Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Miss Maude Jameson, Miss Lavinia Dock, and Miss Anna Arnel.

Export Council Established

On June 22 President Wilson, under authority given him by the Espionage act, issued an order establishing an export council. On June 25 he issued the following explanatory statement:

It is important that the country should understand just what is intended in the control of exports, which is about to be undertaken, and since the power is vested by the Congress in the President, I can speak with authority concerning it. The Exports Council will be merely advisory to the President.

There will, of course, be no prohibition of exports. The normal course of trade will be interfered with as little as possible, and, so far as possible, only its abnormal course directed. The whole object will be to direct exports in such a way that

they will go first and by preference where they are most needed and most immediately needed, and temporarily to withhold them, if necessary, where they can best be spared.

Our primary duty in the matter of foodstuffs and like necessities is to see to it that the peoples associated with us in the war get as generous a proportion as possible of our surplus, but it will also be our wish and purpose to supply the neutral nations whose peoples depend upon us for such supplies as nearly in proportion to their need as the amount to be divided permits.

There will thus be little check put upon the volume of exports, and the prices obtained for them will not be affected by this regulation.

This policy will be carried out, not by prohibitive regulations, therefore, but by a system of licensing exports, which will be as simply organized and administered as possible, so as to constitute no impediment to the normal flow of commerce.

In brief, the free play of trade will not be arbitrarily interfered with; it will only be intelligently and systematically directed, in the light of full information with regard to needs and market conditions throughout the world and the necessities of our people at home and our armies and the armies of our associates abroad.

The Government is taking, or has taken, steps to ascertain, for example, just what of the available present supply of wheat and corn is remaining from the crops of last year; to learn from each of the countries exporting these foodstuffs from the United States what their purchases in this country now are and where they are stored, and what their needs are, in order that we may adjust things, so far as possible, to our own needs and free stocks; and this information is in course of being rapidly supplied.

The case of wheat and corn will serve as an illustration of all the rest, of supplies of all kinds. Our trade can be successfully and profitably conducted now, the war pushed to a victorious issue, and the needs of our own people and of the other peoples with whom we are still free to trade efficiently met only by systematic direction; and that is what will be attempted.

Federal Trade Commission's Activity

On June 20 the Federal Trade Commission urged a government pool of coal production and distribution, and of rail and water transportation. Its report says in part:

The coal industry is paralyzing the industries of the country, and the coal industry itself is paralyzed by the failure of transportation. There are enough coal cars in the country, but not enough are delivered to the mines, and these cars are not moved to the point of consumption with the greatest expedition, nor are they promptly discharged. It then recommends:

First.—That the production and distribution of coal and coke be conducted through a pool in the hands of a government agency; that the producers of various grades of fuel be paid their full cost of production, plus a uniform profit per ton (with due allowance for quality of product and efficiency of service); and

Second.—That the transportation agencies of the United States, both rail and water, be similarly pooled and operated on government account, under the direction of the President, and that all such means of transportation be operated as a unit, the controlling corporations being paid a just and fair compensation which would cover normal net profit, upkeep and betterments.

If the producer at each mine were paid his full cost of production, with allowances for depletion, maintenance, upkeep and all the usual items, and to this were added a fixed and uniform net profit a ton, with due regard to quality, the coal thus produced at widely varying costs, if pooled, could be sold through the Government at an average and uniform price, quality considered, which would be entirely tolerable to the consuming public, and a price much lower than could be fixed if an effort were made to fix a uniform price to the producer. It would seem that steady employment, fair compensation to labor and capital, equitable distribution and stable prices could be secured.

The railroads of the country, if operated as a unit, and on government account, could be used to transport coal and other products by the most direct route to their point of destination, and the efficiency of the roads themselves, existing rolling stock and motive power would be vastly increased.

All receipts from all rail and water transportation agencies being pooled in the hands of the Government, and all expense of operation being paid from the common fund, each individual company should be paid a just compensation, which might be measured by the average annual net profit and expenditure for maintenance and betterments for the five-year period prior to the war.

The operation both of the mines and of the transportation agencies could be carried on by the present employes and officials, and, after the war, they could be returned unimpaired to private operation. The rolling stock of railroads, operated as a unit, could be mobilized so as to care for the shifting seasonal demands.

The recommendations are approved by Commissioners Colver, Davis and Fort. Commissioner Harris dissents concerning a transportation pool, holding that it should not be adopted except as a last resort.

* *

In a letter to the Federal Trade Commission, Frank P. Walsh on June 23 said:

You are hereby notified that the following named individuals and corporations, with others, are and have been for many months past using and exercising unfair methods of competition in the production and sale of news print paper:

E. W. Backus, Minnesota and Ontario Power company.

George H. Mead, the Spanish River Pulp and Paper Mills, Ltd.

P. T. Dodge, International Paper company.

Alexander Smith, Abitibi Power and Paper company, Ltd.

George Chahoon, Jr., the Lenrentide company, Ltd.

Banded together, confederated and conspired to control the news print industry in order to secure unconscionable and unreasonable profits to themselves.

Increased the price of news print paper by restricting free competition.

Influenced and ordered competitors and potential competitors to limit the production of paper.

Circulated and spread widely false statements of the shortage of print paper, in order to thus fraudulently justify exorbitant and unjust prices for their product.

Pretended that the cost of producing news print paper was far in excess of their actual expenditures, in order to justify their unreasonable exactions.

Arbitrarily and illegally divided the United States into territorial divisions, apportioning among themselves the privilege of exploiting the users of news print paper in such allotted localities.

Through unfair and improper combination and agreement, discouraged and limited the production of news print paper.

Used unfair methods to create a fictitious demand for news print paper.

Falsely alleged inability to procure sufficient raw materials to furnish their product to the consumer at a fair and reasonable price. Made false claims of shortage of railroad cars and means of proper and rapid transportation of their materials and product.

Falsely alleged coal shortages for use in their industry.

Pretended that labor cost was far in excess of the amounts which they actually paid to labor.

Through unlawful combination and conspiracy unfairly, illegally and arbitrarily fixed prices of \$3.25 per 100 pounds and upward for news print paper, whereas, in truth and in fact, \$2.50 per 100 pounds, as found by the commission in its investigations, is sufficient to pay all reasonable cost of production and make a splendid return upon their legitimate investment.

Constantly put into effect an increasing scale of prices to consumers, regardless of the cost of production and fair conditions of competition.

Violated contracts solemnly entered into before this honorable commission agreeing to furnish news print paper for the price and under conditions found by this commission to be fair, legal and profitable.

You are therefore, urgently requested to issue and serve upon each of such persons and corporations a complaint, stating these charges as well as any others of like character which your honorable commission or any individual member thereof, or its staff, may be possessed of, and that a speedy public hearing upon a certain day be fixed and that proceedings be had thereunder in all respects as provided by section 5 of the act creating your honorable commission.

National Labor Defence Council

The many cases of malicious prosecution of labor men, and especially the Mooney case, has caused the National Labor Defence Council to send out the following:

Because of widespread abuses of wage-earners by courts, newspapers and other influences which militate against complete mental and physical freedom of workers in American industry, there is need of a strong, centrally controlled agency to fend against the tyranny of courts and the misrepresentations of the daily press.

The evil is insistent and growing. The National Labor Defence council has been formed with a view of seeing that those prosecuted because of demands for economic justice obtain fair and impartial trials before juries democratically selected and that every fact material to their cases be given widespread publicity.

To that end, the services of attorneys nationally known, because of their ability and economic integrity and of writers whose knowledge of political and economic subjects is unquestioned, have been obtained. These attorneys are to act in an ad-

visory capacity in every case which merits their attention. The writers are to make exhaustive and accurate investigations. Buttressed by facts, which may be laid before the courts and the public, workers whose class zeal causes them to become victims of injustice and malicious libel may be assured of fair trials before the bar and before public opinion.

Aside from these common abuses, the council purposes to end other wrongs, notably such as allowing state and federal supreme courts to declare unconstitutional laws passed by representatives of all the people, the inhibition of the right of judges to punish for contempt of orders or injunctions except through trials of persons accused before juries selected from every citizen in the district in which the court sits, to end the present license of newspapers to wilfully libel and distort news against workers and others without punishment and other betterments which are urgent and necessary to a newer freedom of thought and action.

FRANK P. WALSH, Chairman.

HELEN MAROT, Vice-Chairman.

WILLIAM P. HARVEY, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Free Speech Fight

Police Commissioner Woods of New York took steps on June 19 to put an end to interference with public meetings by uniformed soldiers, especially with meetings to protest against conscription. The police were definitely instructed to protect all meetings against disturbers. Colonel Elmore F. Austin of the Eighth Coast Defense, declared that he had forbidden his men to attend meetings in uniform.

* *

The trial of three students of Columbia University for circulation of anti-conscription literature resulted on June 20 in acquittal of one, Miss Eleanor Parker, and in conviction of the other two on the following day. These are Charles F. Phillips and Owen Cattell. The jury recommended mercy. The literature circulated had been prepared before passage of the law and the defendants testified that it was their intention to strike therefrom the paragraph on which prosecution was based, urging resistance to the draft.

* *

The St. Louis *Labor*, organ of the Socialist party of St. Louis, announces in its issue of June 23 that on instructions from the Post Office Department, the St. Louis postmaster barred from the mails 6,000 blank petitions to Congress urging submission of the conscription law to a referendum. These were addressed to persons who were to circulate them for signatures. The party thereupon circulated 50,000 copies of the same petition through volunteer workers from house to house. One of these workers was arrested and held for the Federal authorities, but later released on bail. In a similar case an Oklahoma court has upheld the right to circulate petitions.

Chicago School Fight

The nine new members of Chicago's reorganized school board appointed by Mayor Thompson under the recent legislative act were confirmed by the City Council on June 18 by a vote of 44 to 25. The majority consisted of 35 Democrats and 9 Republicans, the minority of 8 Democrats, 14 Republicans, and 3

Socialists. The new members are George B. Arnold, Hart Hanson, Mrs. E. G. Snodgrass, Dr. Sadie Bay Adair, Richard C. Gannon, Anthony Czarnecki, Charles S. Peterson, Edwin Davis and Albert H. Severinghaus. The new board met on the following day and deposed president Jacob M. Loeb, secretary Lewis E. Larson and Attorney Angus Roy Shannon, all of whom had been recently re-elected by the old board. Edwin S. Davis was elected president, Albert H. Miller secretary, and Charles R. Francis attorney. John D. Shoop, present superintendent, was re-elected, with only the vote of ex-President Loeb in opposition. The board then voted to reinstate the 68 teachers, members of the Teachers' Federation, who had been dropped last June without cause. [See vol. xix, pp. 1170, 1191, current volume, page 534.]

* *

On June 23 the City Council by a vote of 47 to 22, reconsidered its confirmation of the appointments, although the Corporation Counsel held such action to be illegal. A motion to impeach Mayor Thompson was made and referred to the Judiciary Committee. The result of the Council's action is that the old school board still claims to have a legal status and thus there are two rival boards, each claiming to exercise authority over the schools.

New York Municipal Ownership Campaign

In view of the approaching mayoralty campaign in New York City the Municipal Ownership League gave a dinner on the real issues of the campaign on June 19. In his opening remarks Chairman Frederic C. Leubuscher told of Mayor Mitchel's violation of his pre-election pledge and said further in part:

During the four years of the present administration, the total current expenditures for city and county purposes and the city's share of the direct state tax aggregated \$816,055,000. Of this sum, only \$357,974,000 has been secured by taxing the land values of the city, while land owners in this paradise of land speculators, where thirteen families own one-twentieth of the value of the land, and ninety-nine families own one-ninth, have been permitted to retain close to one billion of dollars net ground rent—\$917,990,000.

Because land owners have been permitted to retain a hundred million dollars more in ground rents than the total cost of local government, the city has taken over \$458,000,000 of the wages and salaries of the workers to make up the deficit in the cost of government. In other words, the city government has increased the cost of living needlessly by close to half a billion dollars in the four years. How hard-headed, or soft-headed the administration must be! Had the Board of Estimate conceded the right of the voters to a referendum on transferring taxes from buildings to land values here the voters would have decided to reduce the high cost of living by placing more of the cost of government on the sole financial beneficiaries of all municipal expenditures, the owners of land here.

Land owners and public utility corporations annually take at least \$220,000,000 unearned profit from the workers of the city, an average of nearly \$200 per family. With magnificent ignorance of economics, the city administration refuses to see this practical method of reducing the high cost of living, to reduce the high profits of land speculators and owners of public utilities, while families

are advised to exercise discretion in the purchase of their food.

Former Comptroller Bird S. Coler called attention to the possibility of establishing in Brooklyn a municipally owned and operated street railway. Frank Moss disclosed efforts under way by different railroad corporations to grab the municipally owned water front, and declared that they need an administration like the present one. William Lustgarten said that the administration being concerned principally with the mechanics of administration had failed utterly to grapple with the larger problems. He urged legislation vesting in the city control of public utility corporations, a municipally owned and operated marginal railway as in New Orleans, and municipal markets.

Frederic C. Howe said in part:

The monopoly charges of the public utility corporations cost the people of New York from \$35,000,000 to \$45,000,000 more than they should.

Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo and Columbus have reduced street car fares to three cents instead of five, and the companies in these cities are making money. Cleveland owns its own municipal lighting plant and has reduced the maximum price of electricity to three cents a kilowatt hour and made it available even for the very poor.

A city for the people will protect the community from extortion in this field. It would cut down the cost of living by from \$35 to \$45 a family, if the public utility enterprises were owned by the city and run for the well-being of the people.

Amos Pinchot called attention to the fact that the question of paramount importance is not the war but abolition of poverty. Instead of showing any interest in this question the Mitchel administration had endeavored to make privilege respectable.

European War

Reports of fighting continue to be accounts of short advances and retreats. On June 21 the Germans were reported as having withdrawn on the Flanders front behind the River Lys. The French were said to have regained ground lost on the Aisne front, northeast of Soissons. On the following day the Germans were reported to have renewed their attack without success. The British were reported on June 20 as having retaken positions on the Arras front east of Monchy. That the British are gradually encircling Lens was reported on June 23. Some gain by the Italians on the Trentino front was reported on June 20 from Rome, while their repulse at the same place was claimed in a Vienna report dated one day later. [See current volume, page 606.]

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For the week ending June 17 sinking of British vessels by submarines numbered 32. Of these 27 exceeded 1600 tons and five were below. An American destroyer was reported on June 21 as having sunk a submarine off the English coast. The Standard Oil Tanker, John D. Archbold, was sunk by a submarine on June 16.

* *

On account of the refusal of the Poles in the Austrian Parliament to support the war budget on June 19, Premier Clam-Martinic and his cabinet resigned. The Polish members joined with other Slavic groups and the Socialists and thus turned

the scale against the Government. A new ministry was formed on June 27 headed by Dr. von Seydler as Premier and Minister of Agriculture. According to the new Premier's announcement the ministry is but of a temporary character.

* *

In a letter to Premier Zaimis on June 21, King Alexander of Greece announced his intention to cooperate with the Allies. On June 25 he notified M. Jonnart, Commissioner of the Allies, that he would ask former Premier Venizelos to form a cabinet.

* *

A call for volunteers for the regular army, and presumably for service in France, was issued on June 20 by President Wilson as follows:

I hereby designate the period of June 23 to June 30 next as recruiting week for the regular army, and call upon unmarried men between the ages of eighteen and forty years, who have no dependents and who are not engaged in pursuits vitally necessary to the prosecution of the war, to present themselves for enlistment during the week herein designated, to the number of 70,000.

Russia

The victory of the Socialist bloc at the elections on June 13 in Petrograd is much clearer by the election returns. The reported vote is approximately as follows:

Social Democratic party (Menschiviki faction), acting with the bund.....	330,000
Social Democratic party (Bolschiviki faction)	120,000
Social Revolutionaries, Group of Toil, etc.	66,000
Other Socialist groups	14,000
Total Socialist bloc.....	530,000

Reactionaries, Clericals, Monarchists, etc.	16,000
All other parties (Cadets, Octobrists, Radicals, Liberals, etc., of all shades)	154,000

Total anti-Socialist bloc..... 170,000

The total vote is about 70 per cent. of those qualified to participate in an election. [See current volume, page 605.]

* *

Dissolution of the Duma was demanded on June 23 by the Pan-Russian Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates. In explanation of this action members of the Russian Mission to the United States say it is a step toward formation of a permanent government. The Duma has at present no legal existence, having been dissolved by the former Czar. It made itself into a provisional government on overthrowing the monarchy. The outcome of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council is intended to hasten upbuilding of a permanent establishment.

Stockholm Conference.

Three delegates from the United States arrived at Stockholm June 19 to attend the International Socialist Conference on terms of peace. They were without passports, due to the refusal of Secretary Lansing to issue them to delegates to this conference. They are Boris Reinstein of Buffalo, an American citizen, representing the Socialist Labor party. The

others are Dr. Max Goldfarb and Dr. D. Davidowich, both citizens of Russia, though for many years residents of the United States. Dr. Goldfarb became a member of the Socialist party in the United States during his enforced stay on account of the war. He came to this country in the spring of 1914 to deliver a series of lectures. He has worked in every Socialist campaign, while here, but never claimed to be otherwise than a Russian, and is returning to Russia as are other revolutionists whom the revolution has freed. He goes to the conference as alternate for Morris Hillquit. Dr. D. Davidowich is also a Russian citizen, returning under circumstances similar to Dr. Goldfarb. He is a Jewish Socialist Territorialist.

* *

The representatives of the German Socialist majority in a statement published on June 17, announced concurrence with the views of the Russian Council of Soldiers and Workmen, for a peace without annexation or indemnities and based on the right of all nations to determine their own fate. This they say implies restitution of conquered colonies and of countries which have lost their independence through war. Belgium and Serbia are included by them in this category with the further provision that they should have international help in restoring economic conditions. They further call on socialists in all countries to rescue in the same way from foreign control, Ireland, Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, India, Tibet, Korea and other formerly independent countries. In regard to the Poles, Danes and French in Germany, they demand full privileges regarding social culture and use of their languages within the state. For Alsace-Lorraine they demand full equality as a self-governing unit of the German Empire and deny the right of France to the provinces. To prevent further wars they demand abolition of protective duties, the open door for colonies, an obligatory international arbitration court, restriction of armaments, prohibition of capture of merchant vessels at sea, internationalizing of important channels and interoceanic canals, no interruption of postal communication between combatants and neutrals, abolition of secret diplomacy, and arrangement of international labor questions in accordance with the international trades union program.

* *

The American Socialist position was announced on June 23 by Messrs. Reinstein, Goldfarb and Davidowich. They lay stress on the "no annexation and no indemnity" principle and demand return of all occupied territory, including the German colonies, restoration of Poland on a basis to be determined by a referendum of the Polish people, the future of Alsace and Lorraine to be determined by their own peoples, recognition of the rights of all nationalities to self-expression, a general disarmament agreement, abolition of secret diplomacy and peace terms to be drawn by popularly elected delegates in all countries.

* *

The Dutch-Scandinavian Socialist Committee announced on June 22 that the holding of a general Socialist conference awaits the holding of a meeting with the Russian delegation which has not yet arrived, though it is reported to have left Petrograd.

The German minority Socialist delegation has arrived. It is composed of Hugo Haase, leader of the minority socialists in the Reichstag, Carl Kautsky, Arthur Stadthagen and Eduard Bernstein.

Suffrage Victory in England

The House of Commons on June 19 passed the final hearing of the clause on the electoral reform bill, dealing with woman suffrage. On June 20 by a vote of 291 to 25 it fixed the age of women qualified to vote at 30 years. Amendments fixing a lower age and otherwise putting qualifications on a more democratic basis were rejected. In offering these amendments Home Secretary Cave admitted that they were just but considered it inadvisable at present to add several million to the register.

Close Vote on Proportional Representation

J. H. Humphreys, Secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of England, sent on June 16 the following cablegram to C. G. Hoag, secretary of the American Society:

Proportional representation defeated, 149 votes to 141. Defeat not final. Will resume fight committee stage of bill, also if necessary in Lords. Vote shows great advance public opinion.

The dispatch refers to the vote on the proportional representation features of the electoral reform bill, based on the unanimous recommendations of the Speakers' Conference on Electoral Reform appointed last autumn by the Asquith Government, which would apply the proportional system to the election of members of the House of Commons from London, the other larger cities, and the universities.

NOTES

—At the referendum vote in Portland, Oregon, on June 4, the ordinance forbidding picketing was carried.

—Emma Goldman and Alex. Berkman, arrested on June 15 for anti-draft agitation, were released on securing \$25,000 cash bail for each, Miss Goldman on June 21 and Mr. Berkman on June 25.

—W. J. Hanna was appointed Food Controller of Canada on June 19. He will have power to investigate all matters pertaining to the food supply and establish regulations concerning it.

—T. P. O'Connor and Richard Hazelton, Irish National Members of Parliament, arrived in New York on June 24 as a committee to explain to the American people the attitude of their party toward the war.

—French-Canadian opposition to prospective conscription has brought about a number of largely attended protest meetings throughout the Province of Quebec. Resistance to the law was publicly advocated at a meeting on June 24, at Loretteville by Armand Lavergne, member of parliament.

—Governor Stephens of California vetoed the anti-injunction bill passed by the Legislature. In his message the Governor says that it would make difficult enforcement of the abatement law authorizing injunctions against houses of prostitution and gambling places.

—The Federation of American Zionists began its annual convention in Baltimore on June 24. Among those in attendance were Justice G. D. Brandeis, Judge Julian W. Mack, Felix Frankfurter, Mrs. Joseph Fels, Dr. Max Heller, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Nathan Straus and others.

—The Singletax Society of San Diego on June 11 passed resolutions endorsing the Crosser bill for Federal taxation of land values, opposing stamp taxes and other taxes on labor products, and urging that "if men's lives are to be confiscated for the purpose of the war, we have a right to demand that men's surplus incomes should also be confiscated."

—Final returns on registration show 9,659,382 who have complied with the conscription law. Of these 1,239,865 are unnaturalized foreigners and 953,899 are colored. No figures are given as to claims for exemption, but partial preliminary returns show that a majority of those registered wish to be exempt.

—The New York Public Service Commission, after a long hearing, has refused the request of the New York City Edison Electric Light Company that it be relieved of its obligation to reduce the rates to seven cents per kilowatt hour on July 1. The hearing developed that the corporation has a reserve fund of more than \$60,000,000 for use in "emergencies."

—In his will the late Dr. Charles L. Logan of Chicago left a life interest in his estate to his sister, and upon her death the full amount, estimated at \$5,000, is to go to the Singletax Endowment Fund, the corporation created under the laws of the District of Columbia for receiving bequests for work in behalf of the Singletax. [See current volume, page 557.]

—John M. Baer has been nominated by the Farmers' Nonpartisan League for Congress at the special election on July 10 in the First North Dakota district. There were 10,000 signatures to his nomination papers. Conscription of wealth for war purposes is a leading issue of the campaign. Mr. Baer is the cartoonist for the League's organ, the *Nonpartisan Leader*, published at Fargo.

—A conference on the high cost of living is to be held in New York City in the blue room of the Hotel McAlpin on Tuesday, July 3. There are to be three sessions at 10:30 A. M., 2:30 P. M., and 8 P. M. Among the speakers announced are Alfred J. Boulton, John J. Dillon, Frederic C. Howe, Charles H. Ingersoll, Amos Pinchot, George L. Record, Lincoln Steffens and Frederic C. Leubuscher. Headquarters of the committee in charge are at 320 Broadway.

—A special dispatch from London to the New York *Herald* of June 24 says that for conducting a home rule campaign in India, Mrs. Annie Besant, leader of the Theosophical movement, has been forbidden by the Indian Government to participate in any meeting, deliver lectures or publish her writings. She and her associates are prohibited from residing in the city of Madras and are restricted to certain areas. Their private correspondence is subject to censorship. The native press is reported to be protesting vigorously, while the British press is said to uphold the Government. Mrs. Besant was expelled from Bombay last year for conducting a similar campaign.

PRESS OPINIONS

Uncle Sam as Dog in the Manger

Panama, Republic of Panama, *Star and Herald*, June 10.—It will be an eternal disgrace to the United States Government if the fact that those who would gladly go to work on the land in this day of stress and strain should be stopped because that Government took all the land accessible to them and to market and to roads, and then sat down like the veriest park-owner in Britain in the old days, neither adequately developing the land, nor allowing others to do so, nor making roads to get the people across the five miles to the republic, from which they are cut off. That is exactly the word, "Disgrace"; and Woodrow Wilson and David F. Houston will say it is a justifiable use of the word when they know all about it, as they assuredly will before long. With all respect to our great neighbor we do not wish her to have to endure such a reproach.

Needless Military Officiousness.

New York *Call*, June 17.—Registration these days has become a popular pastime. The President ordered a registration of all men between the ages of 21 and 31 on June 5. The Governor of New York State ordered a registration of all men, women and young people between the ages of 16 and 50. It is now up to the Mayor to order some sort of registration also. And then the borough presidents might take a whack at it. And then the police captains might start some sort of a roundup in their individual precincts. Why not? The people of New York State have become so accustomed to walking into registration booths these days that there should be no trouble in introducing this Prussian idea in this country. When a man or woman wants to move from one district into another, the police ought to be notified. It's done in Germany. When a man or woman seeks to travel from one city to another, a police passport ought to be asked for. It's done in Prussia. If a servant girl loses her job, she ought to notify the police, and when she gets another job, she ought to notify them again. There's nothing new in the plan—it comes from Germany. Inasmuch as we are about to bring democracy to the world by introducing Prussian methods in this country, why not make a good job of it?

Mock Equality.

Greenfield *Bulletin* (Pittsburgh), May 28.—Suppose that Robert Bacon and the day laborer, John Brown, goes in to the camp and the trenches, both as privates. And suppose further that both come out of the war alive. Bacon will come out a far richer man than he went in. His lands will have increased in value. Interest on his bonds, his very war bonds, will have accumulated. He will have profited by the war. How about Brown? He has no lands. He pays rent. The success of the war made his rent go up. His loss goes to make Bacon's increase. To Bacon bonds are a source of profit. Brown pays that profit in higher prices for food. Brown assumes the Government's bonds as a debt, as a burden that he must carry. Bacon gets the interest and Brown pays it. The equality of Bacon and Brown is like that of the owner of the slave and the slave.

CORRESPONDENCE

WAR AND DEMOCRACY

As one who has supported the policy of THE PUBLIC in the past, I ask you to permit me to express my emphatic dissent from the position outlined in the opening paragraphs of your issue of June 15. The war is, indeed, "a supreme test for the radicals of America," and many of them have shown the same weakness that made the German Socialists acquiesce in the war policy of their Government.

It is an absurd paradox to suppose that democracy, or the equal right of all men to liberty and self-rule, can be strengthened by participation in the fratricidal conflict now ravaging the world. And it is a bitter disappointment to find THE PUBLIC indulging in speculations more appropriate to a Roosevelt or a Hobson, and speaking seriously of the power of a victorious Germany to conquer the world. Viewed without prejudice, the actual alliance of England and America is as likely to end in world dominion as the suppositious alliance of Germany and Japan which is conjured up by the jingoes to frighten the American people into submission.

A democrat cannot accept war and remain a democrat, for war destroys democracy. It is governed not by ideas of justice, but by necessity. Whatever course is deemed necessary by our rulers to injure and defeat the enemy will be unhesitatingly pursued, no matter how repugnant it may be to the better instincts of humanity or how cruelly oppressive of our own people.

There is but one course open to lovers of universal freedom; to oppose tyranny and coercion everywhere and at all times, and to demand—in common with the enlightened committee of Russian workingmen—an immediate end of the great crime against civilization which has already engulfed our hard-won liberties. They were established by violence, and by violence they are swept away. It remains for those who reject the doctrine that the end justifies the means to establish a true democracy cemented, if need be, with self-sacrifice, but unburdened with the legacy of murder.

FRANK W. GARRISON.

Southwest Harbor, Maine, June 16, 1917.

* * *

Please allow me to congratulate you upon the PUBLIC, June 15. For the first time in some months, I find myself able to say "Amen."

Unlike the Singletax philosophy, State Socialism requires the delegation of unsafe authority to some human beings, and when the devil takes these men of unnatural authority up into a high mountain and points out how slight deviations will make the system work vastly to their advantage, they are not equal to the situation. Singletax philosophy, by looking to the unhampered operation of natural law for a proper distribution of wealth, offers the only escape, it seems to me, from catastrophes such as have overtaken the German people. They are being victimized by the system which was nominally intended to work to their advantage.

It is extremely unfortunate that so many Singletaxers have failed to appreciate these facts, and have let their natural and laudable aversion to war

class them along with Pro-Germans, to the serious impairment of their influence. Had all those who realize the basic truth of the Singletax idea recognized at the start that the Prussian idea was an assault upon the very foundations of freedom, I believe a considerable measure of Singletax could have been put through the present Congress. As it is, most of them seem to have got themselves classed along with Stone and La Follette as merely Prussians in disguise.

The present attitude of THE PUBLIC ought to do something to correct this situation.

E. M. SCOFIELD.

Philadelphia, June 19, 1917.

RAILROAD AND ROBBERY

While the elected representatives of the people in Congress were openly discussing public questions, the Interstate Commerce Commission, a body of seven men, not elected by the people, but appointed by Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson, upon application of the railroads, ordered an increase in freight rates of 15 per cent, to take effect July 1, which, with state applications for similar increases, will add to railroad revenue over \$600,000,000! After this action, the Commission heard argument on the matter.

There is only one man in the United States who can prevent this monstrous robbery—President Wilson. The recent eastern increase of 5 per cent, the transcontinental increase on coal, iron and the like of fifteen per cent, the passenger increases and many others already made would never have been allowed by the Interstate Commerce Commission without his consent.

The people, particularly the working people, elected President Wilson. Every man and every woman should write the President immediately, protesting against these private taxes that are to be imposed upon them by the railroads, under cover of the war excitement.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has, for many years, pursued a policy of silence or suppression of railroad information. A member of Congress cannot get an allotment of its statistical report for his constituents. That report for the year ending June 30, 1915, has not been issued. This two years' delay is significant, as the same report for 1914 was issued in a year and a half. The Commission has permitted the railroads for years to flood newspaper offices with poisonous data published by a railroad bureau in Washington.

The railroads, however, show the gross operating revenue for companies having revenue over \$1,000,000 for the fiscal year 1916 was \$3,396,808,234.

After payment of operating expenses and taxes, the net operating income was over a billion of dollars—\$1,029,241,804. With this profit, the greatest in their history, there is practically no increase in the operating cost over each of the three previous years, and, per mile of line, an actual decrease below that of 1913 and 1914.

For the calendar year ending Dec. 31, last, the railroads show a greater increase in receipts, even over the fiscal year above ending six months earlier. The total operating revenue was \$3,622,057,141, and the net operating profit, after payment of operating expenses and taxes, \$1,089,137,188. This is an in-

crease in profit of \$367,146,497, or more than 50 per cent. over 1915.

Yet, in the face of this enormous increase in their net profit, the Interstate Commerce Commission has granted the railroads the 15 per cent. increase in freight rates, to take effect July 1, which will enable them, with state increases, to compel the American people to pay them \$600,000,000 additional profit each year!

EDWARD P. E. TROY.

San Francisco, California, June 16, 1917.

BOOKS

THE GREAT REVOLT

The Russian Revolution. By Isaac Don Levine. Published by Harper & Bros., New York, 1917. Price \$1.00.

This is a concise graphic statement of the causes that brought about the revolution. It forms a framework on which to hang current news of Russia. The author begins with a quick sketch more or less convincing of the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia, and then plunges into the effects of the great war. He describes the pulling together of all that is best in the Russian nation, the whole-hearted co-operation of all parties to support the army; the government in the hands of unscrupulous adventurers and extreme reactionaries, realizing it was fighting on the wrong side, playing its own game of intrigue, obstruction and criminal mismanagement. The stories of Stürmer and Protopopov and above all that fantastic figure, Rasputin, with his amazing influence on the Czarina and court read like pages of fifteenth century history. The Czar appears a weak, obstinate, suspicious man but not a bad man. He personally opposed the idea of a separate peace with Germany as harmful to Russia and disloyal to the Allies.

Some scenes are very vivid. The interview of Kornilov with the Czarina when he persists in reading the order for her arrest to the end; the rather pathetic futile figure of the Czar shunted to and fro in the imperial train and hanging about the embarrassed aloof General Staff just before his arrest; the tense strain and anxiety in Petrograd of the second week in March. But here the author belittles the part played by the Duma during that critical time. It would have been impossible to keep in hand the excited people surging in the streets, joined moment by moment by thousands of troops, without the powerful steady guidance of the Duma, whose control and cool-headedness were the secret of the following-up of the quick success.

Most inspiring and interesting is the working of the two forces after the outbreak of war, one to ruin Russia, one to save her. The scheming irresponsible Government in the power of the evil influences behind the throne using every means to bring about a separate peace by demoralizing, starving and goading the people to revolt; the splendid patriotism of all true Russians aware of the Government's utter corruption, working ceaselessly for Russia—thus making possible the event which staggered the world.

Minnesota Legislature of 1917.

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is to be a great body of delegates sent from the masses all over the country—farmers, laborers, industrial workers, socialists, single taxers, teachers, churchmen—and all who are ready to concentrate their forces for Democracy and Peace.

The People's Council will be the mouthpiece through which the voice of the people will be heard, as the voice of the Russian people is heard through the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

The first session of the PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA will be held August 4, the 4th anniversary of the commencement of this bloody, futile war.

Before that day we MUST raise \$50,000. We must have the moral and financial support of individuals and organizations.

We have no endowment, no special source of income. We depend on the MOTHERS OF AMERICA TO HELP SAVE THEIR BOYS FOR BETTER THINGS THAN WAR.

A dollar NOW may mean years of joy and comfort with your boy at your side instead of mourning his death on a foreign battlefield.

A few dollars may help some mother less fortunate in worldly possessions to keep her boy at home and alive.

We Must Have Money AT ONCE

There is no time to lose. Organization and advertising cost money. We need both. Our plans are held up this very minute for lack of funds.

The Organizing Committee

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA

For Democracy and Peace.

No. 2 W. 13th St., Cor. 5th Ave.

Officers and Committee:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
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| Emily G. Balch. | Daniel Kiefer. |
| Joseph D. Cannon. | Algernon Lee. |
| Mary Ware Dennett. | Judah L. Magnes. |
| Crystal Eastman. | James K. Maurer. |
| Fola La Follette. | Howard Mellish. |
| Amy Hicks. | Gilbert E. Roe. |
| Morris Hillquit. | Benjamin Schlesinger. |

Jacob Schlosberg.

Treasurer:

David Starr Jordan.

Secretaries:

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| Louis P. Lochner, | Rebecca Shelly, |
| Executive. | Financial. |
| Lella Faye Secós, | Elizabeth Freeman, |
| Organizing. | Legislative. |

DAVID STARR JORDAN, Treasurer,
2 West 13th St., New York.

I am in sympathy with the aims of the PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA for Democracy and Peace. Enroll me as a constituent. I send herewith \$..... for the support of the Council.

NAME

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The Thousandth Number

THE PUBLIC has passed its thousandth number.

Allowing for the first years of its life, when the circulation was small, fully 8,000,000 copies have been distributed, and, on a reasonable basis of calculation, have found a good 25,000,000 readers.

This is a remarkable record for a publication of the type of THE PUBLIC and it must be gratifying to the founders, Mr. and Mrs. Louis F. Post, and those good friends of the paper who, by contributing their money, time and energy, have made it possible to pull through every crisis and to bring THE PUBLIC to the point where it is to-day.

While it is pleasant to look back and take stock of the past, what concerns us most is the future.

THE PUBLIC is facing front!

Prophecy of what is coming to the world in the next ten or twenty years is paralysed when we halt to observe the speed at which the world is traveling. Hit or miss discussion and analysis of social and economic affairs, there is aplenty. THE PUBLIC has in the past and will in the future leave that to journals qualified for the particular work. Its aim is to apply the test of obvious principles, often obscured—but always true.

THE PUBLIC'S subscription list finds most of its growth from the inside out. Its friends, though they often disagree with it, recommend it to other people of independent thought, and so the circle grows.

Our determination is to double the circulation this year. To do it, more friendly workers are necessary to help us find the isolated thinker who does not now know of THE PUBLIC'S existence, or else hasn't yet appreciated its value to him.

Those who cannot give the time to personal work, can keep in mind the valuable missionary work of hundreds of country editors who get THE PUBLIC. To take care of a hundred or so of these country editors' subscriptions should be considered as an investment second only in importance to a Liberty Bond.

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Enclosed is my check for \$...to cover subscrip-
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