

pean Socialist party, many of which have worked for years upon this problem. . . . One thing that must be recognized by Socialists is that any program that neglects the largest single division of the producing class cannot rightly call itself a working class movement, and is certainly doomed to failure. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that careful study be given to the question of cooperation with the farmers and that some plan of common action shall be developed.

Many of Marx's critics have said that in "Das Kapital" he did not carry out the economic analysis of society beyond the field of bourgeois production. This is now admitted by leading socialists of Europe and America. Marx identified his theory too exclusively with the factory worker in the large cities. He took for granted that the "capitalist method of production," which became standard in the nineteenth century, was to be forthwith transferred to agriculture. The large corporations in the city were to be matched by large corporations working in the country. The appearance of a few "bonanza" farms in America seemed to support this position, and was taken as a vindication of Marx. But it now seems clear to leading socialists that Marx did not analyze those economic phenomena which directly concern "the largest single division of the working class" in every civilized country.

The report of the farmers' committee at the congress was neither adopted nor thrown out. It was recommitted for the consideration of an enlarged farmers' committee, which is to report to the national convention two years hence. No other action upon this matter could have reflected more faithfully the trend of the present socialist movement as a whole.

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The adoption of the report of the woman's committee on Socialist propaganda among women defined the relation of the party to the movement for woman suffrage. It pointed to the recent enormous growth in the number of women industrial workers, and emphasized the primary importance of converting women workers to socialism rather than to woman suffrage. Conversion to socialism brings with it conversion to the votes-for-women proposition; on the other hand, conversion to the suffrage movement does not imply conversion to socialism. The Socialist Party stands for universal adult suffrage without distinction of sex. It is against a limited franchise for women who own property and pay taxes; but favors the vote for all women, regardless of property qualifications. At the same time the Socialist Party, as a party, does not ally itself with any other movement. This leaves opportunity for in-

dividual socialists to co-operate with worthy movements on this subject, and avoids the danger of making the party itself the tail-end of anything else.

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The clearly evident general position of the congress was this: Our previous doctrinaire attitude toward the social problem is impossible for the time. We must work out a program based on a wider analysis of society. Meanwhile, let us hold our ultimate ideals in full view, but adjust ourselves to circumstances.

This attitude was illustrated more distinctly by the discussion over the problem of agriculture than by anything else at the congress. The debate brought the land question fully before the congress; though not fairly, for it was taken for granted that the land question as relating to the farmer can be separated from the land question as a universal economic problem. Hence, the "straight-out" faction scented a scheme to endorse private monopoly of one of the "means" of production. But this was not the intention of the farmers' committee. The report embodied suggestions for a "farmers' program," based upon the experience of Socialists in Oklahoma, which called for "exemption from taxation and execution of dwellings, tools, farm animals, implements and improvements to the amount of one thousand dollars," and "a graduated tax on the value of rented land and land held for speculation." These items, however, did not come into the discussion, which was closed by the re-commitment of the report.

The farmers were well represented at this congress. It will be interesting to note the future effect of their entrance into the councils of the Socialist Party.

LOUIS WALLIS

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SOCIOLOGICAL MEETINGS IN ST. LOUIS.

St. Louis, Mo., May 24.

The week has closed upon a remarkable series of meetings and doings in St. Louis. The National Conference of Charities and Corrections alone drew about two thousand delegates and visitors, while affiliated societies and sub-societies seized the appropriate moment to meet and discuss their special problems.

The leading note of the Conference was struck in the opening address of the woman presiding over the whole, Miss Jane Addams. She traced the connection, ever becoming closer, between the sympathy of which charity was the earliest expression, and the passion for justice finding scope in the struggles

of organized labor and the demands for industrial legislation. The emphasis placed upon industrial and economic justice as the bases through which sympathy must nowadays more and more work, was the main subject of many of the most important sessions, notably that on Occupational Standards for wages, hours and sanitation, where Mr. Paul U. Kellogg and Dr. H. B. Favill were the chief speakers. The paper of Mr. Sherman Kingsley on the relief given to the sufferers by the Cherry disaster, as compared with ordinary charity relief, is likely to form the basis of any forthcoming American legislation for compensation for industrial accidents.

Parallel with the Conference were the sittings of the Executive Board of the National Women's Trade Union League, which welcomed a new local league in Cleveland presented by Mrs. Frederick C. Howe. Two public meetings were held—one a large banquet with 300 present, and later a conference held on the vacant Saturday afternoon attended by numbers of the delegates to the Charities' Conference, who were able thus to listen to the women workers' story, and question women and girls themselves. The local president, Mrs. D. W. Knefler, and her fellow-members surpassed themselves in the welcome they extended to their sisters.

Alice Henry.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LAND FOR THE LANDLESS.

New York, May 19.

A recent number of the German "Year Book for Land Reform" prints the following statement by the Mayor of Posen, chief city of German-Poland:

An interesting experiment was made last year by the City Council of Posen, upon the suggestion of Councillor Lemmel. This was to give land to the poor, instead of the usual money support given by the city.

The City Department of Land Ownership bought 1,450 square yards of land at a reasonable price and gave it to families with children at the rate of 200 square yards to each family. The land was given to the people in the month of April. They bought the necessary seeds themselves and the Department of Parks gave a number of cart loads of manure from the streets. The favorite crops were potatoes, cabbages, carrots, beans, spinach, lettuce, tomatoes. As a rule the produce was used for the table of family raising it, but several families, accustomed to garden work, found it possible to raise enough, beyond what they needed for their own use, to send to market. This giving of land to the poor reduced to an astonishing extent the sum of the official charity in money-giving for that year. A number of families needed no more money assistance, even among such families as were accustomed to receive a yearly dole from the Public Charities. And many others received much less than they had done before.

But it is not in this saving of the public money that we find the most important factor of the new idea. . . . It is rather in the educational value of such a plan. As the season drew to a close and the balance was drawn up to find out whether the plan should be continued in the following year, even its promoters were surprised to see the general interest among the working people for the farm project. There was a universal request that the plan be continued and enlarged so that many more families might be aided in this way. The results for the second year are equally satisfactory and the City Council has decided to make the scheme a permanent feature of city government and to add to the number of farms as rapidly as possible.

(Signed) DR. WILMS,
Chief Mayor of Posen.

Interesting and beneficial of itself, the important factor of this Posen experiment is the right spirit in which it was undertaken, and the comprehension of the lesson taught by it to the municipal authorities.

Mayor Wilms' closing words show that he understands the immense value, along educational lines, of this new departure in public "charity," which, unlike most charity, is based on an understanding of justice. A spreading of the Posen scheme would do much to teach all kinds of people in the cities some important economic truths about the connection between a right to the land and the wages question.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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THE LAW IN THE JURY BOX.

Cincinnati, May 20, 1910.

The mysterious manner in which juries are drawn in this country has resulted in my being summoned into court several times as talesman. Each time I was excused as soon as I explained to the judge and the attorneys in the case at trial, that I would be guided entirely by my own views concerning the law as well as the evidence. The last time this occurred the case happened to be a murder trial. If I had not already made my position clear on the previous occasions, I might have succumbed to the temptation this last time to keep my opinion to myself, get on the jury, and prevent the State from committing a legal murder. I could easily have done so with a clear conscience, for while I know the custom is to question prospective jurors regarding their private opinions, it is clear that such questioning is merely to obtain information which does not properly concern the court. While the statute law may ordain that citizens opposed to capital punishment may not serve as jurors in murder cases, it is one of those legislative acts which are invasive of natural rights and not entitled to respect.

The theory that jurors, because they are laymen, are in duty bound to accept the judge's opinion of the law in preference to their own because the judge is a graduate of a law school, is one that cannot be justified by any reasoning. The judge's opinion of the law is just as likely to be declared wrong by a higher court as is that of a lawyer not on the bench, or even a layman's. In fact, there are only five men in the United States, the majority of the Supreme Court at Washington, who can deliver a legal opinion without risk of being overruled by a higher court; and even they run the risk of one of their number changing his mind, joining with the minority and thus reversing the previous opinion.

As a matter of fact, the courts do hold that it is a layman's duty to know all about the law, even though he has never attended a law school. This is evident in the legal maxim that has been made to have all the force of law, to the effect that "ignorance of the law excuses no one." This principle is adhered to by the courts in face of the fact that it is utterly impossible under existing conditions for any man, whether lawyer or layman, to be absolutely sure what the law is on any matter. If any one doubts it, let him ask a lawyer's opinion on a legal question. He will get the opinion probably, but no valid guarantee that the courts will uphold it. If he should summon up enough courage before guiding his action by the lawyer's advice, to ask a judge on the bench whether he may safely follow the advice given, he will get very little satisfaction. If the judge should graciously refrain from sending such a sacrilegious scoundrel to jail for