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A Journal of Democracy

April 12, 1919

A New Immigration Policy

The Country and the Covenant

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JUST OUT

THE COVENANT OF PEACE

By **H. N. BRAILSFORD**

This won the £100 prize for the best essay on a League of Nations. Among the judges were H. G. Wells, John Galsworthy and Professor Bury. Introduction by Herbert Croly. (Price 25c.)

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A Journal of Democracy

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AMERICA, too, has her opportunity to apply the doctrine of self-determination. The visit of forty prominent Filipinos to Washington to present a memorial from the Philippine Legislature to Secretary of War Baker recalls the fact that we also have been guilty of depriving subject races of freedom as they sought it and of returning it to them as we think they should have it. The reception of this committee by Secretary Baker is in most striking contrast with our treatment of the Filipinos during the years following the Spanish-American war. Mr. Baker's words of greeting are the words of a democrat to democrats, and President Wilson's promise to work with them for independence marks the great strides the world has made during the past twenty years. The islands, which came to us as a spoil of war, and for which we paid \$20,000,000, we are now preparing to set up for themselves. Meantime the world is forming a League of Nations that will give them aid and protection during their formative years.

POOR Lewis Carol! His occupation's gone. Never can he hope in the wildest flight of his unique imagination to conjure up fantastic things in Wonderland to equal those of the last four years. When he next proposes to take Alice a trip in Wonderland or through a Looking Glass the *blasé* child will yawn and turn to the reports of the United States Senate, the Peace Conference, or the political persecutions. The murder of the Austrian Archduke led to a world war, the assassination of the French Deputy Jaurés was followed by the acquittal of the assassin, while the Americans are sending Eugene Debs to jail for what they think he thinks. Liebknecht was sentenced to four years'

imprisonment for treason by *imperial* Germany, Debs is sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for defending free speech by *democratic* America. The Mad Hatter, the March Hare, the Duchess, and the other singular celebrities that Alice met in Wonderland would seem very commonplace indeed if they were to come to the land of reality.

COMMENTING on the demand of the British miners for the nationalization of mines, the London *Daily Mail* says: "National ownership does not necessarily involve civil service management. But it does mean the elimination of what men dislike intensely, namely, working under hard conditions and at the risk of their life for private profit." To give point to the miners' story a quotation is made from the testimony of the chairman of the Scottish Union of Mine Workers before the Coal Commission, who stated that the population of the town of Hamilton, which is largely on the ground of the Duke of Hamilton, was 38,000. The ground occupied by the town was 800 or 400 acres, and it averaged six persons to a room; yet the Duke's palace and pleasure grounds occupied 2,500 acres.

THE question might arise in some minds as to what good will come of nationalization of mines if the state were to buy out the owners, who would then receive practically the same incomes in the shape of interest on the money received for their land. There would be this gain: If cumulative taxes on income are continued, a large part of the price paid for the mining lands would fall upon the former owners, and much of the remainder would be paid by profiteers and persons enjoying excessive

incomes from other special privileges. A better way would be to tax the land-owners out of their holdings. But the threat of Bolshevism leaves no time for splitting hairs as to methods. What the miners want is action.

THERE was too much mock patriotism used during the war to mask labor-baiting and profiteering. Too frequently legitimate complaints against harsh industrial conditions were branded as pro-German by employers whose own profits had undergone undue inflation. The same tactics in another form are revealed in the refusal of the president of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association to confer with a colored labor official of the Government. "In the South," says Mr. Kirby by way of explanation to his fellow lumbermen at New Orleans, "we tell Negroes what to do. We do not take counsel with them." He is perfectly willing to confer with whites, who know nothing of the Negro and cannot represent him. There is no difference between this offer and the Northern employer's willingness to deal with representatives of his employes provided he selects them himself. Mr. Kirby does not speak for the South. Although his phrases are couched in terms of Southern caste, he speaks for plutocracy everywhere, and he uses an old trick when he masks an economic entity in a social distinction. Whether it be on the Clyde, or in Buenos Aires, or in New York Harbor, the worker today is demanding the right to speak for himself through representatives satisfactory to himself and to no one else. The reply of New Orleans is that he is black. Bisbee says that he is unwashed. Butte calls him pro-German. Lawrence, more up to date than any, cries that he is Bolshevik. Temporarily such tactics may bolster up the tottering structure of feudalism, but they are ill advised in the long run. The war is over and the popularity of camouflage is on the wane.

ANENT the drift of farm boys to the city, a New Hampshire man inquires if this is not due in part to the treatment accorded by the taxing authorities to those who try to make farming pay. Mr. J. T. Richards instances the case of the returning soldier who puts \$2,000 into the purchase of a farm, and is taxed two per cent., or \$40. By dint of in-

dustry, frugality, and good management he puts on \$5,000 worth of improvements. Now his tax is \$140 a year. He is fined not merely one year for improving his farm, as Mr. Richards shows, but every year, as long as the improvements stand. Is it not possible, the writer asks, that more young men would go into farming if they were not thus heavily fined? What answer have the legislators to Mr. Richards' question?

WILLIAM KENT, member of the United States Tariff Commission, makes a forceful plea in the *Farmers' Open Forum* for March for a free zone in American ports. Mr. Kent gives many reasons why the free port, or as he prefers to call it the free zone, should be established. The rebate of tariff duties on imports reexported has long been a part of our tariff system, designed to enable American manufacturers using imported materials to compete with foreign manufacturers. But this, as Mr. Kent shows, has many disadvantages, and the Tariff Commission has taken up the alternative of a free port. Hamburg and Copenhagen are cited as instances of cities enjoying the privilege of free commerce, and it is proposed that the same privilege be given to American ports. Possibly after our protectionist friends have seen the advantages of free trade in these free zone cities they may become bold enough to make all American cities free on the same line.

LIGHT is thrown on the New York traction question by the comment of the *World* on the adoption of the zone fare system in Mount Vernon. Noting the fact that this involves payment of ten cents for a ride of three miles from the suburb to an elevated station and five cents for a twenty-mile ride on the subway, the *World* suggests that the zone fare system in New York might be accepted by the traction magnates in lieu of an increase in fares. The editor hastens to add, however, that "it could not be granted without momentous effects upon the development of the city. It would affect the value of many million dollars' worth of real estate, and thus lessen the taxing base. It would still further compel congestion in the tenement quarters, already a serious problem."

HEREIN the editor lights upon a fruitful topic for consideration. The change of fare would, as he says, change the value of real estate. People who have moved from the congested tenement districts because of the cheap fare took land values with them. Thus in the outlying sections of the city land values increased enormously because of the movement of the people to those parts in order to take advantage of the cheap fares. The increase in land values, it was shown by the City Club report, would have been sufficient to pay for the construction of the roads. Yet those values caused by the cheap fares and the consequent movement of the people went to land speculators. The people paid high rents and the traction companies claim to be losing money with a five-cent fare. How long is it going to take the people of New York to put two and two together?

THERE is running through the dispatches from Europe, and the editorial comments, the suggestion that if the Bolshevik Government of Russia will agree to confine its proselyting activities within its own borders the Entente nations may agree to let them alone. This would seem to imply that the only way to keep Bolshevism out of the United States is to restrain the activities of the Russian Government. It is based upon two false notions: first, that ideas can be confined or destroyed like physical objects; second, that the people of this country do not know truth from error, and are unable to make an intelligent choice. Bolshevism appeals to those only who have no right of determination, or to those who have formed their ideas of government in lands where there was no choice, and do not yet appreciate the meaning of political liberty. If American institutions cannot resist this sort of propaganda then indeed is democracy doomed.

FEW things are more alluring to amateur and doctrinaire economists than price-fixing, and none is more disappointing. Aside from meeting an emergency such as a war, famine, or other great catastrophe, nothing in the way of price regulation has been found to equal the good old law of competition. When the United States entered the war the price of coal had no sooner been fixed than Secretaries Dan-

iels and Baker proceeded to buy their supplies at a much lower figure. And now that the Government in coöperation with the steel manufacturers has effected an agreement upon the price of steel, Director General Hines insists upon making his own contracts. Possibly Mr. Hines has heard of that 500,000-ton order of steel for France, upon which American mills underbid British manufacturers \$6.90 a ton. It would be interesting to know how the price agreed upon by the Government tallies with the price on the steel for France. Better results will come from freeing competition than from limiting it.

FAIN-HEARTED pessimists who doubt the power of public opinion should note the present antics of the round-robin Senators who thought to make political capital by opposing the League of Nations. Presidential "possibilities" thought they saw a way to the hearts of the people, and set forth with a great array of publicity agents to unhorse the President by opposing his plans. In less than a month they are humbly professing allegiance to the very thing they declared was to ruin the country. They have heard from the people. The shrewd politicians who keep their finger on the popular pulse have detected the strong current setting in in favor of the League of Nations, and the more astute Republicans in private life, like Professor Lowell and Elihu Root, have come to the rescue of the locoed Senators, who have made a pitiful exhibition of partisan politics at a time when the country was in need of statesmanship.

IF the Federal Government is a little slow in getting broken down railroad systems on their feet, and a bungling Postmaster General has botched the telegraph and telephone management, the friends of public ownership of public utilities can draw inspiration from such examples as that of Moorhead, Minnesota. According to the report of the Tax Payers' Committee dealing with the municipally owned water and light plant, it has contributed to the city funds during the past year more than \$50,000; yet it supplies light to private citizens at eight cents a kilowatt hour and at two cents for street lights. The chief reason given for this result is that the light plant has had

efficient management by a committee of local business men giving their services to the city without compensation. Public ownership of the non-competitive public utilities is sound in principle, but it is not fool-proof in practice, as witness the Postal Department's handling of the telephone and telegraph. But since nature never produces two things exactly alike there is no reason to suppose there will within a century be found another such Postmaster General.

THE report of the New York Tax Reform Association on the tax situation at Albany confirms what has been increasingly evident since the appointment of the Davenport committee on taxation, that the problem from the legislator's point of view is how to relieve the land speculator. An analysis of the three bills submitted by the Davenport Committee, made by A. C. Pleydell, secretary of the Tax Reform Association, shows that the burden of the proposed taxes falls upon the income of citizens already subject to the Federal income tax, upon personal property, and upon business. The whole is avowedly designed to lighten taxes on real estate. "Any large reduction in real estate taxation," says Mr. Pleydell, "will operate only to raise capital values. To the extent that taxes on land are reduced the price will go up. And after a boom due to low taxes, every effort will be made to keep up real estate prices and rents on the plea that interest should be allowed to be earned on that increased capitalization." Is it possible that such tax laws as these will be approved by the legislature?

Financing Road Building

CITIZENS of Fairhope, Alabama, who are preparing to celebrate the quarter centennial of the colony, may congratulate themselves that their example has not been in vain. For twenty-five years this town on the Gulf coast at the mouth of Mobile Bay has stood as a practical illustration of the principle that the owners of land should pay to the community for the value conferred upon it by the community. Its success in meeting the cost of government by the annual value of the land has

made such a deep impression upon the people of the surrounding territory that the agitation for good roads in South Baldwin County had not gone far until the Fairhope system of financing public improvements became the dominant sentiment.

Ernest B. Gaston, one of the leading citizens of Fairhope, presented at the annual convention of the Good Roads Association of Alabama in 1912 the "plan of improving country roads like city streets at the cost of the property benefited thereby." This idea has grown in popular favor until the recent gathering of leading citizens in South Baldwin County approved it without a dissenting vote.

Mr. Gaston spoke of the haphazard way in which the county road building is financed and said: "All the time we have had before us in every city and enterprising town in the United States a method of good road improvement by which streets are being paved, curbed, sewerred, parked, and sidewalked at an expense of hundreds of dollars for small frontages, and to a total of millions upon millions at the expense of the property benefited by such improvements, and without regard as to whether such property was improved or unimproved, occupied or unoccupied, owned at home or by non-residents.

This principle of paying for street improvements by special assessments on the lands benefited is so thoroughly established in this country that it seems strange that it has not long ago been applied to road building. It is nothing more or less than payment for value received. Street improvements increase the value of land accessible to them; they do not affect the value of personal property, buildings, or any kind of labor products. Pianos and sewing machines are worth no more on paved than on unpaved streets, neither are buildings or fences; but the land mounts in values as the improvements bring it into better communication with society.

Not the least of the virtues of this system of financing road-building lies in the fact that speculators who hold land idle till the growth of the community makes it valuable would have to pay the same tax as those who improved their land. This method does indeed absolutely destroy land speculation, and forces land into use, serving thus the double purpose of

supplying the country with good roads and the towns with more food.

Labor Goes to Bat

THE new Labor Party had its first real try-out in Chicago April 1st. Although organized but a few scant months its success in the smaller Illinois cities of Pekin, Bloomington, and Joliet gave its friends hopes of a good showing in Chicago with its 800,000 registered votes. Its failure to poll a larger vote is disappointing to those who hoped that with the labor vote augmented by the support of men and women like Mary McDowell, Robert Herrick, Wm. L. Chenery, and Geo. E. Hooker, a real independent movement might be launched. Considering its handicaps, however, the Labor Party did fairly well in polling 54,000 votes.

The Labor Party started out as a side party. The real election lay between Robert M. Sweitzer, a relative by marriage of Roger Sullivan, the gas boss, and William Hale Thompson, the personally conducted candidate of Lundin, a former lieutenant of Ex-Senator William Lorimer. These two waged a bitter fight over the school question and the public utilities, although to the neutral it appeared to be a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Thompson got the votes of many liberals who would otherwise have been for Fitzpatrick and the Labor Party, because the logic of the situation seemed to demand the defeat of Sweitzer.

To many Chicagoans the worst calamity that could have befallen the city was the election of a mayor nominated by Roger Sullivan, who is the boss of a Tammany far more adroit and powerful in its way than anything New York has known for a quarter of a century and more. Many of these felt that the only alternative to Thompson's election was Sweitzer's. They remembered the last personal *protégé* of Sullivan's, who was elected more than twenty years ago, and the saturnalia of franchise grabbing that accompanied the city's temporary dalliance with the gas boss. Consequently, they felt that the election of Sweitzer would again saddle upon the city gas, traction, and electric light legislation that it could not get rid of for another quarter of a century. It is all very well to tell men and women of this type that of two evils they should choose neither. If they

do not resolutely choose the least, they are likely to have the worst thrust upon them. In consequence, many decent citizens, although they were under no delusion as to Thompson's record or political morals, nevertheless voted for him, though they had to hold their noses while they did it.

Negotiations at Paris

POLITICAL conditions in Europe are now compelling the belated action that reason dictated should have been taken at the beginning. Had the delegates at Paris proceeded in the spirit of President Wilson's fourteen points, and agreed upon reparation, self-determination, and a League of Nations, the treaty could have been signed six weeks ago. But the old-world diplomats could not forego the opportunity to exercise their arts and wiles and perform such a simple act of reason and justice.

President Wilson could have used his prestige to force his program through; but the very thing that made possible a triumph at Paris would have worked for failure at Washington, where the round-robin Senators had set themselves to oppose whatever he might do. Subsequent events, however, have shown that had the President put through his original plan Bolshevism would have been deprived of that much time in which to grow. But necessity is now compelling action. The anarchy that is creeping toward Paris has frightened the diplomats and the American Tories, until the Senators who hitherto have agreed with nothing Wilson did are now glad to take anything that he can secure.

Men who six months ago were willing to make peace on the basis of the fourteen points became greedy in their demands when Germany's military strength was gone; but now that a new peril has arisen they are coming back to reason. From wishing to keep Germany out of the League as long as possible lest she be fortified for mischief, they are now ready to have her come into the League in order to stamp out a breeding place for Bolshevism. They are coming to see what has been perfectly clear all the time to normal-minded persons, that Germany within the League would be subject to its rules, and would have the strongest incentives to cultivate democracy and decency;

whereas, if she remains outside of the League she will have every reason to combine with Russia and the other countries of the East and Far East.

There are some things that must be patent to the reflecting mind. Germany cannot have her industrial system destroyed, and at the same time repair the damage she has done; nor can she be treated as an outlaw by the Entente nations and develop into the new internationalism. Now that the diplomats have found that the old order is gone for good and all the peace conference may reasonably be expected to come to a conclusion.

Japan and Her Place

A JAPANESE editor, writing in the *Japanese Student*, dating from the University of Chicago, concludes his estimate of Japan's position in the world with these words: "When America damns us, let us take it intellectually; when Australia opposes us, let us face it calmly; and when China betrays us, let us bear it patiently. In the mean time let us pursue our course with faith and courage, and at last give to the world our finished gift, which may perchance be an indispensable part in the ultimate evolution of human kind."

Without entering into any consideration of the attitude of Australia or China, we should regret to have Japan confirmed in the impression that America to any great extent was disposed to wish her harm. "Damn" is not a pretty word. Every American with a memory that runs back to the 'sixties and 'seventies recalls that the habitual mode of popular characterization of the German and Irish immigrant was, "That damned Dutchman!" and "That damned Mick!" The disposition to condemn the stranger is a very ancient one with the vulgar part of the population not only of America, but of most countries. A little more education of the right sort will make it impossible for us to treat the worthy Japanese with discourtesy or disrespect.

California is not the whole of the United States. When the Japanese first became numerous in California and elsewhere on the Pacific Coast, and labor became alarmed at the influx of workers who could toil hard for little pay, legislators paid scant attention to the

Japanese problem; but when the bright and ambitious farmers from Nippon made the sands blossom with the rose and grew vegetables so easily as to enable them to buy their farms and plant prosperous communities where the heavier American agriculturist drudged in vain, then the legislator got busy and the welkin rang with complaints of these interlopers of another race who were going to crowd the American land-owner off the face of the earth. When we have a reasonable immigration law, which will enable a certain small proportion of Japanese on equal terms with the nationals of other countries, to come to America, it will be found that there are regions where a certain amount of Japanese mastery of garden soils and methods will be of great benefit to whole States.

But what is true thus in a limited way of the United States is true in a far higher degree of countries nearer to Japan. Any one who has studied conditions in the Hawaiian Islands, for example, has noted the superior results of the union of the Japanese and Hawaiian races over those of the mixture of whites and Hawaiians. Incidentally, the Japanese in those latitudes seem to be the natural cultivators of the banana and pineapple. Whether in crops of men or crops of fruit the Japanese is very much master of the situation in the Southern Seas.

And now comes T. Mochizuki, a member of the Japanese Diet, asserting in San Francisco that a forthcoming Japanese-American pool totaling billions will certainly put a quietus on all "unofficial talk," both in Japan and America. The idea of international financial coöperation on a great scale is perfectly correct. Standing alone, it has not been easy for Japan to make her purposes understood. Coöperating with the United States, Japanese financial enterprises in China or Siberia will be as innocent of imperial schemes of conquest as transactions in Tokio or New York. With a growing merchant marine and investment in foreign enterprises Japan will find an outlet both for her energies and her emigrants.

If real democracy triumphs in Japan her territories will prove sufficiently large. It is imperialistic ambition alone that really contracts the size of a country. Japan has come too late, just as Germany came too late,

to find large spaces of a world longing to be colonized. Germany was too politically stupid to see that her destiny did not lie that way, and in endeavoring to expand imperialistically in spite of colonial limitations she fell foul of the spirit of the age. Has Japan enough of the Jingo element to force her to make the same mistake? If she chooses to be sincerely democratic she has the opportunity to invent

a way for a nation to dispose happily and usefully of a greatly multiplying population. Japan, with a peaceful, non-imperialistic progeny in a score of foreign countries contentedly making their homes in the lands of their adoption, will be far stronger and greater, because far more ethical and generous, than if she could grab and strangle a dozen Koreas, Siberias, or Manchurias.

A New Immigration Policy

By Sidney L. Gulick

Secretary of the Commission on Relations with the Orient. Author of "Evolution of the Japanese, Social and Psychic," "The American-Japanese Problem," "American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship," Etc.

NOW that the war has been won the closely interrelated problems of unemployment, of consequent labor unrest, and of immigration are becoming acute. Our present immigration laws are wholly unfit to meet the new situation. They are not right in principle. The proper restriction of immigration, the distribution, employment, and protection of immigrants, the raising of standards for naturalization, and the education of all resident aliens for citizenship are matters requiring immediate legislation. If Bolshevik doctrines are not to find wide acceptance in America, resulting in violent efforts to establish Soviet government, we must find prompt and effective solutions of these problems.

The international bearing, moreover, of our immigration legislation, especially as it affects China and Japan, must not be ignored. China as well as Japan should be assured that the period of their race humiliation is past and that their intrinsic rights and human interests are to be provided for.

Japan at Paris has asked for an article in the Covenant of the League of Nations guaranteeing equality of race treatment. Viscount Ishii's recent address in New York emphasized that plea. These are sharp reminders that, having rendered important help in winning the world war, Japan desires serious attention to her grievance.

Oriental exclusionists are prompt with sharp rejoinders. Both, however, are right. Both Japan and the exclusionists are contending for important principles. And fortunately both can have what they rightly claim, if

they will listen to reason, for their real desires are not mutually exclusive.

What, then, is Japan's grievance? In short, that Occidental differential treatment of Asiatics is humiliating. She wishes to be treated with dignity and equity.

And why are Americans not willing to promise such treatment at once? Because they are afraid of a swamping invasion of Japanese and Chinese immigrants. Japan says, indeed, that she does not ask for privileges of free immigration. All she wants is freedom from humiliating race discrimination. But Americans as a rule cannot imagine how there can be equality in race treatment unless free immigration is permitted. Hence the apparent deadlock.

The solution is to be found by showing that there is a way of giving absolute equality of treatment in principle, yet without granting numerical equality for immigration. This is the foundation principle of the immigration program now being urged by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, so far at least as it affects the Asiatic question.

The new immigration policy here proposed, so far as it affects immigration from Europe, is based on the principle that the time for free and unregulated immigration has passed. The immigration of the future from each separate people should depend on the capacity of that people, as shown by experience, to enter wholesomely into our life. America should admit from each land only so many immigrants as we can really Americanize.

These constitute the central principles urged

by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation.

This committee consists of more than 1,000 members from varied walks of life in all parts of the country, East and West as well as North and South. Among them are many men and women of national repute, such men as Hon. William H. Taft, Cardinal Gibbons, President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of California, and from the ranks of organized labor, John P. Frey and John R. Lawson. A bill has been drafted and will be introduced into the next session of Congress.

This bill deals comprehensively with the entire question of immigration, with that from Europe as well as that from Asia. Many have described it as the first thoroughly grounded rational method for dealing with these complex problems.

The principal features of the bill are:

The creation of a permanent Immigration Commission with certain specific recurring duties.

The suspension of labor immigration for two years.

The regulation thereafter of all immigration on a percentage principle, with the application of this principle to each people or mother tongue group separately but impartially.

The annual admission of from five to fifteen per cent. (or from three to ten per cent.) of those of each people already naturalized, including the American-born children of that people as recorded in the census of 1920.

The raising of the standards of qualifications for citizenship and the extension of the privileges of naturalization to every one who qualifies.

The separation of the citizenship of a wife from that of her husband.

Embodying these six provisions, this bill if enacted into law will secure the following important results:

It will admit as immigrants from each people only so many as we can hope to Americanize, because it will allow an annual immigration of newcomers only in proportion to those of that people who have already become American citizens.

It will provide a competent commission to deal continuously with the ever-changing problems of immigration as they arise, with power

to adjust the percentage rate from year to year and to deal with special exigencies of labor and of human needs.

It will protect American labor from dangers of unregulated immigration, help maintain American economic, social, and hygienic labor standards, and tend thus to remove the present widespread industrial and social discontent.

It will tend to stabilize business by preventing extreme fluctuations of available labor which result in overproduction and then in stagnation of business with unemployment of labor, causing incalculable suffering, anxiety, loss, and increasingly ominous unrest.

It will raise the standards of naturalization, promote more intelligent practice of citizenship, and secure a higher efficiency for our democracy.

It will prevent a sudden large influx from any new people having few, if any, representatives already among us, and restrain immigration from peoples that do not readily assimilate with our people; yet at the same time it will open the doors to those who do assimilate.

It will prevent large numbers of uneducated and wholly unqualified foreign-born women from voting merely because their husbands may have become naturalized citizens. It will require such women personally to qualify for citizenship if they desire to have the privilege of citizens.

It will give privileges of citizenship to every individual who will properly qualify for the same. This provision will remove in a fundamental way the cause of Japanese irritation and indignation. We give citizenship to many non-Caucasians, such as Tartars, Finns, and Hungarians; Turks, Syrians, Persians, and Hindus; Mexicans and South Americans; Zulus, Hottentots, Kaffirs, and men from any tribe in Africa; but we deny it to Japanese and Chinese. This is why both Japanese and Chinese regard our naturalization laws as ignominious and humiliating.

The proposed bill will remove from our laws this humiliation, which is increasingly resented not only by Asiatics in this land, but also by their peoples in Asia. Yet in doing away with our differential treatment of Asiatics no danger will be incurred of large immigration from Asia. On a five per cent. rate the permissible

immigration of Chinese and Japanese would be for many years much less than that which now comes yearly.

It will be in harmony with our treaty obligations to China, which obligations have been disregarded by our present special Chinese legislation.

By voluntarily setting right our relations with Chinese and Japanese we shall secure among them those feelings of good will for and confidence in us that are essential not only to successful commercial relations, but also to permanent international peace. If we wish in

the decades ahead to forestall the much discussed and widely expected conflict of the white and yellow races for the domination of the world, we must begin now to put into practice the universal and inescapable principles of justice, fair-dealing, and brotherhood.

The time has surely come to repeal our treaty-breaking laws and to apply the golden rule and the plain principles of international honor to our dealings with the Chinese. We should follow these principles whether or not the League Covenant contains an article guaranteeing equality of race treatment.

Philipp Scheidemann: Prime Minister of the German Republic

By S. Zimand

Authority on German Affairs; Biographer of Karl Liebknecht; Editor and Translator of "The Future Belongs to the People"

IN the years from 1878 to 1890 the Anti-Socialist Law was in effect in Germany. In the last part of this period a young compositor, Philipp Scheidemann, a member of one of the oldest and strongest trade unions in Germany, was attracted to the socialist movement. Ferdinand Lassalle, the Mirabeau of Germany, was his political father. No one has influenced the workingmen of Germany as much as Lassalle.

In the socialist movement Scheidemann began a tireless propaganda. He carried and distributed forbidden literature, smuggled in from Switzerland at the time of the "Sturm und Drang" period of the German socialist movement. He graduated from the public school, but most of his education he got by burning the midnight oil. Shrewd, with an open mind and the ability to deliver an effective soapbox speech, he very soon won a place in the socialist movement. It was at a time when the German socialist movement needed such workers. After the Anti-Socialist Law failed the party entered with greater energies than ever before into the political field. The number of voters and their representatives in the Reichstag and in the different state parliaments increased rapidly. Scheidemann advanced from one position of confidence to an-

other. He had become active in newspaper work, but that occupied only part of his time. In 1895 he became editor of the *Mitteldutsche Sonntags-Zeitung* at Giessen, where he remained till 1900. Giessen grew too little for him. He went to Nürnberg and then to his home town, Cassel, he having been born there in 1865. In Cassel he was editor-in-chief of the local socialist paper. In 1908 the working people of Solingen sent him as their candidate to the Reichstag, where he remained until that body was abolished by the November revolution. In 1911 the National Convention of the Social-Democratic Party elected him to its national executive committee. In 1918, after the election which brought to the Social-Democrats 110 members, Scheidemann acted for a little while as the vice-president of the Reichstag. The Reichstag never saw a more elegantly dressed man in the chair than when Scheidemann presided.

The Social-Democratic Party as it was organized before the war dates back to 1890. At the outbreak of war its enrolled membership throughout the empire was 1,085,905; 4,250,829 votes, that is, 34.8 per cent. of the total vote, was given to the Social-Democratic members. In twenty-two state parliaments there were 275 Social-Democratic representatives,

and in various towns and provincial local governing authorities over 12,000 representatives. The party was not, however, of one color. Its opinions varied from the extreme left, which stood uncompromisingly for a thoroughgoing class war, to the extreme right, which was frankly in favor of cooperating with the non-socialist liberals. Scheidemann belonged to that group that may be called the right center of the party. He agreed theoretically to the traditional party program, but in practice was inclined to combine with the extreme right of the party. He held the balance of power in the party, and belonged to the group that together with the left center constituted numerically the bulk of the party.

Scheidemann was a good politician. We have no reason to doubt that when he came to the party he was animated by the highest ideals and did good work; but all who have studied his political moves believe that after all to Scheidemann it mattered more where he could gain the position of the big leader. The so-called "revisionist socialists" saw in Scheidemann the person who could be used for the purpose of putting their views over. The revisionist leaders were mostly intellectuals, and what they needed to gain a strong influence on the membership of the party was at least one who was once a workingman. They found that the best choice would be Scheidemann—a demagogue who could swing the masses, a politician who could manage difficult situations with ease, a vain person who was seeking leadership, and a man with reputation in the party, a self-made man who could speak with the authority of practical experience. The revisionists did not lose any opportunity to draw Scheidemann to their side and when August 4, 1914, came Scheidemann was entirely won over; that is, he saw that now the moment had arrived when his success could be assured by going with the pro-war Socialists. The famous 4th of August, 1914, meeting was the time when the socialist representatives in parliament decided to support the war. At that meeting Scheidemann argued that it was a war of defense for Germany, and that, while there was little liberty in Germany, there was still less in Russia, and that the Socialists should therefore vote for the war budget. He argued that, should they take the opposite course, the funds

of the labor unions would be confiscated and the socialist movement, built up through long years of painful endeavor, would be destroyed.

Up to 1914 there existed the best relationship between the German trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party. The trade unions helped the party materially and morally. The leaders of the trade unions were members of the party and had often been the representatives of the party in the Reichstag and in the different state parliaments, Scheidemann saw that the determining factor in the socialist movement, the support of which he must get in order to reach his ambition of being the great leader, was to be with the trade union movement. He also knew well that the union leaders were inclined to vote for the war rather than lose their jobs and have their money confiscated. That explains his appeal to the unions and why he tried to get the Socialists behind the Government. It was not a conversion with Scheidemann. He was then just as little converted to Kaiser patriotism as he is now converted to republicanism. There is one ideal to which Scheidemann has affirmed all allegiance, and that is an assured position of leader of the great party.

Two weeks before the revolution came Scheidemann changed again, seeing like the cool meteorologist which way the wind was blowing. Up to the last two weeks he opposed the revolution; he did all in his power to prevent its coming to a head. "The shouters for the revolution know not what they want," he declared only on October 25, 1918, and two weeks later in an article in the *Vorwärts* he called for the punishment of those who brought the misery of war upon the German people, forgetting that he had gone thick and thin with the same Government whose punishment he now demanded. The chaotic conditions of the present make it hard to say how long Scheidemann can maintain himself. He knows at present that the people are tired of war, and he speaks for the establishment of order and the calling of a constituent assembly.

There is in this erstwhile compositor and self-made minister a striking similarity to his former spiritual father, Lassalle, the greatest leader the working class of Germany ever had. Of course, I do not intend to compare the epigone Scheidemann with his great master, the

Wunderkind, as William von Humboldt called Lassalle, who was one of the most gifted speakers that ever stepped upon a German platform, and whose literary, philosophical, and political achievements were remarkable. Their similarities lie in the fact that Scheidemann, like Lassalle, seems to lack unselfishness and sincerity. He is vain like his great master; worst

of all, his heart is not really any longer in the cause with which he has been affiliated so long. It was Lassalle's ambition that the German Empire should close with the house of Lassalle instead of the house of Hohenzollern. Perhaps it is Scheidemann's ambition that the German Empire shall be ruled by the House of Scheidemann.

Is a Court-Martial a Court?*

By Lieutenant Colonel Samuel T. Ansell

Lawyer; West Pointer; Twenty-Five Years in the Army; Former Acting Judge Advocate General, National Army, and Former Brigadier General

THE deficiencies in our existing court-martial system are of long standing, but they have never before been so clearly revealed. They engendered gross injustice in the regular army before this war; they made possible injustice in a greater number of cases during this war. But whether the army consists of 4,000,000 men or 100,000 men, injustice in it that does not arise from ordinary human fallibility ought not to be tolerated.

The court-martial system itself is at fault. It leads logically, naturally, inevitably to injustice. Every human system has deficiencies and they should not be the subject of complaint and criticism so long as they are incidental and unavoidable. I complain about the whole court-martial system, because if it had been designed to lead to injustice it could not have done better and still retain the form and appearance of justice. The fault is of the system and of no particular person. In so far as human agencies are culpable, their fault consists in not frankly conceding that this system had outlived its usefulness more than a century ago.

There are two theories as to courts-martial. One theory is that they are subject to the power of military commands, and are merely agencies of the commanding officer to assist him in the enforcement of discipline, and thus subject to his will. The other is that courts-martial are courts of justice, authorized as such by the Constitution—courts that should be required to function in accordance with the

principles of law that govern the exercise of all judicial functions. These theories are as far apart as the poles. We should naturally expect a Government like ours to require courts to be controlled by established principles of law enacted in accordance with the popular will; and yet, strange to say, ours is one of the most reactionary systems.

Under our system of Government courts-martial ought not to be executive agencies, whatever they may be in any other governmental system. In England, whence our system came in 1774, the king and people were in constant conflict as to army control. The framers of our Constitution took no risks, and placed not only the raising of the army, but the governing of it, under the exclusive control of Congress. They also provided that Congress alone should make rules and regulations for the government of the army. But every man who enters the army is triable for every violation of the usual civil law, and in addition for a multitude of military offenses with penal consequences running from death down, and he is tried by court-martial. Surely any tribunal that exercises full and complete jurisdiction over a human being is a judicial tribunal, a court. So said the Supreme Court of the United States in *Runkle v. United States*, 122 U. S. 558: "The whole proceeding from its inception is judicial. The trial, finding, and sentence are the solemn acts of a court organized and conducted under the authority of and according to prescribed forms of law. It sits to pass upon the most sacred questions of human rights that are ever placed on trial in a court of justice, rights which in

* Extracts from an address delivered by Colonel Ansell before the National Popular Government League at Washington, March 25, 1919. By the Washington correspondent of THE PUBLIC.

the very nature of things can neither be exposed to danger nor subjected to the uncontrolled will of any man." The Supreme Court later decided that a trial by court-martial is as much a criminal trial as a trial by any civil court of the United States, and that a man on trial is entitled to those fundamental guaranties that have been established in our Constitution.

And why, pray, should it not be so? Why should the people of the United States go to such great lengths to give a man protection before a civil forum and leave him destitute of protection before a military forum? Why should a law be so zealous to protect a man when on trial for murder before a criminal court and be so quick to deny him ordinary safeguards when tried before a set of officers of the army? The only answer I have ever heard is that military justice must be administered quickly. There ought to be no talk of quickness of execution before there is justice of conviction. There ought to be no certainty of punishment before there is certainty of guilt. The argument is the argument of the mob.

The military code is Draconian, and to a certain extent necessarily so. There is all the more reason why it should be definite and most carefully administered. In our military code there are forty-two punitive articles. Twenty-nine prescribe that the offense therein defined "shall be punished as a court-martial shall direct." Under this authority a court-martial may award any punishment except death. Eleven of the articles prescribe punishment "by death or such other punishment as a court-martial may direct." Two articles make death mandatory.

Nor are the offenses well defined. The articles of war authorize punishment for a violation of the unwritten or customary law of the military profession. Whatever military men believe to be conduct prejudicial to the military profession may be subject for trial, and any punishment less than death may be inflicted, even upon a soldier who has just entered the service and knows nothing of its customs. It is not enough to say that courts-martial may be depended upon to do what is right. Our Government does not proceed upon such personal confidence. If courts-martial

under the law have such power they must be expected to wield it at their discretion. It has been wielded in this war so as to shock the ordinary sense of natural justice.

Placing this unlimited power in the hands of a court-martial has resulted in placing it in the hands of a single man. No court-martial sentence is effective until it is approved by the officer who has convened the court-martial. In many instances the courts do not exercise judicial discretion, but in their unlimited power award outrageously excessive sentences so as to let the commanding officer reduce them to such figures as he sees fit. As a result of this abdication the commanding officer himself becomes the court and fixes the penalty.

In an example which has just been called to my attention the accused was a young man twenty-three years of age convicted of absence without leave, desertion, and escape. He was "defended" by a lieutenant as counsel. The evidence for the Government consumes altogether less than four loosely typewritten pages. The counsel stood by rendering no apparent assistance while the witnesses were led to say just what the charges alleged the accused to have done. There was no testimony whatever for the accused. The court sentenced the man to be dishonorably discharged and to be confined to hard labor for ninety-nine years. The division commander took occasion in his orders to commend the court for having done their duty in awarding a substantial sentence for such a serious offense, and then rather naïvely suspended the execution of the sentence of dishonorable discharge while the executed was serving his ninety-nine years' confinement! It turned out in this case that the man was mentally defective, having the mind of a child of no more than nine years. In another case a man was convicted of absence without leave and sentenced to be confined at hard labor for forty years, which the convening authority reduced to ten. In another case the accused was convicted of disobeying an order "to take your rifle and go out to drill," and escaping from confinement, for which he was sentenced to be confined at hard labor for thirty years, which the convening authority reduced to twenty. In another case of absence without leave for three months, the accused was sentenced to twenty years. In a case of not very

serious insubordinate conduct the accused was sentenced to hard labor for fifty years, which the reviewing authority declined to reduce.

The court-martial turns its back upon what our law and civilization have found to be necessary generally. Our civil law is careful lest it subject a man to indictment and trial unjustly. Certain judicial functions have to be performed before one can be arrested, and the most serious judicial investigation must be had either by a grand jury in the case of an indictment, or a sworn quasi-judicial officer in the case of information, before life and liberty can be placed in jeopardy. In the army it is quite otherwise. Any commissioned officer may prefer charges against any soldier, and when those charges are adopted by any commanding officer who can convene a court-martial they are ordered by him for trial. The statutes do not require any investigation as to the *prima facie* sufficiency of the evidence, nor that any person with the slightest legal qualification determine that the charge and the evidence are sufficient. It is left exclusively to the will of a military commander.

This system neither contemplates nor requires the participation of any authority learned in the law or skilled in the administra-

tion of justice. It leaves the entire system to be administered by men who by reason of their training have a mental deflection away from judicial appreciations. The sufficiency of the charge, the admissibility of evidence, and scores of questions of law are determined by a crude court composed of army officers, and finally by the commanding officer.

When the proceedings are finished they are reported to the commanding officer. If he is not satisfied he may require them to reconsider it. If the court has acquitted a man he may give them such instructions as may require them to convict. The most skillful civil court commits error, and superior courts are organized for their correction. There is no superior authority to correct the errors committed by courts-martial. The errors of this court must, when once finalized by a military commander, go thereafter uncorrected.

Clemency, to be sure, may be sought and granted, but clemency is forgiveness of a crime that has already been committed. It does not correct injustice. Lack of legal control is the difficulty; lack of legal control at the top, at the bottom, and throughout the proceedings. Instead of legal control, we have the power of military command.

The Country and the League Covenant

By Victor S. Yarros

Attorney and Newspaper Writer of Chicago. Contributor to the Nation and to the New York Evening Post

VIRTUALLY, the great national debate on the proposed covenant is over. The reactionaries and Bourbons, as well as the "small Americans" who think in the terms of an outworn nationalism and an impossible provincialism, have suffered a complete and inevitable defeat. They may multiply words of sophistical explanations in the attempt to save their faces, and they may deceive some partisans or shallow headline readers by such explanations. The fact itself is no longer in doubt. The advocates of a League of Nations and of the proposed Covenant have won the campaign. The people are with them so far as the essential principles involved are concerned. Common sense has triumphed. The logic of facts and events has proved to be irresistible.

There will be a League and there will be a Covenant. The League will not be a world league at the start, and this is a pity; but, as John Morley and other wise thinkers have said, we should not expect of human nature more than it is capable of giving. Human nature in France, in Belgium, in England and in Serbia, not to mention the United States, could not be ignored even by the most idealistic and forward-looking of the peace conferees at Paris, and that factor simply vetoed any suggestion for the immediate admission of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria into the League. Reasonable radicals—and there are such, even though, alas, the radical movements attract many sentimentalists who cannot see things as they are and clamor for the impossible,—rea-

sonable radicals are not disillusioned, disappointed, or pessimistic by reason of the failure to create a genuine World League at this juncture, after four and a half years of cruel warfare, propaganda of hatred and enmity, and frantic appeals to the lowest forms of nationalism.

As *THE PUBLIC* has wisely pointed out, a sound and promising beginning is really all that we have a right to expect at this time. The League will grow and evolve—as all vital and necessary institutions do. The future belongs to democracy, to the forces of progress and true civilization. Create the League, sign a Covenant, start the machinery of healthy internationalism, and the rest will take care of itself. Miss Jane Addams, a lifelong champion of toleration, good will, and international amity, has been saying in her pro-League addresses that, after all, the most important feature of the Covenant is a liberal, honest amending article. For, as she has been arguing, today the conservative parties, the old-type diplomats, are everywhere in power, in victorious European countries. This is not surprising, but to recognize the fact is to accept calmly certain consequences. Clemenceau, Balfour, Hughes of Australia, Borden, Sonnino, and the lesser lights at Paris could not be expected to favor a World League and a Covenant good enough to satisfy the most advanced liberals and radicals. President Wilson has been unjustly blamed for alleged opportunism and weakness. He has been urged to issue ultimatums, to threaten and bully, to insist on the maximum. All this is as easy as fancy-free editorial writing generally is. Those who actually confer, negotiate, encounter opposition, wrestle with intricate and knotty problems of a practical nature find outside counsels of perfection supremely naïve and ridiculous.

To repeat, if we get a good, honest, sound beginning from the Paris conference, we shall have every reason to rejoice. Five years hence the liberal forces will be in the saddle in England, in France, in Germany, in the United States,—everywhere, in fact. Does any radical doubt this? If he does, he is singularly inconsistent and perverse in demanding perfection now of the Paris negotiators. If he does not, then his lamentations and denunciations are foolish, since, as has just been stated, a satis-

factory amending article will enable the liberal parties and their leaders to strengthen and improve the Covenant in every direction.

The remarkable, the reassuring, the inspiring thought that dominates and overshadows everything is that the American people, by an overwhelming majority, have sensed the impossibility of the policy of isolation, of aloofness, and have approved the idea of a League and a Covenant to insure arbitration and conciliation in international controversies. This despite the snarling, wailing, bellowing of bitter partisans and erratic demagogues. This despite prejudices, vaguely understood traditions, and popular slogans. Where is the Lodge anti-Covenant resolution now? In the national waste basket. All the leaders of the Republican Party and some of the anti-Wilson would-be leaders in the Democratic Party have spoken. What is the net result? Analyze the Root statement, the Hughes statement, the Lodge speech at Boston, the Knox address—called the key-note address of the opposition,—and where do we find the authors? In favor of a League, in favor of an “amended” Covenant, in favor of strong provisions for international arbitration, in favor of everything that is really vital and important. They have raised no issue. They want express reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine, which doctrine is actually extended by the original draft of the Covenant. They want a clause covering the right to withdrawal from the League after proper notice. They want specific reservations covering purely domestic questions like the tariff and immigration. Whatever differences of opinion there may be about the necessity of the proposed amendments, the one outstanding fact that matters is that the amendments do not affect adversely the purposes of the League or the basic principles of the Covenant. Indeed, partisan or personal opponents of President Wilson have been forced by tactical considerations to take up a position more advanced than his—to demand more effectual guaranties against war, more adequate arbitration clauses, and the like. How delighted Wilson would be to grant these “demands” from conservative Republicans—if he could! One wonders—or, rather, one knows—what these same leaders would have said if Mr. Wilson had offered them a covenant with rigid sweeping provisions for compulsory

arbitration of *all* disputes and a solemn declaration that war is to be treated as a crime against humanity.

Well, party politics begets amusing and grotesque paradoxes. We have had our partisan tricks, manoeuvres, mock heroics. We have had our genuine debate and our sham battles. Men who began by cursing ended by blessing. Other men prepared snares for others and fell into them themselves. But the country has indorsed the League plan and the Covenant. The few sincere intransigent opponents of the whole plan realize that they are beaten. The insincere opponents will continue to bark and yell and gesticulate wildly, but their antics will be contemptuously ignored henceforth. The country has given its verdict. There will be a League and a Covenant. The liberals and radicals of the world will find much in the Covenant to regret,—and to change at the first opportunity. That opportunity cannot be long in coming. The stars in their courses are fighting for radicalism, for social and political progress. Let us sanely coöperate with them and waste no energy on futile, unphilosophical assaults on our allies and friends.

CURRENT THOUGHT

Ireland Free

I STEPPED across to Paris and I heard the song of Peace;
I heard the cheers for liberty from Greenland down to Greece.
I heard the fiddles, fifes, and drums, and then I listened sharp,
And I says, says I, "Now, where's the sound of Tara's Irish harp?
You ask for freedom of the land, and freedom of the sea;
Give freedom, too, to Ireland—and that makes the whole world free!"

I stepped across to Ireland and I went to Dublin town
And there I saw gossoons in green a-marching up and down.

And then I went to Belfast, which was marching in reply,
And there they wore the orange hue and so I says, says I:

"When Irishman and Irishman have Irish eyes to see,
To see that both are Irishmen, then Ireland will be free."

I went to California and I took one look around,
And there I saw *green oranges* trees a-growing in the ground!

O, Dublin hue! and Belfast, too! why not choose this instead,
And wear white orange-blossoms on the day that you are wed?

I saw green fruit and orange fruit upon the self-same tree,
And when they grow in Ireland so, then Ireland will be free!

—Edwin Vance Cooke, in *Reedy's Mirror*.

How the Young Idea Shoots

A SMALL boy uptown asked for another piece of pie. When his mother said no, he replied, "Very well, then, I'm a Bolshevik."—*New York Evening Post*.

The Mind of the Citizen

HAVING in mind things true, things elevated, things just, things pure, things amiable, things of good report—having these in mind, studying and loving these, is what saves "states."—*Matthew Arnold*.

A Bad Habit

THE Canadians at Kimmel doubtless had a legitimate grievance, but the real reason of the whole business is that if you keep large numbers of men hanging about with nothing to do you will get trouble. And if you have encouraged them to hold life cheaply for nearly five years, they are likely to retain the habit.—*The Herald (London)*.

God in the Covenant of the League

WE recognize God when we shape our thought and conduct in line with the dictates of righteousness and truth, kindness and good will; and until this is done the printing of the word "God" in constitutions and the proclamation of the word in public assemblies counts for nought. The great and good men who are working so faithfully to perfect the League of Nations are inspired by but one thought and purpose in their labors—to establish peace on earth, to promote good will among men, to strengthen among men and nations the sentiment of love and the practice of the Golden Rule, and if there is any better way of recognizing God than this I would not know where to look for it.—*Rev. Thomas B. Gregory, in New York Evening Mail*.

Tomorrow!

I SEE a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust; the aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth. I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. I see a world at peace; adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled; while lips are rich with words of love and truth,—a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand. I see a race without disease of flesh or brain; shapely and fair; the married harmony of form and function, and as I look life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope.—*Robert G. Ingersoll*.

Difference in Definition

THE world has never had a good definition of the word liberty and the American people are just now much in need of one. We all declare for liberty, but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor, while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty. Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty, and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

High Wages a Blessing, Monopoly a Curse

WHEN it comes to extortion, what about high-way corporations and their watered stock? What about water power monopolies? What about timber barons? What about monopolizers of natural deposits—coal, iron, oil, copper? What about the vast areas of land over the country and the almost numberless building lots in cities which cannot be used by productive business and productive labor except upon the payment of extortionate premiums in rent or purchase price? Let useful business men who are all too easily angered by the demands of their own best customers—the wage earners of the country—let those business men think a bit when tempted to denounce wage workers as extortionists, or to join in any hue and cry for putting wages down or keeping them down. Wages are the purchasing power of labor. Low wages mean poor markets; high wages mean good markets.—*Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor.*

Great Britain, America, and the League

THE whole world wants the League of Nations, and yet the whole world is consenting to its destruction. Pontius Pilate sits everywhere cynically asking: "What is the League?" In each nation there is a Pontius Pilate party and a Pontius Pilate press. In each nation there is a Judas Iscariot who is willing to sell the Prince of Peace for thirty pieces of silver. . . . British democracy must be speedily aroused. Men of all parties must sink their feuds and call upon the people to declare their inflexible resolve. There is not a day or even an hour to lose. There ought to be meetings in every town and in every village. Every pulpit ought to be a tocsin. One fiery week of crusading anger would frighten Europe from the edge of the abyss. Let it be made known that, if it be neces-

sary to save the clean peace and the League of Nations, Britain and America will not hesitate to withdraw from the arena and leave the besotted madmen to the foul anarchy they have chosen to put in the place of brotherhood.—*James Douglas, in the London Star.*

BOOKS

Out of the Folkways Into Freedom

Democracy in Education: A Social Interpretation of the History of Education. By Joseph Kinmont Hart, Ph.D. New York: The Century Company. 1918. \$1.80.

REED COLLEGE, Oregon, is the birthplace of this solid contribution to contemporary study of the problems of education. As Professor Hart says in his preface, his handling of materials shows "a frank and avowed interest in the cause of democracy." He had already complained that nowhere had "democracy been taken as the educational goal. It has been, indeed, professed in America; but it has never been professed seriously enough to cause us to transform our traditional and therefore autocratically inspired educational instrumentalities into actual democratic institutions." Science in our modern days has made possible the democratizing of all forms of activity, including education. It was queer that the most colossal application of both science and education should have been tested and achieved in Germany, for the precise ends to which normally they would seem most repugnant. Autocracy established itself by science and ruled by education. This is the negative and malevolent fact that the reader may helpfully note if he would appreciate at its full force and promise any work treating of democracy and education.

Our author carries us back to the childhood of history, where we see primitive peoples treading, father and son, along the hard worn everlasting folkways. Here the child is born a part of a folk, and he stays an unbroken chip unsevered from the block from the cradle to the grave. His education is universal and never pausing. He takes in the traditions and customs, the superstitions and ignorances, the loves and hates, the hopes and fears of his community as in infancy he unquestioningly takes in his mother's milk.

Then the author traces the development of the mind in the conflicts that arose in the divergent paths of the folkways until something like real individuality shapes the currents of historic movement. "Socrates discovered free personality and moral freedom, and made the greatest of all epochs in the world's history." With this new force playing on the conflicting interests of the peoples on the beaten paths, the author's discussion runs through the rising and falling of nations, the coming and going of great leaders, the whole story being looked at in the light of human education.

How at each period does the soul react to its mass of tradition and environment? It would seem that without education specifically different from tradition progress could not have been made and democracy would be impossible.

But after these thousands of years of experience the problem of education is largely of the same nature as always. The dead weight of the past and its solidified customs weighs as the most potent influence. "We linger under a hybrid social control, supposedly democratic and intelligent, but largely determined by old folkway attitudes inherited from the Middle Ages or more remote times." Looking at our methods of education much is found wanting as means to the desired result. "They do not work out democratically." Cramming, and partisanship, and subserviency to ulterior interests are involved in educational ideals. Education is not a molding, but a growth. "Democracy is something more than a vague ideal; certainly it is not an ideal that will realize itself." "Democracy is just those two things—personal self-direction in an intelligent, responsible social way." And there must be democracy in all the forces of society and the home before the child has his rights. "School education is not, even now, as effective as the education of the life outside of school. No, all the phases and institutions of our social living must be made democratic, if our education is to become such—our economics, our civics and our ward politics, our ethics and our community moralities, and our conceptions and our practices. Education is not apart from life; it is just the adult generation giving its own world to the new generation."

"On the social side, democracy is the avowed program of the break from custom and tradition." The purpose is to see to it that the bulk of tradition and custom which is ever with us shall be the "understructure, and not the main accomplishment." "Democracy, the very antithesis of the folkway spirit, is assured only in the assurance of a democratic educational process." The author depends on psychology in the future to vitalize science and make democratic education wholly democratic and wholly educative. "There is such a psychology. It is active rather than passive. . . . It is vital rather than academic. It is found in men rather than in books. It is social rather than individualistic. It has to do with accomplishment and activity rather than with learning."

Evolution of Evolution

Evolution in Modern Thought. By Haeckel, Thomson, Weismann, and Others. New York: Boni & Liveright, Inc. 60 cents.

THE publishers are to be congratulated on this latest addition to the "Modern Library" series. The book consists of ten essays by leading authorities in their respective departments, and forms an excellent survey of the progress of

discovery and movement of thought in the subjects of evolution, biology, psychology, and man's place in the drama of creation. The first six articles are by J. A. Thomson, Weismann, W. Bateson, G. Schwalbe, Haeckel, and Lloyd Morgan; and provide the reader with the most recent conclusions on the value of Darwin's selection theory, on heredity and variation, on the mental factors in evolution, and incidentally with much useful information on many related aspects of the great ontological problem.

To men who have passed middle age and who, during the period of stress and strain that began in the 'seventies and extended for two decades, were nurtured on the writings of Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Haeckel, Spencer, Romanes, and their contemporaries, it must be confessed there is little in these essays that is new. But another generation has arisen. Intelligent and forward-looking men of today have unconsciously inhaled the free intellectual atmosphere into which they were born, and have enjoyed the wider horizon that the speculative outlook now offers, with but little thought or knowledge of the terrific struggle from which these liberties have emerged. And in many such cases the exigencies of modern life and the pressure of new interests preclude the possibility of a return to the study of "Origin of Species," "The Synthetic Philosophy," "The History of Creation," or the great mass of *ex cathedra* utterances and controversial literature that crystallized around those epoch-making books. The danger is indeed great, that we forget even the names of the warriors who fought our battles little more than a generation ago, and overcame for us the autocratic forces of dogmatism and spiritual tyranny. It is in view of such considerations that this compact, little handbook should be welcomed. He who reads it will learn something of the painful readjustments undergone by the thoughtful student of thirty years ago.

Of the last four essays each has an interest peculiar to itself, as showing the influence of the Darwinian theory, respectively upon modern philosophy, history, religion, and sociology. It is not surprising that the altered conception of the Cosmos that came with Darwin compelled thinkers to introduce scientific methods of precision into these departments of learning. It is well known that the physical sciences were the first to adopt the inductive method of reasoning from facts to principles, and that the speculative sciences have lingered rather sulkily behind, only during recent years coming more or less reluctantly into line. Professor Höffding traces the influence of the evolution theory upon both the idealistic and the positive philosophies in compelling their exponents to revise their relations to the world of reality, and to find room in their minds for the pragmatic and relative alongside of the theoretic and absolute. Professor J. B. Bury shows how

under pressure of the evolution idea history has been raised to the dignity of a science rather than as formerly, a mere record of past happenings written as an aid to statesmanship, and how the hypothesis of general laws operative in history spread from Condorcet through the minds of De Tocqueville, Spencer, and Comte onward to Buckle, whose "History of Civilization" exercised so strong an influence on the European thought of last century. The Rev. P. H. Waggett writes of the influence of Darwinism on religious thought, and particularly on the theory of origin, and gives us the valuable caution that "great ideas are dangerous guests in narrow minds." It was perhaps inevitable that the disintegration of cherished beliefs in theology and cosmogony should have had the immediate effect of loosening men's grip on the sense of the absolute and eternal; but that its ultimate effect in compelling Christian thinkers to search for the real evidences of their faith in their inward experiences and the guidance of intuition, is the conclusion toward which Mr. Waggett's argument points. Professor C. Bougle asks, "How has our conception of social phenomena and their history been affected by Darwin's conception of nature?" and replies, "To such a question it is not easy to give a brief and precise answer." Nevertheless, he shows pretty clearly that the support which the doctrine of struggle and survival seemed to lend to the aristocratic theory of Nietzsche, and to the perpetuation of war as a necessary human relation, was completely illusory and arose from a misreading. A deeper reading of nature reveals that she gives lessons not only in individualism but in coöperation, in mutual aid, in "association for existence." A still deeper understanding suggests that a society of intelligent and moral beings evolves according to a different law from that which regulates the relation of the lower creation to its environment, and points to a future in which will be realized the ideal of the Marxian Socialist (though perhaps by a different way of attainment), "Each for all and all for each."

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

A Survey of Antipathies

The Clash: A Study in Nationalities. By William Henry Moore. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1919. \$2.50.

THIS is the seventh edition of this book, the first having appeared two months before hostilities ended. Without in the slightest degree anticipating the agitation for a League of Nations so soon to start, it is nevertheless a distinct contribution to the League of Nations literature. The author discusses in application to one concrete case those principles which in general concern all the national members of the prospective league, but which uncover acute problems with several individual states and their mixture of peoples.

Mr. Moore is a Canadian, and he treats of the "race problem" of Canada. Writing at a time when the Colonial overseas forces were still embattled in the cause of the Allies, and while mobs in Quebec were protesting against the enforcement of the Military Service Act, he presents a strong case for the French Canadian and voices an urgent plea for harmony and tolerance. Starting with a clean-cut recognition of the French in Canada as having a pronounced and inalienable "group personality," as being a "group soul," or vital inherent nationality, he maintains that the English Canadians must treat them as a separate nationality in the Canadian state. "The state is the casing: the nationalities are the incased."

He expounds at considerable length the bases of this claim of the older inhabitants, reclaimers, and civilizers of Canada. Their oneness of race as Frenchmen and their specific descent from certain Nordic provinces of Northern France make them an extraordinary example of purity of blood and continuity of racial heredity, establishing for them a "national" right to be themselves and to perpetuate their special kind. Their enjoyment of a common language, which so far from being a bushwhackers' *patois*, is singularly correct and proper by Parisian standards, and is maintained by the school study of the language, traditions, history, and literature of France, likewise confirms the right to nationality and freedom to their own native and chosen mode of self-expression.

The writer argues against all the claims of the English Canadians not only to racial or Anglo-Saxon superiority, but to superiority grounded in trade, education, or religion. He adduces many enlightening facts and advances some cogent reasonings. Finally, however, he brings out the fact that the crux of the future is a land question. The Province of Ontario has a vast unoccupied hinterland containing sixteen million acres of good farming soil. Ontario is not increasing her farmer population, but the number is decidedly falling off. The French Canadians, having filled up Quebec, are flowing over into their ancient heritage in Ontario. They are taking with them their churches and their schools, their language and their customs. English Canadians are up in arms against French Canadian immigration, insisting that Ontario must not be bilingual or priest educated.

Mr. Moore contends that, while the two kinds of Canadians are different, it is not because one is inferior and the other superior. If those of English descent are better business men, those of French are more contented farmers. If the Ontario colleges excel in laboratory performances, those of the Eastern Province are superior in classical attainments and the spoken mastery of modern languages. If the people of Ontario are quick to borrow progressive methods from the United States, the French Canadians surpass them in music and art and poetry, and cherish a wealth of folksong and national literature.

He insists on the importance of French Canadian devotion to agriculture because Canada depends on her soil; he maintains that in the new world conditions the French language will be a wonderful commercial asset. Not only ought there not be any repression of the study of French in the French population, but all English Canada should learn French, both the better to understand their brethren of French extraction, and by being masters of the two great trade and governmental languages to enable Canadians to take their part in the peaceful conquest of the future.

Books Received

Principles of Government Purchasing. By A. G. Thomas. D. Appleton & Co., New York. \$2.25 net.

This work is based upon a practical knowledge of facts accumulated during the author's experience as a member of the staff of President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency and the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York, and a study of corporations and municipalities.

The Food Crisis and Americanism. By William Stull. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.25.

The general public is impugned for its ignorance concerning the fundamental facts pertaining to agriculture, which is responsible for the inefficient legislation that has been prepared for the industry.

Russian Revolution Aspects. By Robert Crozier Long, Correspondent in Russia (1917) of the Associated Press in America. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. \$2.50 net.

Explains and describes the developments that sprung into existence from the commencement of the Revolution to the present time, and concludes with the chapter entitled "Russia and America."

Russia's Agony. By Robert Wilton, Correspondent in Russia of the *Times*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. \$5.00 net.

Begins with the political elements of the ante-Revolution period, examines the scenes of the revolutionary setting, defines Bolshevism as the foe of Russia, and ends with the warning that "the promise of Cossackdom" is the "hope of Russia."

America's Mission to Serve Humanity. By Frank Moss. Boston: The Stratford Company. \$1.00 net.

This book shows that a continuous voice of prophecy to serve humanity has been emanating from the consciousness of the American people and proclaimed by its statesmen.

The Law as a Vocation. By Frederick J. Allen. With an introduction by William Howard Taft. New York: Harvard University Press. \$1.00 net.

The purpose of this book is to present an accurate and impartial study of the law.

Ten Days That Shook the World. By John Reed. New York: Boni and Liveright. \$2.00 net.

An account of the November Revolution, when the Bolsheviks seized the state power of Russia and placed it in the hands of the Soviets.

Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture. By Freeman Henry Morris Murray. Published by the author, 1733 Seventh street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The first book of a series on "black folk in art."

War Book of the University of Wisconsin. Madison, Wisconsin. 50 cents postpaid.

Papers on the causes and issues of the war by members of the faculty.

The Valley of Democracy. By Meredith Nicholson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00 net.

A story of the types and diversions, the farmer, politics, and the spirit of the Middle West.

The Government of the United States. By William Bennett Munro, Professor of Municipal Government in Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

A general survey of the principles and practice of American government as exemplified in the nation, in the States, and in the several areas of local administration.

The Farmer and the New Day. By Kenyon L. Butterfield, President, Massachusetts Agricultural College. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.00.

The three major sections of the book deal with the rural problem, its organization, and a rural democracy, indicating the character of the relations between the farmer and the rest of society in the new era.

NEWS

Foreign

—A factory for the manufacture of woollens and cloths has been established at Colenso, Natal.

—What is described as "beautiful white marble fully equal in quality to that of Italy" is reported to have been discovered close to Pretoria, Transvaal.

—The National City Bank of New York will shortly open another Buenos Aires branch in Plaza Once, as well as one in Rosario, province of Sante Fé.

—The German Austrian National Assembly has passed the bill introduced on March 27 banishing members of the Hapsburg family and confiscating their property.

—In Bavaria the Soviets have seized the public authority, the Landtag having been dissolved and the ministers of the republican government having fled from Munich.

—The Danish Cabinet, under the guidance of M. Zahle, has undertaken a drastic reform of the land laws of Denmark, providing for the cutting up of the large estates.

—Swift & Co. are reported to have purchased two small Argentine meat-packing plants located at San Julienne and Rio Gallegos in the southern part of Argentina.

—Designs have been prepared by the South African Railway Administration for a new type drop-side steel bogie wagon 45 feet in length and having a capacity of 80,000 pounds.

—The Duke of Albany and the Duke of Cumberland and Viscount Taaffe, who adhered to the enemy during the war, have been deprived of their British peerages by a King's order in Council.

—Food prices in Great Britain advanced 22.6 per cent. during 1918. The total increase during the war is estimated at 120 per cent. The number of trade disputes increased 82 per cent. over 1917.

—General Aurelio Blanquet, Minister of War under Huerta, has landed in Mexico to give new impetus to the rebellion against Carranza which General Felix Diaz has been organizing for four years.

—The International Harvester Company has received a letter from one of the foremen in its Moscow plant stating that the plant has managed to keep going right along, with Bolsheviks all around it.

—The strength of the organized labor movement in Mexico is now estimated at about half a million workers. The only industries nationally organized are the mining and textile industries and the railroads.

—The Spanish influenza is no respecter of climates. It claimed its victims by the score among the Eskimos on the arctic coast of British North America. "The death that stalks in darkness" is the name the Eskimos gave to the epidemic.

—The 68 active sugar mills in Santa Clara produced 6,746,684 bags of sugar, or approximately 968,520 tons, during the year 1917. This province is the largest producer of sugar on the island of Cuba, supplying nearly one-third of the entire crop.

—Edwin N. Gunsaulus, United States Consul at Singapore, says it is doubtful if any country in Asia prospered more in 1917 than that strip of the mainland forming the Malay Peninsula, which includes the Federated and non-Federated Malay States.

—A land department has been established by the United Grain Growers of Winnipeg. Like their other activities it is to be coöperative. Primarily, the new department is to guarantee a square deal to farmer sellers and settler buyers in real estate deals.

—A detailed statement of the Mexican Treasury receipts for 1918 shows the total income to be \$149,141,878.65. Import duties yielded \$90,874,696.08, and export taxes produced \$87,687,908.48. The Post Office surplus was \$4,875,078.48 and telegraph profits \$3,851,858.26.

—The practical completion of the details of an act to be put before the Legislative Council of Jamaica for a State-aided sugar factory of 8,000 to 10,000 tons capacity, the supply of canes to be guaranteed by growers, is a long step forward for making Jamaica again a factor in sugar production.

—The vessels registered in Japan at the end of December last consisted of 2,641 steamers, aggregating 2,810,959 tons, and 12,481 sailing ships of 857,556 tons. Of the steamers those of over 1,000 tons numbered 616, totaling 1,859,849 tons. There are 2,641 merchant steamships of all tonages.

—In Johannesburg architects are endeavoring to effect a settlement in a prolonged building strike. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers has decided on a movement for shorter hours throughout South Africa. The miners also are about to demand an eight-hour day and a five-day week.

—The Dutch steamship Bawean arrived in New York April 1, from Cape Town, South Africa, with a delegation of Boers en route to Paris and the Peace Conference for the purpose of laying before the British Government and the Paris conferees their right to self-determination in setting up a republic.

—When Italy entered the war there were 126 inhabitants per square kilometer in the Kingdom,

this being a gradual development, as in 1862 there were 87.2 people to the square kilometer. The call to army service was particularly hard on the agricultural industry, about one-half of the army being of the farming class.

—The Commonwealth Bank of Australia, organized only seven years ago, has had a remarkable career. Its last report shows 850,000 depositors, savings deposits of more than \$60,000,000, and a surplus of nearly \$20,000,000. Its profits in 1916-17 were \$1,846,816, which dropped to \$1,188,049 the following year.

—The Italian Federation of Labor and the principal employers of Italy have reached an amicable agreement concerning wages and working hours, which, for the first time, places Italian labor on a plane with American labor. Beginning May 10, hours of work will be reduced from 72 to 48 and wages are substantially increased.

—Munich newspapers were told on the 1st that they had three choices if they wished to continue—the adoption of syndicalism, communism, or state ownership. This announcement was made by the Economic Ministry official, Dr. Neurath, who was named at the instance of the Minister of the Interior to handle the socialization of the press.

—During recent years, especially since the war, the wool industry of Spain has greatly developed. Raw wool of domestic production no longer suffices for the spinning and weaving mills, and it is now necessary to import from Uruguay and Argentina, whereas previously Spain could dispose of from 14,000 to 16,000 tons for export.

—In an issue of *Isvestia*, a leading official Bolshevik organ, recently quoted in the German press, the assertion is made on the authority of the Soviet Commissioner of Public Works that his department is busy repairing the old railroad lines and constructing new ones for the main purpose of increasing the efficiency of the Bolshevik military machine.

—The popularity in the study of the English language has increased in Japan to a remarkable degree since the declaration of the armistice, and the Tokio School of Foreign Languages, of which Baron Kanda is director, has about 800 candidates annually, of which 400 are admitted. The students of English exceed in number those of French or other European languages.

—Nicasio Hernandez, a traveling agent of the agricultural department of the Guatemalan Government, said in New Orleans that he believes that the proposed union of Honduras and Salvador into one republic, to be known as Morazan, is a political combination against Guatemala, and that the prime mover behind the project is President Venustiano Carranza of Mexico.

—According to *Commerce Reports*, the present estimated production of Japanese oil mills is 90,-

600 long tons of vegetable oils annually and is made up as follows: Soya-bean oil, 87,509 tons; coconut oil, 27,542 tons; rapeseed oil, 17,848 tons; cottonseed oil, 6,488 tons, and peanut oil, 1,268 tons. In 1917 China exported 162,000 tons of vegetable oils and 200,000 tons of oilseeds.

—The third session of the Irish Parliament opened April 1, with Professor Edward De Valera and several Sinn Feiners recently released from prison in attendance for the first time. How to press the claims of the Sinn Fein for representation in the Peace Conference, which they demand as an international right, is an important problem before the Parliament. The sessions are conducted in the Gaelic language.

—The annual report on the trade of Canada for the calendar year 1918 prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, gives data which show imports for consumption valued at \$906,954,900, contrasted with \$1,005,071,716 in the calendar year 1917 and \$766,501,512 in 1916, and exports of Canadian produce valued at \$1,229,708,244, compared with \$1,547,340,855 in 1917 and \$1,091,706,408 in 1916.

—England has an organization of 174,000 men and women known as the Professional Workers' Federation. Its purpose is to represent people in the professions as the unions represent those in the trades. It is about to organize for a strike to obtain reform in income tax regulations, which it is claimed press heavily on professional workers; more adequate supply of middle class houses and lower rents, and reductions of railroad fares.

—According to *Commerce Reports*, Consul Remillard states that the textile market of Indo-China seems to have fallen almost entirely into the hands of the Japanese. Japanese agents in Saigon forwarded samples of piece goods on sale in the local markets to their houses in Japan and received by return mail similar samples of Japanese goods with quotations 20 to 25 per cent. lower than the same goods could be bought for elsewhere.

—A Honolulu dispatch to the Osaka *Asahi* says that Mr. Bowne, an American District Court Judge, has granted citizenship to 184 Japanese volunteers. This decision was confirmed by the Immigration Bureau of the United States Labor Board, which rejected the application against the decision filed by Mr. Hoover, State Attorney, at Washington. Four hundred more Japanese are expected to go through the procedure of becoming naturalized.

—In opening the Legislative Council of the Indian Empire in Delhi, Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, said that the large powers which had enabled the public peace to be maintained during the war should be replaced by an adequate substitute. The Government was aware of the undoubted existence in India of definitely revolutionary organi-

zations, and he therefore commended to the Council Legislation the measures necessary for the maintenance of the Government and the lives and property of the citizens of India.

—Australia is about to revise her tariff laws with a view to developing her industries and especially to preserving those brought into existence by the war. The Commonwealth owns and operates five factories established under the Defense Act—a clothing factory, a cordite factory, a harness and saddlery factory, a woolen fabrics factory and one for making small arms. Their total output up to June 30 last was valued at \$18,997,225 and their cost of operation is given as \$18,786,075, which includes depreciation and interest on the investment.

—Salvador Gomez, Chief of Staff of the Department of Agriculture and Development, officially denied on the 1st the reports that Japanese subjects had bought lands in Lower California. His statement was issued on behalf of the Department in the absence of Pastor Rouaix, the Secretary of Commerce, Labor, and Agriculture. On the same day Esteban Cantu, Governor of Lower California, issued a statement that he had no knowledge whatever of the alleged pending sale of Lower California land by the California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company to a Japanese syndicate, except what he had gained from press reports.

—Sir James S. Meston, representative of India at the Imperial War Conference, reported that the estimated revenue from India during the financial year of 1919-1920 is £86,225,400, and it is believed there will be a surplus of £868,100 at the end of that period. Because of the high prices which prevail at present the British Government has decided to raise the minimum income liable to income tax in India from 1,000 rupees to 2,000 rupees. The principal feature in the expenditures contemplated during the coming year by the India Office is a provision for an appropriation of £24,000,000 for railroad building. There will also be large appropriations for education. India's control of raw materials places her in a position of exceptional strength.

Reconstruction

—Plans have been completed for the establishment of a permanent military school at Columbia University.

—In England Justice Brandeis, of the United States Supreme Court, has been put forward as the first President of Palestine.

—According to reports of the Railroad Administration wheat is being shipped to Europe at the rate of approximately four million bushels per week.

—It was announced on the 1st that by April 5 French troops to the number of 2,700,000 would

have been demobilized. This leaves 2,100,000 still under arms in the French Army.

—In pursuit of its policy to acquire a string of daily newspapers throughout the Northwest, the Nonpartisan League has launched a stock selling campaign for a daily newspaper to be established in Minnesota.

—Secretary of War Baker has indorsed Colonel Ansell's suggestions of improvement in court-martial law and procedure, and has authorized him to frame an administration bill embodying the needed legislation.

—On the arrival in New York of the New England Division, Colonel Edward L. Logan expressed himself as "absolutely opposed to universal military service," and as strongly in favor of a League of Nations.

—"This country more than any other, needs a campaign of education for the creation of hatred of war," said the Rev. J. W. Nixon, of Rochester Theological Seminary, in an address before a civic luncheon club in Minneapolis.

—It is reported on not very reliable authority that an International Communist Congress has opened its sessions in Moscow and that delegates are present from Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, and Austria.

—Credits of \$85,000,000 to France and \$25,000,000 to Italy were announced on the 8d by the Treasury. The total advanced to the Allies is \$9,008,999,840.75, of which France has received \$2,702,477,800 and Italy \$1,521,500,000.

—Warning of the spread of Bolshevism among the Negroes of the United States is contained in a report submitted to the members of the Union League Club in New York by the committee appointed to study the spread of Bolshevik doctrines in America.

—Lord Robert Cecil, the British authority on a League of Nations, met a committee from the International Socialist Conference recently held in Berne and received various amendments which the members of the committee desired to be included in the covenant.

—Organization of a council of soldiers, sailors, and marines to take active part in Chicago politics went forward in that city, in spite of advice given its leaders by Major General Leonard Wood that they avoid such organizations, says a United Press dispatch.

—All the Prussian district and provincial government school authorities have been notified by Herr Haenisch, the Minister of Religion and Education, that pictures of former Emperor William and the former Crown Prince may no longer be hung in the schoolroom.

—The Rand School of Social Science has issued a folder circular descriptive of the summer course for the coming season. Those who are interested

in the various courses of study presented may obtain information from Bertha H. Maily, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

—In the State of New York Governor Smith's Reconstruction Commission recommends the abolishment of military training for boys between 16 and 18 years, with the substitution of athletic training or games, and the discontinuance of the Military Training Commission.

—Thirty-eight convicted members of the I. W. W., including W. D. Haywood, imprisoned at Leavenworth for violation of the espionage act, were ordered admitted to bail on the 2d by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, pending a review of their case by that tribunal.

—The commission investigating the execution of Captain Charles Fryatt by the Germans in 1916 decided that the shooting of the sea captain did not violate the international law. The commission expressed regret at the rapidity with which the sentence of death was carried out.

—*The Review* is the name of "a weekly journal of political and general discussion," to be published for the first time on May 1. The paper will be edited by Fabian Franklin, formerly associate editor of the *New York Evening Post*, and Harold de Wolf Fuller, formerly editor of the *Nation*.

—A resolution demanding the withdrawal of all British troops in Russia, the raising of the blockade, the withdrawal of the Military Bill from Parliament and the liberation of conscientious objectors was adopted by acclamation on the 3d by a national conference under the auspices of the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party in London.

—The League to Enforce Peace has sent to President Wilson in Paris a list of 240 organizations in the various States indorsing the establishment of a League of Nations. The list was of those organizations whose messages were received in the first three weeks of March and represented only a small portion of those which have approved of the League.

—On the 31st the application for a rehearing of Eugene V. Debs's appeal from conviction and sentence to ten years' imprisonment for violating the Espionage Act was denied. On April 3 an application for respite preliminary to a petition for pardon was filed at the White House, to be referred to Attorney General Palmer. It was signed by Frank P. Walsh, Charles Edward Russell, and Allan Benson. Attorney General Palmer asserted on the 7th that Debs had filed no appeal either with the President or the Attorney General's office, and refused flatly to urge clemency for him until such application was made. The attorney general declared: "Debs was convicted not because of his political or economic views, but because he plainly violated the law of the land."

—"After 162 years of British Christian rule, the Indian nation is in a starving condition," was the assertion made by Dr. N. S. Hardiker, associate editor of *Young India*, in an address before the Friends of Irish Freedom in St. Louis. Only 1 per cent. of the 815 million people in India are able to speak English. "Over 150,000,000 people in India do not know what it means to have a square meal."

—Sir Eric Geddes, the British Minister of Transportation, says the English railways are in a semi-paralyzed financial condition. The Government must continue under the war-control act to operate the roads for two years more and to pay the rental to the owners. If returned to their private owners on their present bases of rates and cost they could earn neither dividend nor interest, and most of them could not even earn their operating expenses.

—The Philippine Islands through a delegation of forty prominent Filipinos headed by Manuel Quezon, President of the Filipino Senate, on the 4th asked for complete independence. They presented a memorial from the Filipino Legislature to Secretary of War Baker, who assured them of his agreement with their views, and read to them a letter written by President Wilson in which he expressed the hope that they would gain the desired end.

—At an April 1st meeting of the Board of Aldermen of New York Alderman Beckerman, Socialist, declared: "I regard the present Russian Government as the highest form of democracy that the world has ever seen. In the Soviet Government no exploiters and no grafters can exist. I am proud to be classed as a Bolshevik and one who favors the Soviet form of government." Alderman Squiers, Republican, asserted, by way of retort, that "the legal limitation of the workday is contrary to the principles of man and the laws of God."

—The Farmers' National Council, of which Senator F. Baker is president and George P. Hampton managing director, Washington, D. C., announces as its legislative program for the coming Congress: A bill for government ownership and democratic operation of railroads; government operation of ships constructed during the war; government development of the natural resources of the country, and cooperation with the United Mine Workers for nationalization of mines. The Council urges that the recommendation of the Federal Trade Commission regarding the packing plants be made the permanent policy of Congress. Carl Brannin (headquarters, Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.), manager of the recent Singletax campaign in Missouri, as executive secretary of the Farmers' National Singletax League, will have charge of the work of extending knowledge of the Singletax among farmers.

Public Welfare

—Nebraska has repealed her fourteen-year-old Anti-Cigarette law.

—A bill has been introduced in the Wisconsin Legislature to permit cities to distribute milk to their people.

—More than 56,000,000 acres have been added to the country's aggregate crop acreage in the last ten years.

—The Board of Education of New York on the 7th adopted a resolution forbidding the use of the city's schools in future to the Teachers' Union.

—Information from La Crosse, Wis., states that 35 local grocery dealers met and decided to form an organization to purchase their goods together.

—By a vote on the 2d of 1,493 to 1,152 the voters of Fargo, North Dakota, approved the issue of \$150,000 bonds for a municipal light plant.

—Guaranteed Government prices for wheat show a wide variation. Australia is guaranteeing 97 cents and Switzerland \$3.16 per bushel for the 1920 harvest.

—A joint committee of the Board of Estimate and Board of Education is to study the readjustment of teachers' salaries in the public schools of New York City.

—Oakland Bay oyster beds owned by the State of Washington are expected to produce 5,000 sacks of oysters this year, as against 2,500 sacks, its greatest previous yield.

—The city of Seattle on April 1 became the owner and operator of the complete Stone-Webster traction system in that city. The purchase involved \$15,000,000.

—The purchase of the properties of the Detroit (Mich.) United Railway within the city by the city of Detroit has been arranged for at a compromise price of \$81,500,000.

—It takes a minimum of \$50 a month to provide a family of two adults and three children with sufficient nourishment, at present prices, according to Miss Aubyn Chinn, food expert of the Department of Agriculture.

—Increased use by American farmers of tractors is shown in reports from manufacturers, estimating that approximately 315,000 of the machines will be produced this year. The estimate is more than double the number manufactured last year.

—Twenty-nine racial groups of forty-two nationalities, represented by more than 5,000 men and women at the Hippodrome, pledged loyalty to the land of their adoption in an "Americans All" rally in anticipation of the coming Victory Loan campaign.

—In the Legislature of Kansas there is an active fight to give the cities State authority to own and operate ice plants for furnishing ice to people of the cities and the surrounding communities. Twenty cities in the State are said to be ready to acquire ice plants.

—Food prices continue to climb in the warring countries, according to the Department of Agriculture. Maximum retail prices in Vienna as established by the Austrian food bureau show a range of \$1.84 to \$2.58 per pound for first-class beef. Sausages sell at from \$2.58 to \$5.99 per pound.

—Sweeping and emphatic support of public ownership is given by the labor parties now being organized in all parts of the country. The platform of the New York Labor Party contains the following declaration: "The public utilities taken over by the Government as a war necessity should be permanently retained."

—Swimming pools, playgrounds, and new leisure time activities have become a part of the play life of boys and girls in many communities as a result of the second drive of the year, says the Children's Bureau report—a drive for the sort of recreation that makes for a stronger young America. From sixteen States the establishment of new playgrounds has been reported.

—The Chicago Water Works System, which has always been cited by municipal authorities as evidence of their success, furnished another strong argument in the report recently furnished to the City Council. During the year 1918 the water system had an excess revenue over expenses of \$3,008,200. The receipts were \$7,625,142, while it required only \$4,621,941 to operate.

—The Workmen's Theater, organized by the United Labor Education Committee of New York, is to be opened in August. It is planned, later, to build a playhouse "where the humiliating machinery of the commercial theater (with its boxes, galleries, side-entrances, etc.) will be eliminated." A membership, which will entitle the holder to admission to three plays, is to cost \$1.50. Tickets will be drawn by lot.

—The relation between poverty and illiteracy is shown in figures published by the Children's Bureau and based upon its experience in five States. More than a fourth of the children between 14 and 16 years of age to whom work certificates were issued could not write their own names. Only 3 per cent. of the colored children and 4 per cent. of the white children had reached the eighth grade in school.

—Farmers' movements throughout the country have gone on record almost unanimously against all private monopoly of utilities. The National Nonpartisan League has been, since its inception, in favor of public ownership of the great utilities.

Proof of faith is strikingly furnished in the progressive legislative program recently enacted by the State of North Dakota, where the League has control of the State Government.

—To meet a great need for capable workers in the new and uncrowded profession of play or recreation, and one of great promise for women, Columbia University is coöperating with the National League of Women Workers in offering a course in organization and leadership of recreational and community activities for working girls. The course will be given at Columbia University, New York City, May 12 to June 14, 1919.

—Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, on "The Single Tax in Operation" appearing in the March issue of *La Follette's Magazine*, writes that Queensland, Australia, has provided for the exemption of all improvements, and other States as well as the Federal Government are moving steadily in the same direction. He further reports that in Ontario, Canada, three hundred municipalities have petitioned for power to reduce taxes on improvements.

—There has been organized in San Francisco the Consumers' Coöperative League, an organization which has behind it Secretary of the State Federation of Labor Sharrenberg and Rudolph Spreckels, a member of the famous sugar family. The object of the new organization is to cover the city with a network of coöperative stores, putting the retail distribution of foodstuffs and other necessities directly into the hands of the consuming public.

—According to *Commerce Reports* the coöperative movement in Russia is very strong, and there is among the "coöperators" a sort of free masonry, as they express it. The organizations are exceedingly democratic and are nonpolitical. They handle their business well, but their great difficulty is that experienced by all business concerns in Russia—the lack of educated people to fill the various positions effectively. Nevertheless, the movement should occupy a greater and greater place in Russian life, as it is a training school of constructive democracy.

—The American Minister to Sweden has cabled the following comparison in food prices in Moscow to the State Department:

	1914	1919
Black bread per lb..	1.4 cents	\$1.58
Black flour.....	2.8 cents	1.69
White flour.....	3.7 cents	3.39
Potatoes	1.2 cents	.68
Milk per pint.....	7.4 cents	1.14
Butter	23.2 cents	11.29
Sugar	5.1 cents	6.77
Tea	92.9 cents	14.67
Cheese	9.3 cents	8.46

Dog flesh is selling at 78 cents per pound and horse meat at \$1.69. The prices quoted are per Russian pound (about 14½ oz. avoirdupois).

Suffrage

—After a trial of eight months the experiment of having a newspaper edited, managed and printed entirely by women has proved a failure, and it was announced that hereafter the *Evening Union*, owned by Governor Edge, would be produced by men.

—The National American Woman Suffrage Association, which by action of its convention in St. Louis, has organized within its ranks a League of Women Voters, put itself emphatically on record in behalf of equal industrial rights and opportunities for women wage earners.

—In Washington the teachers' unions have engaged counsel and are preparing to fight in the courts the case of Miss Alice Wood, who was suspended from her duties as a teacher because, in answer to a question, she said that she thought "the Soviet Government in Russia was better for Russia than was the absolutism of the Czar."

—At the convention in St. Louis the National American Woman Suffrage Association, representing two million women, passed the following: Resolved, That we call upon Congress to establish the Woman-in-Industry Service as a permanent women's bureau in the United States Department of Labor, with adequate funds for continuance and extension of its work.

Labor

—A gain of 88,000 members within one year is the achievement of the Swedish Federation of Labor.

—One thousand crippled soldiers will be given employment by Henry Ford in his plants in Highland Park and Dearborn.

—The Soviet Government has established a labor university in Moscow for the purpose of teaching all branches of social economics.

—The report of the committee on international labor legislation to the Peace Conference includes the draft of a convention creating a permanent International Labor Commission.

—Public school teachers of Grand Rapids have announced their intention of organizing and becoming affiliated with the local Trades and Labor Council and the American Federation of Labor.

—As a result of a referendum conducted by the State Federation of Labor Idaho trade unionists have voted to assess themselves \$1 for the purpose of organizing the men and women wage workers in all branches of industry.

—Modern machinery will fill the gap left by the exodus of foreign labor from the United States as the result of more peaceful conditions in Europe, according to E. A. Williams, Jr., President of the Garford Motor Truck Company.

—One of the largest demonstrations of labor was staged in Pittsburgh, Pa., on the 1st, when 5,000 miners celebrated the twenty-first anniversary of the establishment of the 8-hour day by the United Mine Workers of America.

—The commercial telegraphers of Washington met and denounced the Postmaster General for saying he had to raise telegraph rates to meet increased pay to employes. They maintained that the cause was incompetency in the department.

—In its new constitution the provincial Federation of Labor of Nova Scotia declares for a 36-hour work week for this province. It also favors a system of taxation whereby land held for speculative purposes will be assessed at the owner's selling price.

—Two thousand union machinists and molders employed in nine plants in Madison, Wis., walked out April 1, when employers refused to put into effect the decisions of the War Labor Board, granting an 8-hour day, the right to organize, and increased wages.

—The Firemen's and Seamen's Union of Sydney, N. S. W., won a complete victory over the Australian ship-owners, who at first refused to meet the seamen's demand for increased wages and insurance for service in influenza-infected zones. The strike began early in January and lasted three weeks.

—Concessions all along the line to the workers have resulted in the calling off of the general strike in Barcelona, Spain. The workers were successful in having a minimum wage established, in compelling the Government to demobilize immediately all strikers called to the colors, and in securing a pledge that employers will adopt no reprisals.

—In 1917 the Government paid the Seattle yards \$145 per ton for ships. At this figure the builders were able to pay an increase of \$1.75 per man per day. This amounted to \$7.50 a ton, or \$66,000 per ship of 8800 tons. In July, 1918, the builders were paid \$167.50 per ton, and admitted that the cost of construction, covering everything, was \$1,000,000 per ship. An 8800-ton ship at \$167.50 per ton brought the builder \$1,474,000. Taking the cost of construction from this amount there was left a profit of \$474,000. If the rates asked by the Metal Trades Council had been paid the builders would have had a net profit of \$408,000 on last summer's figures. The builders are getting \$186 per ton, which for an 8800-ton ship means a price of \$1,636,800; the cost of construction of these ships is \$1,350,000. This allows a profit of \$286,000. If the full demands of the men were met the builders would still have a net profit of \$200,800 per ship. The Skinner and Eddy corporation sold two ships to Japanese interests for the sum of \$5,000,000. The cost of each ship was \$1,000,000, giving the firm a net profit on that one deal of \$8,000,000.

Transportation

—Recent reports of the Director General of Railroads show that economies amounting to over \$117,858,000 were effected in 1918 by reason of unified operation under public control.

—According to figures of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, 2,952,842 persons traveled on its subway and elevated lines March 24th, the largest traffic in the history of the system.

—Passenger rates to Alaska have been raised 20 per cent. A ticket from Seattle to Seward now costs \$71.28 instead of \$56.70, or a difference of \$14.58. From Seattle to Skagway the fare has been raised from \$37.50 to \$45.

—The railroads showed a net Federal income of \$19,850,854 during January, 1919, as compared with a deficit of \$8,570,299 in January, 1918, according to official Government figures. The standard return applicable to January is \$55,381,018.

—Some figures on railroad capitalization per mile will be interesting, in view of the probable nationalization of the British railways. In 1918 the average capitalization per mile in the United States was \$65,861, France \$150,439, Germany \$120,049, and the United Kingdom \$274,027.

—While the Grand Trunk Railway Co., now in receiver's hands, has refused the offer of the government of an annuity on the ground that it is inadequate, the Canadian Pacific had a banner year. Its balance to the good was \$39,548,417, while its surplus, reserve, etc., rose to \$409,822,180 and its assets to \$1,055,278,514. Its sales of agricultural land totaled \$15,875,996.

—The Interstate Commerce Commission has reported that the casualties on American railroads during 1917 resulted in the death of 9,567 persons and the injury of 70,970. During the previous year 9,476 lives were lost and 66,982 persons were injured. Accidents on grade crossings of steam railroads numbered 3,673, in which 1,777 persons were killed and 4,356 injured.

—In a report recently filed by Mayor Fossett of Spokane, Wash., touching the railway problem, the Mayor suggested that the city enter the transportation business by buying 150 motor buses. Mayor Fossett advises against purchase by the City of Spokane of its street railways, because he believes that trackless motor vehicles are the coming means of street transportation.

—On February 1 the total amount of mortgage loans closed since the establishment of the Federal Land Banks was \$168,218,981, numbering 71,204 borrowers. During January 5,678 applications were received asking for \$22,008,095. During the same period 5,138 loans were approved, amounting to \$16,131,558. All together 173,644 have applied for loans under this system, aggregating \$447,729,569.

—That any just complaint concerning railroad service will be heeded by the Government Railway Administration, has been proved by J. T. Sanders of Sioux Falls, S. D., a member of the Public Ownership League. His complaint of delays and failure to adjust claims to the Director General brought immediate action. The matter was referred to the Regional Director with instructions to send a representative to Sioux Falls to go over the matter with the shippers.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE PUBLIC, A Journal of Democracy, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1919.

Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Stanley Bowmar, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of THE PUBLIC, A Journal of Democracy, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and business managers are:

Publisher and Managing Editor—

Stanley Bowmar, 116 Saratoga Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.

Editors—

Stoughton Cooley, 122 E. 37th St., New York, N. Y.

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2. That the owners are:

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

STANLEY BOWMAR,

Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1919.

MABEL RHINEHART.

(My commission expires Feb. 11, 1921.)

City of New York, No. 25.

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THE PUBLIC, 122 East 37th Street, New York

Official Bulletin

National Urban League

"Not Alms But Opportunity"

Every other week, the National Urban League Special Bulletin will appear on this page

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7. Investigate conditions of city life as a basis for practical work.
8. Encourage organizations interested in improving community conditions to include Negroes in their programs of work.

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