

1919

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

April 26, 1919

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Volume XXII

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Number 1099

"EVERY civilized nation in the world," said Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the *Nation*, upon his return from Europe, "is dissatisfied with its government. There is something of magic about the Soviet idea. The people have got to see what is in that idea." Others besides Mr. Villard have noticed that the people want to see what is in that idea. There is mystery, doubt, and confusion surrounding the situation in Russia, but that does not lessen the interest of the people outside of that country. Stripped of its non-essentials, the Soviet idea of government is a blunt expression of the rule of the working class. It contemplates a society of producers; not necessarily manual laborers, but all who render service to the community,—teachers, writers, artists, scientists as well as farmers, carpenters, and train men. To the ideal thus put forth no broad-minded person can object; for the reverse of producers is non-producers, and no person laying claim to the title of democrat can contend that in a society in which all wealth is produced by human effort any should live who put forth no effort.

BUT there may be a difference of opinion as to what is productive effort, and who render service. Just as some of the original Bolsheviks who limited the Soviet to laborers in their narrow sense of the term have come to recognize service to one's fellows as labor in the broader sense of the term, so others would add managers, tradesmen, and capitalists. All application of principles must take into consideration the facts of nature and human nature. Political economy is at best an approximation of results, but there are nevertheless recognized laws that operate in a Bolshevik society no less than in a capitalistic society. The Bolsheviks

have cleaned house by throwing everything out of the window at the beginning and taking back what is afterward found necessary; whereas the democrat cleans house by throwing out rubbish as he comes to it. The best way to prevent the wholesale discarding of the household furniture that should never have been thrown away, is to begin now to throw away the things that never should have been left to clutter up the premises.

LYNCING is the blackest blot on America's escutcheon. During the twenty-three years from 1895 to 1917 there were over 2,000 lynchings in the United States. We are a law-abiding people in the main, accepting the will of the majority in all things, save mob violence. Now that pitiless publicity will be our lot as an active participant in world affairs, it is well that we see what is needful to be done to bring our practice more nearly in conformity with our ideals. With this in view a call has been issued for a conference in New York May 5 and 6 to take concerted action against lynching. Among the 120 names of men and women who have signed the call are such as Charles Evans Hughes, Edward Osgood Brown, James H. Dillard, Cardinal Gibbons, David Starr Jordan, Julian W. Mack, A. Mitchell Palmer, Louis F. Post, Elihu Root, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Moorfield Storey, Henry Van Dyck, Frank P. Walsh, and L. Hollingsworth Wood. This conference should be so well attended that its very size will be impressive.

IT would be amusing, if it were not so tragic, to see the ado New Yorkers are making over high rents. Committees are being ap-

pointed, public officials are interesting themselves, and appeals have been made to the State and city governments. But thus far there has been much bleating and little wool. The landlords are execrated, the shortage of houses is recognized, and the heavy cost of building is plain. But no one seems to have a plan that will work. Should rents go up to the point aimed at by the landlords their profits will be such that building will be encouraged. But if the various individuals and organizations succeed in preventing these rises there will be no encouragement to build more houses, and the shortage will continue. The only proposal thus far that has even a semblance of sanity is that made by the president of the City and Suburban Homes Company, Allan Robinson, who suggested that the taxes on new buildings be remitted for eleven years to equalize the higher cost of building. If the exemption were made perpetual there would be some hope that houses would ultimately overtake demand.

THE proposal to exempt improvements from taxation is altogether different from that made by the land owners who tried to have the New York Legislature limit the tax on real estate to two per cent. This, as the Tax Reform Association states in its report, would relieve land owners but not house users. "To the extent," says the report, "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." The New York *Tribune*, speaking of the proposed limit of two per cent., says that it would give "something like \$360,000,000" to land owners. To free land from taxation will not make any more land. It will only send up the price and make it harder to get. But to free houses from taxation will make more houses, as Mr. Robinson says, and make them easier to get.

THE carelessness, not to say stupidity, of some public officials is enough to make a good protectionist despair of his countrymen. Had a man less faithful than Senator Hitchcock been on watch, there is no telling what

would have become of a Nebraska industry. But the Senator discovered in time that it was proposed to take at least part of the pay for food sent to Germany in potash. Not that we do not need potash,—we need it very much. One of the hardships of the war lay in the failure to get German potash for use on our farms. But during the war potash deposits have been worked in Nebraska and in California. It is reported that 100,000 tons have been stored because the farmers refused to pay the price asked. And then some blundering official heedlessly undertook to bring in German potash in exchange for food. The worst of it is that there is no law to prevent German potash from coming into the country, and Congress is not in session. It is to be hoped that those Government officials who are searching for oil and gas in new territory will have the presence of mind not to betray the fact if they happen upon rich potash deposits, lest their discovery lead to the ruination of the Nebraska and California industries.

MUCH has been said about the enormous income of the farmer because of the high price of farm products. But, though this is true to a degree, the gain has been far short of what it is popularly supposed to be. The *Monthly Crop Reporter* for March, published by the Department of Agriculture, gives some interesting figures of what the farmer sells and what he buys. Thus an acre of wheat in 1909, when the price ranged from \$1.03 to \$1.60 a bushel, would buy 17 axes. In 1918 the same acre of wheat, with a price ranging from \$2.17 to \$2.34 a bushel, would buy only sixteen axes. That acre of wheat would buy in 1909, 46 brooms, in 1918, 29; of dishpans it would buy 48 in the former year and 36 in the latter. It would buy the same amount of flour, 2½ barrels, in either year. If expended for calico, it would have bought 258 yards in 1909, and only 184 yards in 1918. If given for harrows it would shrink from 1.4 to 1.2; for horse blankets from 6.9 in the earlier year to 6.4 in the later year; for lard it would have bought 117 pounds in 1909 and 92 pounds in 1918. Of only a few articles would the acre of wheat buy more in 1918 than in 1909. One of these is mortgages. It is to be hoped that the farmer made liberal purchases of them.

AT a meeting of the Harvard Liberal Club of Boston to consider the Lawrence strike some very grave charges were made against the mill owners and city authorities. Most astounding was the statement of Judge George W. Anderson, who said that it was the deliberate policy of the mills to mix races, and never have more than fifteen per cent. of any one race in a mill. The more race hatred of each other, he said, the better for the mill's purpose, for they are less likely to get together and organize. There were thirty-one nationalities among the mills. Here is a chance for Americanization work. But no mistake should be made as to the subjects for treatment. The great number of races gathered in Lawrence need sympathy, guidance, and instruction. But the mill owners who brought them together—in many cases in defiance of the contract labor law—are far more in need of the spirit of America. Americanize the foreign born by all means, but do not forget the native born, who would take advantage of the other's necessities.

LUMBER manufacturers have strange standards of courtesy, and even stranger theories of economics. The ill-developed heckling of the Director General of Railroads at the Chicago Convention indicates that producers of the lumber group have adopted the same bullying tactics toward the Government that they have toward their own employes. Mr. Hines holds that steel is too high and that the Railroad Administration will not buy until the price goes down. He is justified in feeling that the price agreed upon by the Industrial Board is not a fair one. The price of steel has risen out of all proportion to the cost of other materials. Nevertheless, Mr. Hines was told that it was his duty to accept the agreed price, because if the impression were allowed to get abroad that steel prices were exorbitant similar conclusions might be drawn with regard to lumber and other materials. The argument, in a nutshell, is this: People must be discouraged from complaining against highwaymen, for if an impression is allowed to get abroad that gentlemen of the road are not entitled to their stealings, people may draw the same conclusions with regard to the receipts of honest merchants. THE PUBLIC holds no

brief for those who complain of the petty shortcomings of business men, but submits that any industry that cannot subsist unless the Government itself is robbed might be benefited by an inquiry by the Federal Trade Commission.

MR. FRANK HITCHCOCK is reported in France for the purpose of finding a soldier candidate for President in 1920. He might have saved himself the trouble. The elements which gave us forty years of soldier dominance after the Civil War have disappeared and will not return. The persistency of soldier candidates for two decades did not come from the popularity of military leaders as such. Soldiers did not become politicians; but under our volunteer system it was very easy for the politician to become a soldier, and commissions of high rank were given to persons prominent in political life. These were later used as political assets. There has been very little of that procedure in this war. Aside from the fact that the modern soldier is rarely led by an officer from his own home town the gap between private and officer has been widened. If we are to judge by the Canadian experience, the political leaders of our soldiers will be men from the ranks and not military heroes.

GENERAL WOOD'S testimony in the court martial investigation is illuminating in so far as it reveals a humane but distinctly military attitude. But it is useless as a contribution to the solution of the court-martial problem. The General would retain the present system, but increase the safeguards against brutality and severe sentences. His position is analogous to that of those who would solve the temperance problem by manufacturing pure whiskey. The real question at issue is whether the administration of justice is an executive or a judicial function,—whether policemen are to try cases or take the accused before a jury. The commanding officer is simply a Government foreman with extraordinary powers over men who have surrendered the right to strike or quit. If minor breaches of discipline occur, it may be desirable for the sake of expediency to vest the disciplinary power in the hands of the foreman, just as we vest similar authority in police magistrates in petty criminal cases. But where a crime is charged

in which the defendant is liable to loss of life or serious loss of property, no fair people will tolerate a system that does not contemplate a trial by jury. The question is not whether the administration of justice by officers is humane. It is whether they have any business administering it at all.

FEW powers of Congressmen have been more abused than the franking privilege. Representative Alvan T. Fuller says in the *Searchlight* for May that not less than twenty to thirty tons of mail matter are franked out of the House Office Building daily, which is increased thirty to forty tons about election time. One Congressman, Mr. Fuller says, sent out 750,000 pieces of literature. A political party mailed 55,000,000 speeches during a campaign, and employed at times 500 to 600 Government clerks. One man sent out 640,000 parcels of books, which at the regular rate of postage would have amounted to \$300,000. Yet postmasters strive to make the department self-supporting by charging legitimate business. Postmaster General Hitchcock suggested as a remedy for the abuse that all matter be sent out under stamps, which members could get only by requisition like other supplies. There is no more reason why Congressmen should have free postage from the Postal Department than that army mules should have free fodder from the Department of Agriculture. And even if free fodder were given the mules they should not be allowed to waste it by uselessly trampling it underfoot.

IT is a far cry from Texas to Washington, but there is an intimate connection nevertheless between Colonel Ansell's fight against unfair courts-martial and the demand of the Texas Legislature for the principle of promotion from the ranks as a part of the permanent military policy of the United States. The presence of a caste spirit among officers is not accidental. The gulf between the ablest ranker and the most blundering of officers is created by law. In earlier days it was the custom to purchase commissions in the army and navy much as memberships in clubs are purchased today. Indeed, a regiment was a club and social lines of cleavage were preserved then as now by making the entrance fees high enough to exclude social undesirables.

THIS crude method of our grandfathers has been superseded by false educational tests. Attainments inaccessible to 95 per cent. of the people of America are demanded. These attainments are speedily forgotten by the young officer, and often bear no more relation to his military duties than a knowledge of the classics would bear to the duties of a carpenter or a machinist. The setting up of non-military educational requirements really constitutes a social and not an educational test. The theory that the officer is a separate creation would vanish if promotion were exclusively from the ranks. Brutality would be measurably lessened, there would be a kindlier spirit between officer and ranker, and the efficiency of the army marvelously increased through the use of all instead of part of its brains. It is as sound policy today as it was in the time of the ambitious and warlike First Consul for every soldier to carry a Marshal's baton in his knapsack.

HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD tells this story illustrating race solidarity: Jemima is an excellent laundress. Every Monday she appears at her mistress' back door for the weekly bundle from a family of five. The other week word was sent to her not to come. "The three children are down with scarlet fever," the message ran, "and if you do our wash this week your children may catch it." But Jemima appeared as usual—to say that it didn't matter for the reason that her children had just had the fever and were getting along "fine." She got the bundle and her mistress got a flood of light. She perceived that Jemima and her children were fellow folk whose health would constantly influence the health of her own. National Urban League for Social Service Among Negroes is trying to make us all, white and black, see this fact, and, in addition, to give to the Negroes a social service which other agencies provide for the whites. Every other week they will use a page of THE PUBLIC to tell of their work and the tremendous need of it. We commend to our readers their message and the work of the organization back of it. They represent one of the many movements that must not be overlooked in the progression toward democracy that is fundamentally sound.

The Paris Conference

PACE negotiations at Paris have passed the first stage. A semi-official announcement is made that the delegates have reached an agreement upon the main points at issue, and that they have perfected machinery in the League of Nations Covenant for adjusting such matters as cannot now be settled, or that may arise in the course of the general readjustment.

Definite details of the terms of the treaty have not been announced, but unofficially it is stated that Alsace-Lorraine is to be returned to France, and the Saar Valley coal region is to be held by France for a term of years. The northern half of Schleswig is to be restored to Denmark, and the Polish districts of West Prussia, Posen, and Silesia are to go to Poland. Reparation is to be made for property destroyed, and territory wasted, and ships sunk, together with pensions for the wounded and families of those killed. Five billion dollars is to be paid within two years, and the balance of an undetermined sum, estimated at twenty billion dollars or more, is to be paid later as forthcoming data may indicate. Germany is to be disarmed and forbidden to have more than 100,000 troops. The left bank of the Rhine is to be unfortified.

The German delegates are to come to Paris on the 25th to receive the treaty, after which they will be given fifteen days for consideration. They may ask questions as to the meaning of the terms, but are not to be permitted to discuss the treaty with the Allies. Their answer, according to current reports, must be returned by May 10. Treaties with the other Central Powers are supposed to be nearing completion. But many things that otherwise would have been included in the present treaties will be delegated to the League of Nations provided for in the present treaty.

It is now apparent that much of the reported friction and misunderstanding among the delegates at the Conference has been mere gossip sent out of Paris by sensation mongers and by those seeking political advantage through discord. Premier Lloyd George, addressing the British Parliament on the 16th, announced a complete understanding among the Allies regarding the terms of peace that Germany must

accept. This is in accord with statements made by President Wilson.

Speculation is now rife as to whether or not Germany will sign the treaty. Indications are that she will. The blockade of German ports, and the absolute dependence of the country upon outside aid, would mean anarchy if resistance were attempted. The Ebert Government appears to have demonstrated that the predominant force within the country is for law and order, and for accepting any terms that will permit a return to peace and progress.

The Railroad Problem

PUBLIC ownership has been accepted in principle by many persons who hesitate as to methods of administration. The charge is made, and widely believed, that government operation tends to destroy individual initiative and discourage wholesome ambition. In short, it tends toward bureaucracy and stagnation. For this reason, while these persons accept the claim that railroads are public highways and should be owned by the public the same as streets and other highways, they doubt whether government operation of railroads would produce more good than evil.

Two answers suggest themselves to this objection. First, the efficiency in all monopolies is less than in competitive business; and second, the new order is likely to build up a better personnel in public life. Americans have been so absorbed in subduing a great continent that they have left politics to the politicians. But now that the cruder work of commerce has been done politics is likely to be leavened by a better class of men and women.

British labor also is wrestling with this question. While nationalization of both mines and railroads has been determined upon by the labor forces, three methods of operation are under consideration: Direct operation by the public, joint operation by capitalists and men, and operation by the guild. The latter method is suggestive of the plan submitted by the railroad employes of this country, and presented on another page in this issue. The Railroad Brotherhoods' proposal is that the Government buy the roads from the present owners by means of low interest bearing bonds, and put them under the joint control of the Government and the

operating forces of the roads, on a fixed basis by which the profit will be limited to five per cent., one-half to go to the Government for the liquidation of the bonds and the other half to be distributed among the operatives on a basis calculated to stimulate the men to the highest endeavor.

It would seem that this plan embodies a principle by means of which both the men and the public will fare better than they have heretofore. The plan is worthy of careful consideration. Should the proposal of the Brotherhoods prove to be self-adjusting, as claimed by its sponsors, making the earnings of the operatives depend directly upon the service rendered the public, it may be found to contain the germ from which the real solution of the railroad problem is to come.

Steel or Steal

A FIGHT can always be expected when either steel or coal is involved. A year ago last summer when the principal coal producers in the United States, with the acquiescence of Secretary Lane, volunteered to raise the price, Secretary Baker saved the situation by refusing to pay. He carried his fight to the President and won. Steel, which is the twin brother to coal in our industrial life, appears to have involved us in a similar episode. The Industrial Board, a Government organization functioning under Secretary Redfield, but including representatives of other departments, has agreed to certain "reductions" in the price of steel. The Director General of Railroads, emulating Mr. Baker, refuses to pay the new prices on the ground that the reductions are insufficient and that prices are still exorbitant. Since the Railroad Administration is the principal customer for steel, Mr. Hines seems to hold the trump card.

The principal difficulty in this case, as in the coal case, seems to be that the Government itself did not fix the price, but permitted the principal sellers to do so themselves. The reductions leave prices still 80 per cent. above the ten-year pre-war average. Judge Gary points to certain facts in extenuation of the present level, and says that the present wages make up 85 per cent. of the cost of making steel and that they have advanced 169 per cent.

Probably Judge Gary can justify these figures, if he goes back to some remote period in the Christian era. Nothing in recent history will justify the statement, however. Since 1914 the wages paid per ton have risen from \$18.01 to \$32.68, or 81 per cent. The lowest ton wage paid since 1901 occurred in 1905. Taking this as a basis, we are still 35 per cent. short of Judge Gary's figures.

The question at issue is not whether Judge Gary pays high wages or low wages. It is simply a question of the amount of profit he is making and how much the steel corporation can afford to dispense with. Last year the United States Steel Corporation's total profits were \$36 per ton on steel, or about two and one half times the total wage advance in the last four years. The average profit on a ton of steel is 10 per cent. more than the entire labor cost. Cannot Judge Gary economize and let us have a small share of the surplus?

Co-operative Management

THE International Harvester Company appears to have adopted a scheme based upon the British plan for Whitley Councils. It is a hopeful sign in so far as it reflects the feeling among the employing interests for more amicable industrial relations. When a concern as large as the Harvester Company adopts a plan to give workers representation in the management of the industry, it is proof that industry is not infected by the fatuity exhibited by a New York banker at a recent banquet when he spoke of the division of the product between labor and intelligence.

The Whitley plan of a national organization in each industry to work out co-operatively the problems of labor and capital is excellent, but the point made by British workers is well taken, nevertheless. Production and privilege are so interwoven at times that a complete *entente cordiale* between employer and employee is impossible. In so far as the employer is a producer the worker can coöperate. But privilege fattens at the expense of production, and there can be no coöperation.

Modern industry has become so complex that frequently the monopolist of raw material is the manufacturer of wealth as well. The steel trust, which performs a beneficent service in the

production of steel, also performs a very evil one in withholding ore lands from use. It both aids and hinders production. How can there be coöperation between labor and capital till capital has freed itself from its burdensome yoke-fellow? Nearly seven hundred thousand coal miners in Great Britain have explained the situation lucidly: "We recognize the fact that were we to deal with our present employers and to secure from them shorter hours and a higher wage, the result would be an increased price of coal throughout England. We further recognize this increased cost of coal would be reflected in the cost of living, as it always has been so eaten up in the past, and we therefore ask for nationalization of the mines in order that we may actually keep the advance we demand."

Wars Are Legal and Illegal

THAT Germany should pay for the wanton damages her rulers in her name have inflicted on the civilized world is a matter of common justice. The assessment of these damages is conditioned by questions of the general welfare of Europe. Not all the resources of the continent could make good all the losses direct and indirect for which the Kaiser, as agent of a merciless clique, largely of his own choosing, was directly responsible.

But in considering these injuries we find a very narrow legal distinction and an imperfect moral one between war damages in general and wanton injuries in particular. There is a corresponding distinction between restoration and retribution. Under present conditions the one is necessary, the other virtually impossible.

It must be admitted that under international law as it stands war has been sanctioned as a national enterprise, providing that certain rules are observed. The effort to govern war by rule is one cause of the relative failure of international law in the present world crisis. To reduce warfare to a system is to legalize it, and this effort inures to the benefit of the most unscrupulous belligerent. For no penalty for law-breaking can be enforced unless the neutral world unites to do it. It is war-making itself which must be placed under the ban. A wanton declaration of war followed by invasion must in the future leave no nations neutral.

In the present crisis it will be found as easy to abolish war as a means of settling disputes as to restrict it by humanitarian measures. Wherever a nation is armed to the teeth its "war-hawks" will find reason for using its armament. A league of nations must be an agreement of self-restraint else it will degenerate into the old fatal "Balance of Power," which means a constant effort on each side to keep ahead of the other in the matter of weapons of destruction.

The world-sin of Germany is that she accepted war-making as honorable because legal, and that, therefore, the end justified the means, necessity once under way knowing no law.

Mandatory Governments

CRITICS who have clamored for a League Government with teeth in it have overlooked the power that lies in public opinion. Nations that may be assigned mandatory duties over partially developed races or colonies will be obliged to discharge their trust in a new spirit of political liberty. To administer the affairs of another people under conditions that will be subject to criticism of all nations will necessitate a course far different from that practiced by countries that considered themselves free to do as they pleased with their own.

It will be necessary for nations ruling subject nationalities to set them in the way of securing independence or of enjoying liberty as members of a federation. There are many Irelands to placate. India, Egypt, Corea, Porto Rico, and the Philippines are all cases that come up when self-determination is mentioned.

Political adjustments in these countries must be to the satisfaction of their peoples, or they will form a contrast to the mandatory countries that are subject to international opinion.

England has done more perhaps than any other nation to establish law and order throughout the world. She has done more for her colonies and for the subject races that have come under her sway. The spirit that has kept alive her missionary societies has run through her political institutions and kept them within the bounds more than the governments of most nations. Yet England is today embarrassed by opposition in Ireland, in India, and in Egypt.

In every instance England's trouble comes from the same cause—lack of trust in the people. She gave self-government to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and they have developed into faithful members of the Empire. She has withheld this from Ireland, India, and Egypt only to reap trouble.

The United States had to use large forces to subdue the Filipinos, and after the military arm had broken down opposition, there followed passive resistance for years until the Jones bill was passed, giving the people of the Islands local autonomy, and preparing them for independence. Since then there has been ever-increasing accord between the two countries.

The same experience will follow in England's relations with her subject nationalities. But the advantage under the new order will be that the whole world will have an interest in every part, and all nations exercising power will be as sharply under the judgment of other nations as the States of our Union are under the judgment of the United States. Instead of exploiting colonies and subject races, it will be to the direct advantage of the mandatory power to win the good opinion of the world in order to derive any satisfaction from their political relations. When great nations have to win the good will of the world, they will not dare to misuse their power.

The Shrinking Dollar

FOR many years we have had in the United States a race between wages and the cost of living. But it has been an unequal race, for one runs while the other walks. Prices are adjusted daily and wages, as a general rule, only at long intervals.

Thus an employer and his men agree upon a rate of wages, say, \$5.00 per day. At the time of the contract both believe it to be fair, but inside of six months a new quarrel breaks out, and the men come to the employer demanding more wages. The employer thinks he is dealing with a very unreasonable set of men. The men themselves feel that the employer has no sympathy with them or with their problems. As a matter of fact, neither is to blame, for the fact is that the agreement of six months ago is no longer a fair one.

What the employes had in mind when they agreed to accept \$5.00 was not that they were working for \$5.00 in money, but for \$5.00 worth of purchasing power—food, clothing and shelter. But the cost of living advances so rapidly that three months hence it may take \$5.50 to buy the same amount. The real trouble is that when they agreed upon \$5.00 they agreed upon a very definite sum. If they could agree upon a definite amount of purchasing power they would eliminate at least one of the principal causes for disputes.

The fluctuating power of the dollar has been apparent to everyone for many years, but its importance as a cause of labor disputes has been quite overlooked. The first requisite in getting a contract between employer and employee that is enforceable is definiteness. There can never be definiteness with a mere money standard. Professor Irving Fisher has pointed out that the dollar is probably the poorest standard of value there is. A real standard would be one under which the prices of individual products might fluctuate but under which prices as a whole would remain relatively constant. Strangely enough, of all the commodities, gold seems to have served this purpose the worst. Professor Fisher's figures indicate that Brussels carpet probably comes the nearest to a standard, yet we fancy that no one will seriously propose making dollars out of Brussels carpet.

The soundest immediate proposal is to let the standard remain as it is, but to stabilize the dollar. We have very accurate figures today with regard to the cost of living. They are gathered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and one can tell by glancing at the price index just how much the average cost of living in the United States advances from month to month. Professor Fisher would have a clause added to every contract providing that in the instance quoted above \$5.00 might be the wage, but it would only be the basic wage. If the cost of living should decrease next month by, say, 2 per cent. the same sum would be deducted. In this way we should achieve stabilization; and while the value of the dollar itself might fluctuate, the worker would be guaranteed the same amount of food, clothing, and shelter for his day's wage. That, after all, is what he works for.

Plan of Organized Employes for Railroad Organization

By Glenn E. Plumb

Well-known Chicago Lawyer; Attorney for the Railroad Brotherhoods

OUR railroads constitute a system of public highways 250,000 miles in extent. Along these highways flows all the commerce of the nation. The transportation of this commerce before January 1, 1918, was an industry controlled by private owners, regulated by the public, and employing more than five per cent. of the total labor supply of the country.

This industry is based upon three elements: The grant of authority from the people to conduct the industry for their benefit; the investment of capital in sufficient amount to acquire the properties and their equipment, and the investment by wage earners of their services in the industry. These three elements are of equal importance in performing public service. Without a franchise or grant of authority neither the wage earner nor capital could function. Without capital labor would lack employment and the public would lack service. Without labor capital would miss its opportunity for investment and the public would be deprived of service. Under private ownership and management capital alone has been represented in the directorate controlling the industry. By monopolizing the office of management, capital has denied to both the public and to labor any representation in its directorate. Labor has been compelled to organize in order that it might procure due recognition of its interest in the industry, and the public has been compelled to legislate and pass stringent laws regulating the exercise of the power of management by capital in order to protect the public interest in the industry.

Between the demand of labor and the regulation of government, capitalistic management is no longer able to support all of its claims to earn a return upon all of the securities it has issued. The right of capital to all of its claimed returns is challenged by both the public and the wage earners. Capital says to the public: "In order to meet the burdens placed upon us by the regulations which you enforce, we can no longer meet the demands made upon us

by the wage earners. Either wages must fall or the public must pay more for the service." To the wage earner capital says: "Your demands are extortionate. We cannot pay the wages demanded unless rates are increased." The wage earner and the public in turn reply to capital: "If your demands were not so great the wage earner could receive his just due without increasing the burden thrown upon the public by increasing rates. In fact, just wages could be paid and a just return paid to you and a reduction in rates be made to the public."

The organized employes of the service, acting as a unit, have presented to Congress a plan that provides for a mutual and righteous understanding between these three interests for the future conduct of the industry in which the public, the wage earner, and the railway management shall have an equal voice of authority. This plan provides:

First. That the Government shall acquire all existing railroad properties, paying therefor the price to be judicially determined in proceedings as prescribed in the act providing for government acquisition.

That the Government shall own all railways hereafter constructed; that future extensions shall be financed by the Government and the territory specifically benefited by the construction of such extensions; the apportionment of public and private benefits to be made in the lowest obtainable rate of interest, in amounts determined as chargeable to public benefits and paid for by the public shall be charged to capital account and affect fixed charges.

Second. That the Government shall be authorized, as a means of paying for the properties so acquired, to issue its securities at the lowest obtainable rate of interest, in amounts sufficient to pay for the cost of acquisition and to furnish the required amount of working capital.

Third. That the properties shall be operated by a private corporation organized under a federal charter, which shall have no financial

investment in the industry, its sole capital being operating skill and ability. It shall have a nominal capital stock, all of which shall be trusted for the benefit of its employes. All of its employes shall be divided into two classes —(A) those employes exercising executive and managerial powers, and (B) the wage earning employes who carry into execution the directions of the executive employe. This corporation shall be controlled by a board of directors, one-third of this board to be named by the President of the United States, with the approval of the Senate, one-third to be elected by the employes in Class A and one-third to be elected by the employes in Class B.

Fourth. The Government shall lease to this corporation all of its lines of railways for operating purposes. The lease shall provide that the corporation shall pay each year: (1) All operating expenses, including therein the amounts which the Government may prescribe shall be set aside to meet the maintenance and renewal charges; (2) An agreed amount to establish a sinking fund, which should be not less than one-half of one per cent. of the outstanding capital account; (3) The amount of net earnings remaining after making the above required payments shall be divided equally between the Government and the operating corporation. The profits so accruing to the operating corporation shall then be distributed, either in annual, semi-annual, or quarterly payments, as a dividend upon the payroll of the corporation; each employe in Class B receiving that portion of the dividends allotted to that class which his wage for the dividend period bears to the total wages paid to employes of his class for the same period. Employes in Class A shall, in like manner and at like times, receive a graduated increased rate of dividend, depending upon the amount of profits which their management has earned for employes in Class B.

Fifth.—Automatic Protection Against Excessive Rates and Profits.—To prevent the public from paying in rates excessive profits to the corporation or to the Government, we provide that, whenever in one year the amount of net profits received by the Government shall equal or exceed five per cent. of the gross operating revenues, the Interstate Commerce Commission shall immediately reduce the level of rates by

an amount sufficient to absorb these profits. Every such reduction in rates will tend to increase the flow of traffic and again restore profits to their former level, again insuring further reduction in rates.

Sixth.—Extensions.—We provide that extensions shall be financed in whole or in part by special assessments levied against the property benefited. Only so much of the cost of the extension as may be adjudged by the proper tribunal to be properly chargeable to the public benefit and paid for out of public funds, shall be charged into capital account with a corresponding increase in fixed charges.

Seventh.—Sinking Fund.—We would provide for the payment annually into a sinking fund of a sum equal to one-half of one per cent. of the outstanding capital account, this fund to be used in acquiring and extinguishing the outstanding bonds issued by the Government, either at current market prices or at par, at fixed intervals of redemption.

Eighth. — Distinguishing Between Wage Earning Employes and Employes Exercising Executive and Managerial Power.—Those opposing this plan offer as the first objection that we give to labor represented by wage earners and managing officials a two-thirds control of the directorate; that it would be possible for these two forces to combine and by raising wages absorb all profits so that there would be nothing to divide between the corporation and the Government, and might even create a deficit in operating expenses which must be met by taxation.

Our plan provides against the possibility of such a contingency. While the wage earner and the managing officials have a common interest in the fixed level of wages and salaries, we provide that they shall have conflicting interests in the distribution of the dividends. Assume that the number of employes in Class A is one per cent. of the number of employes in Class B. Now, for the purpose of illustration assume that there is one employe in Class A and one hundred employes in Class B. If we were to allow to the Class A employe twice the rate of dividend allowed to employes in Class B, it is manifest that any increase in the level of wages would immediately wipe out the extra dividend allowed the Class A employe. His interest can be preserved only by maintaining the fixed wage

level allowed to Class B employees and obtaining for them the highest possible rate of dividend. A very slight increase in the wage level of Class B employees would extinguish the opportunity of the Class A employee to obtain the extra compensation assured him by the double dividend rate. The possibility of management and wage earner uniting to raise wages and salaries and thus absorb profits, and perhaps create a deficit, wholly disappears when this detail of the division of the profits is studied and understood.

Ninth.—Valuation.—The great fundamental upon which this plan is based is that there shall be a proper valuation of all railroad properties. We contend that the only basis for obtaining such valuation is to determine the amount of money which each corporation, at the time of the valuation, had put in the actual service of the public. The amount so determined represents the property interest which the corporation has been granted in the public highways to which it holds title. The payment to it of this amount, judicially determined, would be full recognition of all of its property interests and all rights which it enjoyed under its charter and the Constitution of the State and the United States. Such valuation eliminates from the public obligations all fictitious securities, discounts on securities actually paid for to the

extent of the discounts, and improvements made out of earnings which were really paid for by the public.

Conclusion.—Under this plan we provide a sure method for the ultimate reduction of transportation charges to actual cost. Under this plan every increase in surplus earnings tends to a reduction in rates. Every expenditure out of earnings for improvements increases the actual investment and earning power without any increase in fixed charges. Every improvement made upon the properties and paid for by local taxation brings about the same result. Every application of surplus earnings and sinking fund accumulations secures a reduction of outstanding capital and a diminution of fixed charges, again securing a further reduction in rates. We insure the public against constantly increasing rates and the wage earner against the ever-present threat of a reduction in wages. We guarantee to the holder of the securities the protection of the integrity of his investment and the receipt of adequate returns. We give to the community, to the wage earner, and to the management an equal voice of authority in the direction of the industry. These benefits no other plan can promise. No plan presented by the present owners even attempts to procure these results.*

The First President of the German Republic

By S. Zimand

Writer and Speaker on International Topics.

IN February, 1871, Fritz Ebert, the recently elected President of the German Republic, first saw the light where the ancient castle of Heidelberg towers high above the surface of the Neckar. Yet he shows but scant trace of the South German. Stout, black-haired, with black mustache and imperial, and eyes like those of a child of Nippon, he impresses one as a veritable Prussian product. When strangers at the National Convention of the Socialist Democratic Party heard him discuss the finances of the party or questions of welfare, they felt that

they were listening to an honest and common-sense bureaucrat. But in Ebert is something seldom found among Prussians, that is, tact, and he has the ability of reconciling conflicting interests which are always coming to the fore in a party. Possibly he was selected as President of the new Germany chiefly on account of his talent as a maker of peace, for, whenever the Socialists before the war had inner turmoil or threatened explosion, it was Ebert who calmed the storm. He belonged to the Centrist group of his party. In the convention proceedings the story of his activities is made up of his speeches on finance or his efforts at reconciling different points of view. In this he differed from Liebknecht, who rarely discussed topics of

* In the next issue of *THE PUBLIC* the plan of the private owners of the railroads will be presented by Howard Elliott, president of the Northern Pacific Railway Company and a member of the Standing Committee of the Association of the Railway Executives; while Hugh Reid, of the Department of Labor, will cover the problem of the future of the railroads from the Government point of view.

etail. When Liebknecht spoke in the convention it was on militarism, imperialism, disarmament, or some other broad aspect of public life. In him we see the idealist and the man of the future, but in Ebert, the practical man and the man of the present.

When the war broke out in 1914 Ebert was the chairman of the Socialist Party of Germany, having been elected to this position after Bebel's death in 1913. His cool judgment, his many years of experience in party activities, the respect he commanded from the leaders of the labor unions, and his virtues and ability as an executive showed to great advantage in this office. Some of the extremists among the Socialists called him conservative; but for that matter every chairman, even a Social-Democratic one, is inclined to be conservative. Others from the right wing of the party called him too radical; but there is little radicalism in Ebert. All recognize, however, that he possesses fairness and has a deep sense of justice. This quality may come from his experience as a workingman. There is nothing showy or affected about him; he reveals himself as he is,—a product of the law-abiding German people, brought up in the German Socialist school. What irony, that a pupil of this school, a plain country harness-maker, should stand now at the helm of the whilom imperial ship of state!

After August, 1914, Ebert declared himself in favor of supporting the Government's war policy, and took his place among those since called the Majority Socialists. He did not deny that the war had its origin in imperialism, but he maintained at the same time that it was Germany that was first attacked, and that the Social-Democrats had to support the Government to defend the Fatherland against the Russian invasion. This view he maintained until the Fatherland was defeated. It can hardly be said that the "policy of August 4, 1914," was formulated by him. He was but one with the main body of labor-union leaders, who did not want to see their unions destroyed, and with the opportunist and nationalist wing of the Social-Democratic Party, who wanted to use the chance of putting their party officially on the level with other parties of the Empire. Ebert clung to this policy consistently,—almost unhesitatingly. On September 22, 1914, at a conference of Social-Democratic delegates from all

over the Empire Ebert denounced those who tried to organize strikes in munition works, and he appealed to the delegates to stand behind the Government. In April, 1917, the party committee met to consider what the attitude of the party should be toward the independent Socialist organizations. At this meeting it was Ebert who indicated the necessity of taking over the papers and periodicals which were still in the hands of editors who belonged to the independent Socialists. In this way he was instrumental in wresting *Die Gleichheit*, *Die Neue Zeit*, *Vorwärts*, and other periodicals from the hands of the opposition, and in expelling the editors from their offices. In the summer of 1917 occurred the Stockholm Conference. The Majority Socialists hoped that this conference might create a favorable atmosphere for the German Socialists in enemy countries, and Ebert was sent as one of the delegates. At this conference he again defended the policy of August 4, 1914; but without discussing it further, he declared, as a clever tactician, that the general conference should confine itself to ways and means of bringing about peace. It was Ebert who saved what was to be saved for the Germans at this conference.

Ebert continued to support the Government, and on June, 1918, he was elected president of the main committee of the Reichstag. The revolution, to which he lent no assistance, conferred on him the Chancellorship of the Empire. In an article which he wrote for the 1918 Christmas number of the *Vorwärts*, entitled "Peace," he pleads against civil war. "Who could bear the responsibility that German should fight against German, workman against workman? It shall not be." But it came. Edward David, President of the National Convention, credited Ebert with being mainly responsible for putting down the Spartacists. This perhaps is one reason why so many members of the National Assembly who did not belong to the Socialist Party voted for him as President of the newly created Republic; or it may be that the members of other parties wanted the Social-Democrats to assume the responsibility for those critical days.

No president of a republic has ever had greater responsibilities than the harness-maker of Heidelberg.

Natural Rights

By SAMUEL SEABURY

Former Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals of New York

DEFEAT of the German arms has overthrown the authority of German political philosophy in American colleges, or at least the logical outcome of that philosophy during the last four years has convinced even our sociologists of the necessity for its repudiation. It is about to be deserted in the house of its former friends.

Professor Franklin Henry Giddings makes his declaration of independence of German social philosophy. "As a professor of political science," he says, "I taught the orthodox theory of the state."¹ The orthodox theory has been the Hegelian idolatry of the state. It was a theory which, starting with freedom as a promise, ended in absolutism as a conclusion. It was bad enough that this monstrous doctrine should have been taught, but it is altogether inexcusable that those who refused to accept it and who in their simplicity asserted that men had a right to life and liberty, and that a state owed duties to its neighbors, should have been denounced, ridiculed, and sneered at.

In his preface Professor Giddings tells us that, while he taught the orthodox theory, "I have increasingly felt the unreality of Teutonic political philosophy." The unreality of it and the emptiness of its metaphysical refinements have always been apparent. Notwithstanding this, our sociologists almost without exception have not hesitated to inculcate it, because they deemed the alternative doctrine of natural rights dangerous to social stability and apt to encourage radical democracy.

While the repudiation of the German social philosophy is not now accompanied by a frank confession of error and repentance for the damage caused, it is nevertheless complete so far as Professor Giddings is concerned. Thus he says: "German political and juristic philosophy in recent years has boldly gone further and af-

firmed that the state is the source and creator of moral, no less than of juristic, right. The argument in form is tortuous, as becomes Teutonic thinking, but essentially it is simple. . . . Upon this argument is built the further and monstrous contention that the state is morally absolute and can do no wrong."

With the overthrow of German social philosophy under way, the academic mind returns to the doctrine of natural rights. Professor Giddings returns to it in a sane and sound manner. His present theory is not that of Rousseau, nor yet that of Herbert Spencer, who made the fundamental error of considering the individual and his rights as separate and apart from society.

Professor Giddings recognizes that individuals and society have natural rights, and that these rights are necessarily interdependent, and that each is entitled to free opportunities for full development. Thus individual and social rights are conditioned by the moral law. He shows his familiarity with the views of the late Professor Sumner, when he recognizes the influence of the *mores* in fixing and developing our conceptions of moral right.

The theory of the absolutist state, which was advocated by Hobbes, the Transcendentalists, the Utilitarians, and the State Socialists, is not accepted. In its place Professor Giddings advocates the conception of a limited and responsible state.

He holds that the state is subject to cosmic limitations, international limitations, "the limitation imposed by the human nature of its own subjects," and the limitation imposed by the "rule of reason." While these limitations are indefinite, they are suggestive and helpful. The idea that there are cosmic limitations, and that one nation cannot run amuck among its neighbors, is of value as indicating that nations, like individuals, are limited in their rights by the equal rights of others.

The invocation of the "rule of reason" as a limitation brings us back to the old conception of the law of nature, and places us, so far

¹ *The Responsible State: A Re-examination of Fundamental Political Doctrines in the Light of World War and the Menace of Anarchism.* By Franklin Henry Giddings, LL.D., Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization in Columbia University. Sometime Professor of Political Science in Bryn Mawr College. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1918.

as this aspect of the matter is concerned, upon the fundamental principle of Locke.

The criticism of Herbert Spencer's theory is by concrete example rather than by a discussion of his social philosophy. Thus Professor Giddings asks: "If a government may righteously quell riot, why may it not prevent riot by abating riot-breeding conditions?" From a practical standpoint this is probably satisfactory; but there is no criticism of the defects existing in the Spencerian philosophy. Its real defect was well pointed out by Alfred Russel Wallace when he said: "It is strange that Mr. Spencer did not perceive that, if this law of the connection between individual character and conduct and their economical results is to be allowed free play, some social arrangement must be made by which all may start in life with an approach to equality of opportunity."

Even when Professor Giddings denounces Teutonic arrogance, which was formerly so revered and respected in academic circles, he does not point out the inadequacy of the principle of the survival of the fittest as a rule of state conduct, but suggests merely that that principle has not been correctly apprehended. Thus he says: "Teutonic arrogance has made to these questions an answer abhorrent to the conscience of the civilized world. Grotesquely misapprehending Darwinian doctrine, it has proclaimed the superman. The survival of the fit it conceives as the survival of the brutal. Mercy toward the weak it denounces as immoral." How long since has it been established that the Darwinian theory took mercy into account? What would Professor Huxley, whose fine satire on the natural rights of tigers was so satisfying to his colleagues, have said to the suggestion that the wicked tiger was not acting according to nature, but was posing as the "super-tiger," and in ignoring considerations of "mercy" was "grotesquely misapprehending Darwinian doctrine?"

The law of struggle doubtless operates in society, but so also does the law of mutual aid and other actions based on altruistic motives; the state cannot be administered upon the principle that either view defines fully the scope of its functions.

The principle that each should receive the consequences of his own conduct and refrain from violating the equal rights of others does

express, although inadequately, both principles. Even this principle is inadequate unless the state permits the struggle of life to be carried on under conditions securing equal opportunity.

Such a conception is in crude form what we mean when we speak of justice, which Professor Giddings has come to recognize as the fundamental principle that should guide the state in relation to its citizens and nations in relations with each other. The concept of justice expressed by Spencer is unethical, unless we read into the Spencerian premise the idea of equal opportunity of access to natural resources and the corresponding social duty of conserving socially created values for social purposes.

Professor Giddings has given us a valuable book. Its value lies in the repudiation of "the orthodox theory of the state," in the assertion of natural rights of the individual and society, and in the expression, even in indefinite form, of the view that the state is subject to certain limitations inherent in the society of which the state is the agent. Also noteworthy is the suggestion that the rights of each community or state are bounded by the equal rights of other communities or states, and that it is subject to "the limitation imposed by the circumstance that mankind is politically organized in many nations, and that no nation can safely run amuck among its neighbors."

Absolutism Was

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus Leland Stanford, Jr., University

FROM the days of Isaiah and of Eurypides civilization has shown a steady trend toward recognition of the value and the responsibility of the individual man for his own fate. Against this tendency has been arrayed the dominance of force and the influence of tradition. Empires, churches, aristocracies, plutocracies, armies, all machinery of the rule of man over man, have been mere incidents in humanity's self-extrication from serfdom and subservience. The great battles of the world have been the breaking of clods above growing manhood.

From this point of view we must conceive of the great war. The whole imperial system, "the king trust," with its supreme state, its iron-clad discipline, its divine right, and its duty

of conquest, are all survivals from ignorant and enslaved ages. They are pagan monsters not yet extirpated, because Christian civilization, on the principle of "live and let live," has tolerated them. And they had strengthened themselves with all the possibilities of economic science, and especially with the tools and inventions of modern chemistry.

The progress of science is coöperative, a product of peace and of friendly relations. It is a source of power and in normal times of helpful power alone. But in the course of events the science of chemistry has been turned against its creators and prostituted to the uses of heathenish reaction. Without modern science imperialism would have been powerless. In the long run the empires of the present as of the past are doomed; their power is sure to be lost at the moment of their apparent triumph, for it is then that their nature is revealed and men see them for what they really are. Thus the great war became a life and death struggle of growing humanity against the chains of mediæval tradition. Whatever its immediate results, the final end was from the first absolutely certain. Civilization has seen face to face its greatest enemy, dynastic imperialism, and even the dullest races are forced to acknowledge the real nature of the autocratic state.

And with it there can be no compromise. Either the state must exist for the enrichment of the few, at the expense of the many, or it must exist as a creation of all the people for the mutual welfare of all. Either the interests of the whole must be paramount or the interests of those parasitic upon the masses of the people.

Through all the ages this has been the one real issue in all political movements. For centuries the necessity of revolt has lain with the stricken peoples. Today, with the spread of democracy and the strength inherent in its growth, the onus of revolt is thrown on the adherents of privilege.

In its inception the war was intended as a backfire against democracy. It was at bottom the effort of privilege to regain its losing ground. Civilization has no need of kings, nor of the corrupt groups which under the royal name combine to rob the people. Absolutism broke the world peace. The world will make

no concessions either to the absolute ruler or to his mask, the supreme and sovereign state. With the treaty of peace all irresponsible power under whatever name must be "one with Nineveh and Tyre."

CURRENT THOUGHT

The Parting of the Ways

By Grace Isabel Colbron

WHAT have we fought for?
Given of our best
And spilled the precious blood of youth
The future's heritage?

Is it for this?—
Merely that one great nation,
Mistaking its true greatness
And seeking power through lust of gain
And brutal force, shall be put down
And in its place another reared?
Perpetuating all the wrong,
The age-old tyranny by armèd force upheld
Big with the seeds of future wars?

Is it for this They died
Who gave their lives when life is sweetest?

Think well, my country. . . .

Is it not better we shall know they died
That Liberty might live?
Freedom and Justice and the Natural Law?
That peace shall reign
Secured by mutual understanding?
That human rights be guaranteed to Each and All?
That all the peoples, setting first
Each its own house in order, shall unite
In bonds of brotherhood?
The Sword be turned to ploughshare,
And that man's law, by sorrow taught,
Shall nearer semblance bear
To Law Divine?

Think well, my country. . . .
The parting of the ways will come. . . .

Already there are voices raised
That would belittle all thy high ideals,
Make of Democracy a cloak for gain,
And launch thee on imperial seas of power
By armèd force upheld!

Think well, my country. . . .
Remember Them that died.

Considerate

IT is reported that a commission has been appointed in the United States to investigate industrial conditions in England. Mr. Lloyd George has courteously consented to try to keep a few industries going until the commission arrives.—*Punch*.

The Concealed Broker

OUR society will always remain an unstable and explosive compound as long as political power is vested in the masses and economic power in the classes. In the end one of these powers will rule. Either the plutocracy will buy up the democracy or the democracy will vote away the plutocracy. In the meantime the corrupt politician will thrive as a concealed broker between the two.—*Irving Fisher*.

Pearls and Bread

THE Queen of Rumania was at the opera in a gown heavily embroidered in gold, with a long string of pearls wandering over her corsage, and so on. So we imagine that the pitiful stories of the famine in Rumania must be exaggerated. Of course, Nero— But Her Majesty is a loyal ally; and it is surely incredible that she would be listening to fiddling while her people were starving.—*The Herald (London)*.

Power of the Press

ST. LOUIS had an election, Tuesday, and went gibberingly Republican and United Railways. We may assume that the city went the way it wanted to go. The Democrats "went fishing." Chicago went for Big Bill Thompson, also a Republican. There were three daily papers against the winning ticket in St. Louis. In Chicago not a single daily paper supported Thompson. Where is the power of the press? There "ain't none."—*William Marion Reedy, in Reedy's Mirror*.

The Breeders of Bolshevism

WITH the stroke of 12 o'clock Tuesday noon the Sixty-fifth Congress, probably the most memorable since the organization of the nation, passed out of existence. Untold millions of necessary appropriations were tied up through squabbling and filibustering, based mainly on the fact that the Republicans wanted to keep the President from returning to Europe to finish the war business, not because they figured he was needed here; no, far from it, but because having control of Congress in their own hands they wanted an extra session to bring the faithful but hungry office-seeking crowds to the pie counter. What do you think of your representative when he prostitutes his position to such purposes? If Congress had hired a scientist to devise ways and means to create Bolshevikistic conditions in this

country he could not have done better than Congress did of its own accord the past few weeks.—*The Organized Farmer*.

Republican Senatorial Sabotage

BLAME for the difficulties in which the employment service finds itself is placed squarely with the United States Senate, inasmuch as the deficiency item passed the House unanimously. It was unanimously reported by the appropriations committee in the Senate. This would indicate that it will be favorably acted upon by the new Congress when it convenes, but it does not alter the fact that political sabotage has been practiced, and that the Republican Senators guilty of the deed can take no credit to themselves for the farsightedness of the Secretary of Labor in erecting a voluntary barrier against industrial chaos in the United States.—*Union Labor Bulletin*.

Wilson, the League Champion

MR. WILSON is fighting for the League as no other statesman in the world is fighting for it. He is appealing straight to the peoples from the cynics. The peoples are weary and war-worn. They have not the strength to crawl out of the pit of sorrow and desolation and anguish. Their souls are blind with suffering. They lie at the mercy of intrigue and chicane and sophistry. In their harrowed impotence they hear the regenerating word spoken by the President. It is water in the desert. It is light in the darkness. It is food in the famine. In their agony the peoples of Europe raise their beaten heads and hope against hope in this evangel that comes across the sea.—*The London Star*.

A Familiar Sound

THE Fatherland is in danger. . . . The old unholy jealousy has blazed up brightly. No treaties with her (Austria) are henceforth binding. Whichever way we look in Germany we see ourselves surrounded by enemies whose battle-cry is, "Down with Prussia." I have sought and held open the way for an amicable settlement. Austria did not wish for it. . . . There is no further choice left for us. We must fight for our existence. . . . We must fight a life and death struggle against those who wish to cast down the Prussia of the Great Elector. . . . Let us entreat the Almighty, the arbiter of the destiny of nations, the God of Battles, that he may bless our weapons. God with us!—*Speech on June 18, 1866, of Prussian King, afterward William I., Emperor of Germany*.

The Outlook in Great Britain

THE British Government is spending \$7,000,000 weekly pensioning unemployed in England. In addition, there are a large number of unpensioned unemployed. Within the next few weeks 50 per

cent. of the pensions will cease. These people must have work. The only solution is to get business going in England and the rest of the world as soon as possible. This can't be done until peace is signed and embargoes lifted. . . . We must all open our doors and windows and let the breezes of commerce ventilate the world. The upper classes in England understand the situation better than the upper classes in any other European country. In true English fashion, they will compromise. We are all going to work together in England, better than ever before.—*George Lansbury, British Radical Labor Leader and Editor of the London Daily Herald, in the New York Evening Post.*

Free Trade

IN a leading editorial, published before the United States entered the war, the protectionist Philadelphia *North American* had the following:

How is it that the *North American*, which likewise professes to stand for the rights of humanity and the ideal of world peace, adheres to the doctrine of protection for American industries? For precisely the same reason, we answer, that we advocate defensive preparedness through national military training. . . . In exactly the same way we recognize that universal free trade is the one effective solution of international enmities and would be the precursor of the world federation, which is the loftiest ideal of the human mind. But we know that, while economic armament is employed by all nations—in Great Britain the form is her dominant mercantile marine—and especially at a time when vast international combinations in trade are being erected, the United States would be as mad to discard protection as it would be to abandon military preparedness.

Here is exactly what M. Henri Lambert has emphasized for years, and is exactly the *raison d'être* of the International Free Trade League. Many anti-militarists have been clamoring for disarmament before the causes of war are removed. . . . With the establishment of world-wide freedom of trade there would result such a widespread feeling of international justice and security that disarmament would follow naturally and almost without opposition.—*The International Free Trader, Boston.*

The Farmer and the Tariff

WHAT is the tariff? It is an import tax levied on goods entering a country. I may say that the word "tariff" comes from a place named Tariffa. I am informed that in the old days of Mediterranean trade the coast was infested by marine pirates who sailed out from their port of Tariffa and levied toll on the passing merchant ships. It describes the process pretty thoroughly and accurately in the present day. It is a word that has amply lived up to its origin and antecedents. Where these goods are actually imported, the amount of the tax goes to swell the revenues of the country, and in this case the tariff is properly a "revenue tariff." It must be borne in mind, however, that the tax is paid by the peo-

ple of the country into which the goods enter, and who ultimately consume them, and not by the "foreigners" as the advocates of protection have so often claimed. The price, for instance, of a piece of Scotch tweed in Toronto, will be, to the ultimate purchaser, a sum made up in something like the following manner: Cost of manufacture in Scotland, plus freight, plus customs duty, plus reasonable profits, wholesale and retail.—J. G. Johnson in *The Grain Growers' Guide*.

BOOKS

On the Trail of a Science of Government

The Processes of History. By Frederick J. Teggart. The Yale University Press. 1918.

"**T**HERE is no disguising the fact that the present world situation is imperative in forcing men to question searchingly the validity of their activities," writes Professor Teggart in the preface to his study of the processes of history, and it is because his book bears on a subject of such vital and immediate importance, because it illuminates the processes of the present and future as well as those of the past, that it makes an urgent claim upon the attention of thoughtful people.

Hitherto historical studies have been largely fragmentary and unrelated, the historian concentrating upon some particular race, or country, or period, with little concern as to how his work would contribute toward a fuller understanding of the development of civilization as a whole. Professor Teggart makes a plea for a scientific method in the study of history, a method which shall secure unity of effort, guide the selection of material, and eliminate as far as possible the merely personal and temperamental reaction of the student. He contends that the information at the command of the historian should be utilized, not for the purpose of constructing narratives of happenings, but to determine what have been the processes through which things have come to be as they are.

In the study of history no constructive hypothesis or widely accepted generalization comparable in importance to that of evolution in biology has ever been advanced as a basis for research. Such a hypothesis, explanatory of the causes operative in the past, and based on a fundamental conception capable of proof, would throw light upon future developments and assist in the formulation of a science of government which should secure nations from wasteful experiment or exploitation. Professor Teggart considers that the materials for this science of government exist, and in order to discover it he makes a survey of the results obtained from the investigations of specialists in various departments of human activity and natural science. In this work he is a pioneer, for, though most of

the facts he presents are known, the correlations and deductions are fresh and full of interesting suggestion.

The problem that is to be solved is stated in these terms: How has man everywhere come to be as he is? What has led to progress and civilization as they exist today in various forms of political organization? In this study the details of origins are not discussed, but a bird's-eye view is given of the ground that must be covered if the question is to be answered conclusively.

The geographer accounts for man as he finds him by the nature of the land he lives in, the biologist by natural selection, the sociologist by economic pressure. Professor Teggart points out that progress is due to change of idea systems and proceeds to account for such change. He considers that the natural tendency of the human race is to be stationary, and that there is neither inherent urge toward advancement nor regular progression in that direction. Idea systems are due largely to the natural surroundings of a group, and it is when change of habitat takes place that conditions become favorable for progress. Changes of this nature are usually brought about by alteration in climatic conditions, such as that which led to the desiccation of Central Asia and thus to the great migrations of its peoples in early times. It is noticeable that the beginnings of political organization are found at the termini of routes of travel and similar points of pressure, where migration groups have come into conflict or become assimilated, and it is the comparison and criticism of different idea systems brought about in this way that have led to the liberation of the spirit of man along more advanced lines.

Another important factor in progress has been that of human individuality. The unit of primitive life was the family or clan. From this, especially in times of transition, emerged the leader or conqueror, making a personal claim on the land he held or conquered and on those living upon it; thus the possession of territory became the basis of authority and a political state took the place of the old tribal control. The leader, energetic and self-assertive, imposed his personality upon other men, frequently upon men of a different nationality, and in this way effected a breaking up of fixed ideas and traditions. In the last analysis it is to the conflict of traditions between individuals or groups coming from different habitats, to the breaking up, comparison, and recasting of old ideas, that progress and civilization are due; the process is usually a stormy and painful one, but nature does not grudge the pain that leads to fertility. Thus, although traditions mark stages of progress, progress itself consists in breaking away from them and in release from racial and personal inhibitions.

The philosophy of "change" suggested by Professor Teggart is extremely interesting. Unexpected and unsought changes in political or personal life frequently seem to those whom they affect

fraught with disaster, for from the very nature of the case the future is obscure and hence alarming. But the fact that the ignition of the human spirit brought about by shock of this kind has usually led to higher development is significant, and should reassure those who see in the breaking down of barriers during the war, and even more since its cessation, a menace to civilization.

Professor Teggart's book throws new light upon the whole question of human development, and opens up a new method of approach to the study of political organization. His breadth of vision, freedom from bias, scientific handling, and strong and lucid style make his work invaluable to the student of history and unusually interesting to the general reader.

BLANCHE DISMORR.

Rural Schools of Canada

The Education of the New-Canadian. By J. T. M. Anderson. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co. 1918.

THAT the language of a nation should be the medium for all instruction in that nation's schools would seem to be a most natural and needful requirement. Yet this is one of the main pleas in this very recent book on conditions of education in Western Canada. Many foreigners who have chosen Canada for their children's homeland actually have demanded that those same children shall be taught from text-books in their parents' European tongue. Preposterous this would sound to a European. But to an American? English is the language of our public schools. But how about the others? Is the history, or geography, or catechism lesson always and everywhere given in English? Rumors during the war-draft—and before—did cast their doubts.

This Saskatchewan educator's book, however, contains much of interest besides his brief for the national language and ideals of Canada. The immigrant rural communities of western Canada, Scandinavian, Slav, and others, are introduced in Part One, with some account of their European origins and surroundings. Part Two takes one into various rural schools, shows what type of teacher is needed, and how much every one of the right sort of schools means to the future of Canada, as well as what a menace the "Foreign" teacher and the uncontrolled parochial school may become to the nation.

"If the children of these newcomers—the New-Canadians in the truest sense of the term—are not given a satisfactory education in the English language, and are not properly introduced to a knowledge of the best in Canadian life during the next decade, we cannot expect to lay solidly the foundation of future strength and greatness." "Canada is as yet but in its infancy and it is very necessary that conditions such as exist across the line and in Europe should not be allowed to exist here. The

uninspected and unregulated parochial school is a serious menace to the healthy development of any nation, and it behooves our provincial statesmen to deal with this problem without fear or favor."

Certainly it is something of a jar to an American to have a wide-awake and democratic Canadian teacher dispassionately remark that school conditions of the United States must not be allowed to spread into Canada.

ANGELINE L. GRAVES.

The Kinship of Eastern Europe

Stakes of the War. By Lothrop Stoddard and Glenn Frank. New York: The Century Co. 1918.

SUCCESS of a League of Nations and the permanence of peace depend largely upon the action that will be taken regarding the issues that are considered in this volume and for which it supplies the raw material for discussion. Absolutely nonpartisan and impartial, it gives the student of affairs the basic facts that must be known before any judgment is given concerning the myriad conflicting claims of small and oppressed nationalities.

These claims once interested only our scholars, but today they vitally touch the lives and fortunes of our capitalists and laborers as well. Unless justice, coöperation, and normal human relations can be established among the discordant elements from the Baltic Sea to the Persian Gulf, the whole world, having now become organic, will have blood poisoning from the festering sores that have here developed. This is the region of conflicting boundary claims, of ancient feuds, illiteracy, religious fanaticism, rancor, oppression, and economic waste.

Rich as much of it is in natural resources, man's inhumanity to man has brought barrenness to fruitful fields. Today 100,000,000 people stand on the verge of famine, revolution, and collapse. American senators who have ignored the existence of that great region which is analyzed in this book have discussed the League Covenant as though America's sole interest were on this hemisphere. They have ignored the lessons of the war; those who have cried loudest for our entrance into war and who want above all else that our boys should come home seem hardly cognizant of the fact that every American mill and factory and every American tax bill will be affected for years to come by the question of whether or not there is widespread pauperism or prosperity east of the Elbe and the Adriatic. They apparently would have bleeding France and impoverished England alone bear the burden of bringing justice and peace to the distracted peoples of the Baltic provinces, to the Ukrainians, Jugoslavs, Poles, Czechoslovaks, Serbians, Albanians, Rumanians, and to the people of Asia Minor, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt.

But no one with wit to see America's real stake in the Near East can ignore the significance of this region to the peace of the whole world. The geography, history, linguistic and racial differences must be carefully studied and the varied points of view of the European powers to them be observed. Americans have no territorial interests in these regions apart from missionary colleges, and they have the respect and good will of all the peoples of the East. They ought to be peculiarly fitted to exercise impartial judgment regarding the home problems of the sons of Croats, Slovenes, Greeks, and Syrians, who went from our mill towns and marched with our boys over the fields of Flanders.

Beginning with Belgium, "The Stakes of the War" gives the statistics up to 1918 regarding the area, population, racial, religious, and linguistic divisions of the many little countries that have suffered from the war. The book is well supplied with maps which at a glance show the complex relations of these different elements. It is, however, by no means a mere statistical catalogue, but supplies geographic and economic surveys and brief histories, together with the varied suggestions that have been proposed as to future readjustments in the interests of peace. It includes full bibliographies of books in various languages, and is all together a most valuable compendium of information on those vital issues on which Americans are least informed.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

An Introduction to a Study of Federation

The Basis of a World Order. By Robert W. Rogers. Boston: Badger Co.

AS the ideal of a League of Nations rapidly approximates reality, popular interest in its problems intensifies. This book can shed light on the subject for one who knows nothing about it, and who wants a bit of easy reading to furnish a preliminary general idea of the objective of internationalism. The standpoint of the author is that federation is the basis of a world order. The basic principle of federation is in harmony with national independence; indeed, in an essential world organization there must be a conserving of national consciousness as well as the introducing of the world consciousness. Switzerland, England, and the United States have worked out the federative principle on a smaller scale, and have shown the way to world federation. In the new order statesmen will cease to regard the national will as the ultimate court of appeal, but in the settling of world issues will consider humanity. One of the guiding principles, if not the essential one, is the insistence on a federation of free states. Each nation must be guaranteed its freedom, its individual separate identity. The author sees a growing will to federate,—the logical result of

Christianity, the teaching of great idealists, and the developing national interdependence in intellectual, commercial, and political intercourse.

The book reads readily and is written in a good, easy-flowing style, but it lacks personality. It shows little appreciation of the historical perspective of its great theme, and presents scant reasoning of the vital problems involved in the federalization of the world it proclaims.

HERBERT W. HINES.

Books Received

The Conscientious Objector. By Major Walter Guest Kellogg. With an introduction by Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War. New York: Boni & Liveright.

The Chairman of the Board of Inquiry on Conscientious Objectors presents his own observations of the objector, derived from an official examination of a large number of all types in the military camps of the country.

Italian Women in Industry. By Louise C. Odencrantz. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

An account of conditions existing in the home, the shop and the standard of educational training to be found among the Italian women living in New York City.

Experts in City Government. By Edward A. Fitzpatrick. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

This book aims to give expression to the active, positive and constructive view of city-making and serves as a reference book for those interested in civic and municipal welfare.

Labor and Reconstruction in Europe. By Elisha M. Friedman. With an introduction by Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

A study of reconstruction commissions in foreign countries and of the labor problem in Germany and England, brought into book form in the spring of 1918.

The New America. By Frank Dilnot, author of "Lloyd George: The Man and His Story," etc. New York: The Macmillan Company.

This volume presents in a series of short sketches the impressions made on a trained observer from England of life in the United States during 1917 and 1918.

Socialism and American Ideals. By William Starr Myers, Professor of Politics, Princeton University. New York: Princeton University Press.

An argument that Socialism is in theory and practice absolutely opposed and contrary to the principles of Americanism, of democracy, and even of the Christian-Jewish religion itself.

Peking Dust. By Ellen N. LaMotte. New York: The Century Co.

Memorable sketches of modern China which lay bare the incredible bullying and robbing of a great but weak nation by most of the strong nations of the world.

What We Eat and What Happens to It. By Philip B. Hawk. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A study of the processes the food passes through when in the stomach.

Blood and Sand. By Vicente Blasco Ibanez. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

This was the first of Ibanez's novels to bring him worldwide recognition. It deals with the "cherished atrocity" of Spain—the bull-ring.

The Palliser Case. By Edgar Saltus. New York: Boni & Liveright.

A drama of gold, of pain, of curious crime and the heart of a girl.

Blind Alley. By W. L. George. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

A moving story of a typical English family during the great war.

The Human Machine and Industrial Efficiency. By Frederic S. Lee. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The author believes that "any activity in which the human body plays so large a part as it does in industry must be organized on a physiological basis before the highest degree of efficiency can be secured."

Untoing the Consumer. By William Thum. The Grant Press, Pasadena, Cal.

This booklet is devoted to a discussion of the "other side of the Singletax and problems connected with it, and the subject of free water."

Readings in Industrial Society. By Leon Carroll Marshall. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

NEWS

Foreign

—Six candidates are in the field for the Presidency of Mexico at the election in July, 1920.

—Ex-King Ferdinand of Bulgaria has asked the Swiss Federal authorities for permission to reside in Switzerland.

—German and Baltic-German troops have forcibly seized Libau and overthrown the Lettish provisional Government.

—It is reported that the Council of Four has decided that Heligoland shall be dismantled and as far as possible destroyed.

—The French Government, after long delay, has given its reluctant consent that the Nansen Commission shall undertake the feeding of Russia.

—The Great War Veterans of Saskatchewan have taken the initiative in a movement to prevent the entry of Menonites into Saskatchewan and Alberta.

—Tenants of Buenos Ayres are organizing a strike against high rents demanded for dwelling houses as well as buildings used for business purposes.

—Quietly but steadily the labor question is becoming one of the new factors in the politics of Japan, and the formation of a labor party is generally expected to take place soon.

—Every German town and city having its own garrison, of which it had been proud for decades, has been officially notified by the National Assembly that it has been decided to disband the German army.

—The members of the Albanian Provisional Government representing that country at the Peace Conference have addressed to the President of the conference a letter asking for the confirmation of the complete independence of Albania.

—Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, head of the Commission to Feed Russia, is having difficulty in getting into touch with Nikolai Lenine, the Russian Bolshevik Premier, concerning the revictualing of Russia on condition that the Bolsheviks cease hostilities.

—It was reported in Copenhagen *Berlingske Tidende* that the Danish engineer Ohrt and the Swedish engineer Quistgaard had applied to the railway minister with a proposal for a direct railway connection between Sweden and Denmark by a tunnel under the Sound.

—The special committee on peace negotiations named by the German National Assembly at Weimar will include President Fehrenbach and the three Vice Presidents of the Assembly. The other members will be twenty-eight delegates to the

Assembly, representing all parties and including two women Socialists.

—Proportional representation has been adopted by the French Chamber by a majority of 285 votes, having previously killed scrutin d'arrondissement, which only permits of electors voting for one representative, and reinstated the scrutin de liste, by which votes can be cast for each senator or deputy in a department.

—The *New Europe*, of London, which confesses to having mistakenly started the calumny against the Bolsheviks charging them with the nationalization of women, has admitted itself in error and unreservedly expressed regret at the mistake, due to confusing an insignificant local Soviet organ with an important Russian newspaper.

—The figures of the postal savings in Japan in January in 1918, compared with those of 1914, show a remarkable increase from 190,000,000 yen to 550,000,000 yen. State revenue, too, swelled markedly, and in 1918 the government raised 810,000,000 yen from the three important sources, namely, taxes, stamp duty, and the profits of government monopolies.

—The Italian situation at the Peace Conference reached its climax on the 21st, when Premier Orlando withdrew from the Conference. The Italians delivered an ultimatum to Premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George, declaring that on Fiume's retention depended Italian participation, and declining to attend the meeting of the conference at which President Wilson was present and the Big Four were to pronounce final judgment.

—“East and West News” says: “In reference to the Chinese policy of the Japanese Government, the General Staff of the Japanese Army appears to be alone in its fight for adherence to the program of aiding Tuan Chi-jui and his associates in China. The Japanese Foreign Office, which has adopted a radical change of policy, is supported by the Navy Department, as well as by the Premier, Mr. Hara, and the leaders of the Seiyukai.”

—The *Japan Chronicle*, published in English in Kobe, says: “Not a single newspaper is allowed to be published in Korea by Koreans or in Korean interests; no assembly is permitted for the discussion of politics; no attempt is made to institute a system of self-government or to encourage the Koreans to believe that in due course they will have the right of managing their own affairs. As a result, the government has no confidence in the loyalty of the Korean people.”

—The Chinese Government plans for reorganizing the country include the reduction of the present force, numbering over a million and a quarter, and which absorbs four-fifths of the entire national revenue, to fifty divisions, a further reduction to follow. The disbanded men are to be employed in national work. The civil and military administrations are to be divided. Economic development

is to be encouraged by improved communications, reformed currency, and the abolition of injurious taxes.

Reconstruction

—Manchester, Conn., which is a silk manufacturing town, has a plan to erect 400 houses for workers.

—The most earnest and systematic campaign for Philippine Independence that has ever been made in the United States is now under full headway.

—Sale of the war-built merchant fleet begun on the 17th by the Shipping Board with the transfer of fifteen wooden steamships to the Nacirema Steamship Company of New York at \$650,000 for each vessel, an average of \$145 per dead weight ton.

—Technical agriculture offers thousands of positions as associates, assistants, helpers, extension workers, and county agents, and this work is particularly suitable for retrained, disabled men, according to a statement issued by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

—From every part of the country come reports indicating that the nation is at last becoming aroused to the urgent necessity for better salaries for teachers, according to the last issue of a pamphlet on school life published by the United States Department of the Interior.

—Several million young pine trees will be sent by Minnesota to the devastated regions of France, it was announced today. Minnesota forestry officials recently offered the trees to the French Government. Acceptance of the gift was reported to Governor Burnquist by the War Department at Washington.

—It is reported that the Canadian Government is to appoint a commission commanding the confidence of the nation, and including representatives of labor and capital, to proceed at once to all centres of industry in the Dominion and report upon the feasibility of joint industrial control. This commission will be compelled to act quickly as the report is demanded by May 15.

—It is reported from Constantinople that thousands of Christian women, Armenian and Syrian, had been turned adrift from Turkish harems and were in great destitution. The Turks were releasing the Armenian girls taken into their homes and orphanages for the purpose of bringing them up as Moslems, believing that by thus setting them free they themselves might be able to escape punishment.

—The American Union Against Militarism is responsible for the statement that “the War Department has created an elaborate propaganda bureau, with a big staff and commodious offices, for the purpose of flooding the country with publicity matter calculated to convince the people, now thoroughly aroused to the injustice of the court-

martial system, that it is worthy of their confidence and adulation."

—Plans are being initiated by the Catholic Colonization Society of the United States to provide farm lands for the settlement of returned soldiers. The work, although under Catholic auspices, is undenominational in scope, about 25 per cent of the people applying to the society being non-Catholics. Frederick S. Pintzer, of Chicago, is secretary and manager of the investigating department of the society.

—Information reaching the training service, Department of Labor, from establishments where factory training systems are in operation indicates that foremen, after brief experience with the training system, insist upon having trained workers in their departments, for the reason that they do much more efficient work than those who are put into the factory on production work at the start. Many workmen also ask for training, in order to increase their earning capacity, and so valuable has training proved for peace time that last week seventeen factories adopted training systems, a number almost equal to the average installation of training departments during the war.

Labor

—Nine important labor measures were passed by the Arkansas Legislature which has just closed its session.

—One hundred and twenty labor leaders in Manila signed a pledge to refrain from calling strikes while the Philippine Independence Mission is in the United States.

—The collective bargaining principle, allowing the employes themselves to have a voice in the reclassification of salaries in the federal civil service, has been recognized by the Joint Congressional Committee on Reclassification.

—Great improvement in unemployment conditions is shown in Government reports for last week. No city in the country shows an increase in the number of unemployed persons, and an average decrease of 25 per cent. on the whole is reported.

—With English agricultural laborers hereafter the weekly hours are to be 54 in summer and 48 in winter. Those from 18 and 19 to get three shillings weekly increase; 19 to 20 four shillings; between 20 and 21 five, and 21 and over six shillings.

—After an eleven-week strike the International Ladies' Garment Workers have won the 44-hour week, a substantial increase in wages, and the right of union representatives to observe union working conditions. About 35,000 workers were involved.

—The telephone strike that had crippled the New England service was settled on the 20th at a conference of strikers and company officials. The employes will return to work, and the service will

be restored, pending detailed consideration of wage schedules.

—Four million ballots on the question of three successive nation-wide strikes in behalf of Thomas J. Mooney and his codefendants will be sent to union members throughout the country in the next few days, according to the International Workers' Defense League.

—Under war operations of the railroads by the Government the wage increases to railway employers have added \$910,000,000 to the payrolls, while the railroads themselves raised wages in 1916 and 1917 by \$350,000,000, making a total wage increase of \$1,260,000,000 in three years.

—The New York harbor strike, which was in its eighth week, was settled on the 19th under an agreement by which the men return to work on a permanent ten-hour and twelve-hour day basis and leave the increase in wages to be settled by a committee of four representatives of the boat owners and four representatives of the strikers.

—H. A. Garfield, Federal Fuel Administrator, in a message to Alexander Howat, President of District 14, United Mine Workers, has threatened to revoke the provision of the agreement between the coal miners and the coal operators of November, 1917, which gave the miners an increase of \$1.40 a day, unless Howat ordered the striking miners of the Central Coal and Coke Company to return to work.

—The Labor Bureau of the League to Enforce Peace, in a report made public yesterday, declared that organized labor overwhelmingly favors the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. The evidence in the possession of the League includes resolutions or letters from international and national labor unions with a membership of more than 2,500,000 and representing every important industry.

—A recent example of the militant attitude of the Japanese workers is interesting: At one large iron works in Osaka a steamer of 10,000 tons was to be launched on August 21. The officials of the plant had invited a number of prominent men to a garden party to celebrate the event. Three days before the date set for the party it was called off. The workers in the dockyard had vetoed it on the ground that so long as the rice crisis prevailed they would not consent to "any wanton expenditure of money."

—The agreement of the Negro and native population of South Africa to refrain from political agitation for the duration of the war was formally renounced at a mass meeting of the colored citizens of Claremont called by the African Political Organization. An aggressive campaign of organization and agitation was determined upon and a resolution supporting "any action the African Political Organization may take to obtain the deletion of the 'color bar' from the Act of Union" was unanimously adopted.

Co-operation

—There are at least 150 coöperative societies in New England, within reach of Boston as a supply center.

—According to the "Torgovo Promyshlennaya Gazeta," there were in Russia at the beginning of 1918 25,000 consumers' societies, with a membership of 9,000,000 persons, and with a yearly turnover of 500,000,000 rubles.

—A coöperative weaving mill is being built in southwestern Jutland, Denmark, for the purpose of making cloth from the wool in the surrounding district, which the people themselves can send to the factory and have woven.

—The Reconstruction Commission of the State of New York by its special committee on Food Production and Distribution held a hearing on coöperation of "Consumers and Producers." Among those who appeared to explain the principles and methods of Coöperation was Dr. James P. Warbase, of the Coöperative League of America.

—In order to ease the currency crisis, the Union of the Tar Artels of the Vaga district (Archangel province) decided in October last to proceed with the issue of its own "credit notes" in the form of bonds in series of 25, 50, and 100 rubles, to a total value of 200,000 rubles. This new "coöperative money" is accepted by all the offices and branches of the Union, and they are guaranteed by all its property and goods.

—The retail dealers of Denmark for several years have been working for the organization of a coöperative association for making purchases, to enable them to compete with the so-called Consumers' Coöperative Association. The result is the recent formation of Danske Købmænds Handels-Aktieselskab (Danish Merchants' Commercial Co., Ltd.), which will undertake to eliminate some of the middlemen wholesalers.

—The *Coöperative World*, a semi-monthly journal "devoted to the cause of Coöperation," made its initial appearance on March 29, as the organ of a local coöperative movement centering about Tampa, Fla. L. Fales, one of the earliest pioneers of Coöperation in that section of the country, is the editor. The organization, the Consumers' and Producers' Coöperative Association, is backed largely by organized labor, and expects to open a store within the next few weeks.

Suffrage

—The South African Parliament is reported to have adopted a woman suffrage bill, 44 to 42.

—On the 18th the Florida Senate adopted a resolution to submit the question of woman suffrage to the voters at the next Senate election.

—The Women's Engineers Society is a new organization in Great Britain composed of women who entered the field of munition making during the war period.

—The first wage conference held under the new minimum wage law for women in private employ in the District of Columbia has reported a minimum wage of \$15.50 per week.

—In Ontario the second reading has been passed by bills giving women the right to sit in the Legislature, to be appointed or elected to municipal office, and in case of farmers' wives and daughters, to sit on school boards.

—Miss Marie A. Depue, a high school teacher in Philadelphia, said: "The minimum salary of a teacher in Pennsylvania is \$315 a year; 10,000 teachers in the state receive that salary. The average salary of a man is \$71 a month and of a woman \$51.

—Legislation to enfranchise New Brunswick women on the same terms as men has been introduced by the attorney-general of the provincial government, and it is said that the bill's introduction as a government measure insures its passage.

—The Night Court for Women in New York, established as a separate tribunal in 1910, was officially abolished on the 20th. It was supplanted by the Women's Day Court. The night sessions had attracted undesirable elements and curiosity seekers.

—The new women's party has decided to telegraph this message to the Peace Conference at Paris: "The National Feminist Party of Argentina asks for the admission of women to the assembly and council of the League of Nations. In its present form the Covenant is unjust."

—The bill passed by the Legislature under which women of Tennessee will have the right to vote for Presidential electors and in all municipal elections is now ready for the signature of Governor Roberts. Tennessee is the first Southern State in which women have the right of suffrage.

—The first woman to be appointed a member of the faculty of Harvard University is Dr. Alice Hamilton of Chicago, who has just been named as assistant professor of industrial medicine in the Medical School at Harvard. Dr. Hamilton is a graduate of the University of Michigan.

—The last election in Kansas resulted in a gain of more than fifty elective offices by women, over the number elected two years ago. Women have not yet been elected as either Sheriff or County Attorney, but these are the only classes of elective offices that have not been filled by women, in various counties of that State.

—The French Chamber of Deputies has rejected two woman suffrage amendments to the electoral reform bill, one providing that members of the chamber of deputies would be elected without distinction of sex, the other for the transmission of the right to vote to the next relatives of heads of families without distinction of sex.

—The Labor Party's Emancipation of Women Bill, which would admit women to the English House of Lords, after its passage on second read-

ing in the House of Commons met objection from the Government upon the ground that it came too soon after the passage of the Reform Act and was a matter upon which the opinion of the electorate would have to be sought.

—An investigation of women's wages in Albany, N. Y., conducted by the State Industrial Commission, shows that in 417 factories, for all women on the pay roll, 32,881 in number, 8,805, or 10 per cent. earned for the week, reported less than \$6 a week; 6,484, or 20 per cent., less than \$8; 11,877, or 85 per cent., less than \$10; 17,598, or 53 per cent., less than \$12; 22,426, or 68 per cent., less than \$14; 10,455, or 82 per cent., earned \$14 or over, and 2,711 or 8 per cent., earned \$20 or over.

Public Welfare

—Bristol, Va., adopted the city manager plan at the beginning of April. It is the fiftieth city of 8,000 population to adopt this plan.

—The United States Public Health Service estimates that over seven million people in the United States are infected with malaria.

—Forecast by the Department of Agriculture indicates that the nation's winter wheat crop would total 887,000,000 bushels, the largest crop ever grown.

—The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has just issued in the Children's Year Series a pamphlet called "The States and Child Labor."

—Portable houses for Belgium are being made of wood in Aarhus, Denmark, by Sylvan and Phoenix. It is reported that these concerns have orders aggregating \$18,000,000.

—A Danish chemist of Copenhagen, has sold a patent for making artificial leather to a Norwegian concern which expects to establish factories to manufacture it in several countries.

—A Public School Health League, composed of parents who are opposed to vaccination and to the present methods employed against those who refuse to submit to it, has been organized in Seattle, Wash.

—Seventeen members of the American Congress, including Representatives Claude Kitchin and Joseph G. Cannon and Senator Gore, of Oklahoma, arrived at Porto Rico on the 17th to make a tour of the island.

—While approving legal steps seeking to end rent profiteering, the Law Committee of the Bronx Board of Trade in a report made public on the 19th declared the high rent situation to be due principally to the scarcity of apartment houses.

—From 8 to 50 per cent. of the dairy cattle in New Jersey are tuberculous and officials are afraid to take steps to eliminate the diseased bovines. The financial loss that would result to the dairymen seems to be the chief factor deterring official action.

—Wisconsin has just passed a State-wide city manager law encouraging all the cities of the State to adopt the city manager plan by a simple referendum procedure. North Dakota passed a similar law in March. There are now thirteen such State laws.

—A Dane has invented a machine for mixing peat and brown coal for briquets, which are said to contain 6,000 heat calories, only 1,004 less than in good steam coal. The mixture is one-third brown coal and two-thirds peat, with a little pitch or tar to make it stick together.

—At the Twenty-seventh Annual Conference of the Independent Labor Party in England, held from April 20 to 22, a resolution was discussed calling upon the Parliamentary Labor Party to place a bill before Parliament to insure proportional representation for Great Britain.

—Bond issues for highway improvements reaching the enormous total of \$765,000,000 have been authorized or are now in process of authorization, according to a compilation of estimates made by the United States Department of Labor. Eighteen States are participating in these bond issues.

—As a result of information which he received in the investigation of the drug traffic in New York, Health Commissioner Copeland said that he had made formal protest to the New York Prison Commission that convicts in State institutions are receiving an uninterrupted supply of narcotic drugs.

—A survey of three districts now covered by the new rural motor truck parcel post routes leading into Philadelphia, which were recently introduced by the Post Office Department in order to cut food prices, has demonstrated that big savings are possible to consumers who patronize the service.

—In Toronto a large mercantile business has formulated a profit-sharing plan. The scheme is that all employes having been in the company's service not less than one year have the option of joining. Those desiring to do so must deposit 5 per cent. of their wages with the company, not exceeding \$100.

—Announcement is made of the call for a National Conference on Lynching "to take concerted action against lynching and lawlessness wherever found," to be held in New York City May 5 and 6, by a group of 120 leading men and women of the country. The first meeting will be at Carnegie Hall on the Evening of May 5.

—Quebec City has given an advance to their Catholic School teachers, as follows: teaching brothers raised \$100 a year for those who received \$800. Directors of schools among brothers will get \$500 instead of \$400. Is it not time, says the Labor World, that these wages were raised? Get union among the brothers, it exhorts.

—Permanent organization of a Pershing highway to extend from coast to coast in honor of the commander of America's expeditionary forces was

effected at Lincoln, Neb., on the 16th by delegates representing States lying between New York City and San Francisco. B. A. George of Lincoln was elected President of the association.

—The vote of the New Zealand soldiers has wiped out the majority for Prohibition in that Commonwealth on April 11. When the election in New Zealand showed a Prohibition majority of 12,000 it was announced that the ballots cast by 40,000 soldiers abroad had not been counted. They voted about three to one against Prohibition.

—Two thousand men and women representing forty-six States have answered the call for a conference recently issued by the Committee of Forty-eight, with headquarters at 15 East Fortieth Street, New York. The conference is called for the purpose of organizing "those who are interested in a thoroughgoing program of fundamental reconstruction," political, economic, and social.

—The primary need of a baby is a competent mother, according to a dodger on "The Care of the Baby," just issued by the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor. This leaflet is ninth in a series on the care of mothers and babies. It gives within four pages the essentials of baby caring, and discusses briefly such topics as food, clothing and a well baby's daily program.

—The alienation of lands that had been set apart for the exclusive use of American Indians by the government of the United States, into the hands of members of other races, has recently met with correction at different points on the Pacific Coast, where the United States Government has intervened and, securing a reversal of judgments of the lower courts, has restored the lands to their Indian owners.

—There have been 8,216 lynchings, exclusive of the East St. Louis and other mob riots, in the United States in the last thirty years, 702 of which have been lynchings of white people and 2,514 lynchings of Negroes. Sixty-three Negroes and four white persons were lynched in 1918. Some of the recent lynchings have been particularly atrocious, involving burning at the stake and torture of the victims.

—The Great Adventure group of Singletax workers in California have invited Mr. William L. Ross of Philadelphia to assume direction of their activities. A number of Philadelphia members of the organization have issued a statement saying that Mr. Ross is prepared to give up his business and the income from it, move to Los Angeles, and devote his entire time to the work, asking only that his living expenses be paid.

—Nebraska, having voted for a Constitutional Convention last November, has now passed an excellent law providing for a nonpartisan constitutional convention to be elected in November, 1919, and convened in December. A Survey Committee will be appointed by the Supreme Court

of the State to prepare information and ideas for the convention. This Survey Committee will consist of five members with an appropriation.

—Without a dissenting vote in either house, the Nebraska Legislature has enacted a law that will go into effect as soon as the Governor of the State signs it, which places all private, denominational and parochial schools in the State under the supervision and direction of the public school superintendents of the State, county and city, and requires them to maintain the same standard of equipment, textbooks and courses of study as the public schools.

—The Bureau of Fisheries reports a series of meetings for demonstrating fish cookery, held at St. Augustine, Titusville, Miami, West Palm Beach, and Key West, Fla., under the auspices of the Home Demonstrators of the South. The housewives attending these meetings averaged from 85 to 120. At Key West sharks' meat, usually regarded as worthless, was made up into a salad, and its name concealed until every one voted it delicious.

—Development and early application of a constructive industrial program in which publicity and education carried on by the Government would hold a leading place was advocated as a plan to safeguard American industry against extreme revolutionary industrial propaganda in a report just issued by ex-Governor Robert P. Bass of New Hampshire, covering the period of his service as Director of the Marine and Dock Industrial Relations Division of the Shipping Board.

—Dr. Louis Levine, professor of economics at Montana State University at Missoula, has been reinstated by the State Board of Education, in session at Helena, after having been suspended from the faculty of the university for two months. Dr. Levine's suspension followed the publication of a monograph on the taxation of mines in Montana said to have been inimical to the corporate mining interests of the State, especially the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. His suspension was ordered by E. C. Elliott, chancellor of the university.

—R. H. Leavell, of Mississippi, one of the investigators on Negro migration in 1916-17, the report on which has just been issued through the office of the director of Negro economics, Department of Labor, affirms the conviction that harmonious relations between whites and Negroes in the South can readily be cultivated. "Relations are most cordial, he asserts, where white illiteracy is lowest, where communities have existed for generations and whites and blacks have long been in contact, where the soil is fertile, where right of trial in court is maintained for Negroes, and where Negroes are encouraged to own property."

—The American Multigraph Company of Cleveland has announced the formation of a shop organization to provide coöperative machinery by

which the employees may take part in the management and propose changes in working conditions or other matters affecting the relations of the company with its workers. The organization is modeled after the National Government, and will consist of a Congress composed of twenty-four employes and a Senate made up of department heads. Twelve of the Congress are to be directly elected by vote of the workers and the other twelve to be chosen at a conference of the president of the company with the three elected members receiving the largest votes. Legislation passed by both houses becomes effective upon approval by either the cabinet, composed of the president, vice-president, and treasurer, or the Board of Directors. A Supreme Court, consisting of three members each from the Congress, Senate, and Cabinet, acts as a court of appeal.

General

—The commission manager plan of government was adopted by Hays, Kan., by a vote of 521 to 115.

—Syphilis is more prevalent than tuberculosis, affecting from 8 to 18 per cent. of the entire population of the United States.

—The Federal Trade Commission has denied the application of the newspaper publishers for a reopening of the news print case.

—On April 21st the drive began for the fifth or Victory Loan, with New York selling more than \$70,000,000 worth of bonds as a starter.

—American capitalists have applied for permission to erect an oil refinery in the Tampico district, which will be the largest in the world.

—The Bethlehem Steel Corporation in its annual report gives its total sales for the year ended December 31, \$448,410,808, compared with \$298,929,580 in 1917.

—Members of the Chilean Financial Commission were entertained at a luncheon given at the Bankers' Club, 120 Broadway, on the 21st by the Pan-American Society of the United States.

—The report of the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company for the year ended December 31, 1918, shows that net earnings after taxes of \$71,129,012, compared with \$57,942,941 in 1917.

—It is said that American Catholics spent last year \$35,000,000.00 for candy; \$21,000,000.00 for soft drinks, \$2,100,000.00 for chewing gum, and \$950,000.00 for the Catholic missions.

—The Shipping Board has ordered 100 vessels recently completed in Great Lakes yards to be reequipped to burn oil as fuel instead of coal, which they were designed to use.

—Government may have to lose nothing on the guaranteed prices, but it is asserted that wheat is now being sold to Europe at 80 to 40 cents less than is charged American millers.

—Formal charges of pro-German activities by certain American missionaries in Bulgaria and Northern Persia were forwarded to the American Board of Foreign Missions by the State Department.

—American shipyards built 2,056 merchant ships, aggregating 3,225,000 gross tons, during the twelvemonth period ending March 31, 1919. This is three times greater than the production of the preceding twelvemonth period.

—New York is the world's leading center of the printing industry, according to a volume descriptive of the industry in this city, which has been issued by the Industrial Education Survey of the City of New York.

—According to *El Demócrata*, the amount due the stockholders of the National Railways of Mexico from the Mexican Government, is over 49,000,000 pesos. The statement is made that for the present the railways will not be returned to their owners.

—Juarez, the Mexican metropolis of border towns, has become the oasis in the great American prohibition desert. Barrels of American-made whiskey and wine are offered to persons permitted to cross the border under prevailing passport regulations.

—A systematic investigation of rent profiteering is planned by Nathan Hirsch, chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Taxation, who is calling together for organization a special committee which will have the powers of the City Administration behind its inquiry.

—A report on Negro migration from the South during 1916 and 1917 has been issued by the Department of Labor. The estimated number that left the South during those years was 200,000. Additional migration since the investigation will bring the total to at least 600,000, according to the Director of Negro Economics.

—The German national railroads are credited with possessing 36,008 locomotives and 782,529 freight cars. As a matter of fact, there are only 30,709 locomotives available at the present time, and according to a count made last October there are approximately 46,000 passenger cars, 12,000 baggage cars, and 459,000 freight cars.

—Brigadier General Cornelius Vanderbilt is leading the \$13,000,000 Home Service Fund Drive of the Salvation Army for Greater New York. The deep interest in the new commander for the metropolitan district is shown by the many letters and inquiries which are pouring in at the national campaign headquarters at No. 680 Fifth Avenue.

—The report of the United States Steel Corporation notes that during the year 65 per cent. of the output of the corporation's mills went directly to the United States and the Allied Governments. At the request of the Government the corporation spent \$202,681,905 for new manufac-

turing facilities between April 1, 1917, and December 31 last year.

—The influenza epidemic last year cost the Prudential Insurance Company \$14,000,000 in payments on the deaths of 68,000 policyholders between September 26 and December 31, the company announced at its home offices in Newark. During 1918 payments were made on more than 250,000 deaths, and total more than \$71,000,000, which is \$20,000,000 greater than any previous year.

—Japan is one of the greatest producers of menthol and peppermint, and almost controlling influences are held by that country in the markets all over the world. Before the war the export trade in these goods witnessed a steady increase. In 1912 the export of menthol crystals was 174,861 pounds, valued at \$791,671, but in 1916 the total volume of shipments amounted to 511,168 pounds, with a value of \$1,200,498.

—Viscount William Waldorf Astor, born an American and naturalized in England, is said to pay more money for income tax than the total of his income. His property is in the United States and is taxed by both the American and British Governments. His American holdings are valued at more than \$80,000,000, with an estimated income of \$4,000,000. The New York taxes are \$1,600,000; the Federal income tax, with surtaxes, \$1,200,000, and the British income tax \$1,600,000—a total about \$400,000 more than the income.

—The Bureau of the Census has made a public report of its work on divorce statistics. The figures show one divorce for every nine marriages. For 1916 the low divorce rates were in New York, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia; the high rates were in Nevada, Montana, and Oregon. Desertion was the leading cause. The marriage rate in 1916 was 1,050 per 100,000, or nine times as great as the divorce rate of 112 per 100,000. The marriage rate in 1906 was 1,020 per 100,000. Women obtained 68.9 per cent. of the divorces.

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