

THE SENATE AND THE SMOKE SCREEN

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

August 23, 1919

The President's Fourteen Points

Louis F. Post

Intervention in Mexico

Manuel Carpio

The Senate and the League

David Starr Jordan

Published Weekly in New York, N. Y.
Ten Cents a Copy, Three Dollars a Year

A Step in the Right Direction

MANY people are very much disappointed with the Peace Treaty. . . . But have we any right to expect that water will rise higher than its source? Is it fair either to the President or to ourselves to be disappointed? The world is headed in the right direction, but progress has always been slow and always will be slow. The League of Nations is a step in the right direction, but it is only a step. If it were more than a step, it might become a tumble. When a child starts out by running, he always falls and gets hurt. The normal child *hitches* first, then *creeps*, then *walks*, and finally *runs*. President Wilson was far-seeing in appealing for a League of Nations and insisting that the League be a part of the Treaty of Peace.*

* From the Bulletin of the Society to Eliminate the Economic Causes of War.

Subscribe for the Public, Circulate It

THE PUBLIC is one of the few liberal political New York weekly publications that is supporting Wilson and the League of Nations. You will help support the President and do us a favor if you will show this number (and others) to friends who are interested in the policies for which THE PUBLIC stands.

An introductory subscription for eighteen weeks will be accepted at \$1.

Five of these subscriptions will entitle the sender to a full year's subscription (new or renewal) for only \$1 additional.

THE PUBLIC
5th Ave. and 13th St.
New York

Enter my subscription to The Public for an introductory eighteen weeks. \$1 is enclosed.

Name

Address

Let me congratulate you heartily on your unique attitude regarding the Peace Treaty and the part played in its establishment by President Wilson. Your combination of sanity and progressiveness is so exceptional that your position deserves praise and support of all liberals.—
L. C. B., Baltimore.

The Public

A Journal of Democracy

August 23, 1919

Contents

Editorial Notes	891
The President's Message.....	895
Unionizing the Professions.....	895
Whistling Up the Wind.....	896
China the Non-Resistant.....	897
The President's Fourteen Points, Louis F. Post	898
The Senate and the Smoke Screen, Hugh Reid	900
The Senate and the League, David Starr Jordan	902
How Can the Senate Be Reformed? Victor S. Yarros	903
Speculators Peeved, Wm. N. McNair.....	904
Intervention: Mexican Side of It, Manuel Carpio	905
Current Thought	907
Books	908
News	911

Founded and Edited, 1898-1918, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE THACHER POST

EDITOR: STOUGHTON COOLBY

LITERARY AND NEWS EDITOR: S. C. EBY

PUBLISHER AND MANAGING EDITOR: STANLEY BOWMAR

Published Weekly by

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,

122 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York City

Single Copy, Ten Cents

Yearly Subscription, \$8.00

Canadian, \$3.50

Foreign, \$4.00

Entered as Second-Class Matter January 11, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

THE SCHOOL THAT STUDIES LIFE

The Training School for Community Workers

Reorganized on the Cooperative Plan

JOHN COLLIER, Director

In an eight months' course the School prepares students to meet the demand for trained workers in Communities, Industrial Welfare Organizations, Public Schools, Churches and Colleges. Also offers short courses for trained workers already in the field and for volunteers.

Address for full information

MISS A. A. FREEMAN, Room 1801, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXII

New York, N. Y., August 23, 1919

Number 1116

SENATOR SHERMAN is said to look like Lincoln. In fact, he admits it himself. He has indeed much of Lincoln's marvelous lack of physical beauty. Senator Sherman's best friend could not call him handsome. He differs from Lincoln, however, in one respect,—Lincoln was a very reticent man. The garrulous Senator from Illinois, on the other hand, is possessed of a tongue which is hung in the middle and wags at both ends. Yet sometimes his torrents of words are revealing enough to the observant listener. His speech in favor of the Italian claims to Fiume represents the real spirit of the opposition to the League of Nations. While the extreme radicals of the left wing are denouncing the League because it has not automatically wiped out every imperial interest in the world, the real legislative opposition is objecting because the League wipes out any. The whole spirit of the attack upon the League is in defense of international imperialism, and those radicals who are unwise enough to play into the hands of the imperialist Senators are defeating their own ends.

THERE are still theatricals over the payment of \$25,000,000 by the United States to Colombia in compensation for our arbitrary seizure of Panama. A prominent banking journal calls it an insult to the memory of Mr. Roosevelt. Quoting Mr. Roosevelt's, "I carved my name in Panama," the Boston News Bureau querulously asks, "How can Mr. Roosevelt's name be carved in Panama if we pay Colombia \$25,000,000?" Can not even a banker see the

decency of reimbursing the defenseless neighbor in whose furniture our exuberant small boy may have carved his initials? Mr. Roosevelt's fame is secure enough. The great canal linking ocean with ocean will always remain a monument to his genius. He requires no land grabs or bullying attacks upon weaker neighbors to buttress his fame. Nor should the banker critics over the Colombian settlement object to a just reparation. None of them had the least objection to our payment of \$40,000,000 to the French for a worthless canal franchise. We are paying a much less price for extinguishing Colombia's political sovereignty. Or do our bankers consider sovereignty less sacred than franchises?

NEVER before has there been such rapid progress in the spread of sentiment favoring the initiative and referendum. It is not so long since the I. and R. were looked upon by the staid and proper citizen of the East as a vagary of the Wild West. To the conservative of the East it was nothing more or less than a bit of flotsam and jetsam cast up by Populism. But the whirlpool of politics has brought strange changes to pass. First the "wets" set up a cry for a referendum on the liquor question; then the Senators opposed to the League of Nations demanded a referendum on the treaty; and now the anti-suffragists want a referendum on the Suffrage Amendment. This is splendid. Let the good work go on. The original I. and R. friends will strike hands with the new advocates, and will hope that these later

converts, whether or not they win their point, will not forget the principle when it comes to applying it to other questions.

OH joy, oh, rapture unforeseen! When the Honorable Joseph Weldon Bailey announced that he had withdrawn from the Democratic Party it seemed too good to be true. Never had he done anything while in the party that so became him as the leaving of it. But his benisons are not to stop there. He is determined to do still more to make the Democratic Party safe for democrats. So with fanfaronade and blare of trumpets it is announced that Senator Bailey is going to produce a new Democratic Party at Ft. Worth August 14th. Probably it will have another name, or a prefix or suffix, that will fix the fact in the mind of the public that this is a Democracy according to Bailey. Judging from the prospectus, anybody who is opposed to going anywhere except back can belong, but the Rose Chapter of the Inner Circle will be made up of those who can subscribe to a rock-ribbed test oath of general anti-ness. They must be anti-prohibition, anti-suffrage, anti-League of Nations, anti-peace with Mexico, anti-the late war with Germany, and first and foremost anti-Wilson. Br'er Bailey will be ably assisted by Ex-Governor Ferguson, whose record is still rank in the public memory, and the Senators who led the fight against woman suffrage in the Texas Legislature.

THERE seems to be just one oversight in the Bailey program, and perhaps it may yet be remedied. Every real democrat and every true republican longs for the coming of another party. Hitherto the difficulty with new political aggregations has been that they have been made up of "forward looking" persons, whereas the real crying need of the nation is a party which will take for its glad slogan, "Backward, Turn Backward!" and call to its drab colors all the reactionaries, all the stand-patters of both parties. It would be a safe and sane party, and it would need nothing in the way of torch-light processions, brass bands, speeches, or propaganda. All it would require would be mausoleums dotted around over the country, where fossils, barnacles, fungi, and all

extinct or dying species could be gathered and the rest of the country be given an opportunity to view the remains. No new party, on the plans and specifications suggested for the Bailey aggregation, will be complete without one Henry Cabot Lodge and at least one Nicholas Murray Butler. Right now we want to suggest Bailey and Butler as the standard bearers in next year's national fight and the exponents of the new national faith. With them stampeding their followers to the rear, the rest of the country would have a chance to go forward.

THE Hungarian situation after taking a turn for the better, has become much worse. It was bad enough to have the Bolsheviks, but they now have a Hapsburg grand duke. France and France alone must bear the onus both of fostering Rumanian aggression and forcing a new autocracy upon Hungary. It is doubtful, however, if the present situation can last long. Every French act is taken over the violent protests of the entire American delegation. The policy is shortsighted not only in so far as it concerns Hungary, but with respect to France itself. France, which has been the guiding spirit in stiffening the backbone of the Czarist group allied with Kolchak in Siberia, is also the power which is endeavoring to restore the Czarist regime in the Ukraine. The most sinister influence which is operated to check or modify the Wilson program for the world centers in France. "God," Mr. Clemenceau is reported to have said, "gave us the ten commandments and we broke them. Mr. Wilson gave us his fourteen points. We shall see." In that spirit centers the most malignant influence in Europe. The basic cause of this devious diplomacy is the corruption of the French government itself. A good many people are deceived by the fact that it is republican in form and have been led to assume that it is democratic in spirit. These are the considerations which have brought France today to the very brink of revolution. One of two things will happen: a change of Government by the ballot or a change by violence. But the Bourbons of today like the Bourbons of yesterday learn nothing and forget nothing. They stand steadfast with their backs to the future, decrying every attempt at progress.

GREAT BRITAIN and not Russia should be in the liberal limelight. Russia offers no present hope. Torn between conflicting autocratic factions the democratic movement is for the present obscured. England, however, is rich with promise. The nation which first developed the working machinery of political democracy is very likely to be the first to use that machinery for the enactment of widespread and sweeping industrial reforms. The most serious menace to popular industrial reform today is the tendency of minority doctrinaire groups to seize power and force their reforms down the throats of the majority. In too many European countries the doctrine prevails that political and industrial democracy are antagonistic. They are not. They are complementary. The currents in industrial democracy which are sweeping England are not a sudden growth but are the result of painstaking years of education. The groups which are temporarily banded together in the name of labor are in reality spiritual descendants of a long line of pioneers from Watt Tyler to Cobden and Henry George. The British movement is hopeful because it is fundamental. Britain is the home of the land movement. Land reform is at the very heart of British democracy. The recent by-election at Bothwell was no accident, although the election of a labor party candidate by a majority of 7,000 in a constituency which was safe for the coalition last December is somewhat startling. Undoubtedly the continued defeats of the coalition candidates may be interpreted in part as mere dissatisfaction with the present administration. It is true that the Government and the people are more and more out of tune. The Government itself is alive to that as the trimming of its Russian policy to suit the popular fancy will indicate. But the causes of dissatisfaction are deeper. The land song will be sung again. The by-elections are ominous, or shall we say prophetic.

AMONG the business men's associations that are taking a vigorous and intelligent interest in public affairs none has expressed saner views on the present conditions of industry than the Manufacturers' Association of New Jersey. Three years ago, when Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll was president, it issued a warning of what was coming, and proposed as a remedy

abolition of the personal property tax; exemption from taxation of machinery and stocks in trade, as now practiced in the State of Pennsylvania, a reduction in taxation on buildings and other improvements on land by the ten annual stages of five per cent. to one-half of its valuation. To supply the deficit in income caused by these exemptions, the Association urged an increase in the tax on land values. And in appealing for a revision of the tax system it said: "Taxes on industry are largely shifted to the consumers, particularly the laboring class, and thus become the leading cause of high prices." The report issued in July of this year indicates that the Association has been confirmed in its opinion as expressed three years ago. And it has good reason to be. The personal property tax has, as it says, become confiscatory, and has forced such uneconomic acts as the destruction of slightly aged machinery or the shipping of it out of the State to avoid the tax."

THE weasel word is with us again. It has a front seat whenever the League of Nations is discussed. The number of people who are for a league of some kind is legion. It probably includes everybody but Mr. Borah. Some are for a league of peoples rather than a league of governments. This means that they are against the League until such time as every government in the world will become so responsive to public opinion that popular views go to press each night and result in legislation the next morning. Some are for a league "if properly safeguarded," and the ideas of proper safeguards are as various as the people setting them forth. Some are for a league providing that this or that reservation is made. All of these objections belong in the same class. They are purely academic. Every one with a grain of sense knows that the question of amendment is a question for the future. For amendment of the League by the United States immediately after the signing of the treaty presupposes the possibility of forcing that amendment down the throats of all the other signatory powers. This course is impossible. Amendment now, in other words, means rejection. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt has summed up the whole situation in a very brief and emphatic sentence. She says that the fight is between the people who are for a League and those who are for *the* League.

The real question before the American people is not whether they are for this League or a better one. It is whether they will have this League or none.

THE long heralded speech of Senator Lodge upon the League of Nations has at last been delivered. As the mountain labored and brought forth the mouse, so has the orator labored and brought forth a squeak. Delivered before a picked audience, it was scholarly if classical allusions are an indication of scholarship. It began with the Essays of Elia and ended with quotations from Horace. The chronological direction of the quotations indicates the general tenor of the address. Stripped of its gilt braid of classicism it was reduced to this as an argument, "The treaty is an idealistic thing; idealism is nonsense. The treaty can be considered only as an alliance. Since the Holy Alliance did not work, neither will this." It needed but the few piercing words of Senator Williams to expose the whole harangue for what it was—a sneer. The Brahmin was in every line of it. But for the setting Castlereagh might have delivered it. The sneer is the traditional Tory answer. It is the Tory substitute for vision. Politics makes strange bed-fellows indeed. Are not some of those liberals who wanted a greater measure of idealism injected into the treaty beginning to squirm as they listen to their fellow laborer in the political vineyard?

PPRICE investigation is now the vogue. The Congressman who can think of a new subject to inquire into is sure of brief mention in the press. Our old friends the packers are in for another inquiry. The various food dealers and clothing makers are being overhauled. Manufacturers are due for a grilling; and if Congressman Igoe succeeds in mollifying Speaker Gillett, we may have an investigation into shoes. But there is still one uninvestigated subject, and one that may throw some light on the high cost of living. Congress has set out to inquire into the manufacture and handling of everything made or grown from land, but no one seems to have thought of investigating the earth itself. Owners of the earth are charging more for land to raise corn, wheat, or other

food product. They are charging more for mining coal, iron, and all other minerals. They are charging more for cutting lumber and using water power. They are charging more for places on which to set houses. Why? What have these owners done to the earth during the past five years that they should exact a higher toll of those who would use it? Nothing. They failed, even to contribute toward defraying the cost of the war; for of all the taxes levied by Congress not a cent was laid upon vacant land. Is there not one Congressman or Senator who will move an inquiry into the rise of land values?

THE cat is out of the bag. We know why shoes are high in price. Certain enemies of society have charged that the hides and leathers held in storage by the packers have something to do with prices. The theory is plausible, were it not for the fact that the people exploiting it have been known to speak disrespectfully of the packers before. Senator Myers has explained, however, that neither Mr. Armour nor Mr. Swift is responsible. The real cause is the Italian Government, which has bought up all the leather in the country. And so it goes. We have not discussed the high cost of living with Mr. Sherman or Mr. Reed. Doubtless the former, running true to form, would blame the Pope, while the latter would attribute the advance to the League of Nations. A real proposal has just been made to lower prices by taking over the railroads and lowering rates, which enter into the cost of practically every commodity in the country. The answer was an avalanche of abuse and a torrent of charges that the Government was being sovietized. There are too many men in Congress looking for a chance to make a speech and too few looking for causes of unrest.

THE Boston City Council, according to press dispatches, is for municipal ownership. This is the city of the vaunted model franchise. Mr. Walter Fisher, the Chicago traction expert, has been holding the Boston franchise up as the acme of all that is good. It provides for service at cost, the cost including all the water injected by capitalizing earnings in the days of greater prosperity. The fare in Boston is ten cents. No properly managed company need

charge more than five. The municipal lines of San Francisco and the almost municipal lines of Cleveland make money at five cents. Should a greater fare be necessary, the line should be taken over and the deficit made up if need be out of the public treasury. The higher fares carry too high a social cost. They mean close packed slums. It has been amply demonstrated before that expensive transportation means congestion. Low fares make the outlying areas with their light and air accessible to people as a whole. Where transportation is costly people buy it sparingly. They herd in thickly settled districts within walking distance of their work. It will pay those who think otherwise to consult the figures of the Children's Bureau and learn what is the price of congestion in terms of child life. If the companies remain in the hands of private owners the increase must be paid directly in terms of fares. If they are taken over and the higher fare should be deemed necessary, it can be paid out of the public treasury and considered as insurance against crime and disease. But no such payment will be necessary. Experience proves amply that a municipality with no watered stock can supply transportation at reasonable cost.

The President's Message

THE war has created an abnormal industrial situation. Many economic laws are apparently topsy-turvy. The President's message is to be interpreted in this light and is not to be taken as an index to the measures which he thinks necessary as permanent policies. Nothing fundamental can be done until peace comes. It is futile to attempt to deal with the world after the war until the war is over. The chief danger just at present lies in deluding ourselves into believing that the temporary legislation recommended by the President is all that is necessary. The President himself is careful to point out that he himself considers such measures as he is advocating at present as "only make-shift and provisional." The message, therefore, is important not so much for the specific measures it advocates as for its analysis of present conditions and the implications to be drawn as to future policies.

The President's position, of course, is im-

measurably more difficult than it was six months ago. He is no longer the leader of the party in power. His influence with Congress is much smaller than it was last Spring. The submissive majority has been turned into a hostile one. His power to force legislation can be used only to the extent that public opinion will back him up. Unfortunately the great mass of the American people are not as yet favorable to radical measures of dealing with industrial problems. That they are not is a matter of regret. For the President has given a hint of the length to which he is willing to go. He has stated fully and frankly that he does not consider present measures as fundamental. His advocacy of the Kenyon bill which strikes at the very heart of the packing trust by forcing them to abandon its terminal monopolies, suggests that he realizes that all monopoly is rooted in land monopoly. Nor is he unaware of the monopoly advantages which lurk in control of transportation as the following sentences will indicate: "It does not seem to me that we can confine ourselves to detailed measures if it is indeed our purpose to assume national control of the processes of distribution. I take it for granted that this is our purpose and duty."

The implications, therefore, to be drawn from the President's message are that peace is the great avenue toward the reconstitution of industry upon a better basis. Peace can only come through ratification of the Treaty. After that the President has indicated that he is willing to advance as far along the path of fundamental democracy as the people of the United States will permit.

Unionizing the Professions

FIRST it was the Teachers Federation of Chicago, followed by the teachers of other cities, then the professors of Harvard, then the scientists and specialists of Washington, who had unionized their profession and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The once despised labor union has become a power that the brain worker looks to as the only agency that can redress his grievances.

The Chicago teachers as teachers were laughed at by the politicians and ignored by the press; but they were taken seriously when they became members of the American Federa-

tion of Labor. The professors have been a sort of standing joke as men of highest learning who command the wages of children. And the technical experts have seen brawn with almost no training enjoying better wages and more freedom than brains with years of training.

Now it is the actors, best loved and most abused of our fellows!

Time was when the theater was thought of as a combination of playwright, actors, and audience. A new factor has entered—the manager. He calls himself a manager, but is really an exploiter. He knows nothing of histrionic art. Like the vendor of patent medicines and gewgaws he tries to discover what will draw the public to the box office. If he can find a popular actor he starves the rest of the troupe and the playwright. If he gets a popular play he starves both the star and the troupe. He knows little of literature and less of art. His sole guide and measure is the box office receipts. He fixes royalties for authors, salaries for actors, and through speculators juggles prices with the public.

He advertises himself instead of his troupe. And even when he has a great actor to exploit his announcement reads, "Mr. Blank presents Mr. Star." He has been deaf to all protests. He has treated the temperamental genius as he would the phlegmatic coal heaver. Consequently, there was nothing left but to organize the actors after the manner of the coal heavers. But when the actors as a profession attempted to bring pressure to bear upon the managers they merely provoked derision. As members of the American Federation of Labor, however, it will be different. The manager cared little if his actor struck—he could hire another. But if his audience strikes also it will be serious.

And that is what the new move means; for the hod carriers, coat makers, scrub women and the various trades will not patronize the "unfair" theatre. It was humiliating to some to ally themselves with trades unions, but now that teachers, professors, scientists, and actors have taken the plunge, it will be easy for the rest to follow. The Authors' League seriously considered the step a year ago, but the proposal was voted down. Next time there will probably be a different result. The worker is asserting himself in politics, industry, and in the professions.

Whistling Up the Wind

HOW pitifully inadequate are most of the proposals of financiers to meet the wreck of war. As well might a child try to save a burning building by pouring water from a dainty little tea pot. Frank A. Vanderlip, one of our ablest and most experienced financiers, after an exhaustive investigation of conditions abroad, gives in his book, "What Happened to Europe," a most tragic picture of the situation. He is urging that these conditions be recognized, but he himself appears to be insensible to the futility of the means he suggests for correcting them. Mr. Vanderlip, like so many others, realizes that the substance of the people has been destroyed. But instead of boldly levying upon the privileged classes to mend conditions, he suggests a plan by means of which the rich will lend to the poor until the poor recreate wealth to replace what has been destroyed. In plain terms, his plan means that labor is to live with extreme meagerness, frugality, and industry for a generation in order that monopolists may escape with little or no sacrifice at all.

Men may deceive themselves by these fatuous schemes, as Mr. Vanderlip appears to have done. But they cannot long deceive the victims of the disaster. This great banker proposes, for instance, that devastated Europe be saved by loans of the United States to the impoverished countries, requiring each nation to "pledge a first lien upon its customs revenue to meet the interest and amortization service of that portion of the international loan allocated to that particular nation."

This implies a tariff wall about each starving little nation, and the duties that go to discharge this loan would be added to the price of the goods used by the stricken people. This is foolishness. It can at best only postpone the day of reckoning, as Byran W. Holt, Investment Manager for Goodbody & Co., stock brokers, says in his market letter of July 17. "Frankly, we see no way of saving Europe from bankruptcy by any such palliative scheme. As we see it, Germany and Austria are helplessly bankrupt, if they have to meet the indemnity payments assessed against them, unless they abolish all taxes and appropriate all land values to the state. This can be done easily and sim-

ply by taxing land values only." Mr. Holt goes on to say that this method would probably wreck some of Germany's financial institutions, but they will probably go down anyway, and he insists that unless industry is freed from taxation, Germany and Austria will bear such a financial load that their people will emigrate to escape it. Free land and free trade, Mr. Holt insists, will make free men and will keep them at home.

The Russian Revolution was handicapped by falling into the hands of men too inexperienced to keep the wheels of industry moving. The German Revolution has still within its council sufficient junker interests to prevent the new government from getting down to fundamental principles. In spite of the drastic taxes proposed by Financial Minister Erzberger, there is little to indicate a differentiation between incomes from landed estates and from factories or other forms of production. In this country our leading financiers appear to still think they can have their cake and eat it too. They hope to put out the fire by pouring water from a tea pot.

China the Non-Resistant

IT has been the habit of certain persons to point to China as the horrible example of pacifism, and to fortify their argument for international relations upon a military basis. But there is reason to believe that this opinion is likely to be modified by events in the near future.

Japan has apparently made the same mistake that Germany did in her foreign relations. France and Great Britain had acquired colonies in the course of centuries when the sword was the only recognized international influence. The German statesmen undertook to do in a few years what had taken other countries many generations. Japan, deceived by Germany's apparent success, attempted a similar course in Asia.

But the world has passed out of the buccaneering age. Nations now appeal to force at their peril. Japan could and did overrun China and defeat Russia. But just when she considered her victory complete she found herself impotent in China, and suspected and hated by the nations outside. In both respects her posi-

tion is untenable. To defy the opinion of the world would make her an outcast and withhold indefinitely the coveted equality of race upon which she has set her heart. To estrange the Chinese people is to render concessions in that country useless.

This is not to blame Japan above other nations. She attempted to play the game of international politics as it had been played. But the rules of the game have been changed, and she has not yet fully conformed to the new rules.

Japan's first war with China demonstrated that the Chinese were not a fighting people, and subsequent events have confirmed that impression. Some predicted that the Japanese would teach the Chinese how to fight, and would themselves be overwhelmed by their great neighbor. But this ignores the nature of the Chinese people. They are no more a fighting race now than they were at the time of the Japanese war. During the whole revolution, when an empire was transformed into a republic, with a subsequent counter revolution, only a handful of the four hundred million people were at any time under arms.

It may be found that after all the strength of China lies in her stoical pacifism. The new student movement, which has spread so rapidly throughout the empire, is organizing the people to carry out this policy toward Japan, and in adopting this line of procedure they have invoked a power before which Japan's army and navy will be helpless. Japan covets China for commercial reasons. She seeks trade concessions, spheres of influence, and financial domination. These have been wrung from weak and corrupt Chinese officials, but they are not recognized by the Chinese people.

It is the purpose of the Chinese students to organize this sentiment of the people into a great agency of passive resistance. The secretary of the boys' work of the Y. M. C. A. at Shanghai, in a letter quoted by the *Oregon Journal*, estimates the number of students engaged in the movement at more than twenty thousand. These bright young men and women, with Western education, based upon China's philosophy, are organizing the whole country to act as a unit in boycotting Japan as long as she is unfriendly. Dr. Tai Chi Quo, Chinese delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, and Dr.

Gilbert Reid, an American journalist of thirty-seven years' experience in China, confirm this opinion.

This intelligently organized, passive resistance will be far more deadly to the Japanese than any possible army that the Chinese could

bring into action. And every lover of his kind must rejoice at the prospect, for the success of this endeavor will mean not only the thwarting of the Japanese militarists, but it will mean the emancipation of China without driving her into militarism.

The President's Fourteen Points.

By Louis F. Post

Assistant Secretary of Labor; Founder and First Editor of The Public; Author of "The Tazation of Land Values," "The Ethics of Democracy," "Social Service," Etc.

THICK and thin objectors to the League of Nations have made much of what they denounce as the abandonment of President Wilson's fourteen points of peace. The plain truth is that those points have not been abandoned. They have been scrupulously cared for to the fullest extent that a treaty with Germany admits of.

Eight of the President's points relate to particular and six to general conditions.

Taking the particular conditions first and in their order, here is the score. The sixth point relates to Russia; and Russia is as completely provided for as her present chaotic condition permits. The seventh relates to the restoration of Belgium; and who dare say that Belgium is not justly provided for? The eighth relates to the restoration of portions of France, including Alsace and Lorraine, and the righting of the wrongs done to France by Germany—all provided for fairly in the treaty. The ninth relates to the frontiers of Italy, the tenth to the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the eleventh to those of Rumania and her neighbors, the twelfth to Turkey, the thirteenth to Poland. All are adjusted to the fullest extent possible in a treaty with Germany alone, and the future is fairly secured through the League.

If we turn now to the six general points of President Wilson's famous fourteen, we find that the covenant of the League provides fully and fairly for every one.

The first demands open covenants of peace openly arrived at and no private international understandings in the future. Except to such Americans as have so little appreciation of common sense procedure as to suppose that an international understanding is not openly arrived

at unless the formulating body formulates it in open mass meeting (to the music of hisses and cheers and groans and heckling questions), the covenant of the League of Nations, which is the basic covenant of universal peace, has been and is even now being arrived at openly. Formulated by known national representatives, it is under discussion by all their peoples and has been for nearly six months. As to the remainder of the first point, no private understandings in future, Article XVIII. of the League requires all future treaties to be registered with the Secretariat. They must be published, too. So every treaty hereafter will be brought to the knowledge of every nation; and if any nation be offended by a treaty the subject can receive advisory consideration by the Assembly under Article XIX. Thus any causes of war may be adjusted peaceably.

The second and the third of President Wilson's points relate to the freedom of navigation and equality of trade conditions. These conditions are provided for in Article XXIII, which requires the members of the League to make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. Outside nations cannot of course share in this provision; but how shall we secure any international arrangement giving trade concessions to nations that do not reciprocate? It would be best, of course; but that is something which as yet only free traders appreciate, and the nations are still unconverted to free trade—even our own.

The fourth of the President's points relates to reduction of armaments. It is provided for in Article VIII. That Article is too long to

quote here, but he must be thick of thought who, having read it, can say that President Wilson's fourth point is not securely provided for.

The fifth of the President's points relates to adjustments of colonial claims, with equitable consideration for the interests of the populations concerned. This point is secured by Article XXII. That article, also, is too long to quote here, but it makes the most careful provision for abolishing colonial exploitation and plutocratic "spheres of influence," by creating national trustees or "mandatories" with solemn responsibilities to the world and specific requirements of publicity for their respective administrations.

Most remarkable of all the allegations of abandonment of President Wilson's points relate to the fourteenth. This point demands a "general association of nations;" and the treaty responds by creating the League of Nations. It also demands "specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of *political independence and territorial integrity* to great and small states alike." The treaty responds with such a covenant. Indeed, it uses the very language of the fourteenth point, by requiring the members of the League "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the *territorial integrity and existing political independence* of all members of the League."

The part of the treaty which uses those words is Article X. Yet the same persons who denounce the treaty for omitting President Wilson's fourteenth point, denounce Article X. Could you beat it? If the President's point is good, why is Article X. bad? Is it because it provides that in case of such external aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall *advise* upon means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled? How can advice detract from the democracy of the President's fourteenth point? How menace the American people?

The truth is that Article X. guarantees peace for the world; and ammunition makers and militarists don't like that. The further truth is that Article X. guarantees the independence of small nations; and Americans who long to extend American suzerainty over nations to the south of us don't like that.

Part of the argument adverse to the League is that Article X. puts an end to the Monroe

Doctrine. But in fact Article X. makes the *true* Monroe Doctrine secure. It is destructive only of the false one. The false Monroe Doctrine is a "sphere of influence" doctrine. It would make us the masters and exploiters of republics to the south of us. Under the League of Nations it would wither. But the true Monroe Doctrine is that century-old policy of ours which guards republics in this hemisphere from monarchical invasions. We exemplified it when we ordered Napoleon III. to take his armies out of Mexico. It would flourish under the League, for it would be our duty and the world's duty to respect the territorial integrity of all republics.

If there had been a League of Nations in 1914, with Article X. in it, Germany would not have dared to invade Belgium. She would have known that the whole League would be in arms against her; and knowing this she would have plunged us into no world war. Is there not a lesson for us Americans in that episode? Or are we incapable of estimating future probabilities by past experiences?

If there were no other considerations for Americans with reference to rejecting the League of Nations, the consequences should be enough. To reject it is to place the United States in a position of shameful and dangerous isolation. The world would be a military camp, armed to the teeth, and at no distant day we should be plunged into a world war worse than the one we have just passed through. On the other hand, acceptance of this League means disarmament. There would then be no possibility of war. And is not that what we fought the world war for? Did we not call it "a war to end war"? This League is the only possible great step to make war not only inexcusable but impossible.

The United States cannot hold aloof from world affairs. The world war proved that. We must participate both commercially and politically, and either as a great military power or as a great peace partner. Plutocracy cries for world power and exploitation. Democracy demands world partnership and peace. To turn from the League of Nations, or to obstruct its organization, is to decide for plutocracy, militarism, conscription, and war. To join heartily in forming this League of Nations is to lay foundations of universal peace on which to build a structure of international justice and world-wide democracy.

The Senate and the Smoke Screen

By Hugh Reid

I DON'T know who got credit for inventing the smoke-screen as a defense against submarines. I know that the principle was used in politics long before the navy ever heard of it. The cuttlefish was in existence before the United States Senate. So maybe the credit of the original invention goes to that devious cephalopod. But the Senate has vastly improved the idea. In that august body the squid is daily put to shame by superior craftsmen. Take the Shantung affair, for instance. The Senate has so muddled the waters that not one man in a thousand knows the facts.

There is a general impression that the peace treaty turns over to Japan a Chinese province of 40,000,000 people in much the same manner that Alsace-Lorraine was yielded to Germany or as Japan now holds Korea. This is all nonsense. Japan has no such control. Let us examine the facts.

Shantung is a peninsula about as big as Illinois or Michigan. It contains about 26,000,000 people. The Senate has expanded this in some excess of senatorial generosity to 40,000,000. But the gazetteers say 26,000,000. It is a minor matter, however, whether twenty-six or forty millions are subject to a foreign sovereignty. If either is correct it is bad enough. The truth is that neither of them is. Chinese names have been hurled around so promiscuously, and irrelevant treaties have been quoted so freely, and there is such a mass of misleading information, that the truth can only be determined by carefully sifting the facts from the fancies and the home-made figures. The old proverb, it will be recalled, states that figures cannot lie. Some one equally sage has informed us that liars can figure. They can.

The Shantung episode began with Germany's lease to Kiao-Chau. Kiao-Chau bears about the same relation to Shantung that Galveston does to Texas. It is a port. The German lease covered a land area of 128 square miles. These are the figures of the National Geographic Society. The Senate has expanded them to 55,984. The population of this area was 84,000 in 1914. The Senate has expanded these figures

to 40,000,000. But no matter. Let us go on with our story.

The people of this territory were to be subject to German sovereignty for ninety-nine years. That was agreed to by China in this franchise granted to Germany. Germany used much the same tactics—force and fraud—that were used by our street car companies in securing ninety-nine year franchises in the good old days. But she got her franchise and the nations of the world recognized it just as our courts recognized the street car franchises.

Besides the leased territory there was a neutral zone around the harbor thirty miles wide (50 kilometers). German troops were to be permitted to pass through this territory. Germany was also to be permitted to "regulate the water courses." This means that Germany wanted to grab the water power. This section looks familiar. Mr. Mondell might have written it.

The concessions in this neutral zone were all economic, however. Political sovereignty was to be exercised by China. Chinese troops and police were to govern it. Germany agreed to that.

In addition to these, Germany got a franchise to construct and operate two railways and operate mines within ten miles of the boundaries. One of these railways was to be 250 miles long. This also was an economic concession. Except that it was negotiated by a government it differed in no way from an ordinary railroad franchise.

Such was the situation at the opening of the great war. The average American had never heard of Shantung, and Kiao-Chau was known only to a few liberals as a place where the Singletax was being tried. Most liberals were mildly glad that Germany had it so that the Singletax could be experimented with. Which shows that even liberals can go off half-cocked.

The only way China could abrogate the German claims was by force. She did not have the force. The great war came along. Japan went to war with Germany. Japan had the force China lacked. She captured Kiao-Chau in con-

junction with British troops while China remained at peace with Germany. She then proceeded to jam down the throat of China an agreement that China would recognize any arrangement that Japan should make with Germany regarding German rights in Shantung. Up to this point China had got herself into a bad mess with Germany. Japan had extricated her and demanded payment for doing so. She had spent her money and expected to be reimbursed.

Yet Japan, although she may have wished to do so, could not afford for the sake of international appearance to make so harsh a bargain. She therefore announced a policy of returning the leased territory to China's political sovereignty in return for the right to plant a Japanese settlement and retain Germany's economic concessions.

Two and a half years later China declared war against Germany. She claimed that this wiped out all German claims. This is a doubtful proposition at best. But whatever the merits of that dispute may be, China in 1917 had no claims against Germany to wipe out. She had already given them away to Japan.

Was Japan acting in good faith in promising the return of Kiao-Chau to China? Certainly not. *She had as a matter of fact negotiated secret treaties with the Allies which would give her the entire peninsula.* In the ordinary run of affairs she would have eventually used the secret treaties and her hold on Kiao-Chau's 128 square miles to swallow all of Shantung's 55,000 square miles. President Wilson's task at Paris was to prevent this possibility and to wipe out the secret treaties. A fair view of the facts will convince any one that he has done so.

In order to get Japan nailed down to an agreement which would protect China it was necessary to get Japan into a world court under some tribunal which could enforce that agreement. Failing that, there were two alternatives: (1) That the United States fight Japan, seize the territory and give it back to China; (2) That matters be permitted to drift, in which case Japan would under the treaties gobble Shantung as she had gobbled Korea.

The President chose the peaceful method. He set about getting Japan into the League of Nations. In order to do so, compromise was necessary. The prize justified the compromise.

Japan after much haggling accepted the treaty and the League.

Yet the President was not content. He insisted—and it is a part of the Paris record—that Japan again state her policy. The Japanese delegates replied, "The policy of Japan is to hand back the Shantung peninsula *in full sovereignty* to China, retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany and the right to establish a settlement at Tsingtao." Thus Japan acknowledged the secret treaties to be a dead letter.

Still Mr. Wilson was not satisfied. He knew that the Japanese railroad would need policing. He knew also that Japanese soldiers could easily be used to do more than police a road. Once given a lawful reason for Japanese troops to enter Shantung at all, he knew reasons would be found for keeping them there. Hence he forced other concessions and put them in the record. Here is the statement of policy by Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda: "The owners of the railway will use special police only to insure security for traffic. They will be used for no other purpose. The police forces will be composed of Chinese, and such Japanese instructors as the railway may select will be appointed by the Chinese Government."

No unprejudiced observer can do anything else than conclude that the President has taken a reluctant, evasive Japan and sewed her up in a sack. There is now only one thing Japan can do. She can make good. She is a member of the League. If China accepts membership in the League she can force Japan to keep her agreement. Thanks to President Wilson that agreement no longer rests on a mere evasive announcement of policy on the part of a nation notoriously shifty in her ways. Japan has stated in no uncertain terms just what she undertakes to do. Those statements will be the basis of action should China appeal to the League of Nations. Japan, prior to the treaty of Versailles, had only made a statement of policy. Mr. Wilson by forcing the Japanese delegates to speak openly before the nations of the world placed her in a position where she must carry her promises into effect. What was only a vague statement made upon the highway has been transformed into an exact one made in open court.

True, the economic grants remain. Those, however, must be settled eventually by the

League as a matter of world policy with respect to concessions. China cannot expect more at this time than to get rid of political invasion. Chicago would doubtless like to wipe out Mr. Insull's franchises and California would like an even start with the Southern Pacific. If the Treaty of Paris could have helped them out I should like to have seen it done. Meanwhile China with her railroad franchises to Japanese capitalists is in about the same condition as we ourselves were in prior to the war with our railroad franchises in the hands of British capitalists.

What, then, is the fuss in the Senate? Honest men like Senator Norris have been fooled. Shifty men like Senator Borah and Lodge have not been fooled. They are no more concerned with China than they were with Korea. Senators Lodge, Warren, Penrose, Smoot, Brandagee, and Knox were all in the Senate when Japan wiped Korea off the map. Their party was in

power, and their country under the Korean treaty was obligated to protest against the Japanese crime. Not a man in the list opened his mouth. They care no more for China today.

What if China takes them at their word? What if China repudiates the League? China must then stand on her own legs. Those legs are too feeble. What if reservations to the treaty are made by the Senate? Nothing can prevent Japan from making similar reservations. With the League removed China has only two alternatives, war or peace. War with Japan means defeat for China. Peace with Japan and without the League means that Japan will swallow Shantung under the secret treaties.

There you have what the smoke screen conceals. When the high winds of publicity have blown upon it long enough we shall see that the principal thing it obscures is China's way out,—the League.

The Senate and the League

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus of Leland Stanford, Jr., University

THE best argument in favor of the covenant of the League of Nations may be derived from the uncensored utterances of the United States Senate.

From this august body, the embodiment of the political wisdom of the Republic, we have these encouraging assurances: The Senator from Illinois tells us that the covenant will place the civilized world under the control of the leader of the most highly perfected religious organization the world has ever known. The Senator from California assures us that world leadership will pass over to the black and yellow races, the very people whose wrongs have been greatest in the past and whose needless sufferings have appealed to high heaven. The Senator from Washington warns us that the covenant will put an end to that unbridled nationalism which has run riot through the centuries culminating in the upbuilding of a nation as a giant power existing in a moral vacuum, a menace to itself and to all the world as well. The Senator from Pennsylvania, sensitive to every breeze of finance, demonstrates that world control will now lie in the hands of the great international bankers, the men who

are wisest in all money matters, with most to lose in an era of frenzied finance, and who may well be the economic advisers of the new world state. From Senators from New Hampshire and from Ohio we learn beyond question that the covenant will accomplish the enslavement of labor and also its enthronement. The Senator from Washington, talking against time, has made disclosures only of himself, but the Senator from Connecticut has let out the secret that much of the covenant was written by an American long recognized as our leading scholar in the field of political science. It is shown that parts of the covenant were written by the foremost publicist of France, and still others by a leader in the Boer uprising of fifteen years ago. In addition to all this, the Senator from Idaho has disclosed the fact that this is an all-red covenant sure to be dominated by Great Britain, for has not England led for a century in every forward movement in politics—and in most backward movements as well. Going or coming, her hand is on the wheel.

Meanwhile, the other Senators have shown, each in his own way, that the League will be in our hands controlled by the public opinion of

the world, to be molded by the wealth, the liberty, the energy, the idealism of the nation at once the richest, the freest, the most forceful, the most idealistic of all the nations of the earth. Such statesmen as are left outside the Senate Chamber repeat the same opinion.

What more do we want? If religion, suffering, labor, finance, coöperation, intelligence, and idealism are all to control, why not accept the covenant, and, American fashion, face the future, unflinching and unafraid? "Believe and Venture: as for pledges, the gods give none!"

How Can the Senate Be Reformed? Convert It into a Soviet

By Victor S. Yarros

IN all probability hosts of intelligent Americans in all parties, as well as outside of regular parties, are weary of and disgusted with the antics and bouffé performances of our "august" Senate. What with malign, vicious partisanship, clownish ignorance, small-bore politics, and purely personal antipathies, that "deliberative body" has become a byword and reproach. The minds of thoughtful persons, even in moderately progressive circles, must naturally turn to the idea of fundamental changes in the constitution and character of that strange "revising chamber" which the founders of the Republic expected to play so important, majestic, and dignified a part in the process of law-making, treaty-framing, and indirect guidance of administration by means of the veto over appointments.

There are those who contend that Senate reform is virtually impossible under our Constitution, since any amendment that would deprive the States of equal representation in that chamber would not be consonant with Article V. of the Constitution, which guarantees each State equal representation in the Senate, and since, further, it is difficult to imagine Senate reform worthy of the name which would not necessarily *do away with the principle of equal State representation*. This position, though maintained for years by able students of constitutional law, seems untenable. There is no part of the Federal Constitution that is not subject to revision and amendment. An amendment doing away with equal representation of the States in the upper house surely would not be unconstitutional, unless drawn and ratified in an unskillful, clumsy, and improper manner.

The clause in Article I. of the Constitution that provides for equal representation of the

States in the Senate would, of course, have to be repealed—that is, specifically replaced and superseded by a different clause. There is no obstacle to such procedure. An amendment could certainly be framed that would "strike out" everything objectionable in regard to the composition of the Senate and insert in its place the provisions agreed upon as the right and wise substitute for those eliminated. Why should such an amendment be "unconstitutional?" Why could it not be ratified and incorporated into the organic charter exactly as the other amendments have been successively ratified and incorporated?

At the worst, it might be necessary to submit two distinct amendments—one repealing or changing the clause in Article V. providing for equal representation of the States in the Senate, and another changing Article I. so far as it relates to the Senate and providing for the organization of a revising chamber on a new, different and superior basis.

What sort of a revising chamber should we seek to establish? The answer, in a general way, is perfectly clear. Though not a Bolshevik, nor even a sympathizer with what is in any degree characteristic of Bolshevism, the writer believes that the Soviet system offers invaluable hints to America—and to Europe, for that matter, as well. Representation of industries, of occupations, of permanent and profound social and economic interests, of definite groups having common purposes, is an idea the world must and will reckon with. There are far too many second and third rate lawyers and ignorant, shallow politicians in our representative bodies. The time to try an experiment based on the essential principle of the Soviet system is coming—if it has not come already. Why should

not England, which is pledged to consign the House of Lords to the limbo, organize an ideal Soviet (minus Bolshevism) and make it the revising chamber? Why should not Belgium make that experiment, or Czecho-Slovakia?

But this is a digression. We are dealing with the United States. Well, can any one doubt that if our Senate had twenty farmers among its members, and twenty workmen, and a certain just proportion of manufacturers, bankers, merchants, educators, savants, artists, professional men, it would be infinitely superior to the tragi-comic circus that has been making so sorry and contemptible a spectacle of itself lately? Would a truly representative upper house descend to such mean and low levels of "politics" as our present nondescript Senate has descended to? Would it defeat or obstruct needed legislation by "weary wastes of worthless words," to quote the American Federation of Labor?

This, then, is the goal to aim at, the real objective. Let us work for a revising chamber that will approximate a genuine national council. Let us put into it men and women who do the work of the world; who think honestly and soberly; who deal in realities instead of in legal fictions and technicalities; who have studied the pressing problems of life and know how to get down to the merits of an issue; who do not know how and do not care to "play politics." Let us have a Senate of spokesmen of actual, authentic interests, "jobs," occupations, and vocations.

In the United States, it must be admitted, the problem of organizing a Senate of the Soviet type is not so simple as, say, in France, Belgium, or even Britain. The vastness and the heterogeneity of the American "empire" renders some recognition of, some compromise with, the regional or sectional principle absolutely unavoidable. We cannot, for example, form a national farmers' electoral college and ask it to send twenty representatives to an upper house. Not all our farmers think alike, and proportional representation within the farming community might be impracticable. We cannot get all the wage workers of the country into one guild, or federation, and ask it to send twenty members to a Senate. There are the non-union workers, in the first place, to consider, and there are the syndicalist or I. W. W. elements. Even the manufacturers, or the merchants, or the

bankers, of the country cannot severally be expected to form national guilds, or colleges, for electoral purposes and be content to be represented by men selected on a ticket at large. The regional or local principle will be insisted on by virtually every interest. We have progressive sections and conservative sections, settled sections and new, undeveloped sections hardly beyond the pioneer phase. These facts create difficulties, but certainly not insuperable ones.

The Republic, however, can be divided into regions—the Federal Reserve Bank act affording an instructive precedent—and from each well-defined geographical and industrial division representatives of the various industries, occupations, and vocations, not excepting science and art, organized into guilds or councils, could be elected under a reasonably elastic plan. In this way the farmers of North Dakota would be assured fair representation, and the danger of their being swamped by the farmers of New England, the Middle West, and the South would be removed.

Is it not the part of sound democratic statesmanship to raise this issue of a radical yet thoroughly sane reorganization of our bankrupt Senate along modern and scientific lines?

Speculators Peeved

By Wm. N. McNair

SOME people are never satisfied, especially land speculators. If values are jumping more rapidly in one town than another they are bound to complain and make slighting remarks about the city where values are not rising. An agent for a New York company, which buys and sells vacant lots in many different cities, is very much wrought up about conditions in Pittsburgh. Things are going fine here, the mills are increasing their force of workmen, there is a great demand for houses, rents are going up, and there is a lot of new building. According to all past experiences all these activities should be reflected in the advance in the value of land. People wanting sites for new buildings would have to pay tribute to the land owner. The local Ground Hogs would be able to rake off all the cream from the industrial prosperity in the district. This is happening in most communities. Real estate speculators are reaping a rich harvest in increased land

values. They care not how much the cost of living is raised by this manipulation of real estate. They get their unearned increment and salt it away, or buy another private yacht, and care little for the worries of the worker who has bought one of their inflated lots and has hardly enough left to start building his house.

But they have struck a snag in Pittsburgh. One company reports the sale of a choice piece of frontage and they only got \$40 a foot front. The buyer will erect five brick duplexes, he should have been held up for about twice that much. Another sale on a corner brought \$60 a foot, a hundred feet where the buyer is to erect multiple family dwellings. Very low prices compared with other places was the complaint of the agent. In Youngstown, where an allotment had just been closed out, home sites brought better prices than the average home site in Pittsburgh, even though Pittsburgh is vastly larger than Youngstown.

This has all been caused by Pittsburgh's treatment of land speculators. Here they tax them more heavily than home owners. If a man wants to hold back the community by speculating on its needs, by holding land out of use till he can get a high price, he pays 80 per cent.

more tax to the city than the man who has a house on his lot. This tax plan has hurt the market for vacant lots. So the speculators are complaining. In spite of the fact that here is the only place in the country that this is done, they don't like it. They can go into almost any community, buy up land, hold it idle, keep back industry, stop home building, till the people meet their demands, and only be charged nominal taxes while they are playing the game. In Pittsburgh not only is their market contracted, but they must pay more for the privilege of land speculation. So they don't like it.

Needless to say, the home owners of Pittsburgh like it. If they can get land at its real value instead of a speculative value, they find it easier to get a lot to build on. When the tax on houses is thirty per cent. less than on vacant ground, they find it easier to keep the house after it is built. If more people build houses, in spite of the high cost of material, because they can get lots reasonably, and their taxes on the house are not so high, then many more carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, and all sorts of workmen are employed. Let the real estate speculators complain all they wish, Pittsburgh will stick to its more just system of taxation.

Intervention: Mexican Side of It

By Manuel Carpio

United States Correspondent for El Heraldo de Mexico and El Heraldo de Madrid

THOSE who at present advocate armed intervention by the United States in Mexico for the sake of avenging the grievances of private individuals must take into consideration the kind of task they would attempt.

No one is endeavoring either here or in Mexico to discuss whether or not the United States is capable of "beating" Mexico. The United States will surely "beat" Mexico if she wants to, and all the idle talk that has been going on at different places to the effect that Mexicans are defiant and confident that they can "lick" the United States can only be construed as a provocation of resentment.

Apart from this barren arguing as to "licking" and "beating" abilities, there is something that those who love to be fair cannot overlook. Either this proposed intervention is desired by gentlemen whose ambition it is to

own the natural resources that Mexico possesses, or by other gentlemen who may think that Mexico is not civilized enough with its Spanish type of culture and needs an Anglo-Saxon revamping.

Those who wish to own Mexico's natural resources may well invoke the principle, "The flag follows the investor," and for this type of conqueror all forms of logic are unavailing. For how could you convince them of the fact that there is no more justification for the use of arms against a country where foreign investors are experiencing difficulties (by no means greater than those of the natives) than there would be in using machine guns against so many speculators who right here, in the centers of stock trading, have robbed and continue to rob many innocent people? Is there more ungodliness in the bandit who holds up a man with

a pay-roll around the Tampico swamps than in the "broker" who sets up his trap in the Wall Street district in quest of credulous victims?

The "intervention" fiends would not hesitate to have armies and navies sweep into Mexico, sacrificing many thousands of human lives in order to avenge the misdeeds of criminals; but they perhaps do not reflect what the world might think of them if, on account of the conspiracies of the stock market pirates, they suggested to take by fire and sword the Wall Street district—and so many other districts, for that matter—and make a "clean-up job."

It has been variously intimated, but not proved, that the present Mexican Government has failed to punish wrongdoers against foreigners; but it is a fact that many of the marauders that have been making trouble around the oil fields and elsewhere have paid for their crimes with their lives. I have seen many of those men hanging from telegraph posts and have witnessed the execution of bandits whose assaults against life and property have been proved beyond doubt.

It is unfair to assume that the Mexican Government is indifferent to crimes, whatever their nature, and knowing, as it does, that whenever a foreigner is hurt, especially an American, an enormous clamor is raised in the press, blaming the whole Mexican people and demanding indignantly the use of force against that nation.

The impression has been created that there is a peculiar form of apathy, if not of satisfaction, on the part of the Mexican Government every time a grievance is inflicted on Americans, or any act is committed which can be interpreted as an international insult.

I am speaking now of things which belong to my personal knowledge. I have been in Mexico City when reports have been given by the press of bandit aggression against foreigners, and I have noted the feeling of apprehension that both people and Government experience, not because they are conscious of personal guilt or because of national cowardice, but because of the uproar for intervention that the press habitually raises on this side of the border.

We know that for the purposes of human equity no foreign government could impress upon our minds a better concept of right and justice than the institutions that we ourselves can set up, no matter how great their short-

comings. Surely, the shortcomings in administration and in efficiency for the protection of life and property that are to be found in the governments that are considered most advanced and democratic are by all means comparable with the shortcomings that our dictatorial and revolutionary governments exhibit to the eye of the impartial observer.

We know, as we visit your great cities and your splendid offices of administration, that your country and ours are not, in point of fact, so far apart in some respects. We see that you have not got rid of intrigue and dishonesty in politics; that much needs to be done before it can be said that both investments and lives are absolutely safe from aggressions of speculating bandits, crooks, and murderers.

Are you indeed safer wearing diamonds and carrying sums of money with you on the streets of New York or Chicago than in Tampico?

If we were more powerful than you, we might, perhaps, be inclined to show with some kind of haughtiness the records of such cities as Guadalajara, Puebla, Queretaro, Monterey, and Mexico, as proportionally better than many of the big American cities in respect of the number of assaults, murders, and conspiracies against property.

We know that you have progressed along the lines of using the natural resources of the land to a very high degree, and we admire your achievements in public education; but we have an unimpeachable answer for the gentlemen who propose a revamping of Mexico according to the Anglo-Saxon type. Our answer is this: We possess a native art superior in all its inner aspects to any other native art on the American Continent. We have the Castilian type of homes second to none in the world. Our women are taught the purest and the highest conceptions of virtue, which consists in controlling all reflex impulses that are always less tolerable in women than in men. It is not ignorance that keeps our women from using to their utmost their liberties; it is a sense of the highest virtue.

We have not the same kind of industries as the Anglo-Saxons, because we lack the same kind of natural elements and the necessary financial advancement. It must be remembered that the natural resources of Mexico are of a kind that need enormous investments.

Europe, no doubt, would have long ago ac-

complished in Mexico most of the things that constitute the material advancement of the United States, if in Mexico we had had the same endowments of nature, such as rivers, coal, and great extensions of cultivable land which do not need costly irrigation systems.

Spain discovered our mines and exploited them the best she could. Despite her unquestionable backwardness in public administration, she left us splendid tokens of superior culture, which we have preserved despite banditry, filibusterism, and political turmoils.

We have had great scientists who have at all times been honored in Europe. Our literary record is among the highest in the Spanish speaking world. Such men as Ruiz de Alarcon, Rive Palacio, Altamirano, Ramirez, Vigil, Sierra, Nervo would be the pride of any country. Mexico produced all these men without any influences from Anglo-Saxon sources.

We owe a great deal to France, and we admire her type of culture. The French have given us a considerable part, if not the largest, of our training in modern thought. Philosophy, literature, science, methods of commerce, and even the art of conversation we have learned from France. Musical ability, gentleness of manners, humor that is not offensive—we have evolved all those things from our Spanish-French type of culture. What other spiritual and social improvements could we derive from an armed American intervention?

Have there been any race riots in Mexico City? Do we indulge in lynching? Or is there a possibility that this sort of thing might not be instilled in our habits through armed American intervention? Machine guns are not used today in Mexico to end strikes and other disturbances.

Our record shows an ignoble "Decena Tragica," but that was the result of a political *coup d'état* peculiar to Latin-American life. We are now confident that such acts of pretorianism will occur no more in our midst.

Who can, really, show a good reason for armed intervention in Mexico? We want only one kind of intervention from you—your books, your highest thoughts, your ideals of liberty, your aspirations for a better world, a friendship that is not founded merely on profits. Material conquest fades away, but the spirit lasts forever.

CURRENT THOUGHT

The Price of Empire

SHE sat her doon on an auld tree stump,
The saut tears rinnin' frae her e'e—

"The simmer comes, the harvest comes,
But Jamie comes na' back tae me.

The laverock springs frae his grassy hame,

An' sclim's the blue sky merrily,
His sang comes back an' he comes back,
But only grief comes back tae me."

An' aye she sobbed, an' aye she moaned:

"Oh, wae for war—oh, wae is me,
The King's Empire grows big and wide,
An' buyin' it Jamie had tae dee!

He kissed me yince, he kissed me twice,

He kissed me mair than three times three,
Sayin': "I'll come back when a' is owre,
An' ye'll be bonnie bride tae me."

He praised my lang, black, braided hair;

He praised the glint o' my black e'e;
My rosy cheeks were blooms that grew
For him tae pou, he said tae me.

An' aft when gloamin's velvet feet

Step owre the hill an' 'cross the lea,
It mak's me think him near at haun,
An' love an' Jamie's back tae me.

But aye I wauken wi' a start,

As melts the vision frae my e'e—
The simmer comes, the harvest comes,
But only grief comes back tae me!

Oh! that the young should pay the price

Of empire wi' their bluid sae free
That empires grow on women's grief,
An' he comes never back tae me!"

And aye she sits on the auld tree stump,

Wi' heavin' brierst an' brimmin' e'e—
"The King's Empire grows big an' wide,
But buyin' 't Jamie had tae dee!"

—James C. Welsh, in *The Socialist Review*.

Decency the Price of Industrial Peace

ALTHOUGH we have done many things without a thought of financial return, yet it is a fact that we have never yet done a decent thing in business that did not pay.—*Lincoln A. Filene, of the Filene Stores in Boston.*

Russia, for Instance

WHAT a man believes upon grossly insufficient evidence is an index of his desires—desires of which he himself is often unconscious. If a man is offered a fact which goes against his instincts, he will scrutinize it closely, and unless the evidence is overwhelming he will refuse to believe it. If on the other hand he is offered something which affords a reason for acting in accordance with his instincts, he will accept it even on the slenderest evidence. The origin of myths is explained in this way, and much of what is currently believed in international affairs is no better than myth.—*Bertrand Russell, in "Proposed Roads to Freedom."*

The Real Junker

JUST so long as land ownership is undemocratized we shall not realize economic democracy, and the employed and employer alike will be in the power of the land owner, the real junker of America as well as of Prussia, who absorbs most of the profit of industry without contributing either the labor or the tools.—*Harry H. Willock, president Waverley Oil Company, Pittsburgh.*

I Do Not Like You, Mr. Fell

THE dislike that men who get what they want as a rule out of other men have for Mr. Wilson, when they try to get what they want out of Mr. Wilson, is partly due to the fact that all the ordinary human wiles in a man when tried on a man like Mr. Wilson do not wile. Mr. Wilson cares for a different set of things, and he is daily truing his conduct and his contact to a different standard of judgment and to another set of values. Before he makes a judgment Mr. Wilson habitually takes a walk with a hundred years. Sometimes he walks backward with a hundred years, sometimes forward. But he has an historical imagination and is always going off and taking lonely walks with a century or so.—*Gerald Stanley Lee, in the Saturday Evening Post.*

How the English Make War

WHEN the Englishman wants a thing he never tells himself that he wants it. He waits patiently till there comes into his mind, no one knows how, a burning conviction that it is his moral and religious duty to conquer those who have got the thing he wants. Then he becomes irresistible. Like the aristocrat, he does what pleases him, and grabs what he covets. He is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude. As the great champion of freedom and national independence, he conquers and annexes half the world, and calls it colonization. You will never find an Englishman in the wrong. He does everything on principle. He fights you on patriotic principles; he bullies you on manly principles. His watchword is always Duty; and he never forgets that the nation which lets its duty get on the opposite side to its interests is lost.—*Bernard Shaw.*

Too Many Lawyers

THE Sixty-sixth Congress will have 260 lawyers, thus continuing the tradition that the path to political preferment in the United States leads through the pages of Blackstone. But there will also be nineteen editors and publishers, ten merchants, eighteen bankers, eleven farmers, six union labor leaders, four insurance agents, eight manufacturers, three locomotive engineers, four newspaper reporters, and two iron molders. Other occupations may also lead to Congress, for the

body includes a tree surgeon, three lumbermen, a nurseryman, a miller, a former cowboy, a cartoonist, a dentist, four teachers, two men from the shipping industry, one clergyman, one citrus grower, two automobile manufacturers, and an advertising agent. Even this list leaves some forty-odd members unaccounted for, who modestly refrain from telling their occupation before they were elected. Which is rather a pity; but, even without this information, the United States Congress seems a reasonably representative gathering.—*Christian Science Monitor.*

The Senatorial Cabal

AMERICANS who insist upon the inflexible maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine are not sincere friends of the world's peace. Were it not for the opposition of Republican members of the United States Congress, I believe that Mr. Wilson would have advocated the establishment of an international general staff, with an international navy and army, thus bringing the system of the League of Nations nearer perfection. Jealous of the success of the American delegates headed by Mr. Wilson, Republican partisans have seized every opportunity to hamper his work at Paris. Their conduct is repulsive and will leave a blot on the history of mankind. Their prejudices against the world at large will cause a decline in the influence of their party at home.—*East and West News.*

BOOKS

Spanish-American Statesmen

Rise of the Spanish-American Republics. By William Spence Robertson, Ph.D. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1918.

VELEZ SARFIELD, a famous Argentine statesman, was one day reading a book when a friend called to see him. "What are you reading?" queried the visitor. Velez Sarsfield, who had quite a reputation as a wit and wagged a viperine tongue, answered: "The history of a fool, written by another fool." He thus qualified or, we might say, disqualified "The History of General Belgrano," by General Mitre. General Belgrano was one of the heroes of Argentine independence, and General Mitre one of the greatest statesmen that country has ever had.

Velez Sarsfield's biting dictum excellently exemplifies the attitude which Latin-Americans as a rule assume toward many of their great men. That bitter partisanship, which seems to be an integral part of their makeup, and has led them time and again into so many disastrous revolutions, prevents them from seeing any virtues in any leader except their own particular idol. The result is that most biographies of Latin-American statesmen, by

their own countrymen, are deplorably lacking in that calm and unbiased judgment so essential to a successful biographer.

For this reason, we turned with pleasurable anticipation to Professor Robertson's book, expecting that he, being an Anglo-Saxon, might have studied his subjects without a shadow of partisanship, presenting the several South American statesmen in their true colors.

We are glad to say that Professor Robertson has not disappointed our expectations, and that if we have any fault to find with him it is on the score of his choice of statesmen and on that of the authorities he has consulted for his work. The choice, in a rather wide field, is a matter of selection and, therefore, not one upon which a legitimate quarrel may be founded, but it is not clear, for instance, why Professor Robertson should entirely neglect such an eminent authority on Bolivar, and a most excellent writer besides, as the Venezuelan Blanco-Fombona.

By far the most interesting figures in the struggle for South American independence are San Martin and Bolivar. The former was an Argentine general who, after delivering his own country, from the yoke of Spain, crossed the Andes with his army and freed Chile and Peru. Bolivar was a Venezuelan general who liberated the northern part of the South American continent and led his victorious armies to what is now the Republic of Ecuador and there met General San Martin.

Though General Mitre, in his "History of General San Martin," and other Argentine writers have made much of their countryman, General San Martin was neither more nor less than an able general. His march over the Andes has been compared to the exploits of Hannibal and Napoleon in crossing the Alps. Bolivar was also an able general; he too, crossed the Andes under far more trying circumstances than San Martin did, but besides being a general of uncommon ability, Bolivar was a statesman of wide and far reaching vision and endowed with the highest ideals.

The significance of the movement for Latin-American independence did not escape Bolivar, as it escaped so many other South American statesmen. The Great Liberator, as Bolivar is often called, saw that the Spanish colonies succeeded in becoming free by uniting their armies and pooling their resources, and Bolivar foresaw that unless the Spanish-American countries continued to be so united, they never would be anything but second or third rate nations, torn by internal dissensions, exposed to the depredations of stronger powers, and unable to exert upon the world the influence which the Spanish race by its traditions, numbers, and geographical distribution ought rightfully to exert.

Accordingly, Bolivar was a strenuous advocate of a league of Hispano-American countries, and in this respect he—to a certain extent—anticipated President Wilson and his League of Nations.

Bolivar did not succeed in his plan; narrow-minded politicians of a type not unknown in our day and country caused him to be banished from Venezuela, which owed its liberty to him, and he died where so many great men have ended their lives—in exile.

It seems an inexorable retribution of Fate that Venezuela, the country that produced unquestionably the greatest South American statesman and shamelessly disowned him, is today one of the most backward nations in this continent.

MARIANO JOAQUIN LORENTE.

Not Yet

A Republic of Nations: A Study of the Organization of a Federal League of Nations. By Raleigh C. Minor. New York: Oxford University Press. 1918.

WE are going to keep on hearing about the League of Nations for some time to come. There is permanent need for the maintenance of peace and order, and this can only be accomplished through a world organization. Such a need cannot be subordinated to the temporary interests of party politics in this country. The question before the nation at this moment is not whether the Peace Conference has devised the "best" form of League. Practical people will see that we now have a league on paper, and they will appreciate that the only course open is to proceed at once to find out how it will work in actual practice. The immediate task in hand is to understand as far as possible what has been provided, and to make the most of the opportunity before us. Later on the experience gained will enable us to frame a better instrument of international government.

The development of the Constitution of the League of Nations will follow the precedent of the Constitution of the United States. It will need interpretation, it will need amendment, it will ultimately need fundamental revision. The real difficulty, of course, will come in persuading people to undertake a thorough-going revision. We, for example, should long ago have had a revision of the Constitution of the United States. We should long ago have had a Constitutional Convention to overhaul the original document with all its curious accessories of amendments and interpretations. The real constitution under which we live consists not so much in the words of the original document as in the meaning given to these words by the decisions of the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, however, we are making the best of what we have, and sometimes, in an optimistic mood, even go so far as to say it is "pretty good." Well, the proposed League of Nations is also "pretty good."

That we did not get a different league was not because the fertile-minded of this and other countries had not offered a sufficient number of alternative suggestions. Among these inventors of hopeful expedients is Professor Minor of the Uni-

versity of Virginia. His scheme has a certain simplicity which should attract the Republican Senators. Why not have a Republic of Nations on the model of the United States of America? In truth, this pleasing suggestion has almost certainly been made the subject of childhood essays and debates in every village school throughout the land during the last six months. It has remained for Professor Minor to torture a charming and harmless notion by dragging an exhaustive parallel through more than three hundred pages of really good type. Professor Minor has a keen appreciation of the obvious, a good style, and an undeniable familiarity with the Constitution; he has also the pertinacity to pursue in remorseless detail a suggestion that might well have filled an hour of good-natured conversation in the seclusion of Charlottesville. The preface would have made an acceptable contribution to some academic journal devoted to international law.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

Industry Governing Industry

The Politics of Industry: A Foot Note to the Social Unrest. By Glenn Frank. New York: The Century Company. 1919.

MR. GLENN FRANK writes clearly and forcibly, and with a keen appreciation of the unmistakable signs of the times. He modestly sets himself to the task of the "interpretative reporting of the drifts of opinion," in matters of reconstruction, among the men and women upon whom rest the actual responsibilities of business. He shows that the attempted policies of collective bargaining, strikes, lockouts, injunctions, conciliation, arbitration, investigation, social legislation, welfare work, profit-sharing and scientific management, each or all fail to touch the ultimate labor issue: that of the *status* of the worker in industry and his relation to the control of industry. He shows as clearly that we must look to the government of industry by the industry, rather than by the state; that political forms, as we know them, are not adapted to the effective protection of capital and labor, to the development of business, to greater efficiency in work, to greater productivity, or to the finer justice in the relations of men to industry which will come about as business becomes professionalized and as industrial statesmanship is developed. Compromise and concession, he says, are "played out." To throw business into politics and allow industries to be governed by the state would mean to turn them over to be administered by politicians fitted neither by their selection nor their fundamental training for their responsibilities.

To avoid this, and at the same time to raise the status of the worker industrially to the plane to which it has been lifted politically, government of industry by industry Mr. Frank shows to be the goal toward which we are tending. As if in

confirmation of his conclusions we note the report in the press that the industry of the garment workers of the United States seems to have been the first to have become nationalized, forming an organization of both employers and employes with a view to self-administration of the industry. Mr. Frank analyzes the Whitley Report, addressed to the English Prime Minister, which together with the subsequent letter addressed by the English Minister of Labor to the leading Employers' Associations and Trade Unions of England, is printed as an appendix to his book.

We do not know where, in so small a compass, can be found so terse and concise a summary of the best thought of the day on the future of industrial relationships. He presents an inspiring picture of business statesmanship standing at the centre of and administering business, industrial statesmanship at the center of industry, educational statesmanship at the center of education, etc., with the political government acting as their correlator. We most heartily commend the volume to all who would keep abreast of the times. PERCY WERNER.

A Proletarian's Biography

Jimmie Higgins. By Upton Sinclair. New York: Boni & Liveright. 1919.

EACH new offering by Upton Sinclair renews speculation as to the legitimacy of ugliness and propaganda in the realm of literature. Yet this much is certainly to be said to the defense of Mr. Sinclair: his unique penchant for the terrible, as exemplified especially in human torture, exercises a beneficent effect at least by its complacency-disturbing qualities. Closing the covers of "The Jungle" a decade ago, we asked, "Can such things be?" and were surprised to find actuality similar to fictional representation. The food laws of the period, it will be remembered, came in part from the stimulus supplied by the book. Perhaps "Jimmie Higgins" may fulfill some such function, calling strenuously as it does for a consideration of the human factor in the problem of industrial unrest. One is quite safe in predicting that "Jimmie Higgins"—as every other Sinclair volume, even the scholarly compilation, "The Cry for Justice"—will not be found on the shelves of our public libraries and will be called "bolshewistic" by the self-appointed Cerberus of public morality.

Jimmie is "a little runt of a Socialist machinist with bad teeth and gnarled hands," a wife, three children, a superabundance of ill-fortune, and an uncanny knack of coming into conflict with every kind of constituted authority—be it policeman, "boss," secret-service man, or military officer. Sincerely radical but very ignorant, he unwittingly becomes prey to German agents operating during the early days of the war in the vicinity of his home town. Successively arrested, discharged from employment, and blacklisted, he

brings poverty and distress upon his family. America enters the war, and Jimmie's home is destroyed with wife and children by a powder plant explosion. Despairing and frenzied, the man falls to drink, women, I. W. W-ism, and itinerancy, only to catch himself in time and after many moments of vacillation arrive at the conviction that to defeat the Kaiser is not a bad prelude to the class struggle. He enlists as machinist, is quickly sent overseas, and, submarined, is filled with renewed determination to crush the Hun. In the great July drive, he volunteers as dispatch-cyclist and changes the "whole course of the world's history" by an act of bravery at "Chatty Terry." Jimmie gets honorable mention, is raised to a sergeantcy, and—is sent to Russia to fight the Bolsheviki. Even Jimmie's militaristic mood cannot withstand this new onslaught on his social instincts, and he speedily becomes a convert to the Russian communism. He undertakes to distribute clandestinely propaganda, is apprehended, and tortured by his jailers in their effort to ascertain the source of the pamphlets, which by his plighted word he has undertaken not to reveal. Thumb-screws, hanging by chains, starving, and the loathsome water-cure alike fail to break Jimmie's spirit. Nature comes to the rescue finally and makes him a raving maniac, crawling on all fours, senseless, and eating the ends of his fingers. So do we leave him.

Of course Mr. Sinclair is making no preaching for Bolshevism. He has merely shown the ghastly conditions we permit to exist and how inevitably they nurture the revolutionary spirit.

"Jimmie Higgins" is an epic of suffering and distress, a symphony of "horrid sounds and shrieks and sights unholy," a vertiginous plunge into the deeps of tragedy. Replete with slang and the colloquialism of American journalism, the work is yet not without its sublime moments. Amid all the racking agonies of the Russian prison house, Jimmie refuses to tell the name of "the little Russian Jew" responsible for the propaganda leaflets. The Power that "breaks all bars of steel" comes to him, "converting his pain into ecstasy, a dizzy and perilous rapture," whispering softly: "You are the revolution. You are social justice struggling for life in this world. You are humanity setting its face to the light, striving to reach a new goal, to put behind it an old horror. You are Jesus on the cross; and if you fail the world goes back, perhaps forever."

LEO H. JOACHIM.

Books Received

What Happened to Europe. By Frank A. Vanderlip. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1919.

A pen portrait of the financial and industrial breakdown of Europe.

Democratic Ideals and Reality. By H. J. MacKinder, M. P. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919.

A study of the productivity of man as the focus of economic reasoning.

The Shop Committee. By William Leavitt Stoddard. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1919.

A detailed account of the shop committee system which the author developed in several large industrial plants during his office as administrator for the National War Labor Board from 1918 to 1919.

Commercial Policy in War Time and After. By William Smith Culbertson, member of the United States Tariff Commission. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1919.

A study of the applications of democratic ideas to international commercial relations. In Part II the tariff and anti-dumping legislation are discussed.

Roosevelt. By George Sylvester Viereck. New York: Jackson Press. 1919.

A psycho-analytical interpretation of Colonel Roosevelt.

The Idea of a League of Nations. By H. G. Wells, in collaboration with Viscount Grey, Viscount Bryce, William Archer, Gilbert Murray and other English Liberals who helped to form The League of Free Nations Association. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press.

The Trial of William Penn and William Mead. First published in 1719 and edited by Don C. Seitz. Boston: Marshal Jones Company. 1919.

A plea for the rights of man under government.

The Sober World. By Randolph Welford Smith. Boston: Marshal Jones Company. 1919.

Arraigns the German brewery interests and treats exhaustively the liquor question in this country.

Ireland's Fight for Freedom. By George Creel, author of "Wilson and the Issues," etc. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1919.

The author aims in this volume to furnish the facts from which an honest and intelligent decision may be reached in determining Ireland's independence.

Hellenic Conceptions of Peace, by Wallace E. Caldwell; *The Street Surface Railway Franchises of New York City,* by Harry James Carman; *Retail Price Maintenance,* by Claudius Temple Murchison. Editions from Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Agents: Longmans, Green & Co. New York: 1919.

Political Deceptions and Delusions. By Thomas Carl Spelling, author of "Law of Private Corporations," "Trust and Monopolies," etc. Formerly attorney to Interstate Commerce Commission and assistant to United States Attorney-General.

An exposition of party uses and abuses, and of federal laws affecting citizens in their political and private relations.

NEWS

Cost of Living

—The Labor party of Belgium published a manifesto inviting the people to join in a general movement against the high cost of living.

—The city council of Butte, Mont., unanimously passed a resolution creating the office of city grocer and authorizing him to engage in the grocery business.

—That the Federal Government take over the flour mills throughout the United States, besides subsidizing the nation's wheat crop, was advocated by Attorney General Price of Ohio.

—The American Chamber of Commerce in London is actively pressing the British Board of Trade for an increase in the ration of shoes from the United States, which now remains limited to 25 per cent of the 1918 imports.

—A request has been made to Police Commissioner Enright by representatives of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association to include in his departmental budget for 1920 an item to increase the pay of patrolmen from \$1,650 to \$1,800 a year.

—The House of Commons on the 18th adopted an amendment to the Profitsteering bill empowering

the Board of Trade to fix wholesale and retail prices. An amendment seeking to include profiteering in rentals within the scope of the bill was rejected.

—A number of New England men have organized a movement to be known as the New England Farm and Food Foundation, the aim of which will be to encourage farming in this section and to promote co-operation between the farmer and the consumer.

—A budget of household expenses purporting to show that \$1,918 is the minimum on which a family of five can live for one year was introduced by Chicago packing house employes appearing before Federal Judge Alschuler, Federal mediator, with demands for increased wages.

—According to Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, member of the United States War Trade Board and chief investigator of food conditions on Mr. Hoover's staff in Europe, "the United States has given no national indication of having been affected by the high cost of living."

—The plan recently adopted by the French Food Ministry to reduce food prices is working successfully in some of the French cities. At Havre, eggs have been reduced from \$1.20 a dozen to 60 cents; onions, from 10 to 5 cents a pound, and potatoes from 4 to 2 cents a pound.

—The report published by the Bureau of Statistics of the Labor Department shows a general increase of about 80 per cent in the cost of living during the period from December, 1914, to June, 1919, and the total advances in the two items of food and clothing within the same period were found to be the greatest.

—Delegates of the National Federation of State Farm Bureaus showed in an interview with President Wilson on the 14th that out of a dinner for five in a "modest hotel" in Washington, costing \$11, the farmer received only 82 cents for the food. The responsibility for the high costs they put on the middleman.

—In the opinion of James A. Stillman, president of the National City Bank, the high cost of living is the result of the war's destruction, leaving a world shortage in the necessities of life. He predicts, however, that the wage earners will come out of the situation the gainers, because the decline in prices of what they buy will be greater than the decline in wages.

—Armour and Company have gone into the big cheese business. The largest cheese in the world will be exhibited by them at the National Dairy Show in Chicago. It is said that 857,500 pounds of milk, 800 pounds of salt and 1,251 ounces of rennet were used in its making. The milk was taken from 12,000 cows on 1,800 farms. The cheese is valued at \$16,000.

—Representatives of the farmers appearing before a joint meeting of the Senate and House Agricultural Committees on the 16th recommended

the abolishment of all wartime food regulations and of all internal revenue taxes on food products and a revision of the tariff to protect farm products. They maintained that that would aid greatly in reducing the high cost of living.

—Canned fruit prices this year are to be 40 per cent higher than last year, according to announcements from the California Packing Corporation. California prune growers have the largest crop in the history of California. This year they will receive 18.56 cents a pound, as against last year's price of 8.5, and 6 cents the year before.

—Since the armistice was signed the War Department has accepted the resignations of nearly 1,800 officers of the regular army. In July alone there were about 160 resignations accepted, more than twice as many officers as resigned in the entire ten years immediately prior to this country's entry into the war in 1917. The investigation shows that the enormous increase in the cost of living is in the main responsible for the resignations.

—In support of his belief that licensing is "fraught with the gravest injustice and danger to the packing industry," Mr. J. Ogden Armour, of Armour & Co., in a letter to A. J. Gronna, chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, on the Kenyon and Kendrick bills, recently introduced in the Senate, calls attention to the hardship his Australasian branch is experiencing, where the Minister of Australia, under a similar law, denied an export license to Armour & Co. after reading an official summary of the report of the Federal Trade Commission of the United States on the activities of the meat packing companies in this country.

—In the campaign launched by the Government to reduce the high cost of living Federal agents, under instructions, have been seizing large quantities of foodstuffs held in warehouses throughout the country. As an example of the immense quantities released from warehouses the Rock Island Butter Company of Toledo filed a libel for the seizure of nearly ten million eggs held in storage in Detroit. Michigan has no statutes limiting storage of foodstuffs. In connection with legal proceedings brought against profiteering corporations, Attorney General Palmer instituted an action in equity against nineteen of the largest cement manufacturers with a production capacity of 50,000,000 barrels a year. It is charged that they entered into an agreement to reduce production and raised the price of cement from 65 cents a barrel in 1915 to \$1.85 in 1919.

Transportation

—Delivery of thirty vessels to the Shipping Board during the week ending August 9 brought the total since the beginning of the war to 1,227, of 4,542,278 gross tons.

—The Cleveland Railways Company has taken out an insurance policy for \$10,110,000, against "riot and civil commotion." It is said to be the largest policy ever written.

—In the opinion of Roger W. Babson, statistician of Boston, the ten-cent fare will become universal. Some subways and elevated lines now charging five cents will charge twenty-five cents.

—The principal railways of Denmark are owned and operated by the Government. The length of the Government roads is 2,108 kolimeters (1,807 miles) and that of the several private roads is 2,067 kilometers (1,284 miles).

—An official report says that receipts of the Japanese Government railways during the month of June last amounted to 7,058,548 yen, representing an increase of 1,950,488 yen as compared with the corresponding period last year.

—The Postmaster General of Canada has issued 10,000 stamps of a special design for mail to be carried into the United States by airplane during the international race, August 25, for the Commodore Hotel \$10,000 prize and three trophies.

—A series of tramway lines, 9 1-2 miles long, will be constructed in Kowloon and operated by the Government of Hongkong, unless private interests can be found who are willing to conduct the enterprise upon terms satisfactory to the colonial authorities.

—The National Association of Machinists, with an enrolled membership of 20,000, has adopted resolutions deploring the charge of 2 cents for transfers on the surface lines of New York, authorized by Public Service Commissioner Nixon, and declaring in favor of municipal ownership.

—Commissioner Lewis Nixon testified before the Federal Railways Electric Commission that municipal ownership of the transportation system in New York city is certain to come "in the fulness of time," but as an immediate remedy he advised a consolidation of all the underground, elevated and surface lines under the control of a single holding company.

—Terence Farley, counsel to the Public Service Commission of New York, in discussing the agitation of the street railways, subways and elevated transit companies for increased fares, said that the general opinion seemed to be that railway managements had failed to provide a reserve fund during prosperous years to take care of deficits likely to occur in lean years.

—In a speech on the railroad situation in Germany the Prussian Minister of Public Works said that in the last financial year there was a working loss on the Prussian railways of 2,408,000,000 marks, while at present the railways have a daily deficit of 10,000,000 marks. Passenger traffic has shrunk to 15 per cent of the peace time traffic, and express trains to 4 per cent of the pre-war number.

—While street car fares in Boston have been advanced from 5 cents to 10 by three successive jumps, it is interesting to note, says *The Christian Science Monitor*, that the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company has voted an increase of 7 cents an hour to conductors and motormen, voluntarily, without changing its fare. The view is held that better conditions and cheap travel will provide the revenue for wage increases.

—The most extensive transit strike in the history of New York City ended on the 18th by the strikers' acceptance of a compromise offer of a 25 per cent. increase in wages and arbitration of their demands for a 50 per cent. increase, an eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week. The railway company got no concession from the New York Public Service Commission on its demand for an eight-cent fare.

—Delos F. Wilcox, former member of the New York State Commission and an expert in public utility matters, testifying on the 18th before the Federal Electric Railways Commission, asserted as his belief that municipal ownership and operation is the solution of the problem now facing the electric railways of the country. He also made the assertion that labor should be assured of fit living conditions and wages and should be permitted to organize to obtain these things and to have an official mouthpiece to get them.

—The official figures made public on the 16th by the Railroad Administration show that the operating deficit for June was \$22,101,790; bringing the total operating deficit for the six months ended on June 30, 1919, to \$289,280,588. The June deficit is the smallest of the year, and it is predicted that the lines may, for the remaining months of the year, meet expenses if they do not actually show a surplus. The following table shows the status of the lines for the six months ending June 30, 1919, and the corresponding last six months in 1918:

	Six months, ended June 30, 1919.	Corresponding period, 1918.
Oper. revs.....	\$2,824,499,804	\$2,055,966,861
Oper. exps.....	2,056,720,484	1,790,249,693
Net op. revs.....	167,778,820	265,717,166
Taxes, rents, etc.....	110,961,404	114,397,388
Net op. income.....	156,827,416	151,319,890
6-12 of an. rent.....	446,107,954	446,107,954
Op. loss.....	289,280,588	294,788,124
Op. ratio.....	88.5	87.1

Land Reform

—Mr. and Mrs. Singe Bjorner, leaders of the Singletax movement in Denmark, arrived in New York last week. They will make a business tour to the West and South, returning to the East in October.

—The labor government of Queensland, Australia, is urging increased taxes on large blocks

of government land held under lease by wealthy stockmen, who occupy 407,140 square miles, and who pay \$4 a square mile as against an average of \$14.26 a square mile paid by the small leaseholder.

—There is an exemption of \$25,000 in the Australian land tax. This has always been bitterly opposed by the majority of the Labor Party on the ground that it had the effect of inflating the value of land and allowed speculators to hold on to city lands. The Australian Labor Conference carried a motion to abolish the exemption and tax land without any exemption.

—The English League for the Taxation of Land Values, in its report for the year ended June 30, 1919, says that in spite of the very large reactionary majority in Parliament, the land question stands in the forefront of domestic politics. "Meanwhile," the report adds, "the landlords, reading the signs of the times, are selling out at prices inflated by the iniquitous 'Rent' Production Act, and 'England' is, as *The Times* almost daily reminds us, 'changing hands.'"

—Byron Holt (of Goodbody & Co., brokers), in his August Market Letter quotes the *National Bank Review* of Minneapolis as saying: "Lands have increased since last winter from \$25 to \$75 in southern Minnesota, \$20 to \$25 in extreme southeastern North Dakota, from \$25 to \$100 in Iowa, about 50 per cent in eastern South Dakota, from 10 to 75 per cent in Missouri, and in eastern Nebraska all the way from 25 to 100 per cent. While the boom originated through the desire of numerous farmers to increase their holdings, prices have been made largely by speculators who have bought on small earnest payments and agreed to final settlements March 1. In many instances ownership of land has changed hands several times in this way and it is a question if all can meet their March 1 obligations."

Proportional Representation

—New South Wales' general elections early next year will be held in accordance with the principle of proportional representation.

—A bill prescribing the Hare system of proportional representation for the election of municipal councils generally throughout Ireland was passed by the British Parliament and became law in June. Some four hundred municipalities are affected. This measure was introduced by the Government. Its introduction was the direct result of the trial of the proportional system in one Irish city, Sligo, in January last. In spite of the intensity of political feeling in Sligo, all parties and factions were satisfied with the results of that election. Another result of this is the proposal, which is finding favor to elect a new Constituent Assembly of Ireland by the Hare system of proportional representation.

—*Representation*, the Journal of the British Proportional Representation Society, shows that the Labor Party should have elected 120 members in the last elections in England. As a matter of fact, the Labor Party won, under the present system of voting, only 47 seats. *Representation* gives the following complete analysis:

Parties.	Votes polled.	Seats obtained.	Seats in proportion to votes.*
COALITION AND ALLIED:			
Coalition Unionist	3,488,543	285	184
Coalition Liberal	1,419,992	103	73
Coalition Labour	48,957	3	3
National Democratic Party...	230,912	12	12
Independent Unionist	375,914	25	20
Total Coalition	5,564,318	428	292
NON-COALITION:			
Liberal	1,282,122	25	67
Labour	2,292,102	47	102
Socialist	24,889	1	1
Farmers	14,768	—	1
Co-operatives	51,133	1	3
National Party	84,322	2	4
Nationalists	8,225	—	1
Discharged Soldiers and Sailors	83,637	1	4
Independents	291,714	4	16
Total Non-Coalition	4,132,912	81	217
Majority for Coalition ...	1,431,406	347	75

* In working out these totals for Great Britain, the figures for England, Wales and Scotland have been taken separately, as the "quota" per member slightly differs.

Co-operation

—The Farmers' (Finnish) Co-operative Trading Company, with five stores in the Michigan copper country, had a total sales last year of nearly \$250,000.

—All private trade and the distribution of commodities in the city of Samara, Russia, have been centered in the Co-operative Consumers' Society, "Samopomostch" (Self-help), which now owns 128 stores.

—At the recent annual congress of the Women's Co-operative Guild, held at Middlesborough, England, it was announced that the Guild had increased in the last twelve months by 100 new branches and 5,000 odd new members.

—In Switzerland sixty-five cooperative societies were established during the war, bringing the total number affiliated with the central union in Switzerland to 461. Forty per cent of the total number of households in Switzerland are members of a co-operative society.

—The newly opened ten-story Penn-Harris Hotel, at Harrisburg, Pa., was built by the community. The project involved an expenditure of \$1,420,000. The popular subscriptions that built it were secured with the understanding that the hotel would sell no liquor.

—The Ministry of Food and Supply at Omsk has entered into a contract with the Union of Siberian Creamery Associations for the delivery of 72,000,000 pounds of butter during the current year. This amount represents two-thirds of the total yearly output of Siberia.

—*The Russian Co-operator* says that W. Maisky, well known Russian writer on social and economic questions, a young man of great value to the Co-operative Movement, known in the English speaking world through his articles in *The Russian Co-operator*, was taken out of prison at Omsk, driven outside of the town and shot by the officers of Kolchak.

Suffrage

—The London *Morning Post* states that women are to be admitted to the proposed degree in commerce at London University on the same terms as men.

—The Missouri Republican State Central Committee is now on a fifty-fifty basis. It is composed of two men and two women from each Congressional district, all with the same voting power.

—The minimum wage has been of inestimable value to great masses of unorganized women workers who are unable to protect themselves against the power of their employers, according to Edward F. McGrady, former president of the Boston Central Labor Union, and a founder of the Boston Labor College.

—The Women's Socialist International and the French Union for Women Suffragists have each issued manifestos, one calling for the women of the world to arouse immediately a universal revolution for the purpose of forcing the creation of a new peace treaty, and the other threatening the Senate openly unless it passes the suffrage bill already passed by the Chamber.

—The women of Indianapolis have organized themselves into the Indianapolis Housewives' League to investigate profiteering, and especially the charges against produce commission merchants and owners of apartments. It will also supply prompt and regular information on the price of commodities. And the women of New York formed the Women's National Economic Committee for the purpose of enlisting, within a month, the women of the country (22,000,000) to fight profiteering, each woman in her own locality.

—The National Women's Trade Union of America has called a world congress of working women in Washington for October 28. Invitations to attend the women's congress have been sent by cable to labor organizations in Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Canada, the Canal Zone, Porto Rico, Paraguay, Chile, Argen-

tina, Uruguay, Peru, Equador, Bolivia, Honduras, Nicaragua, the Republic of Salvador, Venezuela, South Africa, New Zealand, New South Wales, Victoria and Japan.

Labor

—The War Labor Board on the 12th formally ended its existence.

—In response to urgent cables to come home, Mr. Samuel Gompers cut short his visit to Europe, to take a hand in quieting present industrial unrest.

—Twenty-five hundred men of the New York District Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers won their demand for a one dollar an hour and a forty-hour week.

—In California approximately 5,000 experienced women employed in all establishments except mercantile, will receive a wage increase from \$10 to \$13.50 a week, August 20, according to an announcement by the California State Industrial Welfare Commission.

—The number of unemployed in Denmark in December was approximately 68,000. They have been cared for by a system of unemployment pay in the sum of \$10 and \$12 per week. This allowance gave them a fairly comfortable existence, and, according to the *Commerce Reports*, was greater than the wages obtained by many of the laborers before the war.

—The development of the State Employment Service to the point where it shall become a monopoly in the field, and extensive provision for the regulation of public works so that they shall take up the slack of the seasonal trades, are two recommendations of a report of the New York State Reconstruction Commission, sent to Governor Smith on the 16th.

—The new factory councils which the German Government proposes to institute are to be composed of both wage-earning and salaried employes. They are to be elected by these two classes in proportion to their numbers, the voting to be carried out on the basis of proportional representation. The elections will be by economic units in agriculture and liberal professions where such units employ more than twenty persons.

—In a letter to the leader of the strike of the Crane Company employees in the company's Los Angeles factory, Mrs. Frances R. Lille and Mrs. A. F. Gartz, both large shareholders, and sisters of Richard Crane Jr., president of the Crane Company, openly endorsed the attitude of the workers and said: "I am sure that my brother believes that he is a good and generous employer, but that does not hide the fact that the Crane Company is getting every year enormous sums of money from

the labors of others without anything like commensurate returns to society for it."

The Professions

—A strike of stage hands and musicians shortly before the performances were scheduled to begin closed four theatres in New York City, making sixteen where performances are suspended because of the actors' strike.

—The St. Louis Association of Journalists has completed its organizations and will authorize the formation of one chapter in each of the five English-language daily newspapers of the city. Among the things which the association expects to take up is a survey of economic conditions among newspaper men and women, and encourage sympathetic cooperation between owners and workers; improving of newspaper standards; and instil confidence in newspaper workers on the part of the public.

—Most of the inspectors in the municipal service in New York are receiving less than \$1,800 a year, and they are demanding this minimum of the Board of Estimate. Wm. B. Scheer, president of the municipal inspectors' union, in a statement in the *Civil Service Record*, says lack of money in the city treasury is no excuse for refusal, and points to the increasing community-earned land values, which should be taxed into the community's funds, from which all civil servants should be paid a living wage.

—Thomas Davies Mutch, Labor member of Parliament in New South Wales, Australia, addressed Chicago newspapermen recently on the achievements of the Journalists' Association in Australia, a newspapermen's union. He declared a minimum wage of \$40 had been established and the 48-hour week was insisted upon, while overtime work was subject to extra pay. Altogether, the conditions of Australian newspapermen have been improved to such a degree that young men who previously entered the so-called professions are becoming newspaper writers, he said.

Industry

—Net earnings of the Federal Reserve Banks for the first six months of 1919 have been at the rate of 92 per cent on an average paid in capital of \$81,788,000, compared with 55.9 per cent for the same period last year and 9.8 per cent in 1917.

—Australia's present plans for tariff revision, with a differential in favor of the United Kingdom, will severely restrict American trade with her, says *Commerce and Finance*. Import duties are slated for a general increase, both to raise more revenue and to prevent the influx of cheap Japanese goods.

—The net earnings after payment of taxes of the United States Steel Corporation in the current quarter, are now estimated (a writer in *The Christian Science Monitor* says) at between \$40,000,000

and \$45,000,000, compared with \$84,881,801 in the second quarter. These earnings are based upon operations of 75 to 80 per cent. of capacity.

—Statistics compiled by the *Journal of Commerce* of investment in oil companies during July show in a startling manner that the boom under way virtually from the signing of the armistice is far from spent. Capital totaling \$586,216,500 was invested in 160 new companies, compared to \$355,890,000 in 128 companies in June. The total investment exceeds that of the whole year 1918.

—The Australian Labor Conference wants a "scientific tariff" to protect Australian workers. Existing tariffs which are imposed to encourage local manufacture are used, it was said at the recent conference in Sydney, to increase the prices of the local article to that of a figure just below the imported article. The result of this is that the workers are continually exploited in the cost of living.

—In its Business Section the *New York Times* complains that workers in the needle industry have become so extravagant that some of them go home in taxicabs, and goes on to say, "So-called democratization of industry will not help matters." The only cure the writer can see is the introduction into the industry of workers of other races, in whom the spirit of militant socialism is either less keen or altogether lacking. "In short, the only cure is the Americanization of the industry."

—Plans for what is expected to be one of the strongest combinations of stores in the retail line in the Middle West, Southwest, and Eastern States are under way. The stores in the combination are the three of Frank & Seder in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia; the Bailey Company of Cleveland; Ed Schuster & Co., with three stores in Milwaukee; the Rosenbaum Company of Pittsburgh; the B. Nugent & Bros. Dry Goods Company of St. Louis; the Gus Blass Dry Goods Company of Little Rock; and the Wolf-Marx Company of San Antonio, Texas.

Legislation

—President Wilson on the 15th vetoed the bill repealing the Daylight Saving law.

—Secretary Baker defended on the 18th before the Senate Sub-Committee on Military Affairs his recommendation for an army of 576,000 men by saying that in view of the "disturbed conditions in the world" he did not wish the "responsibility" of asking for a small force.

—Senator William P. Dillingham introduced in the Senate on the 15th a bill that provides that after July 1, 1920, the number of aliens who may be admitted to the United States as immigrants in any year shall be limited to five per cent. of the number of persons of such nationality already residing here.

—The House has passed the first protective tariff measure to be acted upon since the Republicans regained control of Congress. The measure levies high duties on chemical glassware and apparatus. Duties of 60 per cent. ad valorem are levied by the bill on laboratory glass and porcelain wares and 45 per cent. ad valorem on optical glass, and philosophical, scientific and laboratory apparatus. The bill, which was framed by Representative Bacharach, of New Jersey, now goes to the Senate.

—The National Guard Association of the United States at a meeting held in the Seventy-first Regiment Armory in New York, denounced the proposed Chamberlain-Kahn Universal Service bill as "the swan song of the General Staff" and as an act which if passed will be a stigma upon "the citizen soldiery." By resolution telegraphed to Secretary Newton D. Baker, the Association declared that "four million veterans of the great war are a sufficient nucleus for the organization of any army which may be required for some time to come."

Color Line

—A permanent national headquarters for the National Negro Business League will soon be established for the purpose of handling the employment and direction of all Negro labor and supplying data of interest to Negro businesses. It will be patterned along the lines of the National Chamber of Commerce.

—The Norfolk Chamber of Commerce has a committee on labor, of which a Negro has been made a member. The city also has a Negro Workers' Advisory Committee, composed of three white city officials and twenty-five colored men and women. In the acute labor shortage of the past year both these committees have enlisted the interest and help of Negro workers of all grades.

—The Southern Publicity Committee in an article on "Memphis Plans Interracial Co-operation for Industrial Development," makes mention of a program for civic and industrial development which the Negroes, at the request of the leading business men of Memphis, drew up for submission to the Chamber of Commerce and the city's Employers' Association. This plan was approved by the latter bodies, and it is given in full in a folder entitled "A Vital Civic Program," which may be obtained from Mark Fenton, Industrial Commissioner of the Chamber of Commerce, Memphis.

—Mr. Leo Favrot, the white official in charge of Louisiana's rural colored schools, told a Cleveland audience of his State's growing provision for Negro education. Beauregard, he said, is spending \$85,000 on six Negro schools; Terrebonne, which has no Negro school property, is building nine school houses at a cost of \$20,000! East Baton Rouge parish is putting up a \$10,000 brick

school in one of its small villages. Two other parishes are spending \$6,000 each for colored rural schools, and another, though it has appropriated only \$4,000 for buildings this year, has increased the sum for operating expenses from \$2,400 to \$11,000 for next year.

Education

—A gift of 25,000 shares of stock in the Pacific Improvement Company, valued at \$1,500,000, has been made to the University of California by Edward Searles, a Massachusetts capitalist.

—Since 1874, when Baron Megata, head of the Japanese financial commission sent to this country during the war, received the first degree ever accorded a Japanese student from Harvard, well upwards of a hundred Japanese have studied at the University.

—The General Education Board announces an appropriation of \$16,000 to be used by the National Committee on Mathematical Requirements of the National Mathematical Association of America in financing a study looking to improvements in the mathematical curriculum of the secondary schools of the country.

—On March 31, 1919, a meeting was held in the offices of the Ministry of Education at Prague to organize an Academy of Labor. The object of the academy is to coordinate scientific and technical work in the Czechoslovak Republic, with a view to solving the economic, social, technical and industrial problems.

—Supreme Court Justice Lydon approved in New York last week the incorporation of the National Social Unit Organization, the purpose of which is to "hasten the coming of a democracy both genuine and efficient by building upon a basis of population units an organization through which the people can get a clear idea of their common needs and can utilize the technical knowledge of skilled groups in formulating and carrying out programs to meet those needs."

Foreign

—It is reported from Warsaw that 40,000 Polish Jews have asked permission to emigrate to America.

—The War Work Council received report of a strike of French waitresses because they were called upon to serve German brides at the Y. W. C. A. Hostess House in Paris.

—On May 8 a conference of representatives of the technical agricultural organizations was held, at which there was discussed chiefly the question of electrifying the agricultural industry of Russia.

—According to a special cable to the *Herald*, Premier Ignace Jan Paderewski has established

martial courts, the function of which will be to try and pass judgment within twenty-four hours on all persons accused of offenses of any sort against the Jews.

—W. Francis Ahern, Seattle *Union Record* correspondent, reports that what promises to be the biggest repatriation scheme in the world is being launched by the Queensland labor government in Australia. A large area of land is to be thrown open and four railways constructed to open up 2,500,000 acres of rich and fertile land to returned soldiers.

—British expenditures for naval and military operations in Russia from the date of the armistice until the end of July amounted to £70,000,000, according to an official "White Paper" issued on the 14th. In its comment the London *Daily News* says: "It has been entered upon by the Cabinet and War Office without Parliamentary sanction or even discussion. . . . This immense expenditure already approaches half the total cost of the South African war."

—Despite the soaring prices of commodities and consequent hardship of living in Japan, the Overseas Development Company (Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha) is encountering difficulties in the fulfillment of its agreement with the Brazilian Government for the supply of 20,000 Japanese emigrants because of the reluctance of the Japanese in rural districts to leave the country. A canvass of Japan to secure the remaining number, which must be sent within two years, has not been satisfactory.

—Under the new German constitution no state can have more than two-fifths of the total number of votes in the Council. Half of Prussia's votes must come from provincial administrations. The President will be chosen by the entire German people instead of by the Assembly, and will hold office for a term of seven years. A system of councils is created for industries, by which employes will have a voice in the decisions reached by the employers. The second main part provides that all Germans shall be equal before the law and that men and women shall have basically the same rights and duties.

—Commenting on Viscount Uchida's recent statement that "the policy of Japan is to hand back Shantung peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining only economic privileges," the Chinese Students' Patriotic Society asks, "What is full sovereignty minus economic rights? . . . Through the exercise of the economic rights, particularly the operation of the Kiao-Chau-Tsinan Railroad, together with the establishment of consular jurisdiction and the maintenance of railroad guards, Japan will secure the same kind of control over Shantung as she already has done in South Manchuria through the control of the South Manchurian Railroad."

—The Liberal party of Canada at its recent convention passed resolutions providing for a downward revision of the tariff whereby substantial reductions should be made on articles of general consumption, as well as on the raw material entering into their manufacture; representation of labor on Federal commissions pertaining to labor matters and on the Board of the Canadian National Railways. The resolution also accepted the plan of proportional representation. Another long resolution, reaffirming the reciprocity with the United States and referring to the reported repeal of the treaty by the United States, the hope is expressed that "a favorable moment may come when there will be a renewed manifestation by the two governments of a desire to make some similar arrangement."

General

—Brand Whitlock, United States Minister to Belgium, arrived in New York from Brest on the 16th.

—The jury awarded Henry Ford six cents damages in addition to costs of the case, against The Chicago Tribune.

—*Equity*, founded by Dr. C. F. Taylor in Philadelphia in the early '90s, and ably edited, has been consolidated with the *National Municipal Review*.

—Viscount Grey, former British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has agreed to represent the British Government at Washington pending the appointment of a permanent ambassador.

—Battle deaths among American enlisted men averaged 8 per 1,000, among emergency officers 11 per 1,000, and among regular army officers 14. Of every 1,000 officers landing in France 380 were killed or wounded.

—The "left wing" of the Socialist Party has split into two sections. One group, calling itself the Communist Party of America, has definitely withdrawn from the Socialist Party and is forming an organization of its own.

—A national campaign for Governor Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota as Republican candidate for president of the United States to represent the farmers and laborers has been formally launched at Danube, Renville County, Minn.

—H. H. Willock's article, "Unused Democracy," which was published in *Commerce and Finance* of New York, has been reprinted for wide distribution. Copies for bona fide and immediate distribution will be furnished free in any quantity by Mr. Willock, 54th Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

—The New York *Evening Post* has announced that Edwin Francis Gay, since 1908 Dean of the Harvard School of Business Administration and recently a member of the War Trade Board at Washington, will on January 1 assume general direction of the paper, becoming president of the corporation.

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

will open October first for the study of current economic and governmental problems. The work will be conducted by a group of well known writers and teachers among whom are GRAHAM WALLAS of London, THORSTEIN VEBLER, JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, WESLEY CLAIR MITCHELL, JOHN DEWEY, DEAN ROSCOE POUND, THOMAS S. ADAMS, HAROLD J. LASKI, MOISSAYE OLGIN, CHARLES A. BEARD and Members of the Bureau of Municipal Research, ROBERT BRUERE and Members of the Bureau of Industrial Research.

Courses will include lectures on Economic Factors in Civilization, The Development of the United States into a World Power, The Historic Background of the Great War, Modern Industrialism, Social Inheritance, Recent Tendencies in Political Thought, Problems of American Government, etc.

There will be late afternoon and evening lectures and conferences to permit the attendance of those engaged in regular professions. No academic degrees will be required but the standard of post-graduate work will be maintained. There will be general lectures and discussion for larger groups and small conferences for those equipped for special research.

Registration will begin September twenty-second
Announcement will be sent upon application to
the school at
485-9 West Twenty-third Street New York City

The Plumb Plan

THE PUBLIC was the first paper in New York to carry an account of the Plumb plan for the railroads.

A reprint of this article, published in THE PUBLIC last April, is available. Reprinted with Mr. Plumb's article is a short, clear statement in favor of Government Ownership, written by Hugh Reid.

Write for 100 copies. They can be had for 25 cents to cover postage.

The Public

122 East 37th Street New York

After August 23rd the address of The Public will be The Educational Building, Fifth Avenue and Thirteenth Street, New York. :: :: ::

Sargent's Handbook of American Private Schools A Guide Book for Parents

A Standard Annual of Reference. Describes critically and discriminately the Private Schools of all classifications.
Comparative Tables give the relative cost, size, age, special features, etc.
Introductory Chapters review interesting developments of the year in education.—Modern Schools, War Changes in the Schools, Educational Reconstruction, What Progressive Schools Are Doing, Recent Educational Literature, etc.
Our Educational Service Bureau will be glad to advise and write you intimately about any school or class of schools in which you are interested.
Fifth edition, 1919, revised and enlarged, 768 pages, \$3.00. Circulars and sample pages on request.
PORTER E. SARGENT, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

NATIONAL NONPARTISAN LEAGUE

A bundle of literature on the League and its achievements. Price 50 cents. Educational Department,

NONPARTISAN LEAGUE, St. Paul, Minn.

THE LATEST BOOKS

By THORSTEIN VEBLER

THE VESTED INTERESTS AND THE STATE OF THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS

By FRANCIS NEILSON

THE OLD FREEDOM

Each \$1.00 net; postpaid \$1.10

PUBLISHED BY B. W. HUEBSCH, NEW YORK