

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

February 15, 1919

The Housing Problem

Patriotism and Profits

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Volume XXII

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Number 1089

ONCE more the United States Senate has written itself down an ass. Once more the Democratic leaders in the Senate have demonstrated their unfitness for leadership. Once more a handful of Republican reactionaries have insulted the intelligence of mankind. With women voting in nearly every country in the world, and sitting as law makers in many, the Senate has denied the ballot to the women of America. With a reversal of political control in the Senate less than a month off, the Democratic leaders abandon to their opponents the honor of converting the United States into a political democracy. With woman recognized in art, in science, in education, and in industry, a dozen stupid Republicans pettishly withhold recognition in government. In fact, the Republican Senators are far more guilty than the Democratic. The Southern Senators come from States where public opinion is still in considerable degree of the anti-reconstruction if not of the antebellum brand, but the Republicans live and move and have their being in a popular atmosphere that makes woman suffrage inevitable.

THAT American and British delegates to the Peace Conference are working together in harmony is a source of the greatest satisfaction to all who appreciate the forces making for a peace of progress. This harmony has already brought about the provisions that are essential for a league of nations. A colonial policy appears to have been settled. In regard to reparation there is no likelihood of conflict. The only serious matter that could disturb this democratic team work is the definition to be placed upon the freedom of the seas. Many quarters in England have been puzzled all along by our large naval program. They do not realize that

our program of construction is an exceedingly flexible affair. We may modify or end it in a week's time. Along with this fact goes the other, that no body of Americans feels the slightest objection to British maritime supremacy. An overwhelming preponderance of power might make us suspicious, but Britain is not likely to increase her navy beyond what is absolutely necessary, for even in days of peace and prosperity, the British public felt that the upkeep of the navy was a sore burden.

THIS Anglo-American harmony is the core and nucleus of the new world arrangement. It will determine every settlement that is to be made. We have to trust its disinterested character and intention to express what the common people of the world really want. Against it, fighting adroitly with the weapons partly of diplomacy and partly of publicity, are the nationalist ambitions of some of our allies. There is no disguising the fact that Clemenceau and Sonnino are trying to arrive at arrangements that would end this war, just as previous ones have ended, by the victors taking all that they can get. There is significance in the report that the American delegation is so disturbed by methods adopted by the French press and certain French officials that they are on the point of asking that the negotiations be transferred to some other country. This ought to bring the whole matter to a focus. Quite plainly, neither we nor the British have fought the war for the kind of peace that the French officials would have us accept. But it is now clear that a decisive voice does not rest with them; it rests with the Anglo-American group, and we may confidently expect French acquiescence.

THE unemployment situation demands action. Two months ago we had abundant employment and prosperity in every city in the land. Today in what were our most prosperous industrial centers we have gathering bread lines. Daily the number of unemployed increases at an alarming rate. Between December 7 and February 5 the number of unemployed in the United States increased about fourteenfold. The Department of Labor reports 61 cities where there is serious unemployment. Men and women to the number of 75,000 are asking for work in Cleveland, and 40,000 are walking the streets of Detroit. Meanwhile, industrial disturbances increase. Strikes are occurring without the knowledge even of the leaders of the trade unions. Secretary Wilson, who is a conservative man, told the Senate Committee very plainly last week that a hungry man does not stop to reason or draw fine distinctions with regard to property rights. The Secretary feels that our basic conditions with respect to employment are sound. We had war prosperity two months ago and we shall have peace prosperity six months hence. In the meantime we are faced with a situation that daily grows more desperate. Something must be done to bridge over the gap between war prosperity and peace prosperity. Promises of employment next summer are of no value to hungry men. Pending the resumption of private industry that relief can come from the building of public works. Senator Kenyon has a bill before the Senate Committee on Labor and Education that will provide for Federal action. This bill, amended as to personnel to include the Secretaries of the departments immediately interested—War, Labor, Interior, and Agriculture—should be passed at once.

ONE and one-half years ago we had no agency for the adequate distribution of labor. When we entered the war there was the utmost need for man power, and it was very important that every ounce of industrial energy be exerted in the winning of the war. Yet we had the spectacle of unemployed men walking the streets in some cities while the great war industries begged for help. The only means we had for satisfying those needs were the private employment agencies with their unsavory records for exploitation of both wage-earners

and employers. Today we have a vast network of national employment agencies totaling upward of one thousand in number. Only a national agency can adequately distribute the surplus laborers who gather here and there. To do away with that agency now would be to revert to the pre-war conditions where jobs went begging in one city and men begged for jobs in another. In spite of this the Committee on Appropriations is seriously considering the abolition of the United States Employment Service. It is utter folly to talk retrenchment just now. It might be excellent to preach economy in the use of water to the people of a city, but the time for such preaching is not when the city is on fire. We are in the midst of a conflagration now. If no money is granted our national employment exchanges will go on the scrap heap on April first, and we shall be left without any adequate machinery for bringing together the jobless man and the manless job. Meanwhile, the Committee on Appropriations argues over a trifle of two and one-half millions. More than that is being lost in wages every day.

MORE addresses, petitions, and resolutions like that cabled to the Peace Conference by the American Free Trade League should be in evidence. Nations large and small have placed their grievances before the Peace Conference; labor has demanded consideration of its rights; and it is well that the people who merely want liberty should make themselves heard. The league's cablegram, signed by a number of men and women who have made a study of the laws of trade, sets forth in brief the fact that economic greed has been the chief cause of this war, and that if not removed it will lead to other wars. An economic peace, the league says, will enable all nations involved in the world war to pay their huge war debts, rebuild their industrial prosperity, and avoid future wars. It will be a great day for the world when the right of self-determination now claimed for nations and peoples is extended to individuals.

TAIXING one's self rich may be said to be the chief amusement of the protectionist. One of the more recent examples is that of the *American Economist*, which is now applying

its mad philosophy to the shipping problem. Sell the Government owned ships, the editor says, "as soon as possible to private shipowners, restore the law of 1790, which levied a tax of ten per cent. on goods imported in foreign vessels. This policy, we are assured, "will not take money out of the Treasury, but will put more in; and at the same time will encourage foreign trade to be carried on in American ships." How disingenuous to say that it will not take money out of the Treasury. The ten per cent. tax will take money out of people's pockets, and it will take out a great deal more than it puts into the Treasury. But that is the purpose of the Protective Tariff League. That is where the beneficiaries come in. It is a pleasant diversion—for those into whose pockets the money goes. But why confine it within our own borders? If our protectionist friends can inveigle Brazil, Argentina, and other fleetless nations to place a ten per cent. tax on European ships, while leaving ours free, we may be able to monopolize the carrying trade of those countries. It should be an easy matter for the protectionist to do this, for they assure us that such a tax will take nothing out of the treasury of those nations, but will in reality add to their revenue.

A BAD spirit is displayed by some of the American press and public men in their attitude toward Great Britain for the embargo laid upon goods from America. If there is any country entitled to indulgence because of the depredations of war, that country is Great Britain. She has kept her ports open to the world for more than half a century, and has admitted our goods free from any protective duties during all the time that we have levied heavy imposts upon hers. It was not at all to the credit of what we like to call the American spirit of fair play to hear men say during the war that this is the opportunity to capture the world's markets. And if some of England's industries should now be found in such a disorganized condition, because of the war, that they need a little time to recover themselves, Americans of all people have least cause for complaint. For at the very moment complaint is made of this embargo heavy protective duties are laid by the United States upon British goods. Let us have the freest possible

competition throughout the world, but let it be competition of every kind and degree among gentlemen.

BITS of news such as that coming from Vienna, announcing the distribution of the landed property of Count Karolyi, President of the Hungarian Republic, give assurance of real progress. Karolyi is reported to be one of the greatest landed proprietors in Hungary, and this distribution is said to be in conformity with the general law passed by the Hungarian Assembly. Russia is not the only country with a land question. The least as well as the greatest countries have it, and the freest as well as the most despotic must meet it. Nations that have not been within the zone of revolutions will have opportunity to dispose of the question through political means. But countries where the old order has been set aside by force will miss the real gains that are possible if they do not dispose once for all of the land question. Nor does this disposal mean merely to divide up the estates of princes and nobles; rather does it mean the adoption of a fiscal system that will mean to all future generations equal access to the land.

RENT profiteering in Pittsburgh, Pa., is taken so seriously that the Mayor and the City Council have inserted a half-page advertisement in the daily papers in protest. The profiteering landlords are charged with having made unreasonable advances in rents on the ground of the higher taxes levied against their property. But the statement of the Mayor and Council shows that the taxes for 1919 are less than for 1918. Pittsburgh, it may be recalled, is operating under a law that permits ten per cent. of the assessment on buildings and improvements to be transferred to the land every three years, until fifty per cent. has been transferred. Twenty per cent. has already been shifted under this law. The amount is still too small to produce an appreciable effect in forcing idle lands upon the market. But the Mayor and Council are invoking pitiless publicity for the purpose of keeping grasping landlords within bounds until there has been a sufficient amount of taxes on improvements shifted to the land to force all idle lands upon the market.

The Parliament of Labor

THREE is a significance that can be felt rather than seen in the fact that a labor commission of the Peace Conference is at work upon the international relations of working men. Delimitation of territory and the fixing of indemnities, colonial understandings and economic affiliations could all be arranged without the world having appreciably changed from the old order. It is in the union and mutual understanding of plain working people that the groundwork of future peace and coöperation must be found.

Here is something vital and portentous. And it is to the credit of the Peace Conference that it can appreciate the fact of the world merging into one primarily in terms of the humbler classes. With them is lacking any sense of the large rivalries which diplomats feel, of the great commercial conflicts that give rise to war; and there is present a fraternal disposition that is unobscured by a desire to protect foreign investments.

The labor representatives in Paris are actuated by the positive motive of realizing the good that can come from international unity—a good to be realized in coöperation with all the other factors that make up the modern civilized world. It contrasts sharply with the other kind of internationalism, that which seeks unity among the working people of different nations in a community of class hatred, a determination to establish everywhere a dictatorship of the proletariat. For, however much it may be said that Lenin has left the ranks of orthodox Socialists, it remains true that Bolshevism is the final and logical word of the Socialist creed. A revolution to be followed by seizure of the means of production and of government is for European Continental Socialists the great panacea for the working man's ills.

It is natural, therefore, that the Berne Congress should treat the League of Nations as inimical to its own designs. A league is for the extreme Socialists nothing more than the formation of a large capitalist trust, through which the world is to be apportioned for exploitation. All existing governments are from this point of view inimical to the good of the proletariat. The mistake lies in the failure to

understand that at least with the western democracies the government is what the people want; at any rate, they believe that they can change it in the direction of what they want by other than revolutionary means. Socialists have been too inclined to accept the intellectual leadership of countries whose government was not of the people.

The Parliament of Labor, which may be established by the Peace Conference, may emerge undefined, with methods undetermined. What is important is that a way is open for discussion and understanding. In course of time international labor standards will be so fixed that the commodities of no country can be used to the detriment of the working men of another. This will tend to an equalization of the standard of living, and with that the problem of immigration will solve itself. The first question that will have to receive consideration is one of vital concern to American workers, that of securing universal acceptance of the principle of the Seamen's law.

America and the Near East

WHETHER or not there is a basis of fact in the report that the representatives of the new kingdom of Arabia are asking that America become the mandatory power in control of that country, there are factors in the situation that may force upon us a large share in shaping the future of the Near East. Here is the one vital element in the settlement so far as it affects the future good relations of the Allies. The German colonies are after all a minor affair; with the exception of Australia, no nation shows overwhelming eagerness to obtain control; there are no economic prizes that offer the slightest enticement.

It is different with the Near East. The century-long rivalry of the European nations in fixing their grasp upon the decaying Ottoman empire, the drive of all the great powers toward Constantinople, with the desire to control the bridge to the East, furnished the background and ultimate cause of the great war. Germany and Russia are out of consideration for the time being. The Near East is in the hands of Great Britain.

But the secret treaties formed on the assump-

tion of actual territorial acquisition, admitted France, Italy, and Greece to a share in the division of Turkish land. Unless the new system of mandatory control under a league of nations is established, a new series of colonial exploitative enterprises will come into the Near Eastern field, and new rivalries will sow the seeds of a new world disaster.

Moreover, the division into zones, each under the tutelage of a separate power, may arrive at the same end. There are examples of great nations occupying Turkish lands as mandatories or protecting powers, only to seize the first good opportunity to make their sovereignty absolute. In the present case there is no reason to think that Great Britain desires territory. She merely wants stability and strategical security in relation to her Eastern empire. But if Mesopotamia and Arabia come under her control, there is every probability that France, Italy, and Greece will insist upon the provisions of the secret treaties. Whether they are called mandatory powers or not matters little. Their purpose in securing a foothold in Asia Minor is a colonial purpose. Under these circumstances it may be necessary for the United States as a non-military, non-aggressive power, to live up to her intentions to maintain the peace of the world and take the Ottoman empire under her tutelage. If the principle of liberation be not carried to an absurdity, and the good of all the constituent nationalities sacrificed to theoretical independence, it may yet be seen that these countries form an economic unity that needs for its prosperity only a liberal even-handed administration.

So far as concerns disinterestedness, the tutelary task clearly falls to the United States. We are, however, lacking in administrative training and experience. Some of our Senators seem to think that to be a mandatory power merely implies sending our soldier boys to distant parts of the world. It is not so simple an affair. Neither Cuba nor the Philippines is a true example. That is rather to be found in the British administration of Egypt, and her protectorship of the native states of India. The problem turns out to be chiefly that of protecting the finances of the country against corrupt native officials, and of protecting the common people against exploitation.

A handful of British officials and British soldiers have made modern Egypt, but these officials were the best that an empire with a genius for administration could provide. For Asia Minor, Great Britain and America could well be joint mandatories. This would insure an efficient as well as disinterested administration. Few seem to understand the part we have already played in the Near East. It is that of providing those regions with an intellectual class through the colleges which American missionaries maintain.

The British Strike

STRIKES on a large scale in Great Britain, apparently without the knowledge or consent of the trade union leaders, are exciting much comment on this side of the water by those who think that they see an outbreak of Bolshevism in England. Such apprehension springs from a lack of understanding of the British labor movement.

There are really two labor movements in Great Britain. One is the ordinary craft unionism, which parallels American trade unionism very closely; the other is the shop stewards' movement. And it is not an uncommon thing for the British worker to come within the scope of both movements. Sometimes the two pull together, and sometimes they are in conflict.

The craft unions are nationally organized like our own, and all men are organized by trades into large national societies. The shop stewards are individuals or committees who represent the workers of all trades in individual shops or plants. Sometimes they are merely representatives of the various unions. At other times they represent the workers directly and are directly elected. They frequently represent all the workers in a shop, whether members of a union or not. Occasionally conflict is avoided by requiring the shop steward to be a member of some union.

There are thus two systems pulling together sometimes and pulling in different directions at other times, one organized upon a craft basis and the other upon a shop basis. The shop stewards have federated, and have built up organizations composed wholly of stewards, which cover large areas. These federations are

headed toward the "one big union" scheme advocated by a number of American leaders.

There is some advantage in having the shop steward system. It decentralizes trade union negotiations remarkably and increases solidarity. It settles minor grievances by direct contact with the employer, rather than through the intervention of a union delegate and the use of very complex and cumbersome trade union machinery. The shop steward system is a shortcut. It is a protest against craft union bureaucracy, and its rapid growth during the war was caused by the inflexibility of the trade union. There are some disadvantages, however, as the present situation in England and Great Britain will exemplify. The duality of organization raises the question of allegiance. Sometimes local grievances result in strikes, and where there is no point of contact between the shop stewards and the trade unions, members of trade unions who owe part of their allegiance to a local shop steward find themselves taking part in unauthorized strikes called by the stewards. These strikes frequently spread and affect great areas.

This is literally what has been going on for some time over the greater part of the United Kingdom. Labor disturbances of considerable magnitude between employer and employee are occurring without any knowledge on the part of the national officials of the various crafts involved. British trade unions are in much the same position that the American Government was just before the Civil War. They have two kinds of government in the same area, local and national, and each claims to be supreme. A recent proposal to unite the two movements and agree on a practicable division of sovereignty was voted down, but sheer necessity will bring them together in the near future.

Taxation by Experts

MEMBERS of the New York Legislature are at their wits' ends to know where to get revenue to meet the increased cost of government, and to replace the loss from the liquor business. Copious advice is offered by real estate boards, business men, and tax experts, but nothing as yet appears to be entirely satisfying. Professor Seligman, whose writings and

lectures on the question place him among the old school economists, tells the Legislature that "so far as taxes are imposed upon buildings they lead to an increase in rent, which is becoming a grave factor in social unrest." He also adds: "In modern times there are vast earnings not derived from capital at all. The Carusos, railway presidents, prosperous physicians, lawyers, engineers, architects, go scot-free under a property tax, high or low."

Persons who are confined to mere logic may be a little puzzled to know how to reconcile these two statements. Professor Seligman is standing on safe ground when he says a tax on buildings increases the price; he doubtless would admit that a tax on any kind of labor products increases the price. But if this be so, how is it possible for a rich lawyer, architect, or singer to enjoy his income without paying taxes?

The members of the Legislature have also had the advice of the Committee on a Model Tax System of the National Tax Association, which includes the Tax Commissioners of Oregon, Kansas, Colorado, Minnesota, the Tax Commissioner of the Illinois Central Railroad, the Counsel of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, Professor Adams of Yale University, Professor Page of the University of Virginia, and Ogden L. Mills, former member of the Legislature. The model tax system recommended by the committee includes an income tax, a tax on tangible property, real and personal, and a business tax. Professor Bullock, chairman of this model tax committee, says: "Exemption from a personal income tax is inconsistent with the principle that all the inhabitants should contribute for the personal benefits and advantages that they derive from the government under which they live."

Again the predicament of the person depended upon mere logic! A layman would ask Professor Bullock how any inhabitant can come within the jurisdiction of government without paying for the personal advantages that he derives from that government. If the inhabitant buys or rents he will be assured that the price is offset by the advantages of government in the way of schools, police and fire protection, street pavements, street cars, water, sewers, gas, and electricity. It is indeed quite apparent that there never is any question about the inhabitants paying for all the advantages of

government. The difficulty is that the payment is made to the wrong person. The payment is made to the owner of the site upon which the inhabitant chooses to live or do business. The owner puts the main part of this payment in his own pocket, and the government that has furnished these services and advantages to the inhabitant is compelled to come to him a second time for revenue with which to meet its expenses.

Housing Progress

ONE hundred years ago there was a housing problem. Sound, substantial houses were rare because of the physical difficulties of building. Healthy houses were absolutely unknown because we knew nothing of sanitation or sewerage. Epidemics were still regarded as acts of God. No one expected to be warm in winter, and bathing was a summer pastime exclusively.

Since then science and invention, sanitary engineering, steel, concrete, electricity, and machinery have made comfort possible for the many. Yet few of them have it. Dirt and overcrowding persist. The slum is as persistent a phenomenon as the palace in every great city.

Mr. Charles H. Whitaker, editor of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, in an article published elsewhere in this issue, points out the futility of dealing with only a part of the problem. The trouble with every housing experiment is that it creates a great increment of land values that prevents the extension of the experiment. Every great city that has established parks for the average citizen soon finds that surrounding land values increase so that only the rich can live near the parks built for the poor.

Governments are not the only agencies having this unfortunate experience. The United States Steel Corporation built the town of Gary, and the Lackawanna Steel Company built the town of Lackawanna, which enriched land speculators to the tune of \$22,858,900 and \$6,788,000 respectively. These land increments came directly out of two sources, the profits of the company and the wages of its employes. So far the employes have taken no

steps to protect themselves, but the Steel Corporation does not intend to be fooled again. When it built the suburb of Morgan Park inside the city of Duluth it was careful to purchase and retain title to not only all the land actually occupied for building, but to a large surrounding area. As a result it has been able to retain the socially created values. The question now is, If a private corporation can conduct a successful experiment of this nature why cannot a municipality? Otherwise, cities must continue to grow upward rather than outward. As Mr. Richard Childs has pointed out, "no real solution of the problem of getting the vast majority of our population into decent houses is possible unless we first solve the problem of unearned increment, which now banks up in front of economic progress, including housing progress, like snow before a snowplow."

The New Revenue Bill

THERE is little to be said in behalf of the new revenue bill except that it provides a large revenue, mainly from war profits and incomes by means of cumulative taxes. It has been drawn with naive disregard of the canon of taxation as laid down by the newer school of economics, and will have to be accepted as the best that men of limited understanding can frame. It was not to be expected that many members of the present Congress would understand the incidence of taxation well enough to discriminate between earned and unearned income, or between taxes on industry and taxes on privilege.

There is an approximation of justice under present abnormal conditions in laying super taxes upon war profits and upon some of the great incomes. But the framers of the bill appear to have been wholly unconscious of other great incomes that remain untouched by the law. Owners of vacant land, agriculture, timber, mineral, and water power, have seen their holdings increase enormously in value since the beginning of the war, yet no account is taken of this increase by the new law. Land values throughout the country have increased by billions of dollars in the last five years, and great quantities of this land are in the hands of speculators who are holding them for st

higher prices. Yet not one cent of this value is levied upon by the Federal tax law.

It is quite evident that little can be hoped for in the way of equitable tax laws from Congress until the public is more generally educated on the question of taxation. The income tax law is likely to prevail for some time, because it lays the burden of government upon men who the average citizen feels cannot be reached in any other way. But necessity will soon compel attention to fundamentals. Not only does the failure to reach the land speculator by taxation deprive the government of its just dues, but it enables the speculator to stand in the way of industrial development. The present bill has the one virtue of providing a large revenue; the finer discrimination as to sources will have to be left to future law makers that understand better the fundamental principles of taxation.

The question of taxation is not really hard to understand. The difficulty lies in trying to find a way to eat one's cake and keep it, too. It would be a very simple matter for the government to take from the owners of the site where the benefits of government are to be enjoyed the full value of the services rendered, but to do so would be to deprive the owners of those sites of the profits they have been counting upon from the growth of population. In a word, the problem is not to find a way to support the government, but to support the government and the owners of the land benefited by the government.

Progress in the Philippines

THE return to this country of Francis Burton Harrison, Governor-General of the Philippines, should not be overlooked as an opportunity for another inquiry by the United States Senate. Doubtless plans have already been made; for it is not at all likely that our nquisitive Senators would overlook the chance. It will be recalled that at the time of Governor Harrison's appointment opponents of the Administration demonstrated his utter unfitness for the place. He was, they said, no more than a politician at best, and a wild-eyed theorist at worst; his appointment would undo all the constructive work the United States had already

done, and the natives would soon revert to their former barbarism.

The new Governor soon verified these predictions by replacing American office holders by Filipinos; and what was worse, he accepted in good faith the Jones bill for autonomous government, and aided the Filipinos in realizing their ambition. What has been the result? Who knows? During all the tremendous world upheavals through which we have passed since Governor Harrison was appointed, scarcely a word has come from the Philippines. This silence is ominous.

Governor Harrison tells us that the islands are exceptionally prosperous and the people contented; orderly development is proceeding on all lines; schools are multiplying rapidly; the natives are clamoring for education; labor conditions have improved so much that there are no strikes; and, strangest of all, the feeling of the Filipinos for this country has become so cordial that they raised a division of volunteer troops to fight against Germany.

Clearly there is something wrong about all this. It indicates some deeply laid scheme. These things could not be as the Governor-General reports them because we were assured by some of the ablest men in the Republican Party—some of the very men who are now trying to rescue the country from the clutches of the President—that the very reverse would follow Mr. Harrison's appointment. And the passage of the Jones bill! Surely the greatest investigating body on earth can find time to get at the truth of this matter before the Filipinos have had opportunity to aid Japan in taking California away from the United States.

Censoring by Indirection

MOST regrettable was the rejection by the Senate of Senator Borah's amendment to the Post Office Appropriations Bill, repealing those sections of the Espionage law giving authority to the Postmaster-General to exercise censorship over mail matter. The press censorship provisions of the Espionage act, as originally drawn, were voted down, but the remaining sections that give the Postmaster-General power to exclude treasonable matter from the mails, has been turned into a most

arbitrary censorship; for it conferred upon underlings in a Federal department power to try, judge, and administer without the right of appeal.

The right of censorship, as Senator Borah explained, is not involved, but its manner of exercise. Granted that a censorship such as Congress refused to enact is necessary in time of war, the application of the law should be made a part of the legal machinery of the country, and not be left to department heads. To withhold mailing privileges from a newspaper because a department head considers it seditious would be equivalent to the act of a superintendent of a city water department who should withhold water from a citizen whom he suspected of breaking one or other of the city ordinances.

Papers were excluded from the mails for printing matter that was not recognized as seditious by the legal department, and that was permitted to circulate unrestrained outside of the Post Office Department. This is nothing less than a travesty upon law, a reflection upon our whole legal system. Let seditious matter

and fraudulent matter be excluded from the mails, if that be the policy of the country, but let the fact as to whether or not the matter is seditious or fraudulent be determined by the regular legal machinery of the country.

Editors as well as other citizens should be responsible for their acts, but the responsibility should be determined by courts, and in conformity with law. Those Senators who opposed the Borah amendment on the ground that it would permit the circulation of Bolshevism through the press, give themselves little credit as students of history or as judges of human nature. Bolshevism in the sense in which the Senators use the word is the reaction of tyranny. It can grow and thrive only under tyranny. To say that it can find lodgment in serious proportions in this country is to condemn our very institutions and confess the failure of democracy. It is to be hoped that Senator Borah and the twenty-four men who voted with him for his amendment will press their point until the postal department has been separated from the function of the legal department.

The Housing Issue in the United States

By C. H. WHITAKER

Editor Journal American Institute of Architects. At Present Abroad Investigating Reconstruction Measures in the Building Industries in Great Britain in Behalf of the Department of Labor

IT is pretty safe to say that there has always been a housing problem, and most of us have met it in some form at close range. But today the phrase "the housing problem" indicates one of the salient and sinister facts in the development of the United States. It means that we have drifted into a position where we do not know how to provide decent shelter for the great army of men, women, and children dependent on the wage of the unskilled laborer. What is the cause of this situation? What is the reason that in a democracy like this, founded on the idea of liberty, dedicated to liberty, we still cannot give decent homes to millions of our population. Why has this country been steadily declining toward a condition of absentee landlordism hastening toward rivalry with Ireland and Russia?

The outbreak of war demanded that the Gov-

ernment do something, for lack of houses was seriously crippling munitions production, and during the last eighteen months three departments of the Government have been striving to meet this need. The Ordnance Department was the first to engage in the task; next we had the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation of the Shipping Board, and then we had the Bureau of Housing and Transportation of the Department of Labor. These three agencies together have probably spent between \$150,000,000 and \$200,000,000. In so far as the actual value of this housing is concerned with the war, it may be said that the Ordnance Department made a valuable contribution, through its housing work, toward speeding up munitions production. The other two agencies were so late in getting started, and so defective in their original conceptions of the nature and extent

of their task and its wise solution, that they were of little assistance so far as the prosecution of the war was concerned. But the coming of peace has deprived these efforts of practical importance. What light do they shed on the housing problem in the United States?

It is too early to make a final estimate of the various communities that have been created either directly by the Government or through Government loans to corporations. No doubt all of the work could have been done far better in peace and with greatly less expenditure. As to whether the types of houses and the general arrangement of the communities are satisfactory only time can tell.

Much has been learned of methods of organizing for the building of such communities. Each of the elements concerned,—architecture, engineering, contracting,—discovered the value of the contributions made the others, and as time went on the organizations made adjustments which led to a much smoother working of the machine as a whole. But in so far as the actual housing of low-paid workers is concerned, none of these agencies has made the slightest contribution toward a solution. We still do not know how we can provide decent houses at rentals that can be paid by workers for small wages throughout the country.

Our industrial system was borrowed from Europe. Our land system had the same origin, and our democratic form of government has not prevented us from arriving, in a comparatively short time, at the same goal that it took Europe much longer to reach. There are no slums in Europe which cannot be duplicated in the United States. There is no housing problem in Europe that has not its counterpart in our own country. In New York City, for example, it is probably safe to say that there is no known manner by which decent houses may hereafter be erected for low-wage workers. Land speculation has raised the cost of sites to such a point that a low rental housing is impossible. The curious fact is that only a very fortunate few have made any money out of this rise in the cost of land. Most of the rise has been absorbed in the carrying charges of those who lent the money with which the land was bought and held; but the result is an appalling indictment of the stupidity with which we exploit ourselves.

Nation after nation has been confronted with

the housing problem. Almost without exception every civilized country has tried to deal with it. Yet one by one they have all discovered that every effort they made in providing funds at low rates of interest soon brought their experiments to a halt because the rise in land values made it impossible to go on. One by one each nation has experimented with some method of dealing with the land problem. Germany, for example, tried the zoning system. Some of her municipalities went into the land business and bought up idle land as a means of defeating the destructive influence of private appropriation of unearned increments. England, in the midst of war, incorporated a provision in the Defense of the Realm Act by which the Government could take all the land it wanted at pre-war values, either for an initial housing experiment or for additions to it. England knew by experience that without such a provision initial experiments would cause neighboring land values so to rise that the initial experiment could not be repeated. And after all, the private appropriation of the unearned increment in site values tells the history of the housing problem throughout the world. The United States is no exception, the disaster is visible all over our land, in city and country, in town and village. Unearned increments rise to smother every effort. To cope with them, we decrease, first, the size of the lot, then the size of the house, and then the size of the room. Round and round we go in this dizzy whirl, while groups of well meaning but thoroughly ignorant citizens ponder and discuss what can be done toward solving the housing problem. We have played with it as a function that charity should discharge. We have sought to toy with it by passing restrictive legislation, in the form of tenement-house laws, but if one cares to see an example of what this kind of remedial measure offers let him cross over the island of Manhattan to the Long Island side and view the areas of new slums built under this law. Where can he find anything more barren, more inhumane, more undemocratic, more destructive of every social ideal, than this desert waste into which thousands of families are obliged to consign their destinies. The influence of this legislation and the pernicious standardization which has grown out of it lay so heavily on the housing bureau of the Department of Labor that its

original effort was confined to a study of the relation of workmen's wages to the value in housing (at war prices!) which the recipient of those wages could afford. It made no difference whether he was married or how many children he had; the economic standard must be preserved. No matter if toy houses were the result—so long as the economic fallacy was loyally safeguarded. The truth is, however, that this economic standard has declined steadily year after year, and will always continue to decline. Known as a minimum standard, it really becomes a maximum under which that vast body of workers we so inhumanely describe as unskilled labor have their housing doled out to them.

Undoubtedly we shall need the aid of the Government in some form before we can get out of the present muddle, but let us not seek to build up either a Federal, State, or municipal bureaucracy, which shall hand out housing as the War Department hands out shoes to the army. Let us liberalize the land, and make it

free, so that we may return to our original ideal,—to that ideal from which we have so far departed and which has brought us to such a state. Once the people of this country were covering it with charming houses and homesteads the like of which we cannot today duplicate. Instead, we have seen, as a consequence of our disastrous land policy, the ruination of our towns and cities by speculation in land, which forces speculation in building,—two cancers which are daily taking a larger toll of the health, the morals, and the spiritual growth of our population. In truth, our present attitude toward the use of land is based not upon the democratic principle we have fought to preserve, but on the autocratic principle which has for centuries rested on the fundamental doctrine that the many shall pay tribute to the few for the right to use the surface of the earth. It is our acceptance of that principle that has produced "the housing problem" in the United States. Until we emerge from that stupid trance there can be no solution.

Russian Election Law

By C. OBEROUTCHEFF

*Russian General and Journalist; Member of the Revolutionary Movement for Thirty Years;
Exiled by Czar, and Elected Chief Commander of the Military District of Kiev by
Delegates of Soldiers' and Workingmen's Soviets*

AFTER the March Revolution the governmental power passed into the hands of a group of people who accepted it for the sole purpose of bringing into existence the Constituent Assembly, or Constitutional Convention. They were modest enough to call this the Provisional Government, not the "People's Government."

This Government immediately took up the questions, first, of passing a law providing for general, direct, equal, and secret suffrage with assurance of representation to all minorities, and, secondly, of providing such safeguards as would guarantee impartial and correct results.

Public bodies—those of the municipalities and also the Zemstvos, or district legislatures—were at that time upper-class bodies, and of course did not have the confidence of the people generally. It was necessary to create municipal and Zemstvos bodies on the same democratic basis as the Constituent Assembly.

But until such a law could be introduced, elections held, and new municipal institutions built up that would be trusted by the people, it was absolutely necessary to have methods of election that would be more democratic than the old ones and that would be of service in the new elections. During the Revolution itself the Soviets (councils of workmen and soldiers) served in place of the municipal and Zemstvos institutions.

Elections to these Soviets were not regulated by any one, and not all opinions and social groups were represented in them; but nevertheless they were very important, and in the first period of the Revolution they played an important part in the control of affairs.

At last, at the end of May, the law governing elections to the Zemstvos, and to the municipalities, was made public. During the summer the elections took place, and the above-mentioned bodies were constituted.

That election law was based on universal suffrage, with the women taking their share in the voting. The age limit was twenty years. The elections were conducted in a very impartial way, with all possible guarantees for correctness.

At the election in Kiev, in which I took part as the chief commander of the military district, the city was divided into districts, and the elections were held under the supervision of a special committee of representatives of the city administration, in which were included representatives of the Soviets and of all political and national parties.

There was perfect freedom of propaganda. Automobiles with lists of candidates went all over the city. There were about thirteen of these lists or "tickets." Among them were the lists of political parties, those of national groups, and even some lists for certain localities that had been recently incorporated in the city limits.

After the votes for each list had been

counted, there were declared elected from each a number of candidates proportional to the number of votes received by the list. Thus was constituted democratically the council of the city, which reflected the will of the people truly. In August and September similar bodies were elected throughout all Russia, and they conducted the affairs of the cities, counties, states (gouvernias), etc. These bodies were truly representative of the people and they supervised not only the political, but also the economic and social life of their communities while the Provincial Government was in power.

Unfortunately the local bodies were unable to carry out fully the elections for the Constituent Assembly. In October the Bolsheviks seized the power. In the cities they dissolved the bodies elected by the people, and substituted for them the Soviets, which were not representative of the whole people. The representation in the Soviets was for the most part deliberately planned with a view to guarding the interests of the Bolsheviks only.

Patriotism and Profits

By FRED R. JONES

*Editor of the Financial Review, Statistical Expert,
and Writer on Economic Subjects*

"**P**OLITICIANS in Washington can wait until hell freezes over if they expect us to sell copper under 23 cents a pound." This was the rather laconic remark made to the writer by one of America's leading copper producers in April, 1918, when the problem of determining Government prices on various commodities for the war period was a most perplexing one.

As a result of this attitude on the part of this particular producer and his associates, their combined profits during the nineteen months of our participation in the world war amounted to \$512,250,000 compared with about \$300,000,000, their average yearly profits for two normal yearly periods. The company dominated by the gentleman using the above picturesque language paid in dividends in this period \$16.25 a share on its par value of \$20; previous to the war his company was unable to pay any dividends.

When his country called for war volunteers his two sons joined the ranks, and one of them was killed. In an address before a meeting of the National Security League he feelingly referred to his sacrifice as the "American brand of patriotism," and when I interviewed him recently he refused to admit that he should have sold his copper to his Government at 10, 20, or even 80 per cent. profit; the profits he had obtained represented in his judgment "good business." Since I am a writer and not a business man I presume that I am not competent to appreciate this rather dramatic distinction between patriotism and "good business"; but I do feel that I am quite competent to pass judgment, or at least to form an opinion, of the methods used by this gentleman and his associates in forcing or "stamping" the Government into granting the liberal profits which they demanded. In this drama, which we might entitle "Why the Government Did

"and Did Not," Mr. Bernard H. Baruch enters first and with true statesmanship dignity. He visualized the actual entrance of this country as participant in the world war early in March, and before the end of that month he called a conference of the leading copper producers and had them agree to make a "gift" to the Government of 45,110,000 pounds of copper at 16.67 cents a pound. The "open market" was quoted at 85 cents and the difference between the Government "gift" price and the "open market" price is almost \$7,000,000. If you figure that the cost of this "gift" copper was 9 or even 11 cents, there was no gift, unless it was an Indian tender, but the producer scorned any such suggestion.

Our second leading character is Josephus Daniels, one-time small-town editor and now and at that time Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Daniels in May had to have a considerable amount of copper for immediate war requirements. Having been a newspaper man instead of a super-businessman, he estimated that, as the producers had sold copper in March to the Government at 16.50 cents, a price of 18 cents would be acceptable; but, no, the producers were insulted and called his attention to the March copper delivery as their "gift" to the cause of American patriotism. Mr. Daniels is understood to have made rather "pert" remarks when he received this statement; he did not get the copper.

Enter the valiant publicity manager and his forces of newspaper writers, editors, etc. The slogan again—as it had been for more than forty years—was the threatened famine in copper.

A month later both Secretary Daniels and Secretary Baker needed copper; but Mr. Daniels appears to have been determined to lead the opposition to the producers, and he tentatively purchased 60,000,000 pounds on a basis of payment at 75 per cent. of 25 cents a pound and the balance of 25 per cent. of 25 cents a pound or 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents on two-thirds of the total amount,—the actual price to be determined through an investigation into costs and supplies by the Federal Trade Commission. But, no, 45,000,000 pounds as a "gift"—16.50 against 9 cents cost—represented the limit of human endurance on the part of the producers, and not even the Secretary of the Navy, the

world war, and our determination to make "the world safe for Democracy" could influence them in the least.

Finally the Government price of 28.50 cents was decided upon, to go into effect September 21st and to continue for three months. But the Government had in the meanwhile paid around 32 cents for its copper. First the appointment of a copper committee presided over by John D. Ryan, the largest copper producer in this country, and comprising five associate copper producers, together with the organization of the War Industries Board, presided over by Bernard H. Baruch, made the copper situation through Government operation more practical. Mr. Baruch, former associate of the Guggenheims and the inspiration behind the smelting trust, selected Eugene Meyer, Jr., a Wall Street broker, but quite well informed on copper company matters, as the chief of the division on copper. When the second conference of the price-fixing committee was held the 28.50 cent price was continued, but in June this price was advanced to 26 cents, which price was continued until the end of 1918, when the price became not only unimportant, but the problem of selling any copper at all assumed serious proportions. The climax to this interesting "drama on economics" is that the publicity agents of the copper "interests" rushed into print to advise the public that copper supplies on hand exceeded three billion pounds, more than two years' needs. Of course, this was considered to be a trick by the trade, but it is apparently true. That the producers had claimed—while they were demanding the high price for their copper—that there was not sufficient copper for all needs seems to have been overlooked by the public and especially Government officials, but this is why publicity work and "regulation of the law of supply and demand" is so simple in this country.

Widowed

AT last the dawn creeps in with golden fingers
Seeking my eyes, to bid them open wide
Upon a world at peace, where Sweetness lingers,
Where Terror is at rest and Hate has died.

Loud soon shall sound a paean of thanksgiving
From happy women, welcoming their men,
Life born anew of joy to see them living.
Mother of Pity, what shall I do then?

CURRENT THOUGHT

Toppling Thrones

HEARKEN ye sons of men! Old thrones that fall

Like foam tossed from retreating waves uncurled
Shake to its very base the awe-struck world,
While deep and loud Fate's warning trumpets call,
And great stars shine from out the midnight pall
The Prince of Darkness round earth's hopes had furled

These many days. The winds of God have hurled
From seats of wrath old powers who made man thrall.

The mighty tides that upward bear mankind
On freedom's buoyant sail now flood life's coast;
Run swift ye ships of state to catch the wind
Lest Liberty leave you an idle boast!

The people give, O God, Promethean fire,
And they shall cast all thrones on old Time's pyre!

CARROLL PEABODY.

A New Senator on Special Privilege

SENATOR-ELECT CAPPER of Kansas has made an address on "Our After-the-War Program." This Middle Western Republican has views to which some of his Eastern confrères may be slow to subscribe. "Price-making in necessities like wheat, meat, and fuel must never again be left to the gamblers of the exchanges or to corporate greed," he says. Also: "We must see an end to the monopolistic control of lands, mines, forests, water power and other natural resources, which ought to belong to all." And "We have two main methods of bringing about a condition of justice, fair play, and equality of opportunity. These are taxation and the rigid rooting out of monopolies." When he says that "we should be the greatest commercial nation," he will probably encounter less opposition.—*Springfield Republican*.

War!

HOW many ruined children I have seen here! One was so thin that I cannot get her out of my mind. Think of it! In a single hour soldier-dom made a wreck of her life. Her mother was beaten to death, her father hanged, and her sister outraged and tortured to death. She was left—not more than eight years old!—with a baby brother who had not been weaned. I began to give him bread as gently as I could, and tried to stroke his head; but he squealed like a wild animal, and with that cry set off to run over anything that lay in his way. After one's eye had lost sight of him,

one could long hear how he cried like a beast from grief and loneliness.—*From a Russian, in the Atlantic Monthly.*

Her Assessment Went A-Hiking

A TOPEKA girl who has a good deal of property in her own name was speaking about the amount of her taxes. She had just had a new front put into a building in which she has a part ownership on the avenue, and it had raised the assessment at a big jump, and she had had a little house painted, which increased her assessment about \$300 more. She goes in strong for culture. "But," she said, "I now hesitate even to improve myself for fear it will hike my personal tax."—*From the Topeka (Kan.) Journal.*

It Is Not Philanthropy

THE phrase "it is not philanthropy" is now a catchword to signify that the training and education to be given to wounded soldiers is not to be considered as a private charity. It puts a new light on private charity which up to this time in America has been held in repute. It has almost been considered a compliment to call a man a philanthropist, but in England for a generation at least one who called himself, or who was unfortunately introduced by his friends as a philanthropist, would be ostracized from thoughtful society.

Where poverty exists there you have philanthropy or private charity and the one feeds upon the other and each perpetuates the other. But our soldiers, we all agree, must not in any event suffer from poverty nor from its accompaniments, such as the lack of self-respect. They must not feel themselves to be pauperized, which means the same thing as being the recipients of philanthropy or private charity. The would-be benefactor with condescending manner and lack of imagination will soon be regarded in America with the same hopeful dislike as the Lady Visitor in the Pauper Ward who is described in Robert Graves' poem of that name.

"Why do you break upon this old, cool peace,
This painted peace of ours,
With harsh dress hissing like a flock of geese,
With garish flowers?

"Why do you churn smooth waters rough again,
Selfish old skin-and-bone?
Leave us to quiet dreaming and slow pain,
Leave us alone."

Lewis Chase.

BOOKS

The League of Nations

The League of Nations Today and Tomorrow. By Horace M. Kallen. Marshall Jones Co., Boston. \$1.50 net.

"THE League of Nations Today and Tomorrow," is probably the most valuable as well as the latest discussion in detail of the greatest problem before the world today. Dr. Horace M. Kallen, the author, a favorite student in psychology of Prof. William James, ably fitted himself for his task by consultation with the best university men, journalists and editors in the country who have been studying the League of Nations, and by obviously having absorbed the most salient points in the work of his predecessors—Brailsford, Dickenson, Norman Angell, Woolf, Walter E. Weyl and Senator Lafontaine. His work, however, is not in any sense a compilation of the insights of others, but is throughout his own clear, logical presentation of the technical difficulties that the Peace Conference must consider in initiating world organization. His viewpoint is intensely modern and democratic, verging on radicalism as concerns the Russian situation. Dr. Kallen maintains that the Bolshevism which is the specter at this Peace Conference is "the direct descendant of democracy" which affrighted the Vienna Congress a century ago.

The main outline of his program includes the features of the Victory program—the vastly improved new program of the League to Enforce Peace; it is in certain original details that his book has special value. The democratic demand is made for the election by popular vote in every country of the members which form its quota in the International Council; these are to be chosen from twice the number required to be nominated by the lower house of the legislature. The representation is to be by peoples not by governments, and each vote representing one voice, minorities will be represented. This is a matter of supreme importance. Minorities advocating, e.g. free trade, or labor legislation, instead of casting futile votes, if the states voted as a unit, would find their votes added to those perhaps of a majority in other countries and made effective in the final count. National boundaries would tend to lower their barriers by thus uniting men of different creeds and countries in carrying through identic international policies.

Dr. Kallen plans for permission of withdrawal from the League upon a two-thirds popular vote. When dissatisfaction threatens perpetual friction he would thus forestall coercion or civil war. This rather startling proviso, so contrary to the principle for which the federal government fought a four-years' war, deserves profound consideration

at least as a measure to be permitted for a period until fear and distrust of being irrevocably bound to an unknown organization shall have disappeared. One serious cause of modern war the author would remove by permitting any aggrieved person or class in a foreign land to appeal to international law either personally or through his government and thus prevent the latter engaging in armed intervention for redress as was done in the Boxer riots and American entrance into Mexico. The notion that a home government will exert force to punish wrongs done to one of its citizens in a foreign land has led to increasing alarm among the weaker peoples, as in the instance of Germany's revenge on China for the murder of two missionaries. "Once it is clear that an aggrieved person may on whatever count, appeal to international law either in his own person or through his government, difficulties of this order and of the order of religious and racial persecution such as were frequent in Russia and Rumania begin automatically to disappear."

Dr. Kallen's lengthy discussion of the many international commissions required, the International Commerce Commission with its various sub-commissions, the Commissions on Finance, on Armaments, on Central Africa and other regions, on Education, Hygiene, etc., show much ingenuity and practical forethought. The author looks to economic pressure as the chief coercive power of the League. Military force as the last resort, whether as joint or delegated action, would remain a possibility. To wage economic war on Germany, except as punishment for future misdeeds "is to wage war on ourselves" and to maintain conditions of strain and friction which must sooner or later break into another military war. Germany must be admitted into the League on the same conditions as all states.

For the international budget, direct fees, tolls, and taxes on traffic over international highways must be levied. No feature of the program would better undermine the suspicions of certain hostile Socialists than the demand that the sittings of the International Council, Commissions and the Court shall be open to the public and their records likewise.

Practically all the detail of the groundplan has been thought out which will occupy the commissioners for months after the Peace Treaty is signed. One can wish nothing better for the anxious men in Paris working over their great problem than that they shall have the broad vision and sympathy with which the author of this book has been imbued.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

A League of Nations. The Hand Book Series. Compiled by Edith M. Phelps. H. W. Wilson Co., N. Y. \$1.50 net.

For the average person who can not make an

intensive study of the technical problems of the Peace Conference as regards the League of Nations Miss Phelps' admirable compilation of material is perhaps the most useful volume that is now on the market. It is quite up to date, including the recent senatorial criticisms on this stupendous scheme which is little understood even in Congressional circles.

Beginning with the historic background, in Henry Fourth's "Great Design" of the Seventeenth Century, and Emmanuel Kant's hope in the eighteenth century for "a federation of free states," and with the definite program presented by William Ladd in 1840, the compiler adduces much evidence that shows the theory of a League of Nations was well thought out before President Wilson and M. Clemenceau were born. The book contains the early and now the much revised programs of the League to Enforce Peace and the programs of the various other societies in different countries which have similar ends. It has copious quotations from the pens of such British internationalists as Brailsford, Norman Angell, Viscount Grey, Lord Cecil, Lord Bryce and from ex-President Taft and our own American advocates of the League of Nations as well as from Senator Lodge and those who are lukewarm or hostile to the theory. The book is supplied with a careful and full bibliography of books and articles and it includes much valuable matter for reference. It is the type of book most useful for the little reading circles and study classes which should be formed in every ward of every city while the great American public is making up its mind about the most important problems ever presented to a discordant and distracted world.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

NEWS

Peace Council

—William Allen White of Emporia, Kan., and Prof. George David Herron now resident in Geneva, Switzerland, have been appointed American delegates to the Marmora conference with the Russian factions to be convened on Princes Islands.

—The Farmers' National Reconstruction Conference, which recently met in Washington, and which represents the big organized farmer groups of the country, has selected a committee to go to Paris in an effort to lay the farmers' point of view before the Peace Conference, and also to participate in such international congresses of workers as may take place.

—Before it adjourned the Atlantic Congress for a League of Nations, held in New York on February 5 and 6, adopted a platform upholding

the work of the Peace Conference and indorsing the leadership of President Wilson. Norman Hapgood, president of the League of Free Nations Association, Edward A. Filene, ex-President Taft, Mgr. Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Frank P. Walsh, and Hugh Frayne of the American Federation of Labor, all made speeches enthusiastically supporting the idea of a league of nations.

—The Chamber of Commerce of the United States sent a cable message to President Wilson on February 4 stating that a referendum vote of the Chamber's membership indorsed cordially the President's work and plans at the Peace Conference. An executive committee, consisting of Edward A. Filene of Boston, Chairman; Philip H. Gadsden of Charleston, S. C., and George E. Roberts of New York, was named to ask every member organization of the Chamber to create a committee on the League of Nations, take up the subject in public meetings, and supply member organizations with material necessary for carrying on campaigns of education.

—The State Department issued passports to Algernon Lee, Socialist Alderman, and James O'Neal, an editor of the *New York Call*, to attend the International Socialist and Labor Congress now being held at Berne. This was done after they appealed to President Wilson and he had transmitted a request to the State Department. These delegates, together with John M. Work of Iowa, were chosen by a referendum of the Socialist Party. Samuel Gompers refused to attend the Congress on account of its willingness to receive representatives of the Russian Socialists, and Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling expressed the opinion that the Berne Congress was a plan to help the Germans.

Reconstruction

—Major-General Enoch H. Crowder, Provost Marshal General, recommends in his second annual report on the selective service system, just issued, that the draft machinery be used to take the decennial census.

—Advices from Copenhagen recently gave the information that a Soviet commission was passing through that city on the way to America with the purpose of buying agricultural machinery of the value of 40,000,000 rubles.

—Maurice Francis Egan in Carnegie Hall the other day, addressing the women members of the League for Political Education, advocated the neutralization of the Kiel Canal to allay fear of future power of the "German Colossus." Mr. Egan was our Minister to Denmark for ten years, and he maintains that there can be no safety for Denmark until the Canal is neutralized.

—The Treasury is very desirous that the sale of war savings stamps shall be continued throughout

the period of reconstruction with as much zest as during war time. A great many have complained of tediousness in saving the 25-cent stamps or even buying stamps in as small an amount as \$5. For this reason the Treasury Department is issuing \$100 stamps with the same regulation preventing any one person from owning more than \$1,000 worth of this Government security. The 4½ per cent interest compounds quarterly on all issues.

—The *Christian Science Monitor* has been studying with good purpose not only a bill introduced by Hoke Smith, United States Senator for Georgia, providing for the establishment of a department of education, one of the features which is to be compulsory medical education for the children in the schools, but has also been investigating similar legislation in various States. Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota and Wisconsin, are all providing for medical surveillance under the supervision of the dominant school of medicine.

—Though the war is no longer being fought on fields of battle in Europe, its aftermath both in America and Europe is very much in evidence. Julius Barnes, head of the Food Administration's grain corporation, has just made the recommendation to Congress through the House Agriculture Committee to delegate powers to President Wilson of such a character as to make effective the Government guaranty of a price for the 1919 wheat crop. He also asked for an appropriation of at least one billion dollars, with authority to borrow more if necessary on the credit and property of the Grain Corporation.

—During the week mass meetings have been held in a number of cities demanding the release of political prisoners and the repeal of the Espionage act. It seemed appropriate to call the meetings together in the name of Lincoln, the Liberator. They have been under the auspices of the National Civil Liberties Bureau. The Bureau urges the support of the country for the bill to repeal the espionage law introduced in the Senate January 9th by Senator France of Maryland. The National Civil Liberties Bureau makes the assertion that its workers had gathered together all the cases of prosecution under the Espionage law that they could reach without having access to the records of the Attorney-General, and they assert that they have found no record of a single instance where a spy had been imprisoned under this law.

Suffrage

—A survey by the Women in Industry Service of the Department of Labor in Indiana indicates that the ten-hour day without overtime is the rule in more than one-third of the plants. Only ten per cent of all the establishments have the eight-hour day. Working weeks as long as eighty-eight hours were found.

—The latest candidates for the favor of the Peace Conference are the women of France. Through an organization known as the "French Society for the Interests of Women" they assert that all classes of French women request the incorporation of an international women's charter in the constitution of the Society of Nations.

—On Monday, February 11, the vote on the resolution to submit the suffrage constitutional amendment to the States for ratification was taken. The vote was 55 in favor and 29 against. That made the vote just one short of the necessary two-thirds to carry the measure. The women will have to begin all over again in order to get the question before the next Congress.

—The *Indian Social Reformer*, published at Bombay, in describing the first Mysore Ladies' conference reports Mrs. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyer, the president, as introducing her address as follows: "I feel that this is indeed a notable day, one that may well prove to be of some consequence for the future of Mysore; for it is the first occasion on which a formal conference of Indian ladies meets in the capital city of this state in order to consider what measures will insure the progress of the country, and particularly what steps are immediately needed for the advancement of its womanhood."

—The minimum wage board of the District of Columbia recently made a report in which it declared that a minimum wage of \$16 a week is required for women and girl workers of Washington who support themselves. This finding is based upon a survey made in 1916 for the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, and includes only those increases in the cost of living where the percentages are known. It does not include the increased railroad fare and other increases in the cost of candy, laundry and other items. The board has divided the \$16 wage as follows: Board and room, \$9; clothing, \$8.85; other expenses, \$8.15. The shortage of labor during the period of the war compelled many industries to increase the wages of their women workers, but in some instances, it is said, trades requiring skilled workers have a maximum wage of \$12 a week for their women workers.

Legislation

—In the Senate an attempt by Senator Borah to repeal by amendment certain sections of the Espionage law giving authority to the Postmaster General to exercise censorship over mail matter was voted down by a 89 to 25 vote.

—Two bills have been proposed to the New York Legislature at Albany, looking to the return to the convention as a nominating medium for State officers, instead of the primary system, which has not proved satisfactory to the politicians.

—On Thursday the House Foreign Affairs Com-

mittee of Congress ordered favorably reported the following resolution: "Resolved that it is the earnest hope of the Congress of the United States of America that the Peace Conference now sitting in Paris, in passing upon the rights of various peoples will favorably consider the claims of Ireland to the rights of self-determination."

—On Thursday there was submitted to the House of Representatives in Washington a war revenue bill which is intended to produce \$6,070,000,000 in taxes. This is the greatest tax bill known to history. The text of it was published in full in the *New York Times*, and filled nearly four and a half pages of solid agate type. On Saturday the House passed the bill by a vote of 810 to 11.

—Production and distribution of the necessities of life by the State of New York are provided for in a bill introduced in the Assembly by Charles Solomon, a Brooklyn Socialist member. The bill would create a food commission to be chosen by the Legislature, which should purchase, manufacture, produce, and distribute necessities, and provide storage and refrigeration facilities. It also provides for a State-wide system of terminal markets and warehouses.

—Mrs. Mary M. Lilly of the Seventh Assembly District, Manhattan, has just introduced a bill in the Legislature at Albany to provide a method for establishing the legitimacy of children born out of wedlock. According to Mrs. Lilly, the bill was promoted by the increase in the illegitimate birthrate during the war. The bill provides that the identity of the father must be established in a court of law. This done, the child has the right to its father's name and an equal right in inheritance with children born in wedlock.

—Proportional representation has been adopted for state elections in New South Wales. The new system applies to the entire membership of the lower house of Parliament, the legislative assembly. The contest was between Preferential Voting—the election of each member of Parliament separately by the Australian majority preferential system and the Hare system of proportional representation. The debate on the question took place on November 27. Majority preferential voting was first defeated by a vote of 43 to 14. Then proportional representation was carried by a vote of 40 to 23.

Railroads

—This month the debating teams of New York University are to have their try-out preparatory to meeting the teams from Yale, Trinity, Rutgers, and Hanover. The subject of the debate is to be: "Resolved, That the McAdoo plan for Government ownership of railroads for five years be adopted."

—Addressing the Chamber of Commerce of the

State of New York on Thursday, Paul M. Warburg declared himself in favor of Federal control but not of Federal ownership of the railroads. He maintained that through the elimination of competition and the substitution of government officialdom for private enterprise, general efficiency and progress would suffer, while the cost of operation would increase by leaps and bounds.

—A bill has been formulated by representatives of the Railway Union to operate the railroads of the country by union labor under Federal control. The proposal was laid before the Interstate Commerce Committee by Glenn E. Plumb, long associated with the four great railroad brotherhoods as counsel. Back of the plan are two million railway operatives, who with their families are said to represent about eight million American citizens.

—R. H. Aishton, regional director of railroads for the Northwest, in his annual report for the year ended Dec. 31, 1918, just made public, shows that a total saving of \$34,283,282 was effected in the operating expenses of the lines under his control as a result of the unifications and economies due to government operation. Director Aishton pointed out that in the unification of terminals 90 passenger and 136 freight stations were closed. "We found a great many industries were served by two or more railroads," said the report. "In some cases as many as nineteen different railroads served one plant or district solely for competitive reasons, and with a very great waste."

Land

—The death of Luke North, prominent in the Singletax movement of California, is announced. No details are given.

—The news comes from Vienna that Count Karolyi, President of the Hungarian Republic, is to distribute all his landed property in conformity with the law passed by the Hungarian Assembly. This law implies an economic revolution.

—Apropos of the controversy between the tenants in the Bronx and some of their landlords, it is stated that the students of economics at the New York University School of Commerce are assisting in a city-wide investigation of the charges of landlord profiteering.

—The Henry George Lecture Association announces the following dates on which John Z. White is scheduled to deliver lectures during the month of February: Feb. 13, Worcester, Mass.; Feb. 19, Chamber of Commerce, Steubenville, Ohio; Feb. 23, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Feb. 24, Chamber of Commerce, Beaver Falls, Pa.; Feb. 26, Greater Dayton Association, Dayton, Ohio. The March schedule will be published later.

—Southern Rhodesia had an important and interesting controversy for many years as to whether vast quantities of undeveloped land belonged to the Chartered Company or to the Crown. The

question has just been decided that they are Crown lands. "The total area of Southern Rhodesia is 95,000,000 acres, of which 22,000,000 are held by corporations or individuals, 25,000,000 are native reserves, and 48,000,000 are classed as 'undeveloped.'"

—Sir R. M. Kindersley, presiding at a meeting of the Hudson's Bay Company, stated that "there was now practically no good land in the Hudson Bay region open for free homesteads." As Governor he congratulated the Company that this circumstance clearly tended to increase the demand for the Company's lands. The long held lands of this ancient Company are now to make good returns in the way of unearned increment to the London stockholders.

—Mr. Bernard A. Rosenblatt, member of the national executive committee and president of the Zion Commonwealth, is in London to attend the inter-allied Zionist conference. Mr. Rosenblatt will submit to the conference a memorandum on land value taxation in Palestine and will make preparatory arrangements for establishing branches of the Zion Commonwealth in other countries. It is understood in Zionist circles that he will also take steps toward the purchasing of land in Palestine for the Zion Commonwealth.

—A dispatch from Des Moines, Iowa, of January 30th, stated that at the first meeting of the House Committee on Ways and Means of the Iowa Legislature, the New Zealand plan of fixing taxable values was discussed at length. The Legislature needs an increased income, and has turned its direction to the land values, and is about to propose a law borrowed from across the seas that will compel all persons to fix their own property valuations, knowing that if they placed them too low they might be forced to sell to any bidder who would offer from ten to fifteen per cent more than the valuation set.

—An act has been proposed to the General Assembly of Connecticut to exempt all products of labor from taxation. The tax upon land is to be increased until its speculative holding out of use will be rendered unprofitable, and the sources of all wealth become accessible to every inhabitant under conditions of democratic equality. All property other than land, taxable October 1, 1920, shall be set in the tax list at 80 per cent of its actual value. This per centum shall be reduced one-fourth October 1, 1921, and one-half October 1, 1922, three-fourths October 1, 1923, and October 1, 1924, all taxation aside from that on land is to cease altogether.

Labor

—A survey by the Children's Bureau in several cities indicates that child labor has increased greatly since the Child Labor Act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The

number of juveniles entering employment for the first time increased 35 per cent over 1917. Simultaneously there is an increase of 35 per cent in juvenile delinquency.

—A general strike involving 20,000 to 30,000 men was called in Lima and Callao, on January 18, in sympathy with 2,000 cotton mill workers, who are out demanding an 8-hour day and a 50 per cent increase in wages. All stores, offices, and factories in both cities are closed, and inter-urban service has been suspended. Food is obtainable only under great difficulties.

—Cuba is having its share in the strike activity. The mechanical departments of the newspapers have been on strike for some days, and on Thursday no papers were issued. A committee of five, representing the thirty-seven unions engaged, called on President Menocal, declaring that they would not be responsible for the results of the strike, and requested him to find means of putting an end to it.

—The trouble among the shipbuilders in Scotland is driving some of the interests from Scotland to America. Harold E. Yarrow, who is managing director of the works of Yarrow & Company, ship-builders and engineers, is in America at the present time, making arrangements for the transfer of a part of their Clyde shipbuilding plant from Scotland to the Pacific Coast. The intention is to increase more and more their holdings and their interests in British Columbia.

—Last November the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, through its president, requested the War Labor Board to withdraw its examiners from their works. The corporation denied the authority of the War Labor Board until this last week, when Paul D. Cravath, attorney and counsel of the corporation, recognized the authority of the Board, stating that it was prepared to coöperate in an adequate plan for collective bargaining between the management and the employes.

—On Friday it was announced that a satisfactory settlement was made of the railway strike in London, covering the tubes and all the London railways systems. The War office had mobilized more than 1,000 motor lorries along the principal routes of traffic in order to supplement the buses and take the place of the suspended tube service. These lorries were manned by military drivers, and it was estimated that they would be able to carry 250,000 persons daily. No fare was charged and particular attention was paid to working women and girls.

—Perhaps the largest labor temple in America is building in Oakland, Cal. It is to consist of ten stories and will have bowling alleys, swimming tank and shower baths, stores, auditorium, vocational night school, offices and small meeting halls, gymnasium, library, billiard and pool hall; handball and basketball courts. The edifice will be so constructed as to be a monu-

ment to organized labor. It is planned to establish in the temple a labor college, to be operated in conjunction with the University of California for instruction in economics and other lines of information necessary to the workers.

—Recently in Paris, Andrew Furuseth, President of the American Seamen's Union, declared that the high standard of working conditions effected by the Seamen's Act was necessary to give stability and strength to America's maritime position. Mr. Furuseth is visiting the Quai d'Orsay with the hope of obviating any international legislation that would abrogate the American Seamen's Act. He maintains that the effect of this act has been to bring up wages to the standard of American seamen in all parts of the world except among the Orientals. The act is also steadily improving living conditions, not only on American ships but on those of other nations. It is stated that representatives of seamen from all parts of the world will meet in London on February 24, to consider questions of interest to their craft.

—The general strike at Seattle continued to spread and involved on the 8th, 75,000 men. On the 6th Secretary Baker, in response to a request from Governor Lister, had ordered troops to hold themselves in readiness to come to the assistance of State authorities. On the 8th Ole Hanson, Mayor of Seattle, issued a proclamation that life and property would be protected and order preserved if it took the full force of the Federal Government to do it, and gave an ultimatum to the strikers threatening to place the city under Federal control. On Monday, the 10th, the strike committee, composed of delegates from 180 locals, after a four-hour session, voted to call off the strike at noon on Tuesday. Mayor Ole Hanson made the following statement: "The calling off of the general strike will not replace union labor in the high position it held in Seattle. Without reason, without cause, our city lay prostrate. Union labor must clean house. Seattle may forgive but it cannot forget."

Foreign

—“Save the Kaiser” societies are being formed in Germany to prevent the late Kaiser from falling into the hands of the Allies. Prince Eitel, Wilhelm's second son, has written a letter appealing to the Government to help in this enterprise.

—The Zionist Federation of Persia has recently requested the Central Zionist Committee of Petrograd to send a number of speakers to that country for propaganda purposes. The Zionist Federation of Persia has its headquarters at Teheran and has branches in almost every community.

—Our Ambassador to Mexico, Henry F. Fletcher, has just returned to the United States. He reports not only that the feeling of Mexico

toward us is most cordial, but that President Carranza is organizing the domestic affairs of Mexico in such a way as to promise increased tranquillity and prosperity. The Mexican Government is taking steps toward the refunding of the public debt, and will probably send a representative to the United States to study governmental finance.

—On Friday Dr. Eduard David was elected President of the German National Assembly convened at Weimar. Dr. David was for many years one of the leaders of the German Social Democratic party, and is one of the Under-Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs. He received 874 votes out of a total of 899. In his opening speech he declared that the old German structure had been destroyed, and appealed to the Assembly to build up a new and better house in the place of the old. He maintained that political self-discipline was a pre-condition to political self-determination, and prophesied that the Assembly would be the headquarters of the free world. Germany was a country ripe for democracy.

—Three thousand political leaders convened in Weimar on February 6th for the meeting of the first German National Assembly. Chancellor Ebert opened the assembly with a half-hour speech, during which he was heckled unmercifully by the Independent Socialists. He characterized the terms of the armistice as ruthless, and warned the Entente not to drive the Germans to the uttermost. He said that the Germans had laid down their arms with confidence in President Wilson, and the present free government of Germany believes that it was only its right to enter the League of Nations and work with real energy. The 897 official members assembled adopted the old standing orders of the Reichstag as temporary rules of procedure.

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