

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

January 18, 1919

Cheap Labor is Dear Labor

Argentina's Problem

Labor in Porto Rico

Published Weekly at New York, N. Y.
Ten Cents a Copy, Two Dollars a Year

The Public

A Journal of Democracy

January 18, 1919

Contents

Editorial Notes	51
Mr. Gregory Resigns.....	54
Americanization	54
Helping the Unemployed.....	55
Argentina's Problem.....	56
Regulating Railroads.....	57
Labor in Porto Rico.....	58
Cheap Labor is Dear Labor, Richard Spillane	59
Intelligence and Democracy, G. W. A. Lucky	61
Potlatch—A Slacker City, Ray McKaig..	62
Open and Secret Diplomacy, Henri Lambert	63
The New Labor Party.....	63
Bernard Shaw on Education.....	64
Reconstructing Canada	64
Correspondence	64
Books	66
News	68

Founded and Edited, 1898-1913, by LOUIS F. POST and
ALICE THACHER POST

EDITORS:

MRS. JOSEPH FELS

STOUGHTON COOLEY JOHN WILLIS SLAUGHTER

PUBLISHER: STANLEY BOWMAR

Published Weekly by

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

122 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York City

Single Copy, Ten Cents
Canadian, \$2.50

Yearly Subscription, \$2.00
Foreign, \$3.00

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

To understand WORLD POLITICS read:
The Aims of Labour by Arthur Henderson, M. P.
(\$1.00).
Ireland: A Study in Nationalism by Francis
Hackett. (\$2.00).
Jean Jaurès by Margaret Pease. (\$1.00).
How Diplomats Make War by Francis Neilson.
(\$1.50).
Young India by Lajpat Rai. (\$1.50).
B. W. HUEBSCH, Publisher, NEW YORK

BEGINNING with this issue, the bulk of the edition of *The Public* will be mailed on Wednesday, the balance on Thursday. This change in the time of mailing has been made to get *The Public* in the hands of readers in the East and Middle West on Saturday. We intend to give readers a new and a better paper — and promptly every week. Suppose you pass it on to your friends, and help us double the circulation in six months.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

(Quakers)

BOOKS at: 144 East 20th Street, New York; Friend's Book Store, Richmond, Ind.

SCHOOLS at: Union Springs, N.Y.; George School, Pa.; Vassalboro, Me.; Spiceland, Ind.; Plainfield, Ind.; Vermilion Grove, Ill.; Oskaloosa, Iowa.

COLLEGES at: Haverford, Pa.; Guilford College, N. C.; Wilmington, Ohio; Earlham, Ind.; Oskaloosa, Iowa; Wichita, Kans.; Central City, Neb.; Newberg, Ore.; Whittier, Cal.

INFORMATION AT MT. KISCO, N. Y.

Oratory
By John P. Altgeld

Authorities consider this book the best short treatise on the subject. It is instructive and inspiring. Cloth, postpaid, 50c.

The Public Book Dept. 122 E. 37th St., New York

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXII

New York, N. Y., January 18, 1919

Number 1085

WHEN organized labor in Bridgeport, Connecticut, launched a labor party recently, the knowing politicians of the old school smiled. When the Chicago Federation of Labor a few weeks later organized a political party with 150,000 dues-paying members, the smile was less pronounced. When 884 delegates of New York labor bodies met on the 11th and 12th in New York, co-incident with eighty-six other cities, and organized a labor party, the smile disappeared entirely. A more detailed analysis of this movement will appear in the next issue of *THE PUBLIC*. Suffice it to say now that the enthusiasm and spontaneity that attended these movements have many of the earmarks of real political force. The old-line politicians who have so long divided the spoils among them, without regard to the rights of the masses, see trouble looming in the near future. Manufactured labor parties they know amount to nothing. Their voting strength is slight, and their leaders can generally be "reached." But the party that springs up in response to a general demand for political action is something to be taken seriously. If the sponsors of the new movement are wise and put the main stress upon fundamentals, they may be the means of splitting both the Democratic and the Republican parties, and compelling a realignment in which the radicals and progressives of both parties are on one side and the conservatives and reactionaries, happy in each other's company, are on the other. It is the most hopeful sign that has appeared in American politics for a long time.

THE Peace Conference continues to get ready to make a start. The people of the world are eager to see the end of the great tragedy begin to define itself. Not even a plan has yet come into sight. There are positive statements as to the accord of different groups; there are foreshadowing of formulas for different aspects of the situation; and there are rumors of grave differences of opinion and antagonistic points of view. This kind of thing will soon become irksome. The peoples of the different countries are acquainted with the issues involved, and will soon make their voices heard. The diplomats are making the mistake of supposing that the world is waiting supinely for their decisions to be announced, that this is another Congress of Vienna. There seems to be plenty of jockeying for position; there is an atmosphere of endless intrigue. It is time for something to come into the open besides newspaper rumors. If the American delegation sees the right and just formula for any situation, let it be announced forthwith to the world. The jury in this matter does not consist of the other delegates. The ending of the democratic war demands the settling of terms in the light of day.

THE truth is that there is a preliminary matter which the delegates do not understand, on which accord is practically impossible, and which is increasingly overshadowing all other issues. This is the problem of Russia and of what is coming out of Russia. The bomb movement, which is bound to have supporters

more or less numerous in all countries subject to the modern economic system, is the type of problem that is likely to confuse experts on boundaries and lines of communication. It is said that the British government desires to take the bull by the horns and invite representatives of the Bolshevist government to sit at the Peace Conference. It is also said that America and Britain are in accord in the matter of preventing the extension of Bolshevism by measures of economic relief. Contrary to these proposals, the French government, as indicated in the note of the Foreign Minister, desires to wipe out the Bolshevist movement by force. There is a curious incapacity to understand that it is the exercise of force that has stirred the masses of men to revolt. Upon force the movement grows. Force severed from intelligence is the peculiar possession of the masses of men.

ANOTHER voice has been raised in behalf of the proposal that all national war debts incurred by the Entente nations and the United States be made an international obligation. The French Minister Ribot has proposed that the debts be pooled and apportioned among the several powers in proportion to their wealth. Several French and English publicists have endorsed the idea. Mr. John J. Arnold, the Chicago banker, made a similar proposal in his address before the reconstruction conference of the National Popular Government League at Washington. Mr. Arnold did not go as far as Ribot, but urged that the obligation of the several nations be funded into an international debt with an arrangement by which each nation would bear its own burden. The underlying premise of the two proposals is that the French Minister seeks to equalize the burden incurred in a common cause; Mr. Arnold aims not only to equalize the credit of the different nations but to arrest the tendency toward financial imperialism that is sure to come with a return to normal conditions.

TO President Wilson Mr. Arnold accords the distinction of having been the first national leader to oppose international financial imperialism by interrupting the proposed five-nation loan to China. It has been a struggle between the great money centers as to which shall dominate the credit of the world. The

efforts of the Germans to wrest this power from the English had no small part in engendering bitterness between them, and there are many Americans who are now boasting that the power of London has been transferred to New York. Whether or not the domination has passed to America, the old influences, if unchecked, will tend to produce the old results. It is to prevent this that Mr. Arnold proposes that the League of Nations, to be formed at Paris, shall provide the machinery for the creation at once of an international board of financial governors, similar in its functions internationally to those of the United States Federal Reserve Board nationally. Such a board, he says, would put an end to the much-talked of competition between London and New York as to which should dominate the world financially, just as the Federal Reserve system in the United States has ended the financial domination of New York within the country. It is another contribution toward the creation of the international fellowship that is to be.

DEMOCRACY as a theory is deep-rooted among Americans, but as a going concern it limps sadly now and again. One of our boasts is that all men are equal before the law. Theoretically, this is true, but practically a vast deal depends upon the lawyer one is able to hire. There are men practicing law who are of such resourcefulness that they can take a case from one court to another almost without limit, providing they have sufficient funds. Yet the laws under which the various moves are made, and the men who administer them, are the same as those controlling the poorest man brought into court. The difference lies in the wealth of the offender. An instance has recently come to light in New York City in which one John Gill has been in jail since last June for refusing to answer a question before the Grand Jury. Mr. Gill has recently demanded of the judge to know why he, a poor laboring man, should be in jail for refusing to answer, when Senator-elect Newberry of Michigan, who committed the identical offense, was released in the custody of his counsel. It may be possible for those deeply learned in the law to show why the poor man unable to employ counsel should lie in jail while the millionaire is released. But it is scarcely likely that any one who may be inclined toward Bol-

shevism would be favorably impressed by the explanation.

PROTECTIONISTS have as many theories in support of their doctrine as the ancient astronomers had to prove that the earth was flat. To an inquiry of Dr. Charles W. Eliot regarding a practical application of tariff laws to production, Clarence W. Barron, a popular writer in the *Wall Street Journal*, says he would not permit the destruction of the dye industry by Germany, nor would he permit its extension. This would scarcely satisfy the dye makers, who are already sending large amounts to Japan. Mr. Barron says: "I believe in free trade in iron ore and all other ores and mineral products or production from so-called natural resources, but I want a tariff so that Japanese pig iron will not come into the United States at \$8 a ton when it costs twice that to produce it in the United States." Since iron ore is the base of many forms of manufacture, the question may arise in some minds as to how American manufacturers are going to enter foreign markets, South American, for instance, in competition with Japanese, when they have to pay twice what the Japanese do for the raw material. Besides, America is already exporting vast quantities of iron in competition with the Japanese. Is this iron being sold abroad for one-half what it is sold to American consumers?

MR. BARRON has such a broad conception of tariffs that he may be an embarrassment to his fellow-protectionists. A protective tariff, according to the long-accepted argument, is maintained solely for the benefit of labor. Capital can take care of itself, we have been told, and it asks protection in this country only because it has not the heart to pay our labor the wages of foreign labor. Yet Mr. Barron, in speaking of the development of China, says that when that government has sufficient use for rails, locomotives and cars to warrant their manufacture in that country, a Chinese tariff should be set up to keep American and other goods out of China. There is an apparent plausibility in the plea for a tariff to protect American labor from Chinese labor. But it is somewhat bewildering to hear an American protectionist admit that the time is coming when China will be warranted in establishing a tariff

to protect Chinese labor from American labor. Is the world after all really flat?

THE famous inquiry of William Allen White, "what's the matter with Kansas?" has at last been answered. The Association Opposed to National Prohibition, which means the camouflaged liquor interests, is carrying in the daily press display ads warning the nation of the coming of Bolshevism with national prohibition. "Petrograd is chaos," runs the ad. "Berlin, recently one of the best governed cities in the world, is now a political mad house. Intolerance and indifference to the wishes of the people have brought about these conditions. Bolshevism means confiscation of all property, licensed immorality, the elevation of ignorance, reduction of wages, unstable laws. The Bolshevik has no respect for laws; he uses every restraining law as an argument against all law. National prohibition unfortunately, the most drastic assault upon personal freedom ever contemplated under a republican form of government, will be the best excuse that can be offered to stir up strife among the people." Thus we have a clear and sufficient reason for the conditions in Kansas. Mr. White should have been able to answer his own question merely by opening his eyes and looking about him. The licensed immorality, the elevation of ignorance to high places, the pauper wages, the unstable laws, the general anarchy that has led to riots and bloodshed in the cities and villages of the sunflower State are clearly attributable to the prohibition of the liquor traffic.

BUT this is not all. It was not enough that Kansas should follow the example of Maine, where a similar state of murder and rapine have prevailed for more than half a century, but other States, twenty-four in number, have elected to follow the same disgraceful course. And there is reason to believe that in spite of the Association Opposed to National Prohibition, other States will join these Bolshevik States until the whole country joins in the mad dance of death. It was ever thus. In spite of the disinterested motives of the liquor men and their appeal to the better nature of man in the name of religion, philosophy and science, the public will continue its headlong way that can end only in the conditions of Maine and Kansas.

Mr. Gregory Resigns

MR. GREGORY'S resignation will probably be received with acclaim by those liberals and radicals who have not been in accord with the widespread policy of repression practiced during the war. Yet to those who know him well, Mr. Gregory is himself a man of broad outlook and sturdy democracy, and is not lacking in the finer sensibilities. His position was at the best an unenviable one, and it must be with a sense of relief that he is abandoning his official duties. The peculiar organization of the Department of Justice makes the Attorney-Generalship a position which can add no luster to the fame of the incumbent, but, on the other hand, makes him the victim of every complaint against failure of justice in the Federal system.

The primary trouble is that the Attorney-General occupies a position of responsibility without power. Practically all of his responsible subordinates are really appointed by persons other than himself, and are in no way responsible to him. There are as many policies of law enforcement in the United States as there are United States district attorneys. So long as the method of appointing district attorneys, subject to confirmation by the Senate, continues, just so long will those appointees be responsible not to their official superior, but to the politicians who control their appointments. In one of the large cities, for instance, the present incumbent holds his office because nearly six years ago, when the State Legislature was deadlocked upon the election of two United States Senators, a Republican Congressman delivered sufficient votes to break that deadlock and thereby earned the gratitude of the Democratic Senator, who was elected. As a result a Democratic district attorney, thoroughly acceptable to the Republican Congressman, is now in office. Mr. Gregory is blamed for every act of that subordinate, although he had no more to do with his selection than he did with the selection of the Senate itself.

The result of this inconsistent system is that we have no Federal administration of the law at all. We have simply a decentralized or local administration by politicians in the various States. Add to this the reactionary under-personnel built up during past administrations at Washington, and the Attorney-Generalship be-

comes a thankless service indeed. During the war, Mr. Gregory's office spent fully as much time trying to stop persecutions initiated by its local representatives as it did directing prosecutions. Yet for every one of those same persecutions—which were incited either by intolerant local minorities or intolerant public opinion—Mr. Gregory has been held personally responsible by the average citizen. In the Department of Justice we have simply another illustration of the old truism that no matter how good a man we may have in office, his goodness is of little value in face of a bad system.

Good administration cannot be expected to arise from a situation like the present, where a large majority of the United States prosecutors hate not only Mr. Gregory and all his works, but the President himself and the democracy he advocates. Some years ago an investigator for one of the other Federal departments went down to Arkansas to investigate some labor disturbances which involved the local district attorney. His report is still quoted as a classic. Its recommendation was "Government ownership of the Department of Justice!" Until we have that, even zealous public servants like Mr. Gregory, with the desire and the ability to serve democratic purposes, will be of scant value to the cause of justice.

Americanization

AT a great dinner gathering of more than a thousand persons at the Hotel Astor Saturday night, Secretary Lane outlined his plan for the assimilation of the foreign born. This is a matter that is near to the heart of the Secretary of the Interior, one that has become peculiarly identified with the work of his department. He announced that the two federal authorities, his own department and that of Labor, had arrived at a complete agreement as to methods of procedure and division of labor. Up to the point of actual induction into citizenship the Bureau of Education is to supervise and further the process of Americanization. Secretary Lane will ask Congress for an appropriation adequate for the purpose. He will seek the cooperation of State Departments of Education so a great unified system may find application throughout the country. No one can for a moment doubt Secretary Lane's

breadth of vision or his understanding of the complexity of the problem. He is himself one of the most human of men, and is fully aware that no mechanical process is capable of solving one of the most human of all problems. He knows that a mere educational endeavor is inadequate, that it must be supplemented by the exercise of a multitude of other influences. It might have been wiser for him to have initiated a campaign against illiteracy under its own specific banner, or at any rate to have made it clear that this is only one phase of the work of assimilating the immigrant. It is rather opening the way for Americanization, which is essentially a process of economic, social and cultural amalgamation. To learn our language and history, and secure naturalization papers does not necessarily touch the heart of the matter.

Secretary Lane knows all of this, and will seek the cooperation of every kind of community agency to make the melting pot effective. The thing that is clear and which has come home to us with surprise during the past two years is that America has not assimilated her foreign population, that the nation has to carry great undigested lumps of nationalities. The reason is easy to discover but difficult to remedy. It ramifies into our industrial system in such manner as to make the remedy well-nigh hopeless. So long as a foreigner is merely another bit of fuel to feed our industrial furnaces, securing no consideration and a very attenuated justice, we shall not make of him a fellow-citizen.

The one admirable feature of America's treatment of immigrants is the practice of tolerance with respect to all those matters such as race, language, religion, which, woven together, make up the curious complex that we call a man's nationality. Repression only makes it stronger and more resistant. We decided long ago that nationality is not a matter for political expression. It is like religion a thing for personal adjustment. In this respect America is far beyond continental Europe, where the endeavor is still being made to fix boundaries and establish government in terms of nationalist majorities. There is, however, a significant deficiency in our practice. We must add to the principle of toleration another, that of mutual respect. We have yet to discover the enormous

human values that are available to our national life through our foreign population groups. The Dutch of New York and the Huguenots of Carolina gave us something worth while simply because we learned to respect them. It is not by ironing out distinctions, by reducing all to a colorless, characterless, commercial cosmopolitanism that we shall create the best type of Americans. Assimilation means what it says. It cannot be applied to men by a preliminary destruction of mind and character, of all that soil and background which gives their personal life its meaning. We shall Americanize by understanding, by mingling in mutual respect, by participating in common forms of recreation, by engaging in common activities for the public welfare. In short, we shall Americanize the foreigner, and be Americanized in our turn principally by the simple process of being good neighbors.

Helping the Unemployed

IT would appear to be most desirable to have representatives of the real estate boards and the various organizations having to do with the readjustment of labor get together and thresh out the question as to how the man-power of our war forces can be turned into peace channels. The real estate owners appear to be conscious of the fact that no readjustment can take place without directly affecting them, nor are they at all backward about demanding what they conceive to be their rights. They protest that they have been burdened with an undue share of the taxes levied by the city and State, and apparently they have succeeded in aligning Governor Smith on their side. The new Governor, treating in his inaugural address the necessity of finding new sources of revenue, said: "It must be apparent to every thinking man that real estate today is carrying a burden as heavy as it can sustain. Any additional obligation placed upon it might well be calculated to spell disaster."

It is quite apparent that the good-natured Governor inserted this paragraph in his address at the instance of the Real Estate Board, and without analyzing its meaning. It is unfortunate that the term real estate has three separate meanings. A man is said to be a real estate owner if he owns a piece of land or a

building or both land and building. But the man who owns land and the man who owns a building have separate interests that are directly opposed to each other; and the man who owns both a building and land is subject to both influences.

If Governor Smith, when he said real estate was carrying as heavy a burden as it can sustain, meant the owner of buildings, he was quite right; and he should leave no stone unturned in relieving that burden. If he meant the owner of vacant land that is increasing yearly in value through the industry and growth of the community, he was wrong. No tax on vacant land can be said to be burdensome until it absorbs the yearly increase that comes to it without any effort of the owner. But if he meant, as he probably did, men who own both buildings and land, he was partly right and partly wrong. And he can see clearly the problem before him only when he separates the dual interests that are combined in the one term. When he has made that separation into two accounts, the one of the building and the other of the land, he will see that since the building has no value except what was put into it by the builder, and never will have any more value, it becomes the bounden duty of the State not only to lay no further burden upon the builder, but to remove those already there, thus encouraging the erection of other buildings. And the owner's interest in the lot is equally clear. Since its value is due entirely to the growth of the community, and will continue as long as the community grows, the burden upon it should be increased until its annual rental value has been absorbed.

Whether the burden of the owner of land and building is increased or decreased, will depend upon the relative value of his holding. If the land be of greater value than the building, the shifting of the tax from building to land will increase his burden. But if the building be of greater value than the land, the shifting of the tax will relieve him.

The proposal of the American Bureau of Real Estate that New York City place a license tax on retail stores or establishments of one per cent. of the annual rental will not work as suggested. Mr. Epstein, speaking for the Bureau, uses a happy phrase when he says the owners of real estate have been "the city's chief tax collectors," and he adds that the pro-

posed license would "appoint the storekeeper a partial tax collector, who in turn will assess it to his customers during the year and will yield the city a large revenue. As a result it will tend to lower taxes on real estate, afford lower rent, and will thereby benefit the storekeepers as well as tenants in general." Mr. Epstein argues that the storekeeper need not object to the license because he will pass it on to his customer. It is true that the tax will be passed on to the customer, but the higher price of the goods will lead to smaller consumption. The same logic applies to the tax on houses, since it will rest upon new houses as well as the old, and as a part of the cost will be paid by the tenant in high rent. But the tax that falls upon vacant land cannot be shifted to the tenant because there is no tenant, and the only way the owner can secure a tenant is by lowering his price sufficiently to entice one from land already occupied.

This is the real point at issue with the real estate owner. As the tax on land values cannot be shifted, the owner recognizes it as a burden because it prevents him from receiving a profit on the industry of the community. What the Real Estate Board asks of the Governor is that he use his influence to lighten the tax on land owners so that they may advance the price to prospective users; which means the men returning from the front. It is well therefore to keep in mind the fact that whereas the price of materials with which the returning soldier must work will fall in price, the land upon which he will work is rising in price.

Argentina's Problem

THE drama of popular unrest and of mass upheaval begins to enact itself in the new world. This commencement falls naturally where the stage was most appropriately set. Reports in Saturday's papers gave the sensational announcement that dictatorial powers have been assumed by an Argentine general in the capital of the Republic. General Dellepaine asserts that his action is in support of the Government—which is absurd. The Government has all the power there is. It can delegate extraordinary authority to the Chief of Police or the Minister of War. It can declare a state of siege. The seizure of arbitrary power and

consequent closing of the avenues of free discussion and settlement is the way shortsighted men who believe in solution by machine guns open the gates wide to catastrophe.

The Federation of Labor has evidently ordered and carried out a general strike throughout the Republic, and its members have been instructed to oppose with violence any aggression on the part of the Government. The local newspapers, with their usual lack of perspicacity, explain the situation as the result of a Bolshevik movement on the part of foreign agitators. These persons, it is said, are no part of the Argentine laboring class. But coupled with this was the statement that no railway train was moving in the whole Republic.

We have grown so accustomed to the story of Argentina's economic achievement and of the stability of her institutions, that we have for the most part overlooked the volcano on which these institutions rest. The truth is that no country in the world contains conditions more accurately pointing to a disastrous outcome than Argentina. She has for a generation invited settlers to come and occupy her land, but any land on which a man could make a living has been pre-empted from occupation since colonial days. Here rules the system of great estates put down to wheat or alfalfa by the half-itinerant, usually Italian, farmer. The curse of the country is a class of parasitic landlords, who have reaped a golden harvest from the land values that rose with the railway development of the country. These unearned incomes have focused in Buenos Aires, and because there is practically no industry in the country, investment has gone extensively into city land, in an orgy of speculation. The result is that rents in Buenos Aires are appalling, none but the wealthy being able to live in ordinary homes, and the poor being condemned to the most sordid housing conditions in the world.

Add to this the high cost, at all times, of the ordinary commodities of life. Argentina is a producer of wheat and beef; for these she receives manufactured articles. Practically nothing is made inside the country. The national revenue is derived from the tariff system. Buenos Aires is the great port of entry and egress. She sits astride the stream of commerce and fattens upon it.

The work of Argentina is done to a large extent by migratory laborers, many of whom come from Europe for the harvest season, to return home when it is over. There is no hope of securing a stake in the country. Those who remain are herded in Buenos Aires, hopelessly at the mercy of the predatory economic system. Now apparently the time has come for a settlement. This trouble is not caused by agitators. It is the price of Argentina's brand of prosperity.

Regulating Railroads

THE program for returning the railroads to private ownership and management submitted to the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee by Mr. Cuyler, chairman of the Association of Railway Executives, has many features of a heads-I-win-tails-you-lose proposal. The roads are to have the power of initiating rates, buying up competing roads and pooling business. The public is to be protected by a Secretary of Transportation—who is to be a member of the Cabinet—and by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is to act as a sort of supreme court to review the actions of the roads and the Secretary. The rates must provide sufficient revenue to maintain proper service, to protect existing investments and to create credit to attract new capital. New extensions and terminals are to be made only as certified to by the Secretary of Transportation. He is also to supervise the issue of securities. Wages are to be determined by representatives of the roads and men, but whatever the amount fixed must be taken into account in making rates.

If this plan is embodied in a bill to be presented to Congress, and there is added to it the various provisions for supervision and control that members are known to entertain, the thought will occur to some, what is the difference between this and government ownership? And the answer may be, nothing—except that the private owners retain all the profit.

There appears to have been a studied effort on the part of the railroad owners to present a plan embodying the advantages of government ownership for the people and private profits for the stockholders. But there is one very essential point that has not been met; that is the control of the Secretary of Transportation.

His opinion will be of enormous importance to the railroads as well as to the public, for no matter how explicit the law, its interpretation will cover a wide field; and its application may serve many ends. The administration of such a department would be far different, for instance, when headed by a man holding the opinions of Senator Penrose than it would be if administered by a man entertaining the ideas of Frank P. Walsh.

This would bring the roads back into politics with increased virulence. The masses of the people would want some one in the Cabinet able and willing to protect their rights. The railroad owners would have the same desire for a man who would favor their interests; and every election would involve a struggle between these two interests to control his appointment. Instead of taking the roads out of politics, therefore, as contended by those opposed to government ownership, they would be always in politics, and in the worst possible form. For, whereas the activities of employes on government roads would necessarily be open to public knowledge, the doings of the owners would be under cover.

Persons who are at all acquainted with the past operations and activities of railway owners in politics cannot doubt that they would be as much interested in the future. During the first McKinley campaign the railroads offered the Republican campaign managers all sorts of privileges, and denied the Democratic managers every service they dared withhold. Railway employes were transported free from all points in the United States to Mr. McKinley's home in order that they might be brought under the influence of the spirit generated by the McKinley excursions.

Granted that it would be possible to prevent such gross partiality between those friendly to the roads and those standing for the rights of the people, it must still be recognized that the largest single financial interest in the country would see its own and kindred monopoly profits at stake, and so throw all its enormous influence to the support of politicians who would favor it when appointed to office. It would be repeating on a larger scale what is being done in every town, city and State, where the regulation and control of a franchise utility is under consideration.

This is the point where the program of the railway owners fails. It makes no provision for taking the railroads out of politics for the very good reason that there is no such plan, excepting to put the roads under the control of the government. There is no politics in the post office nor in the water supply system of the cities; but the gas companies, electric lights, telegraph, telephone, express and railroads are never for a moment out of politics.

There is nothing in the proposals submitted by the railway owners to warrant a rejection of Mr. McAdoo's plan of extending the time of government operation until its virtues have been proved and the public has been given a demonstration. Congress should support the five-year extension plan.

Labor in Porto Rico

ONLY the other day the Government sent to Porto Rico a scientific commission to study the causes of recent earthquakes there. A good thing to do no doubt. But it is more encouraging to read that Secretary of War Baker has decided to send a commission to Porto Rico to investigate industrial and economic conditions there. It is reported that the commission will consist of one labor representative, one employer, and one neutral, and that Mr. James Lord of the American Federation of Labor will be the labor representative. Porto Rico, while legally and ostensibly a part of the United States, has received scant recognition from the Federal Government. An occasional headline in the newspapers has resulted from the uncovering of conditions of extreme poverty or pionage, as in the case of the Industrial Relations Commission. But the people of the United States speedily forget their outposts. The American Federation of Labor has formed almost the only point of friendly contact between the island and the mainland.

According to the official reports of Governors, and in particular the report of Governor Yager for 1918, Porto Rico is experiencing great prosperity. Judged by ordinary commercial standards, there is justification for these statements. Production under the American regime has increased from \$23,000,000 per annum to \$136,000,000 per annum, while the taxable property has been raised from \$180,000,000 to

more than \$400,000,000. But the great sugar and tobacco interests are pretty much Porto Rico—so far as the distribution of this prosperity is concerned. True, the average wage has increased during the past five or six years: it is still under one dollar a day for men and fifty cents for women. Another indication of the condition of the workers is the fact that Porto Rico has 400,000 children of school age, of whom only forty per cent. are in actual attendance. Anaemia, which was found many years ago to affect the greater part of the working population, continues to be well-nigh as widespread as formerly, and anaemia is due wholly to under-feeding and under-nourishment.

Since the American occupation free trade

with the mainland has added greatly to the wealth of Porto Rico; but at least 70 per cent. of that wealth goes outside the island never to return. It goes to the great sugar and tobacco corporations, and to the Spanish landlords who, while neither residents of the island or citizens of the United States, nevertheless own a large percentage of its area. During the war, in fact, the records of the office of the Alien Property Custodian showed that much of the surplus wealth was going to Germany itself.

Secretary Baker is to be congratulated, and it is hoped that the personnel of the commission will guarantee a thoroughgoing investigation, and prepare the way for some important economic realignments.

Cheap Labor Is Dear Labor

By RICHARD SPILLANE

WHAT is cheap labor? Is it the labor that works for low wages? If it is let us see how it compares with high priced labor. China is supposed to have more cheap labor than any other nation. If cheap labor is profitable labor, China should vault to headship in any industry in which it embarks.

A very important industry is that of transportation. China has more men engaged in transportation than in any other line of effort, perhaps.

Did you ever see that remarkable man, the Chinese freight carrier? He is the burden bearer extraordinary. With fifty pounds of freight secured to one end of a long pole and fifty pounds to the other he can balance the whole on his shoulder and go pattering over the road. Twenty miles is the distance he will travel in a day and for this labor he may receive fifty cents.

One hundred pounds transported twenty miles for fifty cents means fifty cents a ton per mile.

Now let us look at a different character of transportation. In the Virginian country there are three railroads that carry an immense amount of coal from the highlands to the sea. They are the Virginian, the Norfolk & Western and the Chesapeake & Ohio. They are the development of less than a century, not many cen-

turies as in the case of China, and are representative of the Occidental rather than Oriental ideas in this great department of human need.

It is common to see coal trains of one hundred cars, each car averaging at least fifty tons of fuel. That is five thousand tons. Less than half a dozen men will be on that train, the engineer with his hand on the throttle, the fireman pitching coal, the conductor surveying the journey from caboose window, and two or, possibly, three brakemen ready for anything that develops.

The pole on which the Chinaman balances his cargo costs little. The mighty locomotive, the hundred cars, the air brakes, the marvelous roadbed, the ties, the rails, the ballast of the railroad, cost large amounts.

And yet these high priced railroads, with high priced employes, carry bulk freight at a cost of three mills per ton per mile.

Let us see how that compares with the most highly developed system of the empire of cheap labor.

If one Chinese freight bearer carries one hundred pounds twenty miles for fifty cents, that is at the rate of fifty cents per ton per mile.

If an American railroad carries coal at the rate of three mills per ton per mile the cheap man power of China, in this instance, costs one hundred and sixty-six times as much as the high

priced man and machine power of this country. This is an extreme, of course, for no account is taken of the very great expense of construction and maintenance of the railroad but that does not enter necessarily into the calculation, for it is the element of freight cost that counts.

Look at it from another angle. Six men, a locomotive and a hundred loaded cars make up this American freight train with its five thousand tons of freight. Trainload after trainload of this fuel goes daily from the mines to the seaboard. What if the wonderful burden bearer of China had to transport this freight. Let him balance fifty pounds of coal at each end of his long pole and patter along the roads from the hills to the sea. What an army he would make. Each train of one hundred cars would require the equivalent of one hundred thousand men and for every twenty miles that army of cheap labor journey the wage would be fifty thousand dollars.

Great Britain pays a much lower wage scale than America. The largest single industry in Great Britain is coal. Cheap labor, or what, compared with America, would seem cheap labor apparently has not worked to Great Britain's advantage in this field, while in America better paid labor has proved profitable to all concerned. Here are some figures that are illuminating:

COAL PRODUCTION PER MAN

	United Kingdom	United States
1902	282 tons	539 tons
1912	244 "	660 "
1917	249 "	819 "

The figures are from the annual trade review of *The London Times* which laments not only over the fact that the American coal miner produces from two to three times more than the British but also declares that in all England motive power is used only to one-half of the extent per employe that it is in the United States.

If Chinese cheap labor is more costly than American labor and machine power in transportation, and British labor, which receives a much lower pay than American, produces only from one-half to one-third of what American labor does in coal mining, possibly the high wage scale is not such a nightmare as it appears to some persons.

There is one true gauge to apply to labor and only one. That is the element of production. Wages come from production. Capital simply is a link between production and wage. In their blindness and antagonism capital and labor ignore this basic fact. One encroaches upon the rights of the other and thinks it is a victory achieved when, in reality, injury is done to both. When Henry Ford established the \$5 a day minimum wage scale employers the country over had a chill. Highly paid labor is cheap labor if it produces proportionately more than low paid labor. The problem of the employer in America is not so much to lower the wage scale as to increase the scale of production.

Some men in their folly do all they can not only to continue but intensify the age-long combat between capital and labor, employer and employed. Edward N. Hurley, of our shipping board, went abroad in the hope of arranging with shipmasters of the principal foreign countries to accept the wage scale and the general regulations America has established in relation to seamen's wages and the manning of vessels. Some of the leading shipping men of Great Britain have scoffed at his mission and gone so far as to call his suggestion an impertinence. And yet, every man who has been in sea service knows the pay of a sailor is unjustly low, that the food he gets is poor, that little effort is expended to provide decent accommodations for him and that he is treated more as an animal than a human being. The men who sail the ships of commerce may not be of the best estate but what a mockery we would make of our war slogan of "making the world a better place to live in" if we should accept the purblind view of British shipowners who rise up in wrath at suggestion of improving the lot of the sailor man!

In the stress of war the patriotism of the sailor was appealed to and he did not fail to respond. He went through mine fields, through submarine infested seas, he went to death at times and to terrible exposure many times. And back to the seas he went again to serve his country, to serve it as faithfully as the man in the trench.

If such a selfish view as that of the British shipowners paid in the long run it might have some merit, but it does not pay. It breeds dissatisfaction, trouble and agitation as anything

that is unjust in principle and effect is certain to do. It does not make for better men or better service, and only through better men and better service by men do we progress.

A different example is furnished by a steel company of Ohio. The head of this company studies man. He has thousands of employes. He has woven his great force into one big family. He pays good wages. He does not think that ends his obligation. Without being patronizing he does everything that is reasonable to help his army of workers to help itself. His plant is one of the model plants of America.

Does it pay? He thinks so, for the production per man of his mill is 135 per cent of that of the United States Steel Corporation; and the Steel Corporation is not an inefficient corporation.

That man does not believe in cheap labor. He has built up a great industry through recognition of the fact that production is wealth; that the wage scale should be regulated at all times by production; and that, not infrequently, what is termed high priced labor is the cheapest or, rather, the most profitable labor to the employer.

Intelligence and Democracy

By G. W. A. LUCKEY

The spread of intelligence and the extension of free education among the masses means death to autocracy, but life to democracy. Secret diplomacy breeds mistrust and leads naturally to war. Open diplomacy breeds confidence and leads naturally to peace. True democracy despises war and courts peace, but it is safe only when directed by intelligent and enlightened citizenship free from guile. Ignorance cannot breed truth nor stimulate justice though clothed with authority. Roughly speaking the evolution of political civilization has been from family through clan, tribe, race, nation, the union of nations, humanity. Each step in the process is more altruistic than the one preceding. True patriotism like true religion is progressive and grows richer as it evolves to a higher level. Nations are now passing from nationalism, the breeder of wars, to internationalism, the breeder of peace; but only in rare cases have individuals or groups of individuals reached the last and highest stage—humanity—in which war is impossible and permanent peace assured. The truest patriotism is spiritual, love of men and ideals rather than love of country and flag.

Intelligence and democracy are closely inter-related terms. The one cannot exist in its truest form without the other. The growth of either strengthens the other. To become intelligent man must be free, but to maintain his freedom he must be intelligent. Democracy permits and encourages the true development of

the individual from within out, as nature through the accumulation of the ages has provided and made easy. The active association of free peoples engaged in a common cause is the best and truest educational institution on earth, and lays deep and secure the foundation of permanent peace, good will, and mutual helpfulness. Such association calls forth the best in man, makes clear the common brotherhood of man, and creates friendships that never die.

Just now, with the world war virtually over, the reconstruction begun, more than two million young Americans principally of college age are about to be demobilized on the richly intellectual European countries. Has there ever before been given to any country such a rich opportunity to democratize the world through the education, development, and true culture of its people? The problem is so vast, so serious, and so important to human civilization, that the man who is worthy and capable to lead the movement is apt to stagger under the grave responsibility. A combination of circumstances has made possible to minds big enough and keen enough to see and appreciate an experiment in practical education, international comity, and democratization of the people on a scale that can never be repeated. Will the countries concerned appreciate the opportunity and give the support and encouragement to make the project a complete success?

Hundreds of thousands of these young Americans left their homes and colleges, under

conditions which at best meant permanent sacrifice; on a mission of love for humanity and a desire to prevent the destruction of democracy. They are now with their mission fulfilled soon to be free in the midst of the richest culture of Europe, if not of the world. Will they be permitted to fill their souls with the best and to hold fast to that which is good? They are among the institutions of learning that many of us have spent, without regret, thousands of dollars to attend. We were seeking the best, and the best of every nation is soul inspiring and elevating to all.

These young college students from the United States are our best, among them is your son and mine, we were pained to send them forth even in defense of such a worthy cause. To many of us they represented our all. We believed in their modesty, integrity, and courage. They have strengthened that belief through their deeds and have caused others to see and believe in the democracy that could through its methods create and send forth such efficient heroes on such limited notice. The average American student is clean, honest, sympathetic, energetic, original, able, with high ideals; but he lacks in the polish and culture of the older and more refined countries of Europe.

The interchange of ideas and thoughts on such a large scale as is now possible with small effort would prove mutually beneficial to education in all countries and aid in strengthening international relations, human justice, and permanent peace. The nations of Europe are ready to open their institutions of learning on the most desirable terms, and to offer gladly their best to the young men who have aided them so generously in bringing about a better condition of society. Will the people of the United States see and be able to meet successfully this new and great opportunity of educating and democratizing humanity?

Potlatch—A Slacker City

POTLATCH, Idaho, a city of two thousand souls, pays no municipal taxes. It is assessed as a big farm. It has large splendid homes, big brick two story business blocks, sewer, water, electric lights and schools, and yet pays taxes as farm land. The why and wherefore is because the county officials can

get no records to place on file as to that city's property.

This very remarkable city is in the northern panhandle timber district of Idaho and is owned body, breeches and shoes by the biggest timber corporation in America—the Weyerhauser Lumber Company.

The city is plotted in regular American city style—streets and lots, sidewalks and curbs, but the records of all these lots are locked up in the safe of the Weyerhauser Lumber Company, and are not open for inspection. That company owns the stores and the contents thereof. It owns the churches and the pews, the homes and the schools, the pool halls and the tables, garages and the gasoline, the water works and the electric light plants complete. To avoid what is called village assessment, these city lots are not recorded, and the city of Potlatch is assessed as a large farm with the so-called improvements.

Potlatch is the home of the largest sawmill in the United States. It can turn out 750,000 feet of lumber a day. On the railroad owned by this company these logs roll into that town in endless procession. But the mill is not the only source of revenue. An outsider cannot go into business in that city, cannot buy a foot of soil for living or business. The lumber company does it all. Every one there lives only by the courtesy of the Weyerhauser Lumber Company.

Incidentally the Weyerhauser Lumber Company owns hundreds of thousands of the best uncut timber acres of Idaho. It was secured years ago when the picking was good, at the time the railroad and the real estate speculators looted the public domain. Just taxation has always been fought by this company. Assessors (if not on their payrolls) have acted very friendly. So have the newspapers and politicians. Under the circumstances it has not been difficult for the company to systematically beat down its taxes.

Potlatch is assessed at the rate of \$250.00 per acre. True this is higher than the farm land in that immediate vicinity, but the evasion pays big dividends. A general assessment of a thousand dollars per acre of the business and residence lots would be mild, especially when it is remembered that the company has entire control of all rentals. Some of the business

lots are worth \$5,000 a fifty foot front. An assessment at \$250.00 per acre means that this lot pays in actual taxes about two dollars and ten cents. It is only recently that the assessment was raised from \$150.00 per acre!

I spoke to a merchant in the nearby town of Palouse, Washington, who said he would be glad to give \$1,000 per month rent for one of Potlatch's corner stores. The building he especially referred to was a modern brick two story structure with big basement, occupying two lots. The building itself is worth fully \$60,000, and in any modern law made town would pay taxes on its land based on a value of at least \$8,000. Actual taxes on the two lots are not more than \$4.20. From that standpoint it pays to be a tax baron in modern days.

In Idaho there are many beautiful, irrigated farms. Many of these farms are paying more taxes per quarter section than the whole municipality of Potlatch. Of course one hears the argument that the improvements also are compelled to pay taxes. But that is against all modern tax reforms and a contradiction of what the farmers of the northwest are teaching in their Nonpartisan League circles. They believe the Western Canadian idea is about right: reduce taxation on improvements and fasten more tax on speculative unimproved lands.

RAY MCKAIG.

CURRENT THOUGHT

Open and Secret Diplomacy

DIPLMACY will and must remain secret so long as international politics remains unsound, immoral, that is to say, egotistically operated in the interests and advantage of each nation at the expense of the other nations. Such policy necessarily must be initiated, conducted and pursued in secret.

The only conceivable sound and moral international policy is that which is directed to serve the general interests of mankind. When this is recognized and practically admitted, diplomacy can, and automatically will, be open and honest.

An international policy at the service of the general interests of mankind must fundamentally be characterized by equality of economic rights assured to all nations—an equality practically inseparable from international free trade.

HENRI LAMBERT.

The New Labor Party

TRADER UNIONISTS of New York City and other cities launched a labor party on Sunday, January 12. Their tentative program, patterned in principle at least on the British Labor Party, favors a free press and free assemblage, public works to prevent unemployment following the closing of war industries and demobilization, public ownership of public utilities, encouragement of agriculture and the reduction of the cost of living, democratic control of industry and commerce, the creation of a department of education with a member of the Cabinet at its head, the administration of local educational systems by elective and paid boards of education, college and university training free to all who are qualified, the universal enforcement of the American standard of living, equal rights for men and women, complete equality of men and women in government and industry, with fullest enfranchisement of women and equal pay for equal work, representation of labor in proportion to its voting strength in all departments of government and upon all government commissions and agencies of demobilization and reconstruction, referendum prior to the declaration of war, and the program unequivocally opposes universal compulsory military training in times of peace. It urges the establishment of an international league of workers to supplement a league of nations. On taxation the program says: "We favor (a) 100 per cent tax on all annual individual incomes above \$100,000, and in addition, taxation to eliminate excessive inheritances, (b) a progressive increase in taxes upon all profits, unearned increments and incomes, (c) the use of public profits from nationally-owned utilities and resources, and the use of revenue derived from a system of taxation on land values which will stimulate rather than retard production."

Bernard Shaw on Education

IHAVE often wondered whether our school system is really a system of education at all.

It seems to me that it is only the sequestration and imprisonment of children so as to prevent them being a continual nuisance to their parents.

That children and adults cannot live together comfortably is a simple fact of nature which must be faced before any discussion of their treatment can advance beyond the present stage of sentimental twaddle. The blood relationship does not matter.

If I have to do my work, amid noise and disorder, and break it off repeatedly to console the yelling victim of a broken shin or to act as judge,

jury and executioner in a case of assault with violence. If I have to be medical officer of health, wardrobe mistress, sanitary inspector, surgeon for minor operations, fountain of justice, and general earthly providence for a houseful of children, I shall be so interrupted and hindered in any business, profession, or adult interest which I may pursue that I shall have to choose between being a mere domestic convenience and getting rid of my children somehow.

Under these circumstances a modern humane parent who can afford it always does get rid of the children by handing them over in their infancy to servants and later to schoolmasters. The humane parents who cannot afford this let their children run wild. I insist on the word humane because there is a third alternative open to human people.

By simple cruelty they can tame their children to sit still and ask no questions, to make no noise, not to tear their clothes, not to speak until they are spoken to, to be instantly obedient, and to take extraordinary pains to keep their misdeeds concealed (mostly by lying) from their elders.

Many people are so constituted that an occasional exercise in breaking a child's will, punishing it, and seeing it go pale with terror, is pleasurable to them. But this is bad for the child.

Any dog trainer will testify that a spaniel can be spoiled for life by a single act of terrorization, and many human beings have been spoiled in this way.

It is no doubt desirable that little boys and girls should have sufficient self-control to sit quietly throughout a suitably short religious service once a week, or to hold their breath whilst swimming under water across a bath; but for most of their time they should be as noisy as nightingales, as restless as squirrels, as curious as monkeys, and quite as indifferent to the tidiness of their hair or the integrity of their clothes.

The schoolmaster is the person who takes the children off the parents' hands for a consideration. That is to say, he establishes a child prison; engages a number of employee schoolmasters as turnkeys; and covers up the essential cruelty and unnaturalness of the situation by torturing the children if they do not learn, and calling this process, which is within the capacity of any fool or blackguard, by the sacred name of Teaching.

That is what is wrong with our so-called educational system. Every genuine teacher knows it. Every person who understands children and sympathizes with them, like Madame Montessori, knows it. Everyone who, like the wife of the

Master Builder in Ibsen's play, has a genius for fostering the souls of little children, knows it.

When young people are as free to walk out of a classroom where they are bored by a dull teacher as grown-up people are to walk out of a theatre where they are bored by a dull playwright, the schools will be far more crowded than the theatres, and the teachers far more popular than the actors. Until then we shall remain the barbarians we are at present.—*Los Angeles Examiner*.

Reconstructing Canada

CITY planning and elimination of slums are receiving a good deal of attention in Toronto at the present time, and the Bureau of Municipal Research makes the following recommendations in an effort to improve housing conditions:

Legislation to permit the taking of a part of the so-called unearned increment at the time of the transfer of properties; authorizing cities to expropriate real property at an advance of 20 per cent on its assessed value for the purpose of replanning the areas affected; authorizing cities to exempt from taxation, in whole or part, improvements on land; to empower fire chiefs to remove certain buildings and charge the costs to the owners; also the establishment of a city planning commission, charged with the conduct of an educational campaign on the subject of housing and city planning, and with power to advise the city government as to measures necessary to secure desirable living and working conditions in all parts of the city; the adoption of a comprehensive plan for the use of public and separate school buildings as community centers for the socializing of all elements of the population and the inculcating of high standards of living and citizenship through opportunities to function as citizens in self-governing organizations; the establishment of highly developed evening and part-time schools in every section of the city, and the remodeling of the school buildings wherever necessary to provide the required facilities for such work.—*Christian Science Monitor*.

CORRESPONDENCE

Allied Troops in Russia

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

THE presence of Allied troops in Russia is, to my mind, one of the greatest slaps in the face of the principles they claim to have been fighting for. How utterly inconsistent is their whole atti-

tude with their lofty pretensions. Here they claim to have been fighting Germany because of her desire to impose her will upon the rest of the world and here they go to impose their own will upon others. Their claim of having gone there for the purpose of "restoring order" is hardly different from Germany's plea of military necessity in going through Belgium. There is, I believe, as much order in Russia as in every other country. Whatever disorder there is, it isn't, I am sure, made by those whom our press abhors, but by those whom it adores—the Koltchaks, the Horvats, Miliukoffs and other reactionary imperialists. And even this is insignificant in comparison with the pandemonium which followed revolutions in every other land. Did France already forget the "Reign of Terror" which followed the overthrow of her Bourbons? Was our own liberty entirely born in a state of impeccability? Was there no conflict of passion whatsoever between the various States of our Union until they found themselves? Even the Ten Commandments were followed by thunder and lightning. Then why expect a nation that has so bloodlessly overthrown a hellish yoke as the Romanoffs to immediately enter the heaven of democracy without going through any purgatory whatsoever? To brand the Bolsheviki as German agents for their Brest-Litovsk peace, is merely showing ourselves ignorant of Russian psychology. For the masses of the Russian people had already become disgusted of the war long before that peace was signed and they would have neither fought with that peace nor without that peace. Lenine and Trotsky saw this, and but for them, the all of Russia today would have possibly been in German hands. The intellectual snobs who make of their superior attainments not a lantern for brightening the paths of their less fortunate brothers, but rather as a means for self-advancement, will, of course, never admit it. For they are a reincarnation of reactionary Korah who would, if he had lived today, thunder against the Bolsheviki no less vehemently than against the reforms of Bolshevistic Moses.

New York City.

ARNOLD DE STAEL.

The Dignity of Labor

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

ACCORDING to various dispatches received in America, it is a foregone conclusion that all efforts to establish democracies in Europe are doomed to failure. But, considering the plutocratic sources from which these reports are emanating, it at once becomes apparent that the "wish is father to the thought." The principal ground upon which

these doubts are founded seems to consist in the fact that the leaders of the different provisional governments are men who once upon a time really performed human labor—actually worked and produced something. One was once a saddle-maker, another an electrical worker, another an agriculturist, and another just an editor (like Horace Greeley).

What impresses one as peculiarly strange is the fact that many American newspapers profess to regard these objections as valid and logical reasons why any government under such leadership is necessarily unstable and transitory. But there are many shining examples in American history to prove the senselessness of such a contention. The attempt to thus belittle the new democratic leaders of Europe in the public mind is paralleled by the experiences of other noted men who have labored in the cause of democracy and the rights of man.

At the time of the American revolution George Washington was denounced in Europe as a "rebel against constituted authority." To discredit Washington he was sneeringly referred to as a "lowly agrarian." His armies were characterized as a "rabble composed of the lowest elements, principally ex-convicts from the British colonies."

No man ever braved more bitter vituperation and slander than did Abraham Lincoln, in the sixties. In Eastern newspapers he was caricatured in the most vulgar and shameless manner. In the same spirit of malignity that marks the attacks being made upon his prototypes in Europe today, Lincoln was anathematized as an "untutored rail-splitter from the back-woods." But one speech at Gettysburg was sufficient to refute all the unjust imputations made against the dignity and scholarship of Lincoln.

Another great man whom history will record as one of America's most illustrious citizens was Henry George, author of the unanswerable treatise on political economy, "Progress and Poverty." College professors, editors and other apologists of institutions founded on special privilege, vainly endeavored to explain away the masterly arguments contained in the works of George. Failing in this, it has been the practice of his critics to resort to satire and ridicule. But the worst that mediocre minds could ever charge against Henry George was the fact that he was once an "itinerant printer," thus placing him in the same company with Benjamin Franklin, who, tired and footsore, trudged into Philadelphia. If the doctrines advocated by Henry George were now a law of the land, one would not witness the spectacle of statesmen in Washington devising plans to reward soldiers with

swamps and bog-lands for their heroic services in destroying militarism in Europe, while vast areas of fertile fields, already productive, are held out of use by speculators in land.

Robert Ingersoll, in his efforts to disprove the historicity of Christ, never once disparaged the Sermon on the Mount, because its author was a carpenter. This one example should impress everyone with a reverence for the dignity of labor.

Dallas, Texas.

WILLIS ANDREWS.

The Jewish Bill of Rights

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

PERMIT me to call your attention to an error which has crept into the article on "The Jewish Bill of Rights," published in the December 28 issue of your esteemed paper.

The statement is made in this article to the effect that "the new nations that are finding a place in the sun: the Ukraine, Rumania, and the other nationalities that withhold recognition of the full right of the Jews, and other minorities, do themselves little credit."

The inclusion of the Ukraine in this statement is doubtlessly based on an oversight. We take the liberty to quote from an editorial, published in the New York *Tribune* on December 25 last, as follows:

"The first independent Ukrainian government, established at Kiev after the Russian revolution, declared for Jewish religious and educational autonomy, had paper money printed with Jewish inscription alongside the Ukrainian, and included among its members for the first time in any Slav country a Jew."

A resolution, adopted by the Ukrainian Congress of America, in session at Washington on Dec. 14, 15 and 16 last, declares that within the independent Ukrainian state "the right of all minorities, racial or religious, to develop their own individuality, be properly and fully safeguarded."

Another resolution adopted, after protesting against the pogroms committed by the Poles in Poland and Eastern Galicia, expressing sympathy with the suffering Jews, and demanding action by the Allies to stop the persecutions, concludes: "Resolved, that we favor the settlement of the Jewish question on the basis of democratic principles and the self-determination of nations."

Over five hundred Ukrainian societies in the United States were represented at this congress, called by our Federation.

MIROSLAV FICHINSKY,

For the Ukrainian Federation of the United States.

Is Inheritance an Evil?

To the Editor of THE PUBLIC:

ALEXANDER MACKENDRICK, whose reviews in THE PUBLIC I have enjoyed for many years, like other critics of Harlan E. Read's "The Abolition of Inheritance," notably in letters to *Reedy's Mirror*, omits consideration of the distinction between the right to *devise* real estate or to *bequeath* personal estate by the testator and the right to *inherit* such lands or goods on the part of devisers or legatees.

Granting the natural right of anyone who has toiled and saved to bestow where he will what he may elect not to use himself of his earnings, can any lucky object of his bounty be said, strictly speaking (and trying to be logical), to possess a right to receive this legacy or what not? What part had the legatee in the earning (presuming, of course, he did not share in its accumulation by any effort of his own)? Not infrequently such beneficiaries, where there are intervening life estates, have not been born when the giver dies. Whence comes, I ask the readers of THE PUBLIC, the natural right to receive, that is, to inherit?

Another point. Recently a large life insurance company stated that 85 per cent of the decedents in Pittsburgh left no estate. It is well known that the incentive for the hundreds of thousands of industrial policies written is to insure decent burial. Is there any doubt that of men born of women 90 per cent inherit nothing save the right to struggle for existence and to gain a precarious livelihood in turn to die and leave no more to their heirs? If this is so and one regards the maxim of the greatest good to the greatest number as entitled to prevail, how about the disposal of this enormous fund passing yearly by inheritance? Should it continue to enrich the already rich 10 per cent, thus widening the gulf, or should it be appropriated through taxation for the common good?

HENRY J. GIBBONS.

BOOKS

Utopian Dreams

The New State. By M. P. Follett. Longmans, Green & Co. \$3.

THE late Charles Frederick Adams devoted a large part of his time, for the last twenty years of life, to the organization of a society known as the Brotherhood of the Commonwealth, based upon the principle of neighborhood association. It involved a tontine insurance feature, but its main purpose was the inception, education, development

and expression of public opinion by means of neighborhood groups. A similar idea underlies Mr. Follett's book, linked with the idea of occupational association and representation.

That our legislative bodies are becoming less effective and representative, is the opinion of many competent observers. Fifty years ago locality representation came much nearer to voicing the will of the people than it does today. Neighborhoods were more homogeneous; the chasms between social groups were not as wide or deep. Immigration from abroad and from rural districts into our cities has created communities without social contacts or common interests among individual families. The political clubs tend to comprise a steadily diminishing proportion of citizens. Yet being the only political agencies there are, they dominate the field of government unchecked. Representative government becomes more or less of a farce and degenerates into an unblushing struggle for the rather petty rewards of party victory, which extending civil service laws have left to be quarrelled over.

Under these circumstances serious men have sought a remedy. Mr. Follett thinks that he has found it in the proposal to awaken and organize the self-consciousness of citizens, by having them act as members of groups interested in the civic questions which concern them. His vision sees the Nation organized out of these neighborhood groups, and out of the associated nations he sees the World State emerge.

A noble vision! If we criticise, it is only because we hope for its realization. The rainbow can rest upon imaginary abutments, but the real bridge must have material piers. Before the noble structure, which Mr. Follett dreams of, can rise, the economic basis of the nation must be laid secure. Long ago, in his "Political Upholsterer," Addison cruelly satirized the mechanic who wasted the time, which he should have devoted to supplying the material needs of his family, to the discussion of the relations of England and Prussia. This mental attitude of the essayist will endure as long as the struggle for life prohibits the common man and woman from giving much thought to any subject not directly concerned with their bread and butter. We exist in a world where the masses live to work rather than work to live. Even reduced hours of labor have not helped much because they have entailed such concentration during working hours that there is little impulse left in the evening for neighborhood consultation or conference, about things of immediate domestic concern, not to speak of the remote problems of world politics.

The practical thought which emerges from the

"New State" is the idea that seems to underlie the Russian Soviet, that men and women grouped in professional, mercantile and industrial organization should demand the right of direct participation in government as representatives of such bodies. By some arrangement we might retain reduced locality representation and join with it occupational representation. There is reason to hope that out of such a union a better result than our modern legislature would grow. If such bodies want representation, there is hardly any doubt that it will be granted after the usual obstruction which politicians interpose in the way of all efforts to diminish or share their powers. In this way men highly trained in their respective arts and crafts would find their way into our legislatures and leave the deadly mass of inertia which now clogs the action of such bodies.

In the following paragraph Mr. Follett's idea is summarized:

"The chief need of society today is an enlightened, progressive and organized public opinion, and the first step toward an enlightened and organized public opinion is an enlightened and organized group opinion. When public opinion becomes conscious of itself it will have a justified confidence in itself. Then the "people" born of an associated life, will truly govern. Then shall we at last really have an America."

OWEN MERRYHUE.

Russian Stories

White Nights and Other Stories. By Fyodor Dostoevsky. From the Russian by Constance Garnett. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1918. Price, \$1.50.

A KNOWLEDGE of the literature of Russia is valuable as a background to the newspaper stories that come daily from that great nation, and it is good to receive from the Macmillan Company their new series of translations of the novels of Turgenev and Dostoevsky.

To the average sturdy Anglo-Saxon the Russian character, with its idealism and irresponsibility, its impulsiveness and inertia, its vanity and shamelessness, seems strangely elusive and mysterious. While we of the western world are inclined to hide our shames, our fears, our meannesses, under a crust of conventionality or bravado, the Russian, with the defiant candor of a naughty child, seems to take a kind of pleasure in exposing his native depravity and in sharing his most secret and least attractive self with others. So, at least, he is depicted by Dostoevsky, who is generally considered to be the greatest exponent of the soul of Russia. The stories in the volume entitled "White Nights"

show the writer's uncanny insight into the contradictory and disintegrating forces that are to be found in a single personality—an insight almost Freudian in its recognition of the importance of the obscure and pathological elements in its composition—but the more marked abnormality of the types that crowd the pages of his greater works is absent. Most of these stories deal with the variations of the same theme—the reactions of the dreamer suddenly brought up against the hard facts of life; unaccustomed to reality but spurred to action, he bolts—sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another—and inevitably comes to grief. All through the volume we have the sufferings of the idealist at the clumsy hands of the materialist, and are aware of the faint jeer of the victim at the futility of the oppressor's attempt to annihilate him, as he escapes again into his world of dreams.

These stories are all marked by the incorrigible optimism characteristic of Dostoevsky. Always there is the kind of feverish, almost irrational, joy in existence, in mere sensation, of one who has been reprimanded from death at the last moment. We know that his own life was wretched, but "Life is sweet, however one lives," he says with conviction in "Notes from Underground." Again he feels that the weak and diseased are often gifted with a spiritual insight, a mystic vision, a grasp of values, an appreciation of beauty, unknown to the normal healthy human being, and even in acute psychical or physical suffering he can find a sort of ecstasy.

BLANCHE DISMORR.

A "Flippant Wail"

The Protestant. By Burriss A. Jenkins. The Christian Century Press, Chicago, 1918. Price \$1.35 net.

THE author of this book thinks he is a very clever iconoclast. Indeed he says so frequently. He is nothing of the sort. He has merely flung together a number of criticisms of contemporary Protestantism so worn with serious use as to have become scarcely more than platitudes, and has larded the whole with impudence and impertinence. Of the product he is inordinately proud.

In his preface he freely admits that his book is an "exaggerated," "inelegant," "negative," "flippant," "little wailer." Since the author thus admirably reviews the volume, why seek to improve upon his opinion?

The main need of supplement is to say that frequently he does not tell the truth. For instance, in two places (p. 18 and p. 81) he declares that

the United States Government has put all army and navy religious work under the direction of the Y. M. C. A. and ordered the chaplains to assist that organization. This is untrue. So are a number of other wild statements.

The economic element in religion, so important in any judgment of Protestantism, is ignored. Of course he does damn the rich a bit in one place toward the end, but the connection between the religious individualism which is Protestantism and the economic individualism which is Rationalistic Capitalism he knows nothing of. Yet in that connection lies a major explanation of that decay of Protestantism which this writer admits so freely.

When I first opened the volume I said, "What a shame that a publisher should use such cheap, and unattractive paper in printing anybody's work!" I have concluded that the publishers knew this book better than I did.

BERNARD IDDINGS BELL.

NEWS

Reconstruction

—The French Food Controller is asking for power to lend 50,000,000 francs without interest to municipalities and co-operative bodies for the establishment of national restaurants to combat the soaring prices.

—The co-operative movement was given support at the recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, resolutions being passed instructing the executive board to render all assistance possible to the Central States Co-operative Society. John H. Walker, president of the State Federation of Labor, is president of this society.

—The Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce has prepared a series of moving picture films describing various Canadian industries and also Canadian scenery. These are being exhibited in Canada, and later will be shown abroad through Canadian trade commissioners and British consuls.

—There are 68 British companies engaged in the Caucasian petroleum industry. The aggregate paid-up capital of these amounts to £21,565,978. Other Allies are interested there also; the total invested Allied capital in the industry is said to be more than £40,000,000. In 1915 the Baku district produced 451,000,000 poods of oil.

—Mr. F. G. Kellaway, parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Munitions, in a statement to the representatives of the press, predicted that British manufacturers would turn over to peace production more readily than they did to a war footing. Many munition factories are already manufactur-

ing toys, furniture, locomotives, cream separators, needles, etc.

—Owners of tracts suitable for farms for soldiers are demanding prices far in excess of the assessed value, according to R. W. Ross, engineer of the United State Reclamation Service. He further states that as the Government owns no land in the South the colonization plan of Secretary Lane's will meet with success only in so far as co-operative aid is given by the landowners.

—The State Railways in Finland have recently raised passenger rates 75 per cent and freight rates 100 per cent. The total increase since the commencement of the war is 475 per cent in passenger and 480 per cent in freight rates. During 1917 the income of all Finnish railways was \$28,253,422, and the expenditures \$31,337,409, a loss of \$3,083,987. During 1916 the income was \$21,545,736 and the expenditures \$14,811,358, a profit of \$6,734,378.

—The extensive areas of agricultural land in Latin American countries offer a rich field for the development of trade in farm tractors. Power farming on the great plantations invariably shows economy of time and expense, and the recent increase in shipments of tractors from the United States to Latin America indicates that the more progressive ranch owners are beginning to realize the value of new methods. In the fiscal year 1918 more tractors were shipped from this country to the Latin American countries than in all the last four years preceding.

—Swift & Company's net profit as given at their annual meeting in Chicago last week was \$21,157,277. An era of extreme profiteering in meat prices after the Food Administration ceases to function, unless control of private cars, stock yards and terminal refrigerator plants is taken from the packers, was predicted by Walter L. Fisher, counsel for the Marketing Committee of the American National Live Stock Association, and former Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Fisher was testifying before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee at hearings on the pending bill providing for regulation of the meat packing industry.

Labor

—A distinct Farm Service Division, ranking with the other five major administrative divisions, has been created in the Employment Service.

—Socialists from allied countries will be called to meet at Brussels soon, according to an announcement made by the Belgian Labor party. Among

other work to be done will be the re-establishment of the Socialist International Congress.

—A sentence of three years in the penitentiary and a fine of \$500, with an additional penalty of six months in default of payment, was imposed by a local magistrate upon Charles Watson, a former member of the Toronto police force, who was convicted of having Socialistic literature in his possession.

—Frank G. Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and speaking for it at the recent conference called by the United States Chamber of Commerce, declared that the country is on the eve of an era of public ownership, and that labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor would support it to the limit.

—Postmaster-General Burleson issued a statement on the 10th in which he charges S. J. Konenkamp, International President of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, with fomenting a spirit of discontent among union operators. He quoted from a confidential communication from Mr. Konenkamp to organizers and officers of subordinate units.

—The School Commissioners of Baltimore have recommended to the Board of Estimate a budget for 1919 which discriminates against white female high school teachers. The maximum standard for the white male teachers is \$2,000, the female \$1,500, while the male negro is scheduled to receive \$1,400 as the maximum and the female \$1,300.

—More than 40 prominent state and national labor organizations in recent conventions have gone on record in favor of universal health insurance, as the next step following workmen's compensation, and in eight states legislative commissions have been at work during the past year investigating sickness conditions among wage-earners with a view to health insurance legislation.

—An important phase of the outcome of the Densmore dictaphone report in connection with the prosecution of the Mooney and other bomb cases is the decision of the California Law Enforcement League to undertake to secure a legislative investigation of the whole system of alleged corruption in those phases of San Francisco's municipal affairs against which grave charges have been made.

—Amendment on the floor of the House to the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation bill will be sought by the National Federation of Federal Employees, in order to secure the salary increase of a dollar a day, or \$360 per year, asked

for by the Federation but refused by the House Appropriations Committee. The Committee has reported merely the continuation of the \$120 increase granted in last year's bill.

—Being asked whether the passionate reception accorded President Wilson by the French people was inspired by his League of Nations idea, M. Cachin, member of the Socialist party, replied that "it is not Wilson's program at all which arouses enthusiasm; it is too vague; and we know too well that it is at heart a bourgeois conception. . . . We are with Wilson because he has become the symbol of human fraternity and of the reconciliation of the peoples."

—William C. Huntington, commercial representative to the American Embassy in Russia, having sojourned in that country from June, 1916, to September, 1918, explained in a long statement on the financial situation in Russia that the private banks were displaced by the People's Bank of Federated Socialist Republic of the Soviet Government, while the régime of the Moscow Narodny Bank, representing the co-operative societies of the country, was left intact.

—Mrs. Florence Kelley, speaking on the subject of "Women's Place in Reconstruction" at the Reconstruction Conference of the National Popular Government League, deplored the fact that the only basis upon which labor legislation could be obtained was the interest of public health, not justice. She urged revision of the National Constitution to adjust it to the present-day thought of the American people instead of the standards and outlook of the eighteenth century.

Public Utilities

—Over thirty-five per cent of all the electric lighting systems in the United States are publicly owned. There are now 1,851 municipal plants.

—Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling, of the Socialist Democratic League of America, have sailed for Paris as the representatives of the pro-war Socialists in this country.

—Commissioner Leonard Funk of Spokane, Wash., in a recent communication to the City Council, recommends an investigation of the railway situation in that city with a view to the possible public ownership of the two local street car lines.

—The new higher parcel post rates for India, which were increased in November, are: On parcels not exceeding 20 tolas ($\frac{1}{2}$ pound), 2 annas (4 cents); on those exceeding 20 tolas, but not

exceeding 800 tolas, 4 annas for every 40 tolas or fraction thereof.

—The Conference of New York Mayors has begun to gather opinions from commercial and civic organizations on the proposed bill for municipal ownership. It is expected to have the bill ready for submission to each Mayor in the State within the next few days.

—The Postal Department showed a surplus of \$19,979,798 for the year ending June 30, 1918. That, says the Public Ownership League's Press Service, ends another of the stock arguments against public ownership. One by one Uncle Sam is knocking them out.

—The municipal electric light plant of Pasadena has saved the people of that city \$1,470,000 over the rates paid before the municipal plant was established. It earned a profit of 7.64 per cent on its investment during 1917-1918, and now has 10,340 patrons, an increase of nearly 1,000 over last year. And it did not raise its rates.

—The Conservation Commission in the New York State Legislature urges a definite policy on the State's waterpower. The Commission recommends that the State regulate stream flow through storage reservoirs, construct power dams upon State-owned power sites, and lease the power privileges to municipalities or private corporations.

—The Public Utilities Commission of Rhode Island has recently granted the petition of the Providence Gas Company for a 35 per cent increase of rates. The people must now pay \$1.30 per thousand cubic feet. Facts presented by the Public Ownership League in its bulletin on the subject show that the average cost is about 50 cents.

—Mr. Churchill, Minister of Munitions, has announced that the Government expects to take over the operation of the railways to enable a rapid revival of industry. To relieve the acute housing conditions plans for 300,000 houses are under way. It is estimated that at least 500,000 houses, to cost a billion dollars, are needed in the United Kingdom.

—It has been announced that the British Food Ministry has made arrangements for the establishment of mills for the production of potato flour, which, it is hoped, will be on a large scale. This industry, although a new one in Great Britain, has been established for many years on the Continent; for example, Germany before the war had 500 potato flour factories in operation, whereas it now has over 2,000.

Miscellaneous

—In a newly born weekly, the Dearborn *Independent*, Mr. Henry Ford, its parent, attacks the men in his rank for "regarding the workman as factory fodder."

—In his announcement of the progress of Allied troops in Russia, General March said he had no information concerning reports that the British were withdrawing from Archangel.

—The right to become lawyers and assistants to notaries has been granted to Portuguese women by a government decree. The women must hold certificates showing that they possess a thorough knowledge of law.

—Members of the Nonpartisan League organized both houses in the Sixteenth General Assembly of North Dakota without opposition, electing L. L. Stair Speaker of the House and making a full staff of League employes in both bodies.

—The nature and extent of German trade before the war is described in detail in a paper called "Statistics of German Trade, 1909-18." Copies of the pamphlet can be obtained at 10 cents each from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

—Amongst the numerous reform measures set forth in his inaugural address to the North Dakota Legislature, Governor Frazier urges the establishment of a central state land bank to assist in financing state-owned enterprises, and an industrial commission to finance and operate state industries and enterprises.

—The Republican National Committee passed a resolution calling upon the United States Senate for an immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and calling upon the Republican legislatures of the various States to ratify the amendment. Two women were given seats as members of the National Committee.

—Farmers' representatives complained to the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee that co-operative organizations were subjected to unfair discrimination by live-stock exchanges and packing interests in the marketing of live stock. They asked enactment of the pending bill providing government control of packing plants, stockyards, refrigerator and stock cars.

—Paramount issues of the 1920 Presidential campaign were discussed on January 10 at a meeting of the Republican National Committee. The Committee is reported to have agreed that the issues were: alleged extravagance of the Democratic National Administration and strong opposi-

tion to Socialism, including Government ownership and operation of the railroads and other public utilities.

—The indictment against the editors of *The Masses* based upon the alleged violation of the Espionage act was dismissed in New York January 10 by Federal Judge Knox, on motion of Federal Prosecutor Earl B. Barnes. Mr. Barnes said it was recognized that the war was practically over and that "no additional evidence has come into the Government's possession to warrant a belief that a third trial would produce a result different from that reached in the two previous trials."

—At the annual meeting of the American Bar Association, President George T. Page, speaking on the punishments meted out by courts-martial to American soldiers, said: "We are still following rules and forms copied from England in 1774, which were long ago abandoned by Great Britain and which were better suited to the armies of feudal times than to the citizen armies of a modern republic. This war has demonstrated that our military laws and our system of administering military justice are unworthy of the name of law or justice."

Contributors to This Issue

DAVID STARR JORDAN, writer, thinker, and educator, is well known to the readers of THE PUBLIC.

RAY MCKAIG, field secretary of the Nonpartisan League, and Past Master of the North Dakota State Grange.

RICHARD SPILLANE, editor of *Commerce and Finance*, special writer for the Newspaper Enterprise Association, and an authority on banking and finance.

G. W. A. Luckey, dean of Graduate School of Education, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., author of *Outlines of the History of Education and the Essentials of Child Study*.

LABOR TEMPLE

Fourteenth St. and Second Ave., New York City

OPEN FORUM SUNDAYS AT 8 P.M.

JANUARY MEETINGS

Ways Into the New Social Order

Lead by RICHARD ROBERTS of London
(Author of "The Red Cap on the Cross")

TWO LECTURE COURSES

By Dr. WILL DURANT

(Author of "Philosophy and the Social Problem")

Wednesdays, 8:15 P.M. January to June

Sociology, Civilization and Reconstruction

Sundays, 5 P.M. January to June

A Review of Recent European Literature

Open Discussion after each lecture

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH is organized to meet the needs of intelligent men and women interested in the grave social, political, economic and educational problems of the day. Courses of lectures on important phases of reconstruction will be offered to those who desire to attend. In addition, small groups of specially qualified persons will be organized for the practical investigation of important questions. The work will be arranged with a view of preparing those who desire to enter the fields of journalism, municipal administration, labor organization, and the teaching of social sciences.

The school will be open with an enlarged staff and a full program in October, 1919. In the meantime the following preliminary lectures will be offered from Monday, February tenth to Friday, May third.

Preliminary Lectures—February-May, 1919

COURSE No. 1—The Industrial Transition from the Eighteenth Century to the Twentieth
Twelve lectures by THORSTEIN VEBLEN
Thursday afternoons, from four to six o'clock

AN INQUIRY into the nature of those changes which have taken place in the scope and method of industry between the middle of the eighteenth century and the present time; together with a consideration of the consequences which these changes have brought about in the productive capacity of the industrial system, in the ownership and control of trade and industry, and in the resulting distribution of wealth. The inquiry will also endeavor to show the relation of these industrial changes to current questions of peace and of the self-determination of nations.

Fee for course, \$15.00

COURSE No. 2—The Relation of Education to Social Progress
Twelve lectures by JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON
Friday evenings, from eight to ten o'clock

THE OBJECT of this course is to consider the present deficiencies of education as a means of promoting social readjustment. It will include an analysis of the traditional elements in our current system, and attempt to distinguish between those that are vital and those that have become anachronisms in our dynamic age. The great additions to our knowledge of man made during the past quarter of a century will be reviewed, a matter which receives but slight attention in our colleges and universities, and account will be taken of the extraordinary revolution which has during the same period taken place in our social environment, since this, even if there had been no great increase in our knowledge of man, would have rendered a fundamental revision of our educational system essential. Lastly, an attempt will be made to determine the ways in which education should be readjusted so as to forward the reform of existing evils.

Fee for course, \$15.00

COURSE No. 3—Problems of American Government
Twelve lectures by CHARLES A. REARD, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Training

All applications and inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary

EMMA PETERS SMITH, Ph.D., 465 West 23rd Street, New York City
Mention The Public

for Public Service, assisted by members of the Bureau Staff
These lectures will be given at the Bureau, 261 Broadway, and by arrangement are open to students in the School of Social Research
Tuesday afternoons, from four to six o'clock

THIS COURSE will deal with the practical methods involved in the development of efficient democracy, including such matters as administrative organization and methods, civil service and political parties, budget making, the relation of government to public utilities and industry, modern social policies involving governmental action, and the growth of specialized functions, such as public health, public works, education, recreation and housing, etc. Opportunities will be given to selected students having the proper preparatory training to engage in research work under supervision of members of the staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research.

Fee for course, \$15.00

COURSE No. 4—Habit and History
Twelve lectures by EMILY JAMES PUTNAM
Wednesday afternoons, from four to six o'clock

THE LONG predominance of habitual conduct over individual initiative in primitive society and in the early empires; the biological and social limitations which tend to foster habit and to develop it beyond its proper sphere; the technique of habit-breaking inaugurated by the Greeks and becoming a characteristic of western society; an effort to appraise the amount of excessive and undesirable habit in thought and action generally connected with such concepts as nationalism, religion, the status of women, etc.

Fee for course, \$15.00

COURSE No. 5—Representative Government
Six lectures by HAROLD J. LASKI
Monday afternoons, February 10 to March 17, from four to six o'clock

THE CLASSIC system of representative government, as conceived by the nineteenth century, has broken down. It has become necessary to search out new ways (a) for the making of legislation; (b) for its administration through the civil service; (c) for the relating of a newer and wider public opinion to the policies of the state. The new theory of representative gov-

ernment must find means also of giving expression to the needs of producers' not less than consumers' interests. Special emphasis will be laid upon the recent experience of England, France and America.

Fee for course, \$8.00

COURSE No. 6—The Price System and the War

Six lectures by WESLEY CLAIR MITCHELL

Monday afternoons, March 24 to April 29, from four to six o'clock

THE ROLE of prices in modern life. How the war raised prices. How the rising prices affected "economic mobilization." Price fixing. Rising prices and the distribution of income. The effect of peace upon prices, production, profits, and wages.

Fee for course, \$8.00

COURSE No. 7—The Mind Viewed as a Factor in Social Adjustments

Twelve lectures by FREDERICK W. ELLIS

Friday afternoons, from four to six o'clock

AN INTRODUCTORY study of the technique of mental adjustments; the origin and development of mental efficiency in the contact of human organisms with their environment; the fitness of the environment to call forth varied and well-organized responses; and the fitness of the organism to develop efficient patterns of response; the growth and characterization of these patterns; the relations of patterned behavior to the fundamental qualities of human nature; the acquisition of individual and group patterns in human conduct; the customary forms of social thinking; the measurement of mental efficiency; the methods of securing integrity of mind in the course of social experience.

Fee for course, \$15.00

Lectures by ORDWAY TEAD and others

COURSES ON EMPLOYMENT ADMINISTRATION are designed for actual labor executives on short-time leave from private industrial plants, for public servants in industrial relations work, and for graduate students anxious to train for the profession of personnel management. The work combines lectures, readings, and factory visits and endeavors to supply a definite technique, as well as a sound point of view toward the human problems of industry and government.