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THE NONPARTISAN VICTORY

# THE PUBLIC

*A Journal of Democracy*

July 5, 1919

If You Were Wilson at Paris

New Law for Packers

Baiting the Lords

Published Weekly in New York, N. Y.  
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# THE PUBLIC

*A Journal of Democracy*

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**M**RS. MARY N. LILLY, Democratic Assemblywoman from New York City, in speaking of her experience in the New York Legislature in *The Woman Citizen*, says that one of the strongest impressions made upon her by the session was the indifference of the out-of-town legislators to social legislation. "Why," she asks, "do men like those splendid up-Staters take so much trouble to protect animals, grass and trees, and remain so oblivious to the value of human life? Why do they hold life so cheap? And why are they so deaf to pleas for human betterment? Why do they characterize laws for conserving the race mere sentimentality? They sure do need the woman's point of view in the Legislature." Among the measures introduced by Mrs. Lilly were the bills to abolish death penalties for minors, raise the age of juvenile delinquency, shorten and simplify insurance policies, open to school children the use of armories for physical training. The tendency of woman's thought is to cling to home and children, but as these in their broader relations are the very foundation of civilization; they need this emphasis. It is a great pity there are not some real women in the United States Senate.

**N**O party ever came into power with fairer prospects or greater opportunity for public service than the Republican majority had when Congress convened in extra session. A disrupted Democratic Party without vision and without leadership should have been easy prey if the Republican majority had had itself a scintilla of vision. The heartbreaking struggles of the President with undemocratic Democrats in his own party might have pointed out

the way to his political opponents. A great many new Government organizations that were rich with promise of service for the future had been set up by the President over the protests and denunciations of members of his own party. It would have been good politics, it would even have been statesmanship, for the Republican majority to have supported those institutions and to have taken the credit for that support. They have failed however, to do so. The natural alliance of New England and the South has led them into playing ward politics of the meanest sort. A party that wipes out the only constructive agency for securing employment for soldiers while it passes bills appropriating \$100,000 for inspection of horse meat is on its last legs. Where the situation demanded world politics the Republican majority has played ward politics. So much the worse for the Republican Party. No national party, Democratic or Republican, can play ward politics and live.

**C**OMMENDABLE in the highest degree is William Kent's method of applying the license system for handling perishable food products set forth at length on another page in this issue. By encouraging local initiative in building and financing warehouses rather than depending upon the National Government for appropriations, he points a way of avoiding the evils of the "pork barrel" method. "It is coming to be more and more recognized," he says, "that local communities, through their governmental agencies and coöperative movements, should dignify themselves and perform functions necessary to their welfare." It is this principle that Illinois and other States find

works so well in road building. When the State contributes as much for a road as a locality through which it runs, each community is eager to secure its share of the State's funds. A similar stimulant and check, as Mr. Kent suggests, would govern the building of warehouses.

**I**T is refreshing in these days of advancing prices of privately owned service companies to read in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* of the success of that city's municipally owned electric light plant. A two-million dollar enlargement to be opened July 1st will add fourteen thousand consumers to the twenty-two thousand already using the current. The price runs from three cents per kilowatt hour in residences, down to one and a quarter cents for factories. This is in striking contrast with the charge of the private corporation in New York City which, though less than many others, has charges running from seven cents down to four and a quarter for light and five cents to two cents for power. It is interesting to note that the Cleveland street cars, which are making money on a five-cent fare in spite of high wages, owe their origin to Mayor Tom Johnson. And that the electric light plant that compares so favorably with charges in other cities had its inception during the mayoralty of Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War.

**I**F some of the Senators who are wasting valuable time in trying to keep the people of the country from the benefits of a League of Nations ever wish to devote a little effort to constructive legislation, they might consider the report of Colonel Henry S. Graves, chief of the United States Forestry Survey. Europe, Colonel Graves says, will need seven billion feet of lumber a year above normal demands for emergency construction, and exportation on that scale, unless accompanied by provision for regrowth, would soon lead to serious consequences. The warning cannot be too often repeated or too much emphasized. Our forestry policy has from the very beginning been a blunder. The finest timber land in the world has been sacrificed with no other apparent purpose than to make fortunes for any one who could by trick or fraud cheat the Government out of the land held in trust for the people.

The new economic ethics does not recognize such a policy, and the sooner our Senators and Representatives at Washington awaken to the fact the better it will be for all concerned.

**J**APANESE jingoes object to the treaty because the League of Nations will be controlled by Anglo-Saxon nations, and advocates an oriental league. Senator Reed objects to the League because it will be dominated by the colored races. Senator Fall objects to it because the Catholics will be in control. Senator Sherman objects to it because President Wilson has been instrumental in bringing it about. Senators Lodge, Knox, Borah, Poindexter, and Johnson object to it because such opposition brings them into the spotlight, and may lead to a Presidential nomination. As opposed to these formidable forces there appears to be nothing,—that is, nothing but the will of the people of the country, who want the League because it is the greatest world organization ever attempted and has within it the germ of the federation of the world.

**A**UTOCRACY is doomed, not because America entered the war at the critical moment, not because the British Navy held the seas, not because France stood steadfast, not because Belgium thwarted the plans of the German General Staff, but because the German leaders have entered the lists to vindicate their several courses. Each accuses the others of being at fault, and all to that extent are telling the truth. Ludendorff, Hindenburg, Von Tirpitz, Czernin, Bethmann-Hollweg, Dernburg have all written or are writing books showing how the others were to blame. Now, we know the feelings of Job when he exclaimed, "Oh that my adversary had written a book!" Autocracy is doomed, but in its fall it may carry down other things. What, for instance, are our own fiction writers to do to meet this inundation of German goods? Will the new Republican protective tariff take them into consideration?

**S**OLICITOR Lamar, the keeper of Mr. Burleson's conscience and the champion of American innocence, has rendered another of those decisions for which the Post Office Department has become famous. The February

issue of the *Eye Opener* was declared unmailable. A letter was addressed to Mr. Lamar urging that the Department indicate four or eight pages of the twelve that would be considered mailable. After a delay of almost two months the solicitor wrote: "The action you request this office to take in regard to the February issue of the *Eye Opener* would amount to censorship, which the law does not permit. I am accordingly without authority to comply with your request." No doubt the editors and publishers of the various papers that had been denied the use of the mails will be gratified to know that the law does not permit censorship; the postal authorities merely deny papers the use of the mails.

**D**ISTRESSING indeed is the news from Switzerland. Ex-King Constantine of Greece is said to be very short of funds, owing to the failure of Greece to continue his \$100,000 pension, and to the shutting off of aid from the Hohenzollerns, who themselves have less to spare than formerly. Ex-King Ludwig of Bavaria, whose former income was a million and a quarter, and Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary, who had a civil list amounting to \$5,000,000, are among the impecunious. But there is no occasion for despair. Golden opportunities await them in this country. Movie producers would be glad to put them on the screen at a princely salary and with no experience other than they had in real life. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," with an all-king cast. What a drawing card! Charlie Chaplin and Mary Pickford will have to look to their laurels if the kings out of a job elect to break into the movies.

**I**T is barely possible that some of those persons who know all about the situation in Russia, Germany, or other storm centers have overlooked the fact that the people in those countries are not so very much unlike our own. An investigation into political or social conditions in this country would find the best of evidence that the Administration is bent upon ruining the country. We have it on the authority of the senior Senator from Illinois, that President Wilson has most unblushingly betrayed the United States into the hands of its enemies.

The radical leaders have unimpeachable evidence that the old parties have sold out to Wall Street, while the kept press knows only too well that the grange movement is composed of anarchists determined upon the destruction of American institutions. Why is it not quite possible that the people from and in Europe have prejudices and imaginations similar to our own?

**V**ON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, chancellor of the German Empire from 1909 to 1917 has delivered his former master the unkindest cut of all. He asks to be tried by the Allies in place of the Kaiser for the responsibility for the war. Possibly the Chancellor intended his offer merely as a demonstration of Damon and Pythias affection, but if so, it was woefully misconceived. Responsibility indeed! What of the Warlord? What of his partner Gott? And what of all the wondrous things that have happened in Germany during William's reign? Are these also due to the chancellors? Was it for chancellors that the German nation goosestepped for a generation? Perish the thought. Would the chancellors have claimed the glory of the victory, had there been victory? No. The Kaiser was first in war and first in peace; let him be first at the bar of judgment, that the world may determine the moral responsibility for the war, not with a view to punishment, but for the sake of the truth of history.

## The Six Hour Day

**R**EDUCING the hours of the week is a poor way of meeting the unemployment problem. Every essential industry furnishes raw materials, or service, to other industries, hence, to increase the price of its products or its service means to limit the operation of those industries dependent in any degree upon it. To reduce hours to a point at which five men on a farm are employed to do the work formerly done by four at the same wages per man will result in an increase in the price of food, which means an advance in the cost of living. To reduce mining hours beyond the point of increased efficiency without reducing wages will mean an increase in the price of coal, which will be a handicap to all industries using coal.

The only effective way of reducing unemployment is to increase the effective demand for labor products, which means a relative reduction in prices. Complaint is made that some coal mines have been closed down for three months because of the coal left over from the mild winter. Yet all this coal would be taken if the price were reduced, and this reduction in the cost of fuel would stimulate all industries to greater production, thereby reducing the cost of living. The *Subway Sun* says the coal used by the Subway in 1916 cost \$1,736,933, and that the same amount of coal in 1919 will cost \$3,197,304, or 84 per cent. more than three years ago. Only a part of that increase is due to wages; the remainder is due to monopoly. Yet the company is asking permission to raise fares to cover increased expense.

Production cannot be increased or the cost of the product lowered by lower wages, for low wages do not mean cheap production; but greater production and more employment can be obtained by means of cheaper raw materials and by reducing the toll of monopoly.

The raw material upon which labor and capital work is the natural elements, agricultural, mineral, and timber lands, water power, and city lots. Any commercial article of value that remains idle or unused for any length of time is held at too high a price. The great areas of valuable land lying idle in city and country that present so many opportunities for labor and capital to employ themselves in producing wealth are too high in price.

If labor will play up and push to the front its declaration for the taxation of land values it will be on the surest road to full employment and maximum wages. The man who has valuable coal deposits taxed as farm land can keep his holdings idle in order to raise the price of coal. But if the full rental value is taken in taxation the coal deposits will have to be worked as long as there is any demand for coal. The same principle applies to building lots. All valuable land held idle for speculative purposes can be forced into use by taxing the rental value into the public treasury. Labor made its greatest economic advance when it realized the importance of levying taxation upon privilege rather than upon industry.

The question of hours may not be stated

arbitrarily beyond fixing certain broad limits. Commercial self-interest dictates that the hours should be reduced to the point of greatest efficiency without reducing wages. But it is not enough to keep wages from falling. Prices must be kept from rising. And the wage earner is as much interested in cheapening production as in raising wages, for in the last analysis they come to the same thing.

## Modernizing Government

PHILADELPHIA has come to America at last. Other cities have grown so accustomed to a one-chambered city council that they have long since forgotten that any other form ever existed. Yet Philadelphia has clung to the double-barreled council. It is well that she has got rid of it. The single council has proved unwieldy enough, but the Quaker City has struggled along under the burden of this archaic eighteenth century form of government with its system of checks and balances. That government was workable and was tolerable only because it was better than the arbitrary tyrannies that preceded it. It was based upon the theory that all government was inherently bad and must be controlled by checks and balances. Modern theory assumes government to be a beneficent force and strives to make it as effective as possible. This can only be done by centering both power and responsibility in a few persons and then making those few subject to effective popular control. Efficiency is impossible under such methods as we have perfected so far when legislative bodies are too large.

That is the real trouble with Congress. It, like the Philadelphia council, was modeled after the British Parliament. It was based upon distrust of popular power and must ultimately become a much smaller body. The real reason for the steady encroachment of the executive upon the legislative lies in the utter inability of the legislative to function. If the Senate could be made a proportional body so as to correct the present anomaly of equal representation for New York and Wyoming, we could well afford to abolish the House. Then popular opinion could more readily concentrate upon one hundred than upon five hundred men. There would be more clarity of opinion among

those whose heads are now a whirl in their endeavors to follow the intricacies of legislative machinery. Efficiency would take the place of chaos. Let us hope that Congress will eventually catch up with Philadelphia.

## The Peace That Is to Be

**C**ONFUSION has come into the councils of men regarding peace because two currents of thought have become intertwined, and the advocates of neither are able to follow their own without becoming entangled with the other. Men talk of peace as a state that is to come out of the Treaty of Paris; other men talk of peace that is to come in spite of the Treaty of Paris. Each accuses the other of being irrational, and in a sense both are right.

Those who expect peace to come from the Treaty, the Clemenceaus, the Lloyd Georges, the Orlandos, are thinking of a political peace. They are looking backward to things as they were, and they consider their efforts successful in proportion as they obtain and preserve conditions that existed before the war.

Those who look for failure to follow the Paris Conference are thinking of an economic peace and social justice that necessitate a complete departure and breaking away from the old order. They are looking ahead to conditions that have long been dreamed of by prophets and seems to a new order in which economic justice shall accompany political liberty. It would be as foolish to think that the final peace will follow the Treaty of Paris as to suppose that the treaty will prevent the coming of a lasting peace.

The world cannot return to the conditions of 1914, nor can it be made to stop where it is. It must advance. The only virtue in the Treaty of Paris is that it provides a way for a peaceful advance, if statesmen have the vision to see the changes that are coming, and prepare for them in time. Without the treaty there would be anarchy. With the treaty but without the League of Nations there would be revolution.

The day of the exploiter must end. Men will talk for a time of a living wage, of a forty-four or a thirty-six hour week, and of various other arbitrary attempts to ameliorate the condition of labor. But all these are mere

makeshifts. There will be no real peace until every producer, whether he be called laborer, capitalist, or professional, receives the full product of his toil. This implies a readjustment of public and private relations. It necessitates the drawing of the line between the functions and activities of the individual and the public. It implies also a knowledge of what functions and activities are individual and what are public. If men lacking this knowledge, yet smarting under the whip of injustice, attempt to right things we shall have a Russian revolution. But if they see and understand the causes and conditions, they will be able to proceed in an orderly way to the removal of the various privileges that have been conferred by law upon the few at the expense of the many.

Resorts to brute force animated by passion are followed by reaction. Permanent gains come only from intelligent understanding. Mankind will be content with nothing less than full and complete democracy, and when that state has been reached there will be no unearned incomes and no unrequited labor. The merit of the League of Nations is that it offers means of adjusting international relations peaceably and of enabling the citizens of each country to settle their own affairs.

## Why the Treaty Is Severe

**D**AILY it becomes more apparent that the German people are not like other people. Whether they have a higher sense of honor or a newer sense of honor, it is clearly a different sense of honor, and being different it must be treated differently. Their systematic education from childhood up in the belief that the Germans are a superior people has had its effect. A mental state that permitted a minister to refer to a treaty as a scrap of paper was not, it now appears, exceptional. It was the state of mind that led to the war of frightfulness, to the bombing of open cities, to the sinking of passenger ships on the high seas, to the wanton devastation of occupied territory, to the enslavement of civilians, and the cruel treatment of prisoners, down to the burning of the French flags and the sinking of the interned ships. There has been no evidence of sorrow or shame in Germany that she began the

war; only regret that she failed in the undertaking.

This is not said for the purpose of condemning Germany or the German people. There is reason to believe that the people are unconscious of the fact of their condition, and are therefore in a measure unaccountable. Rather is it said because it appears to be a fact that must be taken into account in adjusting the relations between the German people and the rest of the world. If the present generation of Germans believes that a plighted word or a sworn treaty can be broken whenever it is to their advantage to do so the fact should be recognized and provision made adequately to meet it.

The most recent acts of German officials, the burning of the flags and the sinking of the ships, were small things in themselves and harmless, but they throw a great light upon the terms of the treaty. The peace delegates at Paris have all the way through been confronted with what they believe to be a fact, that Germany was not amenable to the rules of honor that guide other nationalities, and therefore that the terms and specifications of the treaty should be drawn with a view to meeting a concrete situation.

If this deduction be true, if the Allies are right in assuming that Germany will conform to nothing except under compulsion, then the pressure will have to be maintained until the world comes to a common understanding.

This is not said in vindictiveness but in sorrow; it is said in the hope that Germany's neighbors will be as patient as possible until the German people find themselves and catch step with the modern thought. And it is urged as an explanation of why the terms of the treaty are severe, and why the League of Nations should be adopted in order that the severity may be modified as the need appears.

## Homes for Soldiers

IN an article in the *Washington Evening Star* of June 22, Secretary Lane of the Interior Department makes an ingenuous statement in regard to one of the benefits obtainable for the soldier under the "Lane plan" of land settlement. Under this plan, says Mr. Lane, the returned soldier "will become the benefi-

ciary of the 'unearned increment' rather than the victim, as he would be in entering a community already established. In the one case he gets the increment; in the other he pays it."

If Mr. Lane is right, if the soldier "gets the increment" (and somebody else does not get it away from him), then in truth he is the "beneficiary." By getting the unearned increment he is in the happy situation of being able to get more than he earns—thereby requiring some one else to get less than he earns. Some one else must be the "victim."

Mr. Lane is supporting the Mondell bill now before Congress. This bill provides that land shall be acquired by the Government and then sold as farms to returned soldiers. And it provides that the price fixed for each farm shall as far as practicable represent "its relative and comparative selling value."

Under Mr. Lane's plan improvements are to be made on the various projects, and these will of course enhance the value of the farms to be sold. After five years or so the "selling value" of these farms will be much higher than at the start. This value will include the "unearned increment." The ex-soldier who then decides that he would like to go upon the land must pay whatever the selling value may be at that time. The only way, then, for the ex-soldier to escape from becoming "the victim" of the unearned increment is for him to get his land when the project starts rather than later on. This is so because "in the one case he gets the increment; in the other he pays it."

If, therefore, Mr. Lane's idea is to arrange matters so that the ex-soldier "gets" the increment for which some one else "pays," then he should not support the Mondell bill. For this bill does not carry out any such beneficent scheme. It provides no such special privilege for the soldier *unless* he gets his farm when the project begins. Only those who get in on the start are "beneficiaries"; all those who come afterward, both ex-soldiers and people generally, are "victims."

It so happens that there is a bill before Congress that provides the soldier a chance, not to gamble in land, but to earn a living on land. This is the bill introduced by Representative M. Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania. It provides that the National, State, and community gov-



ernments shall purchase land in community units, improve such land and then make it available, in farm allotments, for the use of separate families. Under this plan the settler and his heirs can live on the farm so long as they actually occupy and use it—and this “may be for years or it may be forever.”

This bill of Mr. Kelly's, like his bill in the last Congress, carries out the policy which has long been recommended by the Secretary of Labor, Mr. W. B. Wilson. It would eliminate the gambling feature from proposed land settlement schemes by adopting the Australian idea of basing all individual titles on occupancy and use. The ultimate fee simple title would be in public hands—in the national, State, or community government. The idea carried out in the Kelly bill, and advocated by Mr. Wilson, is in marked contrast to that carried out in the Mondell bill supported by Mr. Lane.

## A New Party

**T**HE gods are in a sportive mood. Providence, proverbially supposed to watch over children and fools, is neglecting the Senate. If reliable reports are to be credited, the joke of the centuries is about to be perpetrated. Another new party is presumably in the making. The saintly Hearst, he of the Independence League, is to be its journalistic godfather, and its political sponsors—let the readers restrain their emotions—the Senators Reed and Borah! It has not yet been announced that experts are being imported from Bedlam to write the platform, but we may expect that information any day. Wild even to the point of insanity as this new party idea may seem, there is good evidence of its accuracy. Hearst was in for a scoring at the hands of the Overman Committee during its investigation of Bolshevism, but Mr. Reed came to the rescue. Senator Borah is constantly in conference with the popular idol from the banks of the Kaw and has several times gone out of his way to threaten that, if the Republican Party does not make the League an issue, there will be a new party in the field that will.

And such a party! Mr. Hearst will stage a convention in true Hearstian style. Those who remember the Chicago Convention of his Independence League will recall how delegations of

newsboys recruited from Halsted Street functioned as delegates from Georgia and Texas, and how his candidates were nominated amid the thunderous applause of delegates who spoke in the name of every State in the Union, but who were recruited within a square mile of the Convention Hall at a cost of a dollar or two a head.

It is to be supposed they will nominate Reed and Borah,—or will it be Borah and Reed? After all, what is the difference? The nation is in for a treat either way. The next political circus is like enough to have little humor in it and a bit of clowning on the side will do no harm. But never again let the finger of scorn be pointed at the Democratic Party. It may have had the donkey for its emblem, but it never nominated it for President.

## “Done at Versailles”

**T**HE President is returning. He brings with him the signed treaty of peace. The items of this new arrangement matter little by comparison with the establishment of an organized league that henceforward can take note in a new way of the forces that make for peace, and by its timely and humane operations can forestall the unhappy wars that at the best can have only unsatisfactory treaties at their ending. The first treaty made by the United States—a treaty of provisional articles—concludes with the words: “Done at Paris the thirtieth day of November, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.” This treaty was the birth certificate of the Republic of the United States made up of its thirteen independent sovereignties. The treaty agreeing on the cessation of hostilities was “done at Versailles” the following January, when the United States was a party with the King of England, the King of France, and the King of Spain,—three kings and a transatlantic idea. The American idea in the document, however, was indorsed in black on white by two very good names—John Adams and B. Franklin. In September of the same year the “Definitive Treaty of Peace,” reaffirming what had gone before, was concluded, and signed on the part of America with the same good names and two others, but not a military or war-loving man among them,—which likewise was done at Paris.

Versailles and Paris furnished the theatre of our first experiences in treaty making, and no wars grew out of our contributions to the agreements. We take it that that circumstance may well be a happy augur of the peace-procuring qualities of what has just been "done at Versailles." This momentous achievement crowning the President's labors of many months—a league for brotherhood among nations—will be acclaimed a century and a third from now as meaning as much for the international comity of mankind as our ancient treaties of Versailles and Paris are known to have signified in the destiny and distinction of these United States.

It is an ordinary infirmity among us to extol the performances of the dead and embalmed, and to ignore or discount the labors of our best while they still live and love in our midst. Aside from the personal pettiness that this habit indicates, it signifies an extravagant dissipation of mental energy and substantive moral good. Imagine Leander swimming the Hellespont with a dozen classic youngsters hanging to his legs. Yet this is the sort of assistance one may expect from our captious times who endeavors to cross any untried social or political sea. Think what an amazing impetus would be given to every high endeavor if we had a united thought of success and good will to waft it along. A man is inwardly dead to the great forces of life if he imagines he has no private responsibility in respect of the great issues of the age in which he lives, and squats down in the self-condoning notion that if a plan is good it may be left to get itself done. It is his business to understand the advance the times demand, and to lend it the aid of his intelligence and good will. More than anything else is it this dullness of the

sense of intellectual responsibility that makes men stupidly critical of great achievements in the doing and uncritically commendatory of what the history books say ought to be praised after it has been done and perchance ought to be forgotten.

Besides all this, men lose half the joy of living by their aloofness and offishness toward the benign achievements of their age. To be sure, of great performances only very few can make the physical claim, "Quorum pars magna fui"; but every plain man to the remotest hamlet can truthfully say of every transcendent work of his era that he was a real part of it and its beneficence just in the measure that he understood and indorsed it. The power of thought is the mightiest agency in making or marring the world. This carries no implicit condemnation of criticism and opposition. They are high duties in a democracy. But the criticism and opposition must be worthy. Then they are useful even to the most valuable or noble of movements or measures. But in respect of the formation of a League of Nations the charge cannot be competently refuted that most of the antipathetic comment has been singularly inadequate to the theme. The meanness of its motive has usually been ludicrous in its obviousness. At its best it has overlooked some enormous factor essential to a round and just view. Ours is a new age, with fresh capacities for doing all sorts of big things. It is not necessary to keep on doing small things in a small way. Let us be morally big enough to apprehend the real significance in its totality of what has been done at Versailles while the doers can appreciate our word of praise, and not leave it to posterity to inscribe it on their monuments.

## The Nonpartisan Victory

By Judson King

*Executive Secretary National Popular Government League*

**N**ORTH DAKOTA is still on the map. The Nonpartisan League, which is fighting the most significant battle for real democracy in the United States, appears as this is written to have won all along the line. For the last month the League and its program has been to

the front. It has filled both the news and the editorial columns. The people of the State have literally thought, eaten, and slept with the issues of the campaign. If there are still people in the United States who think that the farmer is apathetic, let them come to North

Dakota. There are people who think that the public at large is more interested in a prize fight than in politics. Maybe there is a good reason, for the average election is a slow affair. But North Dakota elections are different. Ever since Townley and his friends forced the State into the limelight, politics has been livelier than any prize fight.

The daily press, whose opinions of course are powerfully flavored with St. Paul, has informed everybody that the whole movement is socialistic and disloyal. A short visit with either President Townley, Governor Frazier, or Lieutenant Governor Wood would disabuse the mind of any fair man of any such impression. I have campaigned with Lieutenant Governor Wood and have seen something of this typical Leaguer. He is a calm, clear-eyed man, who operates a farm of a thousand acres. In the middle of the campaign he had to go back to his farm as the grasshoppers had attacked 900 acres of wheat. He is characteristic of the North Dakota League farmers. Here are men who cannot be stampeded, bought, or fooled. They are fast learning how to run a government from the supreme court down. They are through with old-time party politics and the old-time economics. They are striking out a new furrow and naturally will encounter the abuse of every man or interest that has staked in the retention of the present system. Nevertheless, what North Dakota does today her neighboring States will do tomorrow. Here is what was at stake.

At last election the Leaguers finally captured the whole State Government including the Supreme Court. At the legislative session this spring they enacted into law a notable political and economic program. Seven of these laws were challenged by a referendum petition circulated by reactionaries. By virtue of a new kind of referendum provision inserted in the Constitution last election by vote of the people at the instigation of the League leaders, it was possible for the Governor to order a special election on these measures and not wait till the election of 1920, as would be necessary in Oregon and most other Initiative and Referendum States. The matter was of sufficient importance to settle immediately at a special election. And so one was called for June 26th.

The measures at stake were:

1. A bill providing a State bank established along sound lines, to be the depository of all public funds and do a general banking business. Real estate loans are to be made at not to exceed 6 per cent. on ample security. Farmers and others now pay from 8 to 12 per cent. often with a bonus.

2. An Industrial Commission bill, which commission is empowered to build State terminal elevators for grain, State flour mills, State packing plant, control State bank, etc.

3. A bill centralizing the control of all State educational and correctional institutions under a commission of five persons, instead of the 45 now on the various boards administering them.

4. A tax commissioners' bill that has unheard of teeth.

5. A bill regulating the State printing and advertising (legal).

6. A bill creating a commission to advertise the resources and advantages of the State and attract people here.

7. A rearranging of the judicial system of the State that will expedite the administration of justice.

This sort of program flies straight into the face of nearly all the great special interests of the nation, including the American School Book trust. They were not slow to see their danger. Examples of this sort at work would work havoc. Hence they poured thousands in the State and made a desperate fight to stop the farmers' program. That program, incidentally, gave a square deal to labor. Without doubt this Legislature enacted the best Workmen's Compensation Act in the United States, as well, and other labor laws.

Not content with this, the farmers made a start to curb land monopoly. They are thoroughly awake to the evils of absentee landlordism, although they do not understand the full significance of the land problem. Nevertheless, their attitude toward the entire question may be inferred from the fact that they exempted farm improvements from taxation and all city improvements under \$1,000 in value. They have also adopted an act that taxes land values at a rate six times as high as the rate upon improvements.

During the campaign the entire State was one vast discussion camp. Even President Townley never had such meetings in his career.

Crowds of from 3,000 to 6,000 were common. The slogan of the Nonpartisan League was, "We'll stick." Their emblem was the Ford. Thousands of these little machines, which have played such an important part in making the Nonpartisan League possible, carried the word, "Vote Yes 7 times." When the final chapter of American democracy is written much credit will be due to the mechanical genius of Henry Ford.

There were the usual old guard shout of socialism and solemn warnings against the red flag. Taxes, they said, would be doubled, socialism would be taught in the schools, the credit of the State would be wrecked. The whole program was the work of agitators and I. W. W's. This sort of thing went very well in the city, but it didn't go in the country. The complaint of the farmers and workers was that the opposition did not discuss the issues, but campaigned largely on personal abuse of Townley and the League. The vote shows that a fairly large majority of the town people were hostile.

The opposition was organized under the high-sounding and pleasing title of the Independent Voters' Association. The terms "Republican" and "Democrat" were never heard throughout the campaign. In one or two instances an audience of farmers howled down a speaker who was too free with his charges of "anarchists and free-lovers," and refused to let him continue. The spirit of the whole League campaign is shown by the fact that these instances brought stern rebukes from Lynn Frazier, the League's farmer Governor. He announced that there must be no interference with free speech, and that if citizens did not like a speaker they might leave the meetings.

This has undoubtedly been the most serious fight the League has ever had to face. If it had lost, the League prestige would have waned in all the surrounding States. A defeat would virtually have confined its future work to North Dakota, for many years at least. As it is, the League has won, it knows where it is going, and it is on its way.

## New Law For Packers

By William Kent

*Chairman of United States Tariff Commission*

**T**HE Kenyon-Anderson bill represents a concurrence of many minds on the subject of the control of the packers. In spite of the torrents of printer's ink shed in advertising, the country is more and more awakening to the cumulative danger of foodstuff monopoly. The packers, by reason of their grip on the meat trade, are able by sheer power of capital and credit to take over and monopolize any line of business that they desire. The hearings in the Senate Committee brought forth from the packers themselves admissions that their business was so large as to have passed the boundary line of economy. Every one conversant with the trade knows of the losses sustained by shipment of live animals long distances under the packer system. Every one who has studied the situation knows that along with their growth has gone the suppression of local supplies. Everything must be poured

through the packer funnel, regardless of shipping costs and shrinkage of values.

The abuses connected with the monopoly of the stockyards have been thoroughly ventilated by the Federal Trade Commission. The use of private cars in the traffic not only eliminates those unable to own them, but also eliminates those who by reason of a comparatively small volume of business cannot compete with those capable of a large organized system. The Federal Trade Commission's recommendations were pointed at these evils, and as embodied in the Sims bill presented at the last session of Congress endeavored to offer a remedy under the then existing status of railroad management and control.

With the elimination of war power in the President, and with the practical change in the railroad situation, the plan that at one time might have been possible must now be changed

to suit the change in conditions. A number of representatives of the Federal Trade Commission, farm organizations, Consumers' League, Federation of Labor, and the live stock associations, got together and discussed the situation with members of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, before whom the hearings were held. As a result of more than two months of conferences and work, the Kenyon-Anderson bill was introduced in the House and Senate. It involves the licensing system of a measure known as the Kendrick bill introduced in the last Congress, but strengthens that measure in many particulars and adds to it new and important matter. Under it the packers, stockyards, commission men, and the larger dealers in poultry and dairy products must apply for a license, and thereafter must conduct their business with due regard to the general welfare and refrain from monopolistic and unfair practices. The penalty for violation of license is either revocation, which is not to be anticipated in the case of large and vitally important industries, or a suspension with receivership. This idea of receivership in the public interest is entirely new, but doubtless constitutional and legal, and is a penalty which would be found drastic and efficient. The packers must within a reasonable time divest themselves of stockyard ownership or the stockyards would be subject to operation by a receiver. All cars engaged in the transportation of foodstuffs are to be made common carriers and subject to general use, with due accounting and payment to the owners for use by others.

Both stockyards and cars must eventually be acquired and recognized as railroad properties, but pending the settlement of the railroad question the remedy proposed will eliminate existing abuses.

Another novel feature of this bill is the power given to the Secretary of Agriculture to declare that licensees may be restrained from carrying on other business than that for which they obtained their licenses. A measure of this sort, with all its applications, must be worked out if the packers are to be prevented from exercising their power to become the masters not only of foodstuffs, but of every other phase of production and distribution in the country. Granting the growing power of their monopoly, their

business is rolling up like a damp snowball, and unless stopped will presently result in an avalanche.

The section in the bill in which I am especially interested concerns itself with the encouragement and standardization of foodstuff warehouses to be established by local communities and which must necessarily be locally connected with retail distribution. This section would license such institutions erected by municipalities or subdivisions of the States or their accredited licensees.

The license would carry with it responsibility for equal treatment and the assurance of an open market for small as well as large shipments and for sporadic local trade, which at the present finds no outlet. Connected with this license is the assurance of coöperation by the Secretary in matters of inspection and standardization, instruction as to methods of food preservation, and attention to the question of transportation. In other words, the Secretary or the Commissioner of Foodstuffs would act at Washington as a sort of "patron saint" of these local institutions. This section, for which I am responsible, is especially framed to encourage and to compel self-help by local communities, rather than the attempt to look to the Federal Government for things which the Federal Government should not attempt. If appropriations were asked to build these buildings, the "pork barrel" would be opened wider than ever before and the plan would fall of its own weight.

It is coming to be more and more recognized that local communities, through their governmental agencies and their coöperative movements, should dignify themselves and perform functions necessary to their welfare.

It is useless to spend time in curbing the evils of existing systems without offering logical and possible alternatives; and this food warehouse proposal supplemented by methods of economical local retailing will provide a clear, open channel between the producer and the consumer, do away with the waste incident to long shipments of live stock, offer service for making sales to local producers, furnish a market for meats slaughtered on the range, all under the best systems of inspection and regulation available. After the bill is passed, as

I believe it will be, the next step must be taken by the Consumers' League, coöperative associations, and the women housekeepers, through their organizations and as individuals. The bill will point the way and offer all legitimate Federal aid, to be supplemented and completed by such local retail distribution as each community

may choose to adopt. The local farmer with a few chickens or a couple of hogs or a wagon load of cabbages or a few barrels of apples will know that he will secure fair and equal treatment. The consumer will know that it is up to him to reach the supplies thus accumulated and preserved.

## The Packers and the Future

By Benjamin C. Marsh

*Secretary Farmers' National Committee on Picking Plants and Allied Industries*

THE American people have watched with the keenest interest the revelations of the packers' methods and profits revealed by the investigations of the meat packing industry by the Federal Trade Commission. We are not unaccustomed to investigations. They are often a favorite method of preventing action; but in the case of the packers the investigation was designedly to reach a conclusion as to what legislation is necessary to curb their methods, if pernicious, and to furnish equal opportunities for independent packers. The chief recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission to deal with the meat packing industry are specific. They provide that the Federal Government shall acquire the chief stockyards and rolling stock, including refrigerator cars, and make provision for free and open marketing of the packers' products in centers of distribution and consumption. This, however, is only a part of the story. The Sims bill introduced at the last session of Congress contained the additional important provision that the packers shall be licensed and that these licenses may also cover their activities in related and unrelated industries. The packers have raised a howl against any such control or interference with their legitimate business! The enormous campaign of advertising on which they have embarked to influence public opinion shows how seriously they regard the situation. It is therefore necessary merely to reëxamine the evidence brought out at the Federal Trade Commission's investigation regarding the packers and their own admissions at the hearings on the meat packing industry. The rapidity with which the United States Chamber of Commerce came to the defense of the packers shows that all the big business interests of America realize

that legislation affecting the meat packing industry is not of interest to the packers alone. It will indicate to some extent the attitude of the country toward enormous aggregations of capital in the future. It will largely determine what our national policy shall be; whether we shall, for instance, rely upon the Sherman Antitrust and other similar laws to catch and punish malefactors of great wealth, or whether the Government shall lay down certain rules for business, compelling business to conform to these rules.

Chairman William C. Colver of the Federal Trade Commission, in his speech before the National Wholesale Grocers' Association, stated that it is his belief that the big packers should not be allowed to enter other lines of industry, but should confine themselves to the manufacture of meat and its by-products. This is of great significance, because the Trade Commission pointed out that the Big Five packers have controlling interests in 665 concerns of which 540 are active companies, and a minority interest is held by one or more of these five packers in 85 additional concerns, bringing the total up to 750. Mr. J. Ogden Armour frankly admitted before the Senate Committee on Agriculture that the packers want to establish a complete monopoly. Mr. Heney asked him, "Was it your theory that it was a good thing for the country, the consumers as well as the packers, that the packing business should be monopolized into one corporation, which would make a monopoly, would it not?" Mr. Armour replied, "Yes." To Mr. Heney's further question, "Is that your belief, that that would be an ideal condition?" Mr. Armour frankly stated, "Yes; we thought by doing that we could save many, many millions of dollars lost

in duplication of the business." The present combination of the five packers is not negligible. Their total capitalization is around \$500,000,000, and the value of their sales last year was approximately \$4,000,000,000. The packers admit that this is only a beginning. Thus the important question about the packers is, What of the future? Representatives of Swift & Co. frankly admitted when the Borland resolution for investigation of the packers was up in 1916, "We believe as it stands today nothing could stop criminal prosecution and that the situation is serious." Many other industries would have the same fear if their methods were known. We are all familiar with the fact that the packers have violated many laws, that they have secured a virtual monopoly not only of the meat packing industry, but a substantial monopoly in many other lines. Big business in itself is not criminal, but the most remarkable admission in many ways made by the big packers at the hearings on the industry was when Mr. Armour stated, "Great size in itself does not cause efficiency, but great efficiency eventually runs to size." Still, he had to admit that the small packers were more efficient than the big packers. He stated to the Senate Committee on Agriculture: "In some ways they (the small packers) make more money relatively than we do. Their percentage of profit is greater than that of the big packers. I think it is a matter of record that the small packers make more money than the big packers because they do only a limited business and this is recognized." He also admitted the obvious fact, "Volume without it is intelligently directed is no good."

The methods of the meat packing industry are more hugely wasteful than have been those of any Government operation during the war or at any other time. On the most conservative estimate, and this is not denied by the packers themselves, the waste in flesh and extra freight charges, due to the fact that the chief big packing plants are located so far from the sources of supply on ranches, is greater than any possible saving from utilization of by-products. The shrinkage and freight loss is sometimes as great as one-fifth the value of the meat products. On a trip of 400 miles the shrinkage is as great a loss as the alleged profits that the packers make, although not as large as their real profits, for they are adepts at concealing

profits and juggle figures in a most remarkable way.

Mr. Armour gave an indication of how the packers would use their power, which he seeks to get for them as a monopoly. He stated at the hearings in answer to a question from Mr. Heney: "Of course, Mr. Heney, the big man, I suppose, if he has money enough, can kill off the small man—if he has money enough to do it, if that is what you mean. This is a power that a man would have not only in the packing business, but in every-day life." Mr. Armour exhibited a degree of frankness as refreshing as it is unusual. No strain of the imagination, however, is necessary to convince the little man, who wants to go into the packing business, that he cannot compete with a capitalization of \$500,000,000 plus, and growing, and that his chances for being killed commercially in first-class and rapid order are A-1. Mr. Armour did not say, neither did Mr. Swift, nor the Morrises, nor Mr. Wilson, that the purpose of a monopoly was to kill off the little man; but, of course, this is what a monopoly means, so that the independent packers know now that the Big Five plan world domination based on monopoly in America, an inviting situation, which will certainly scare off private capital! Do the American people want that?

Of course, it is true that the legislation recommended by the Federal Trade Commission to deal with the meat packing industry does not settle the whole question. We have given away most of our best ranges, and the price of land and rents for land are going up very rapidly. That phase of the meat packing industry is still to be handled. The readers of *THE PUBLIC* do not need to be told that it will not be settled until we change our system of taxation. A prominent cattle raiser testified before one of the House Committees recently that he had to pay between three and four times as much rent per head of cattle for land as he did a few years ago. Until this "cost" of production is eliminated neither the immediate nor the future problems of America's food supply will be solved. Our immediate need is to secure the enactment of legislation carrying out the principles of the Federal Trade Commission's recommendations on the meat packing industry, and only less immediate is the solution of our land question.

# If You Were Wilson in Paris

By Charles J. Finger

IT is a melancholy reflection that the one man in the world who voiced a plea for peace, and followed the word with a plan, should now in many quarters be branded as a hypocrite, one false to the trust reposed in him. For, in plain language, that is what a great deal of the adverse criticism leveled at President Wilson amounts to. Extracts from speeches are exhibited pointing one way, and a record of deeds and doings of a body of which the President happens to be a member is presented, and the inference is drawn that somewhere there is a betrayal of confidence. The national habit of thirsting to deny, to decry, to ridicule, and to pull down has much to do with it; but there is also a new unfairness, born perhaps of the carnival of hate in which we have indulged with the rest of the world. But at the bottom is an intense disappointment that an unexampled era of material prosperity has not followed the end of the war.

It came about this way. In the latter part of February, we read that at the Peace Conference meeting at Paris, when the Constitution of the League of Nations was read, President Wilson had said:

People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away.

Now, a reading of the speech from which this passage is taken will prove beyond doubt that such was Mr. Wilson's belief. He had no motive for saying this if he did not honestly believe it. The speech would have lost nothing of value if the words had been left out. He said it as heartily and as convincingly as a man might say that he had had a tooth extracted. The speech may be read in "International Ideals" published by Harper's. As soon as the speech appeared in our newspapers Mr. Wilson reached the zenith of his popularity. Any one may turn to the news of that day and see for himself. The stock market was lively. There were optimistic editorials. We were regaled with stories telling how the President played the typewriter in Buckingham Palace, how he appeared in the presence of His Most Gracious Majesty King George with one pants leg turned

up, how his friendship for and admiration of the Prince of Wales would result in a visit by that colorless young man to the United States, and so on. Democratic newspapers slopped over in adulation of royalty. Palm branches were waved and "hosannas" sung. For, given to measuring all things by the dollar, certain among us interpreted the ideal into terms of business. The end of indecision had arrived and the wheels of industry would whirl. America would feed the world, rebuild the world, would be the cock o' the walk in Europe, Asia, and Peconic Bay, L. I. Our own share in the *malaise* of Europe was forgotten.

Then came the awakening. It was borne upon us that we were not the only ones interested. There were other parties to be considered. There was a gentleman named Clemenceau at the Peace Table who had said that it was impossible to bring abstract conceptions into the field of hard facts, and who had said to his people, "When you ask me my war aims, I reply that my war aim is victory in full." Then, too, the monster outgrowths of warlike ambition and imperial pride, France, England, Italy, were not disintegrating. In Germany, Austria, Turkey, Poland the abnormal and morbid results of the spirit of war and domination, of national selfishness and greed, were not vanishing into thin air. There were noises from Poland, rumblings from Russia, rumors from France, muttering thunders from England, and—worst of all—the wheels of industry were not whirling. Also, somewhere, somehow, some one was hounding on imperial ambition. Into all this Mr. Wilson had stepped. Worse still, there were certain secret arrangements, secretly arrived at, and, worse still, jealously guarded. So news to the United States was slow in coming. Plainly, too, peoples were still selfish of one another and evinced no marked desire to live together in unity. Whereupon, bolder spirits began to talk, then to mutter, then to whisper, and the words that had been hailed as "inspired" were regarded as idle babble and worse. The United States had been used as a cat's paw. The President was a willing tool for the furtherance of imperialis-



tic designs. The term "hypocrite" came easy then.

What really happened was this. There was a clash of ideals. On a new battle field Richard the Lion Heart in the person of Mr. Wilson had met his Saladin in Georges Clemenceau. Clemenceau the atheistic radical had said: "There is a committee preparing a scheme of a League of Nations. Among its members are the most authoritative exponents of international law. I undertake that immediately their labors are finished I will table the outcome of it." It was against Clemenceau that Mr. Wilson was pitted, Clemenceau who viewed fraternity as an aid to the aggressor in a world of conflict, Clemenceau whose idea it is that to live on is only to appreciate more thoroughly the sublime indifference of things eternal, Clemenceau who, most keenly focusing the French idea, was full of a vision of a France revenged, a Germany humbly kneeling. To him naturally leaned the astute politician, Lloyd George, who, like so many Englishmen, instinctively felt that talk of some kind of International Arbitration Com-

mittee with some international police body to enforce decisions was enticing, but was still futile until the day arrived when nations were ready for it and determined to uphold such a system. Sonnino, too, had axes to grind.

To these cynics, filled with the tradition of national conquests, impregnated with the belief that schemes of social and political Utopias had always degenerated with rapidity into furious rivalries and cruel acts of retaliation, the Crusader had come with words of an almost sacred character, with a strange seer-like vision, reiterating in new words old Christian ideals.

You who read stand in the light of a potential President. You, too, have voiced your high ideals. You, too, had a theory perhaps as to the solution of this world-wide trouble. What would have been the result had you been in the place of Mr. Wilson, do you think? What would you have done? It's up to you to answer. Would you have cried, "My Fourteen Points or War?" Or would you have packed up and gone home, swearing, "A plague on both your houses"?

## Baiting the Lords

By Owen Merryhue

**T**HE peers have fallen upon evil days. Time was, not more than two centuries ago, when a poet could write in all seriousness,

Let laws and learning, art and science die,  
But leave us still our old nobility!

What a change to the early "eighties," when in "Iolanthe" W. S. Gilbert put on a chorus of peers clad in velvet and ermine and wearing coronets, and had his guardsman sing:

When Wellington fought Bonaparte,  
As ancient legends tell,  
The House of Lords, throughout the war,  
Did nothing in particular  
And did it very well.

The "middle classes" were shocked at this irreverence, but the Lords were not much affected. To do them justice, they never set undue store by the merely decorative side of their "station in life." They had to buy and, on rare occasions, wear the ridiculous trappings and headgear of their order and so had no undue reverence for them. The average hereditary peer shows that democracy of manner which comes from the consciousness of occupying an unquestionable position. Having al-

ways been a nobleman, it seems no more wonderful than it is to be a colored person for one who has always been a Negro. The distinction and emoluments attaching to nobility seem to him the most natural things in the world. Are we not all prone to take our normal blessings as matters of course? After the Israelites in the desert had been gathering manna for a year, does any one suppose that they regarded it as supernatural? Only when their power and privileges are attacked do the peers gird up their loins for action. When the veto power of the House of Lords was circumscribed eight years ago, the debates showed that in bad temper and vulgarity of epithet these urbane gentlemen could outdo the most plainspoken of commoners.

Just now certain of the Dukes, Earls, Lords, and the rest are being subjected to a most indelicate cross-examination. By the wise dispensations of Providence and in the course of ages most of the coal deposits of England passed into the possession of the nobility. And

now a committee of the House of Commons is calling on the heads of these various families to produce their title deeds and explain how it all happened, and to say whether they do not think the coal deposits could be made to serve the national interest better if taken over by the Government.

Now, if there is one thing that the average peer is not, it is an antiquarian. History interests him less on the average than it does the commoner. He is a part of the show. In his boyhood his teachers are prone to treat him with consideration, and so his mind more successfully resists the inroads of education. The chronicles of his family do not concern him at all, and his tutors cannot be blamed for not insisting on his perusal of them, for the Lives of the Barons do not parallel the Lives of the Saints in any important particulars. Indeed, many of the noble families got their start from ladies whom various Kings delighted to honor and endow.

But, whatever be the reason, the peers are not, as a matter of fact, well posted even in their own family history. They care no more about proportional representation or the minimum wage than our own J. P. Morgan. Hence it is a form of cruel and unusual punishment to subject them to examination at the hands of unsympathetic radicals in defense of their possessions.

A marquis was asked if he knew how certain coal fields (among the most valuable in Great Britain) had come into his family's possession. He replied that his knowledge on the subject was vague. One of the inquisitors pointed out that his ancestor, Sir William Herbert, was an executor of the will of Henry VIII.; as such executor he became a guardian of the boy-King Edward VI.; as such guardian he induced his ward, when only ten years of age, to attach the royal signature to a grant conferring on him more than 50,000 acres of land in South Wales as a reward for imaginary services. This land grant is the site of the South Wales coal fields. If such matters are to be ripped up at this late day, who is safe? The inquisitor had the effrontery to ask whether, if the coal fields in question were taken over by the nation, he, the marquis, would demand compensation. The nobleman's indignation may be better imagined than described. Such proposals, as the Right

Honorable Arthur James Balfour pointed out, strike at the root of all property. This gentleman, who has been credited with possessing the subtlest mind in England, whose penetrating intellect has pierced the profoundest abysses of philosophic doubt, is unable to see the slightest moral difference between the ownership of natural deposits of coal and the ownership of a miner's cottage built by his own labor or bought by his savings. To him the peril of one is the danger of the other, and hence to protect the miner he would defend the marquis.

What makes this British inquiry ominous is the fact that Britain is not blessed with a Constitution and a Supreme Court to overrule the mandate of Parliament, and all that the House of Lords can do under the new dispensation is to obstruct but not defeat. And so, if a future Parliament should decide to nationalize the coal of England, it can be done, and the Lords must take what they can get.

One wonders whether such an inquiry will ever occur in America. The methods by which our vast coal deposits passed into and are held in private hands would offer a most interesting subject of investigation for some inquiring mind. So would the methods of assessing and taxing coal-bearing land. Are there places in the United States where coal land valued by its owners in their inventories at \$1,000 per acre is assessed as agricultural land at \$3 per acre or thereabouts?

It must be kept clearly in mind that ownership of coal land and actual coal mining are entirely separate and independent. Only rarely in Great Britain or the United States does the owner actually mine coal. He merely permits others to mine his coal on paying him a bonus and a royalty per ton. His interests are so well protected that his royalty rises as the price of coal rises, an arrangement which has recently caused the coal producers much anguish. When the arrangement was made it was assumed that the only way the price of coal could rise was by means of monopoly arrangement which would give the coal-mining concerns larger profits out of which they could pay larger royalties. The possibility of an increased price because of higher costs of labor and materials, transportation and storage, was not foreseen. Hence a big factor in preventing reduction of prices to get rid of the surplus

coal accumulated, due to the open winter, has been this higher royalty which is based on the high price.

Coal is such an important factor in the life of the nation that its output and price cannot be left, as they have been, to the determination of a peculiarly selfish monopoly concerned only to extract from the public "all the traffic will bear." When the time for such investigation comes, the Congressional Committee will find some useful hints in the questions asked by its British counterpart now sitting in London. Even though we have no Dukes, we can give the Britons cards and spades on "barons."

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## CURRENT THOUGHT

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### In Honor of America

*In Antithesis to Rossetti's "On the Refusal of Aid Between Nations"*

NOT that the earth is changing, O my God!  
 Not that her brave democracies take heart  
 To share, to rule her treasure, to impart  
 The wine to those who long the wine-press trod;  
 Not therefore trust we that beneath Thy nod,  
 Thy silent benediction, even now  
 In gratitude so many nations bow,  
 So many poor; not therefore, O my God!  
 But because living men for dying man  
 Go to a million deaths, to deal one blow;  
 And justice speaks one great compassionate tongue;  
 And nation unto nation calls "One clan  
 We succorers are, one tribe!" By this we know  
 Our earth holds confident, steadfast, being young.  
 —*Alice Meynell, in the London Times.*

### The Function of the League

THE function of the League is to bring national government, the most backward of all human institutions, to the level of the advances already secured in invention, commerce, travel, law, and morals.—*David Starr Jordan.*

### An Englishman's Estimate

OPPONENTS of the League in Great Britain cheerfully assume that the undoubted growth in strength of the Republican Party means that the people of the United States share their views. I am convinced that this assumption is wholly unwarranted.—*Major General Sir Frederick Maurice, in Correspondence to the New York Times.*

### Truth the Only Leader

I AM not a labor leader. I do not want you to follow me or any one else. If you are looking for a Moses to lead you out of this capitalist wilderness, you will stay right where you are. I would not lead you into this promised land if I could, because if I could lead you in, some one else

would lead you out. You must use your heads as well as your present condition. As it is now, the capitalists use your heads and your hands.—*Eugene V. Debs.*

### What the League Does Not Do

IT does not commit members to obligations they cannot get rid of. It does not place the United States in a position where it can be coerced by the votes of other nations, either in the council or in the assembly. It does not involve the calling out of American soldiers to settle local squabbles. It does not place peace above justice; but agrees to restrain and prevent aggression. It does not obstruct union or division of existing nations; nor nullify authority of Congress to declare war; nor weaken the Monroe Doctrine, but extends its principles; nor interfere in any nation's domestic affairs, and it does not exceed the treaty power under the Constitution.—*Edward Berwick.*

### One of the People

IN commending your support of the League of Nations, I am not unmindful of the fact that there are at least two sides to every question; that the momentous issue now before America and the world cannot and should not be considered or decided from a single point of view. Honest and constructive criticism is always to be desired and should command all due consideration and respect. But the débâcle of insincerity, partisanship, hatred of the Chief Executive of the nation, and perfidy to the people and to humanity which is now darkening the pages of our political history is something which, as a patriotic American, I could not foresee; I am simply dumfounded. A native of the Middle West, I realized in the last Presidential campaign that the East was hopeless and that all depended upon the West; I doubted, however, that it could save the day, but it did. Consequently, I am all the more shocked over the present performances of Johnson, Borah, and other Western "progressives." I hope that with Lodge and all other professional politicians they will soon progress themselves out of public life.—*Harry F. Gould, in the New York World.*

### Universal Amnesty for Participation in the Rebellion

*From a Proclamation of the President of the United States.*

WHEREAS the authority of the Federal Government having been reëstablished in all the States and Territories within the jurisdiction of the United States, it is believed . . . that an universal amnesty and pardon for participation in said rebellion extended to all who have borne any part therein will tend to secure permanent peace, order, and prosperity throughout the land, and to renew and fully restore confidence and fraternal feeling among the whole people, and thus respect for and attachment to the National Government,

designed by its patriotic founders for the general good: Now, therefore, be it known, that I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, in virtue of the power and authority in me vested by the Constitution and in the name of the sovereign people of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare, unconditionally and without reservation, to all and to every person who, directly or indirectly, participated in the late insurrection or rebellion a full pardon and amnesty for the offense of treason against the United States or of adhering to their enemies during the late Civil War, with restoration of all rights, privileges, and immunities under the Constitution and the laws which have been made in pursuance thereof.—*Richardson's Messages and Papers on the Presidents.*

### We Reverence Its Meaning

AS to their rights relatively to one another, all men are created equal. This is no collection of meaningless words. It is a pervasive principle of human association. It is also the American ideal of government. By the Declaration of Independence our country is dedicated to that ideal. By the Federal Constitution our government is commissioned to achieve that ideal. Our national history is a record of steady progress toward it. Our flag is its symbol. Symbols are often cherished in proportion as they have no vital meaning to the persons who cherish them. The American flag sometimes suffers this desecration. But as a people we do not mean in our hearts to dishonor the principle of brotherhood which our flag symbolizes, by merely going through the forms of honoring the flag itself. We mean to honor this flag in spirit and in truth, as the emblem of what our country has set out to be, of what patriotic Americans intend it shall be, of what it has gone far toward becoming—a democratic nation forging ahead to further and still further realization of democracy. To invigorate that purpose we are now assembled. Not for its beauty alone have we come to pay our tribute of love to this flag, nor for its battle memories alone, nor merely because it is our flag instead of some other nation's flag. We are here to do it reverence, on this anniversary day, because it symbolizes that principle of equal rights among men which our Declaration of Independence proclaims. Our Flag Day address will be by the Vice President of the United States, whom it is now my privilege to welcome.—*Address of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, as Chairman of the Flag Day Celebration by the Government Departments of the United States, June 14, 1919, at the Monument Grounds, Washington, D. C.*

### Ignorance and Bigotry

IT behoves the Labor Party to be on guard against this same mental malady which has already made its appearance within its ranks. This

is only natural, as many men who became pessimistic about the success of the Socialist Party severed their relation with it and joined the ranks of the Labor Party; they did not succeed as yet in emancipating themselves from the tactics of their previous affiliations and are carrying on the same policies in their new environment. One of the vices of these men is their opposition to any idea or movement springing up from other than their own party sources. Everything conceived by one not of their ranks is to be shunned and everything praised by the capitalist press must be condemned. Now, this is sheer fanaticism, absolute bigotry. This kind of activity would alienate every rational thinker from the Labor Party and eventually would wreck it, just as it did the Socialist Party. That this kind of propaganda is now being carried on let me prove. Its motive is clear. The capitalist press praised the Czechs. We must condemn them. If this is justice, ye gods, save us from it! I don't believe that this is the sentiment of the Labor Party. We all hailed the birth of the Labor Party as a resurrection, as a rebirth of the working class. And it will be. But let us beware of bigotry. Fanaticism is not radicalism. It is its opposite. We joined the Labor Party because through it we hope to solve the problems of the working class in a rational manner. To do it we must keep our minds clear of prejudice and hate.—*Otto T. Pergler, in the New Majority.*

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## BOOKS

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### The Substance of the Covenant

*International Ideals.* Speeches and Addresses made during the President's European Visit, December 14, 1918, to February 14, 1919. By Woodrow Wilson. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. 1919.

FOR any student of the times to conceive of Mr. Wilson's relation to the League of Nations and the treaty of peace as being the choice and performance of a strong-willed or ambitious man intent on asserting himself or his methods would be to reveal his own density and critical incompetence. The President has been possessed of an aim, an ideal, an obligation as broad and commanding as the vital urge of a veritable new age could make it. The trumpet tones of the message for our age from the deeps of humanity have sounded on many ears, but in no case have the conscience to respond, the intellect to interpret, and the opportunity to translate into action been found in any such fullness and force as in the case of Woodrow Wilson. It is not a gospel of his own devising that he preaches, but rather he proclaims the transcendent truths of humanity, good will, and

good faith that have overtopped the spiritual barriers and flowed down into the levels of our common life as never before. It is because the President actually lives in this world of new ideals and new potencies, which to him is the one world to be made real, that he has so wholly different an estimate of the achievements in Paris from those who write in Washington, New York, and elsewhere graphic accounts of his failure to prestidigitate all peoples into an immediate and rapturous international Paradise.

The little book before us, with its thirty-one deliveries, is a fine confession of the faith that was in him when he was moving about among the European populations preparatory to the downright efforts of the Congress to set up a "machinery of good will and friendship." "I am not hopeful," he said at Manchester, "that the individual items of the settlement which we are about to attempt will be altogether satisfactory." Nowhere does the President betray any inclination to expect too much in an effort of the Conference to represent the wishes of twelve hundred millions of human beings and to conserve the rights of the other hundreds of millions. The items of boundaries and customs and constituencies are matters of perennial dispute and mutation; their prime business in the Peace Conference would not be to argue and settle details of administration. They were there to "organize the friendship of the world." Men the world over had come to look each other in the face, and to see that there was no deep, radical reason why they should be enemies. There was every reason why they should be friends. But among twelve hundred millions of men "friendship must have a machinery." The end of the war had revealed to men "the majority of right." The Conference existed to set up the rule of that majority.

The President's whole message to Europe, whether in Manchester or Milan, in London or Paris, was that the time had come when right and justice should rule the destinies of men. Not only should the poor and the dumb and the forgotten have government's beneficent attention; but their reactions would be hearkened to by government for its own benefit. Mr. Wilson was forever accentuating the ethical meaning of life, and the absolute need of the League of Nations as a medium of the moral consciousness and the rational suasion of mankind. For that reason he could claim in presenting the Covenant to the Conference: "Therefore I should say of this document it is not a straitjacket, but a vehicle of life;" "A living thing is born;" "It is a League which can be used for cooperation in any international matter."

In the light of the purposes held steadily in view in the formation of the League, criticisms of the Constitution and of the treaty are shorn of most of their meaning and all of their sting. The League as a living thing is capable of expansion and transformation with the advancement of in-

telligence and probity among the different peoples. Much more truly can be said of it what Mr. Piersoon, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, said of the arbitration plan of the first Hague Convention, "It has one great merit—it will grow." Whatever limitations or imperfections may be discovered in this or any treaty can be remedied by this permanent "machinery of friendship that has been set up." In fact, this is in our opinion the very strongest element in the whole situation. We have in the League and its constitution an elastic but permanent organ for the establishment and preservation of peace. Hitherto we have dreamed of and hoped for and worked toward some arbitral tribunal to settle international rows after they had been fomented. To borrow the President's words in his address to the second session of the Peace Conference, we have now the medium for "the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world." "Settlements may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent." In the League we have the center around which may gather the concurrent efforts of the forward looking minds of all nations forming the steady habit of making peace.

### An Italian View of the League

*Verso la Societa delle Nazioni.* By Corrado Barbagallo. Milan, Italy: Fratelli Treves. 1919.

IT seems as if Corrado Barbagallo, when writing his book on the League of Nations, had in mind those miserable politicians who, in order to serve their own egotistic ends, decry the League of Nations, insidiously attributing it to a particular man or country. For in his "Verso la Societa delle Nazioni" he studies the genesis of the idea of such a league, and in the opening page of his book he emphatically asserts that, "considered in its moving and perennially living spirit, the 'League of Nations' is not a new fact; it is an old effort which sometimes has met with success and sometimes has been defeated, but has always been taken up again ever since man started on his glorious Calvary along the long path of civilization. Without any metaphor, it may well be said that the 'League of Nations' (and the consequent struggle to bring it about) is the universal formula of the external history of all countries, for it, and nothing else, is the motive of the war against particularism, both municipal and national, which humanity has been waging since the remotest ages."

Signor Barbagallo then reviews the different leagues of nations, from the Peloponnesian Confederacy, through the different unions in Italy, Austria, France, Spain, America, and the British Empire, down to the Confederation of the German Empire at the end of the Franco-Prussian war.

From this lucid and thorough study it plainly appears that throughout the ages man has longed

for a league of nations which would enable him to work undisturbed by the ruthless flail of war. And it is also evident from Signor Barbagallo's book that, almost without exception, such leagues of nations as have existed were brought about by a desire for protection and security and *not* for any aggressive purposes. Moreover, there was a desire on the part of the contracting nations to foster their industries and to encourage interchange of their respective commodities, an interchange which was indicated and facilitated by the means of communication existing among themselves.

We, therefore, have two main factors in the idea of a league of nations—first, the desire to maintain peace, and second, the facility for commercial interchange and communication between the several nations.

These two factors are more powerful today than ever before. Whereas, say, one hundred years ago it was possible for a group of nations to remain isolated—in fact, many of them could not help remaining isolated—today such isolation is impossible. The marvelous advance of science has already so united the world by annihilating distances that, commercially speaking, a league of all the nations of the world has already existed for several years, and these nations were interdependent to a degree that was only revealed by the Great War. We have also seen that one single nation can plunge almost the whole world into war, so that, if the security which all countries desire is to become a fact, the league to which nations have invariably resorted for their safety must be universal; not one of them must be left out.

Under these circumstances, and considering that the idea of a league of nations has constantly been in the mind of mankind for centuries and centuries, such a league of nations is not only feasible, but absolutely *inevitable*, and the short-sighted politicians who oppose it by fair means and foul are playing the unenviable rôle of poor Sisyphus, trying to roll uphill an enormous stone that is bound to crush them into dust.

MARIANO JOAQUIN LORENTE.

## The Land and the People

*The Farmer and the New Day.* By Kenyon L. Butterfield. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1919.

LIKE many another product of an age imbued with a *laissez-faire* spirit, the agricultural policy of the United States during the last half-century has been more a matter vaguely to be assumed and acted upon than one rationally to be thought out and definitely formulated. Like Topsy of the story, it has "just grown." Only today, as in soberer mind we take inventory and compute costs, do we awaken to a realization of our neglect in this field. Uncle Sam is no longer "rich

enough to give us each a farm." Our supply of immediately available land is on the point of exhaustion. The difficulty of becoming a successful farmer has increased as much from lack of capital as from dearth of land. Emigration of our farm youth to cities and foreign countries has progressed to alarming proportions. Worst of all, the Government has never atoned for the gratuitous granting of Western lands to the railroads, that prodigal wastage whereby a territory equal in area to the erstwhile German Empire was given to the corporations as a *douceur*. And still we are persisting in the antiquated, half-formed theories of another age.

Dr. Butterfield's recent work is one of the most compelling pleas that have yet been heard for a radical reconsideration of our agricultural policies. What is needed is a national rural program with definite objectives and proposals, taking due account of the nation's needs with regard to food, the coöperation of all existing agencies, official and unofficial, that have helped ameliorate the lot of the farmer, and the communization of farm life. The author deprecates the sort of thinking that considers rural reconstruction only in terms of "greater profits for the farmer." This consideration, though important, is not the only one, and undue insistence upon it is responsible for many of our blunders. The social and humane factors should be emphasized to a greater extent than heretofore. "The life is more than meat." The creation of Christian homes, the mechanism of distribution, the system of rural education, conservation of health, machinery of local government, recreation, and facilities favoring art and music and culture, moral conditions, and the religious motive "that idealizes farm work as service to God and his children,"—these are considerations that should receive a liberal share of governmental solicitude.

President Butterfield takes each of these problems separately, and the supreme value of his work lies less in the generalizations he makes with regard to each than in the concrete proposals he offers or the principles with which we shall be governed in formulating proposals. His discussion of the community, its function as the fundamental basis for rural democracy, and the part its citizens and agencies should play in it makes his work of especial worth as a handbook for the new profession of community organizer.

While Dr. Butterfield's book is characterized by some notable omissions—for example, discussion of taxation as an aid to farm ownership and comment on significant political developments among the farmers today—it is probably the most comprehensive work on rural reconstruction that has yet appeared in this country. The author has an analytic mind that will not suffer a single fact to go unpigeon-holed, with the consequence that every other paragraph in the book is subheaded or captioned in a way most convenient for the reader.

LEO H. JOACHIM.

## Books Received

*The Soul of Ann Rutledge.* By Bernie Babcock. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

Abraham Lincoln's Romance.

*The Challenge of the War.* By Henry Frank. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1919.

A treatise on personal continuity after death.

*Punishment and Reformation.* By Frederick Howard Wines, LL.D. Revised edition with additional chapters by Winthrop D. Lane, specialist on penology on the "Survey" Staff. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1919.

A work showing the change in the attitude of the law toward crime and criminals and the better recognition accorded to convicted criminals by the United States.

*President Wilson.* By Daniel Halévy. Translated from the French by Hugh Stokes. New York: John Lane Company, 1919. A Frenchman's Interpretation.

*Dry Rot of Society, and Other Essays.* By Marion Cox. New York: Brentano's, 1919.

An intellectual flashlight on the chaos of the times.

*An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America.* By George Gorham Groat, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919.

*An American Labor Policy.* By Julius Henry Cohen. The Macmillan Company, 1919.

An American "Way Out" of the pressing labor problems.

*The History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk.* By L. Trotsky. London, England: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1919.

*What is America?* By Edward Alsworth Ross. New York: The Century Co., 1919.

A vindication of the "virtuous democracy" adhered to by the steady-going millions.

*The Politics of Industry.* By Glenn Frank. New York: The Century Co., 1919.

A collection of five papers which appeared in the *Century* on the anonymous liberals of the business world.

of teachers at a meeting in this city. It was reported that through organization wages have been increased generally. The teachers made it clear that their movement is more than merely raising wages, but that it will have a healthful influence in assisting in the solution of social problems.

—Seventy per cent. of the inhabitants of the Philippines over ten years old are literate, as shown by the 1918 census, according to a cable just received by the War Department from Vice-Governor Yeater at Manila. It is pointed out there is every reason for the literacy of the Philippines to be still higher within the next few years, through the action of the Philippine Legislature at its last session in voting 80,000,000 pesos to extend the educational system.

—According to the *Manchester Guardian*, emphasis was laid, at the meeting of the British Esperanto Congress in Liverpool, on the value of Esperanto in view of the formation and future labors of the League of Nations. In a resolution they hailed with pleasure "the advance made by the international language Esperanto, the general adoption of which is now a pressing necessity, and urges the Government to investigate." It was announced that, in Glasgow the Labor party was starting a college at which modern languages were being tried out, and Esperanto was to be taught.

—A law recently passed by the Michigan Legislature provides that whenever the district boards of three or more rural districts deem it advisable to establish a rural agricultural school by consolidating the territory of the districts, the board may submit the question of consolidation to the electors at a regular or special meeting called for the purpose. It is intended that the school building of the agricultural district shall become a community center and be available for use by the public after school hours, religious and political gatherings being barred. Such buildings must be properly constructed, with ample water supply, proper ventilation, and sewage, and must have the necessary equipment for the teaching of agriculture, manual training, and home economics. Vehicles, with all proper equipment for the health and comfort of the pupils must be provided for carrying the children to the central school. These schools will be given by the State \$200 for each vehicle used and \$600 toward the running expenses.

### Suffrage

—The Women-in-Industry Service Bureau charged with the interests of the 12,000,000 women in industry in the United States is urging the Senate Committee on Appropriations to increase the House Committee's item of \$40,000 to \$150,000 as recommended by the Secretary of Labor and advocated by women's organizations.

—February 15, 1920, is the centenary of Susan B. Anthony's birth, and this fact, apart from 1920 being a presidential election year,

## NEWS

### Education

—The increased use of English in the schools of the Philippines has been very marked. In many provinces English has already replaced Spanish as the social language.

—Trade Commissioner Brock reports that aeronautical scholarships have been instituted in English colleges and universities. Chairs of aeronautics have been established at Cambridge and at London Universities.

—Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University, will spend the coming academic year in educational work in China at the invitation of the Government. After spending part of the present year at the University of California, he has been lecturing in Japan and China.

—Members of the faculty of the North Dakota Agricultural College, organized under the name of College Teachers' Association, voted on June 9, to apply for a charter in the American Federation of Teachers. Eighty per cent. of the teaching staff are members of the new organization.

—The Right Honorable Herbert Lewis, M. P., parliamentary secretary of the Board of Education of London, represented Great Britain at the meeting of the National Education Association in Milwaukee. France was represented by M. Albert Feuillerat, professor of English Literature in the University of Rennes.

—Representatives of teachers' unions in eight California cities formed the first state federation

is another very good reason in the opinion of *The Suffragist* why suffragists wish ratification this year, so that they may celebrate the completion of their enfranchisement upon the Anthony centenary.

—La Française tells of the substitution in the occupied districts of France of mayoresses for mayors led away to captivity in Germany. The justice, judgment, and courage of these women have received frequent commendation. Many were clerks or secretaries in the mayor's office before the war and so started with a knowledge of the work.

—The seventh biennial convention of the National Women's Trade Union League was recently held in Philadelphia. There were about 125 delegates in the voting body of the convention, representing localities from Salt Lake City to Boston. The League adopted the principle of proportional representation for its own elections, and put the plan into immediate effect.

—Earnings of \$9.60 per week by women candy makers in the busy season and \$5.62 in the dull season, representing an increase of 40 per cent. since 1915 for these women, with \$18.85 per week for men in the busy season and \$10.41 in the dull season, representing an increase of 75 per cent. for the men since 1915, are some of the figures given by Miss Mary Van Kleeck, director of the Woman-in-Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor, in a report on the candy trade in Philadelphia, which is one of the large centers of the candy industry in the United States.

—The Women's Democratic Political League of New York adopted resolutions requesting the district attorney of New York county to appoint a woman lawyer "familiar with the trial of similar cases and the practice in the criminal court on his staff, and thereby earn the gratitude of the many earnest women interested in their sex." The resolution was based on the fact that many crimes are committed by women in a city of the size of New York, and hence the women felt "that the women should have one in the office of the public prosecutor in whom they may repose their confidence."

—The minimum wage scale for women under present living conditions should be \$18 a week, said Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, in discussing the question of women's wages with a representative of the *Christian Science Monitor* in Chicago. Ten years ago, she said, efforts were made in Chicago to have a minimum wage fixed at \$12. If that was a fair wage at that time then \$18 will be the least women should receive now. Mrs. Robins would not advocate fixing a minimum wage by law, however, but thought there ought to be a minimum wage commission to pass on such matters.

—According to a dispatch to the *New York Times*, Lord Haldane does not see any valid rea-

son why women should not attain to the post of Lord Chancellor. Discussing Lord Buckmaster's bill for the admission of women to practice of law in his speech at Caxton Hall, Lord Haldane said that when Viscount Grey and he, about twenty years ago, introduced a bill to remove the disability of women, they thought there ought not be any legal disability imposed upon women except for certain reasons. Those reasons did not attach to the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury or that of Lord Chancellor. The latter office, he said, he had held for three years, and it was one that with a little preliminary culture might be given to a distinguished woman, just like any other office. Old-fashioned prejudices might make some delay in the elevation of women to the office of Archbishop or Lord Chancellor, but the principle was the same so far as the magistracy was concerned, and it ought to be a simpler business in the case of barristers and solicitors.

### Color Line

—The last Legislature of South Carolina appropriated \$72,000 to the State Colored Agricultural and Mechanical College at Orangeburg.

—William Trotter, an American Negro, has been in Paris seeking to have the Negro question in the United States taken up by the Peace Conference along with the Irish, Jewish, and other "racial minority" questions.

—John Hartfield, a Negro of Ellisville, Miss., having confessed assault on a young woman, was hanged to a tree and burned to ashes in the presence of the young woman who identified. The authorities of the place described the lynching as "orderly."

—Four farm schools are planned by the Southern Methodist Women's Missionary Council, recently in session in Memphis. Two are to be for white children, and two for colored—one for boys and one for girls of each race. All will be provided for by the \$85,000,000 Centenary Fund for missions recently raised by members of this church.

—The Atlantic Coast Line and the Richmond and Fredericksburg road have jointly opened an excellent restaurant for colored travelers in the Broad Street Station, Richmond. Lack of eating accommodations is a genuine hardship in Negro travel; and it is hoped this reasonable and humane provision for a pressing need will spread throughout the South.

—Recently twenty-five colored washerwomen met in Madison, N. J., and formed a union. The women do not do washing at their homes, but visit the homes of wealthy residents on one day every week. The chief object of the union, which is headed by Mrs. Eliza Hill, is to secure a wage of \$2.50 for a six-hour day. Formerly the washerwomen got \$2 for a day of no specified length.

—A charge of race discrimination against the United States Railroad Administration is con-



tained in a letter sent to Walker D. Hines, director general, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The letter protests against a rule, originally put in force by the Southern railroads and continued during Government control, prohibiting the sale of prepaid railway tickets to be sent to persons in the South desiring to come North.

—The Y. W. C. A. forms city organizations among Negroes only when the white "Y" pledges its full coöperation with the "branch." On this basis there are seventeen colored organizations in Southern cities, with a number of applications pending. The work is spreading rapidly; and training courses for colored "Y" workers are given in Louisville, as well as intensive summer courses at New York headquarters. The colored college women are responding to this new call to service in a most gratifying way. The white women are increasingly alive to the value of the services of these trained workers among the colored women and girls.

—Louisiana has officially called for 1,000 additional colored teachers for next fall, and has appropriated the money for giving them intensive preparation in about thirty-five six-weeks' teacher-training schools this summer. North Carolina has announced as a policy the putting of a high school for Negroes in every county of the State. South Carolina has appropriated over \$70,000 for bettering its normal work for Negroes. A city of 15,000 in Louisiana has voted a bond issue of \$200,000 for schools, three-fourths of which is for school buildings for Negroes; and a Tennessee county last year appropriated \$60,000 for improving its Negro rural schools.

—According to the Negro Associated Press, W. P. Pollock of Cheraw, formerly United States Senator, in a commencement address at a college in Columbia, S. C., discussed a way to provide suffrage for the white women of the State, but to eliminate the Colored women. He would base registration on legitimacy of birth, extending back three generations. His proposed amendment would read: "No person shall be eligible to vote in this State unless such person shall present a registration certificate to the managers of the election; and no registration certificate shall be issued to any person unless such person shall present sufficient evidence to the registration officials that such person is not an illegitimate to the third generation."

### Cooperation

—The interallied and neutral coöperators met in Paris at the end of June. The conference was called by the French National Federation or Coöperative Consumers Societies.

—American shipbuilders have been asked by a South African farmers' coöperative organization to submit bids for a steamship equipped with abattoir

and refrigerator facilities. The Coöperative Association proposes to transport its own products to England and other European countries.

—The employees of the Longsight Printing Works of the Co-operative Wholesale Society (Eng.), where over 1,200 people are engaged have "expressed their sincere thanks to the C. W. S. directors for their generous concession of a 44-hours week." About 10,000 workers of the society employed in various factories, have, so far benefited by this change.

—The first \$1,000 was secured at a meeting held in the New Morrison Hotel, Chicago, June 15, in a campaign by local coöperators to raise \$100,000, which is estimated to be necessary for opening a Coöperative Wholesale in Chicago, to supply the existing coöperative societies and the chain of coöperative stores which is being planned by Chicago trade unionists.

—The Training School of Communists Workers, which has developed from the People's Institute, will in future be supported not by appropriations or endowment, but on a coöperative basis. Its lecturers' fees will be paid from fee paid by students and its "overhead" by moneys received from shares. Each shareholder will have only one vote, and all questions of policy, personnel, and method, are to be determined by the votes of shareholders.

—According to *Le Monde Ourier*, Gananouque, Ontario, is one of the most fully organized trade union towns in Canada. Most of the workers are members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Having recently secured an increase in wages, a feeling seems to be entertained that most of it is going in increased prices. Trades unionists of the town have, therefore, decided to organize as consumers as well as workers, and the Gananouque Coöperative Society is in process of organization.

—Presiding at a meeting in favor of coöperation at Peterborough, Ontario, recently, Mr. McArthur, a director of the local society, incidentally mentioned that on one occasion he induced a man with a large family and low wages to join a coöperative society of which he was a member in Scotland. Subsequently the man came to Canada, bringing with him \$1,000 to which he had not directly contributed a cent. The amount represented an accumulation of dividends with interest thereon in respect of purchases made to satisfy the needs of his large family.

—The town Novo-Nikolaievsk, Siberia, has six labor coöperative societies, the membership of which varies from 400 to 3,500, and totals about 7,000 persons. Among them the "Coöperative Society of the Employés and Workmen of the Omsk Railway," exists since June, 1917; the "Society of the Municipal Employés" was founded in January, 1918; the "Coöperative Society of School Teachers" was started in November, 1916; and

the "Society of the Postal and Telegraph Employes" dates from December, 1917. A new arrival is the society "Sibiriak" (the Siberian), which owns a bakery. All these societies have one store each and are affiliated to the Novo-Nikolaievsk Union of Coöperative Societies. The total funds of these societies exceed 110,000 rubles.

—The following instructive table shows the benefit derived by the population from the coöperative societies, as compared with private traders, and incidentally illustrates also some of the causes of the enormous rise in prices. The table has been prepared by the Irkutsk office of the *Zakupsbyt*, and shows the prices ruling in coöperative stores and on the "free" private market:

	PRICES.	
	In coöperative stores.	In private stores.
Iron sheets, per pood....	17 rubles	80 rubles
Nails, per pood.....	43 "	200 "
Scythes, per piece.....	3.5 "	75 "
Needles, per thousand....	8 "	30 "
Caked tea, per case.....	1,000 "	3,800 "
Matches, per case.....	175 "	900 "
Fur coats, per piece.....	300 "	900 "
Goloshes, per pair.....	25 "	120 "
Salt, per pood.....	1.5 "	15 "

—According to John Penny, writing in the *London Herald*, politics is rapidly coming to the front in the coöperative movement in England. At the General Election last December ten candidates were run who polled a total of 57,676 votes. One candidate only was elected. It is proposed to adopt the title "The Coöperative Party," and it is also desired to enter into alliance with the Labor Party with a view to the formation of a United Democratic or People's Party. With regard to International matters, the Congress will be asked to support inter-trading between the coöperative movements of the various countries (Germany not excluded). It is generally believed that inter-trading on the same lines as practised by the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies would promote mutual good feeling.

### Public Ownership

—The annual report of the Liverpool municipal street railways shows a net profit of \$824,005. for the year 1918. \$681,810 was distributed to the public fund.

—The Ministry of Communications in Brazil will shortly begin work upon the electrification of all suburban lines and terminals of the Government owned railways of Brazil.

—Chinese Government railroads yielded a good profit for the year 1917. The report for that year shows a surplus for the entire system of \$21,630,-195, which is a slightly larger sum than the 1916 surplus and nearly double that of 1915.

—It has been reported from London that opposition on the part of the conservatives to the nationalizing of the British mines is growing, and there may be a Unionist split if the Government accepts the report of the Sankey Commission recommending that step.

—The Government of New Zealand has established an extensive hydro-electric plant at Lake Coleridge, from which the city of Christ Church gets full lighting for the city streets at 1¼c. per unit. The city supplies current to private parties for lighting at 7c. per unit, and for industrial purposes at 1½c. per unit.

—Four reports of the Coal Commission, which has been considering nationalizing the British mines, have been published. The main report is signed by Justice Sir John Sankey. It alone recommends immediate legislation for acquisition of mines, royalties for the state, and for owners to receive just compensation.

—The proposition to authorize a bond issue of \$11,000,000 was before the voters of Los Angeles at a special election held in conjunction with the general municipal election on June 3. The bond issue, which is for the purchase of that part of the distributing system of the Edison Electric Company located within the city, was ratified by a required two-thirds majority.

—The Government of New Zealand is appropriating very large sums for the construction of government railroads and highways. In addition 65 millions are to be expended on a government development of water power. Construction is to be extended over both islands. The entire scheme provides for a total length of 1,112 miles of main transmission lines and 809 miles of branch mains to supply disconnected main substations.

—An extensive scheme for the improvement of the telephone system, which was acquired by the Government just before the war, is about to be put into effect by the British Government. Inside of less than three years, it is estimated, all telephone lines will be underground. Connecting lines are being built to unify what were previously disconnected private systems and new lines are being extended to territory which has hitherto been without service.

—Under the new law for the management of Post Telegrams and Telephones which are operated as one system by the Government of Uruguay, 80 per cent. of the profits are used for extension and improvement and 20 per cent. in bonuses and institutions for welfare of employes. Three members of the governing Council of five are named directly by the Government. Two are chosen from a list of ten employees drawn up by the executive Council of the Postal administration.

—Queensland, the third largest state of Australia, has conducted government ownership profitably on a more extensive scale probably than any other state in the world. Labor, organized into "One Big Union," has political control of the state, and has carried public ownership into fields including mines, insurance, fish shops, meat shops, iron and steel works, hotels, railway refreshment rooms, railways, pastoral stations, saw mills, and tanneries. Profit on the railway refreshment rooms

last year amounted to £128,000, and socialization of industry has materially reduced the cost of living for the workers.

—The municipally owned and operated electric light plant of Cleveland, Ohio, is furnishing current, according to the *Plain Dealer* at three cents per kilowatt in residences, and one and a quarter cents per kilowatt in factories. The \$2,000,000 addition to the plant to be opened July 1, will add 14,000 to the 22,000 patrons already taking current. The new plant will have a generating capacity of 76,000 kilowatts, which makes it one of the largest public lighting plants in the world.

—The wages and hours on the municipal railway compare as follows with those of the privately owned United Railways of San Francisco operating in the same streets:

	The city owned railroads.	The privately owned railroads.
Hours of work.....	8	9 & 10
Platform men, per hour.....	50c	38c
Inspectors, per month.....	\$135	\$135
Car dispatchers, per month.....	\$135	\$125
Machinists, per hour.....	75c	56c
Linemen, per hour.....	75c	56c
Electricians, per hour.....	87½c	56c
Carpenters, per hour.....	87½c	47c
Painters, per hour.....	87½c	56c
Car repairers, per hour.....	65c	42c

### Land Reform

—The E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company will sell in the next three years to the highest bidders five complete towns.

—Dr. Robert Braun of Budapest, translator of "Progress and Poverty" and other works of Henry George into Hungarian, was, in May, on the Directorate of the Republic of Hungary.

—A telegram received a few days ago in New York reports that the State of Santa Catharina, Brazil, has adopted the measure of the taxation of land values. This would indicate that the State of Rio Grande do Sul, which experimented with the land tax some years ago finds it practicable and that her example is being followed.

—During the month of May \$11,342,855 was loaned to 8,688 farmers of the United States by the Federal Land Banks on long-time first mortgages according to the monthly statement of the Farm Loan Board. On June 1 the total amount of mortgage loans closed since the establishment of the Federal Land Banks was \$223,311,766, numbering 87,816 farmers.

—Huge land holdings in this State are a menace to society and should be broken up by some plan "which centers about a graduated land tax," is a summary of a report on large land holdings in southern California by the California Commission on Immigration and Housing. The commission says that "large holdings of tillable land, or land in which even a moderate portion is tillable, are productive of a long train of evils."

—All land values are to belong to the State in the Republic of Austria. Frau Hertzka, head of a school for agriculture and domestic science for girls near Vienna, in reporting the above to the

International Congress of Women at Zurich, said also that no one at present is allowed to hold more than about three hundred acres of land. Small holdings are often worked coöperatively for economy's sake, and the great castles have been taken over by the Government to be used in many cases, and frequently with compensation, as hospitals.

### Labor

—The strike of the cotton mills workers in Lancashire has been settled, the workers obtaining a 48-hour week and a 80 per cent increase in wages.

—Miners' wages are going to remain at the present high level until April, 1920, in the Scranton (Pa.) district, it is announced, and the special convention provided for by the international executive board to consider a new agreement has been called off.

—According to the *Seattle Union Record* reports have reached the offices of the Seattle Labor Council from twenty-two different States where thirty central labor bodies have indorsed the Seattle-Duncan plan for reorganization of the American Federation of Labor.

—The Chicago Federation of Labor voted down a resolution presented by representatives of the Cook County Labor Party calling for an international conference of workers to which representatives of the Russian Bolshheviks, de Valera, the leader of the Irish Republic, and other radicals were to be invited.

—The State of Wisconsin Industrial Commission is enforcing the State and Federal child labor laws. During the past year 180 cases involving accidents to children employed in violation of the child labor law were reported to the commission. In all of the cases the employers violating the law paid treble compensation to the injured minors.

—At a meeting of the Omaha (Neb.) Central Labor Union on the 26th, it was decided there should be no general strike of union labor in Omaha at the present time. The teamsters, who had been on strike for several weeks, were ordered back to work for the employers who had signed the union agreement, and were promised the moral and financial support of organized labor.

—Many Austrian miners in West Virginia are leaving the country and a labor shortage is imminent in many of the mines of that state. Other foreigners are preparing to return to their native lands when ocean transportation is opened up to the world. In Franklin county, Illinois, buttons bearing the legend "Stay in America," are being distributed to foreign-born miners.

—The appropriation allowed the Department of Commerce of the United States of America was the neat sum of \$25,533,205, while the Department of Labor only got \$4,171,210, and out of this nearly \$3,000,000 goes to enforce the immigration and naturalization law. Why this difference? asks *The Advance Guide*, organ of the United Brother-

hood of Maintenance of Way Employes & Railway Shop Laborers.

—The following motion was recently passed by the Labor Council of New South Wales, and is said to express the general sentiment of Australian Labor: "We refuse to take any part whatever in the victory celebration, believing that the money should be expended in some laudable direction such as building homes for soldiers, etc. Furthermore, apart from the waste of money, we refuse to assist in celebrating something which entailed the slaughter of 15,000,000 lives, which were sacrificed on the altars of capitalistic greed and avarice."

—Jeremiah R. Connor, appointed by Governor Smith to investigate several State departments under the Moreland act, reported to the Governor that the State insurance fund under the workmen's compensation law is being unfairly administered; that while its cost of administration is more than 14 per cent. lower than the private companies, only a small percentage of employes insure in the fund. He charges favoritism and urges a complete investigation of the whole subject by the State.

—The National Federation of Federal Employes states in its press sheet that the Appropriations Committee has not recognized any of the recommendations submitted by the department heads for salary increases. The bill as now before the House leaves customs employees, the custodian force in the federal buildings, immigration employees, penitentiary guards and attendants and the fisheries service on the old footing of salaries ranging as low as \$480 per year, at a time when the Government's own official estimates show that a family cannot live in decency and minimum comfort on less than \$1,500 a year.

—Pending an amendment to the Constitution enabling Congress to pass proper child labor laws, Congressman Mason of Illinois, has introduced a bill providing: "That hereafter for all persons employed in any mine or quarry in the United States under the age of sixteen years, the employer shall pay to the United States \$2 per day for each day for each person so employed. For all persons employed in any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment situated in the United States, under the age of fourteen years, the employer shall pay to the United States of America \$2 per day for each day for each person so employed."

—In Massachusetts, where drastic laws are being passed to cover the impertinence of strikes, the following facts were found by a commission investigating wage conditions: "Of the five hundred thousand men who were employed in the industries of the State, in 1917, more than half got a wage that was below \$20 a week. Nine per cent. of them got as little as \$12. As for the women, of the two hundred thousand in industry, less than one per cent. got as much as \$85 a week, and al-

most a third were working for less than \$10. Think what these figures really mean; put them alongside the National Industrial Conference Board's estimate that the cost of living in the United States rose 61 per cent. between July, 1914, and March, 1919."

—Ethelbert Stewart, Director of the Investigation and Inspection Service of the Department of Labor, has announced that a nation-wide inquiry into the prospective emigration of aliens to their own countries shows that 1,300,000 are preparing to leave. It is estimated that the average amount each one will carry with him is about \$3,000. The investigations were made in Chicago and the surrounding county, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Johnstown, Youngstown, Wilkes-Barre, Lawrence, Mass., and Bridgeport. It is said 15.04 per cent. of the Poles here will return to their homes; Austro-Hungarians, 28.02; Russians, 85.70; Croatians, 21.75; Lithuanians, 9.72; Rumanians, 64.29; Italians and Greeks, 11; Serbs, 86.90; Slovaks, 84.50. Mr. Stewart said an effort would be made to fill the places of the outgoing aliens with Negroes from the South. Just now the Inspection and Investigation Service, through the Division of Negro Economics, is able to deal intelligently with this question of Negro emigration from the South.

### Transportation

—On the 29th, notice was served on the Public Service Commission of Pittsburgh by the receivers for the Pittsburgh Railways Company of their intention to raise street car fares to ten cents, the advance to go into effect August 1, thirty days after formal notice to the commission.

—The first ocean liner from Chicago to Liverpool was scheduled to leave Chicago on the 25th. The *Lake Grandby*, 4,100 tons, 261 feet long, and 48½ feet beam, the first of a fleet of fifteen similar vessels now under construction to be operated by the United States Shipping Board in trans-Atlantic service between Chicago and Great Britain by way of the Great Lakes, the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence River.

### Cost of Living

—Organization of salaried workers in the United States is proceeding more rapidly, according to trade union officials here, than at any prior time in history. Teachers, actors, and news writers are among the latest groups to organize, and the pressure of living costs is making recruiting into the unions a task which presents little difficulty to the organizer.

—The Joy Yoeng Syndicate, composed of Chinese capitalists, plans to establish a chain of American Chinese restaurants in practically every large city in the United States, involving a capital expenditure of over \$3,000,000. Their plans have already been tried out in thirty New England cities and towns. Both American and Chinese food is served in conjunction with music and dancing.

—The information and education service of the Department of Labor says that a sufficient number of replies have been received to the circular recently sent out to indicate a very large sentiment that there will not be any immediate reduction in prices and that the decline will be very gradual. It is stated that this opinion is current among business men of all classes and in all parts of the country.

—The average cost of food during May, 1919, as computed by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics was 17 per cent. higher than in May, 1918, and 92 per cent. higher than in May, 1913. The highest point reached in the history of the Bureau was December, 1918. There was a sharp decline immediately thereafter, but prices have been advancing steadily ever since. During May they were within approximately one per cent. of what they were in December.

—In an effort to eliminate the profiteer in the sale of ice, Market Commissioner Jonathan C. Day suggested to the Mayor's Committee on Ice that the janitors substitute the retailer in distributing ice to the families in their houses. In the statement submitted to the committee, Dr. Day said that the retailer pays 75 cents for a 300-pound cake and retails it at 60 cents. With the janitor serving as the distributing agent the price per cake of 100 pounds would be 35 cents, saving the consumer 15 cents and giving the janitors 10 cents per hundred for handling.

### Legislative

On the 27th the Senate passed Senator Hiram Johnson's resolution requesting the President to inform the Senate regarding the Government's military policy in Siberia.

—The bill granting permission for the construction of a vehicular tunnel under the Hudson River between New York and Jersey City was passed by the House on the 25th without a record vote. The measure has already passed the Senate.

—The Army Appropriation Bill, carrying \$888,000,000 and providing for an average army of 400,000 men next year—an increase over the House Bill of \$171,000,000 in funds and 100,000 in personnel—was passed by the Senate without a roll call on the 26th.

### Public Order

—Ku-Klux-Klan methods on Dunkard farmers in Delphi, Ind., to coerce them into buying world war bonds resulted in the issuance of warrants for the arrest of several of the most prominent citizens of the country.

—Before a jury of twelve farmers the prosecution was prepared on the 25th to begin the examination of witnesses in the trial of A. C. Townley, president of the Non-partisan League, and Joseph Gilbert, former organizer for the organization, on charges of conspiracy to teach disloyalty.

—At its conference in May, the Manchester Liberal Federation urged that the House of Commons be elected by proportional representation for a term not exceeding five years, an earlier dissolution being dependent upon a special resolution after notice carried by a majority of the whole membership of the House.

—Henry Ford has asked Secretary Glass to send an expert to examine the books of the Ford Motor Company to determine the amount of Mr. Ford's share of the profits on war contracts, which he desires to return to the Government. Commissioner Roper instructed the Detroit branch of the Internal Revenue Bureau to supply Mr. Ford with expert assistance.

### League of Nations

—The Bureau of Naturalization announces that over one hundred and seventy-five thousand alien soldiers in the United States army have applied for citizenship under the Soldiers' Naturalization Act of May 9, 1918.

—In response to an inquiry from the President of Uruguay on the subject, the National Administrative Council of that Republic declared its membership were of one mind in stating the council's agreement with the guiding principle of the League of Nations, "which is to settle international disputes by rules founded on justice, and abolish the rule of force which inevitably leads to armed conflict with its attendant disasters."

—President Wilson sailed from Brest on the 29th on his return to the United States. The George Washington, carrying the Presidential party, steamed from the harbor at 2.20 o'clock p. m. The President's last European message ended with the words: "We stand at the crossroads, however, and the way is only pointed out. Those who saw through the travail of war the vision of a world made secure for mankind must now consecrate their lives to its realization."

—Germany has been notified in a note sent by the Allies that they possess the right to punish the persons responsible for the destruction of the German ships and to collect reparation for the loss. The sinking of the fleet is denounced as a violation of the armistice and a deliberate breach, in advance, of the conditions of peace. When the investigations have been completed, the note states, the Allies will exact "the necessary reparation." Reparation also will be asked for the burning of the French battle flags, which, under the treaty, Germany was to have returned to France.

—On the 28th, Germany and the allied and associated powers signed the peace terms at Versailles in the same imperial hall where the Germans humbled the French Forty-eight years ago. This formally ended the world war, which had lasted just thirty-seven days less than five years. The day of peace was the fifth anniversary of the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand by a Ser-

bian student at Serajevo. Premier Clemenceau called the session to order in the Hall of Mirrors at 3.10 p. m. The signing began when Dr. Hermann Müller and Johannes Bell, the German signatories, affixed their names. Herr Müller signed at 3:12 o'clock and Herr Bell 3:18 o'clock. President Wilson, the first of the allied delegates, signed a minute later. At 3:49 o'clock the session was over.

### Foreign

—King Victor Emmanuel requested Francesco Nitti, former Minister of the Treasury, to form a cabinet to succeed that of Premier Orlando, which resigned on the 19th. Ex-Premier Tittoni will be Foreign Minister.

—The Jewish democratic organizations of Rumania are organizing a Jewish Legion to act as a Jewish national guard at Palestine, and this will enable the Entente to send home the Jewish soldiers that are still guarding the frontiers.

—Japan's foreign trade in forest products has greatly increased during the past year. The export of lumber amounted to \$8,000,000; vegetable tar, \$1,792,000. Camphor was shipped to the value of \$1,572,500, and exports of cocoon oil amounted to \$5,840,000.

—The total amount of Japanese trade with Korea from January 1 to May 10 was 55,958,000 yen in exports and 62,750,000 yen in imports, excess of imports over exports being 6,792,000 yen. Compared with returns for the corresponding period of the preceding year the exports showed an increase of 22,508,000 yen and the imports 21,586,000 yen.

—Independently of the decisions of the Council of Five or the Supreme Economic Council, in Paris, in regard to the Russian problem, the United States Government, through the War Department, sold directly to five Russian coöperative organizations \$15,000,000 worth of surplus clothing and textiles for which payment will be made in the future.

—The new budget in Germany is the subject of long conferences and discussions between Government leaders. As originally planned, the budget was to make confiscations to the amount of \$10,000,000,000 to \$12,500,000,000. As more money is needed, however, the conferees decided to extend the confiscation list to bring in \$17,500,000,000 to \$22,500,000,000.

—There are 715 electrical undertakings in Japan, including 625 power plants, 42 electric railways, and 48 companies operating both power plants and tramways. This is an increase of 40 companies over last year. The total amount of invested capital in these enterprises is about \$388,000,000, including \$198,000,000 for power plants, \$22,000,000 for railways, and \$173,000,000 for those rendering combined service—an increase of about \$8,000,000 over last year.

—The Philippines are in a position not only to supply newsprint for domestic needs, but to export large quantities of this product. According to a report just made by the director of the bureau of forestry, the raw materials available, such as the bamboo and two kinds of grasses, the cogon and the talahib, are of such good quality and can be so cheaply secured that if this industry is given careful study the islands will not need to import annually \$2,000,000 worth of paper as heretofore.

—According to Vice-Consul William A. Ward, Tampico, Mexico, one steamship agency, established in this port for many years, advises that its vessel clearances during the pre-armistice period averaged about four per month and that now, with resumption of active commercial trading, some fifteen vessels are being dispatched monthly, with every prospect of that number being added to within a reasonably short time. This is but one example of the wonderful future ahead of this port as a shipping center.

—It is reported from Rome that a strike of priests, which is without precedent, has just occurred at Loreto, a celebrated resort of pilgrims, whither, according to legend, the house of the Virgin of Nazareth was miraculously transported by angels in the year 1294. The priests asked for an amelioration of their financial condition owing to the high cost of living, and when their claims were not granted they stopped celebrating masses and performing other religious duties. Mgr. Andreoli, Bishop of Recanati, intervened to persuade the priests to resume their duties, promising to do everything possible to satisfy them.

—In the birth-registration area of the United States 1,353,792 infants were born alive in 1917, representing a birth rate of 24.6 per 1,000 of population. The total number of deaths in the same area was 776,222, or 14.1 per 1,000. The births exceeded the deaths by 74.4 per cent. For every State in the registration area, for practically all the cities, and for nearly all the counties, the births exceeded the deaths, in most cases by considerable proportions. The mortality rate for infants under 1 year of age averaged 98.8 per 1,000 living births. The foregoing are among the facts brought out by the Census Bureau's annual compilation of birth statistics.

### General

—An exhibition has been arranged at the Zoölogical Gardens in London to illustrate the damage done by rats and the best methods of destroying them.

—Arthur Brisbane, editor of the *New York Evening Journal* and the *Washington Times*, has arranged to purchase an interest in the *Newark Morning Ledger* and the *Newark Evening Ledger*.

—The Department of Agriculture has been distributing samples of a good quality of paper made from cotton linters by its forest products labo-

ratory at Madison and claims it can be commercially produced in large quantities.

—A report by the Commissioner of Conservation of Canada states that the available supply of lignite and coal in Canada amounts to 781,158,000,000 metric tons. At the present rate of consumption this is sufficient to supply the world for several centuries.

—There are 17,549,324 Catholics in the forty-eight States of the Union, according to the 1919 edition of "The Official Catholic Directory." This shows a net increase of 188,021 in the number of Catholics over the preceding year. Only nine dioceses show decreases.

—J. W. Paul of Pittsburgh, in charge of the mine rescue department of the Federal Bureau of Mines, has made arrangements with Cairy Littlejohn, State mine inspector, Indianapolis, for the annual National Mine Inspectors' Institute, to be held in the Indiana House of Representatives' chamber at the Statehouse, July 8 and 9. There will be more than 175 delegates to the institute from the various coal fields of the country. The meeting will be the first held since the war. The last meeting was held in St. Louis in 1916.

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