

**BRITISH AND AMERICAN LABOR**

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN  
LIBRARY  
JUL 14 1919  
RECEIVED

# THE PUBLIC

*A Journal of Democracy*

July 12, 1919

Essential Russian Democracy

A Bulwark for Civilization

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

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

The truth which underlies some of the gravest problems of our cities:

**the Saloon** ■  
**the Social Evil** ■  
**and Gambling** ■

**B**RAND WHITLOCK, when Mayor of Toledo, had occasion to write an open letter addressed to the Federation of Churches. The "best citizens" wanted to know why the laws and statutes controlling certain unwholesome conditions—the Saloon, the Social Evil, Gambling, the violation of the Sabbath, etc.—were not enforced and the conditions eradicated. Mr. Whitlock's letter, a plain, practical, unblinking analysis applicable not only to Toledo but to other American cities, constitutes a brief but comprehensive survey of the possibilities of Civic Reform. It has been "done" owing to the great demand for it into a book entitled, "On the Enforcement of Law in Cities." Every friend of genuine reform will want to know the relation of these civic problems to the great problem of poverty itself. Bound in boards, price postpaid, 50c. Ten copies, \$3.50.

**Other Books by Brand Whitlock**

**A**BRAHAM LINCOLN is a study of the great democrat by one who knows what democracy means. This book is recognized by competent authorities as the best short work on the life of Lincoln. It's a volume ideal for reading during this wartime. Price, postpaid, 60c.

**F**ORTY YEARS OF IT is in a sense a history of the progress of democracy in the middle west. In recounting his own experiences, Mr. Whitlock brings one into close acquaintance with many notable figures in our political history. It is a book that will make the strongest human appeal to the workers for democracy. Price, bound in cloth, postpaid, \$1.75.

**The Public** Book Department 122 East 37th St. New York

**The Public**  
*A Journal of Democracy*

July 12, 1919

*Contents*

Editorial Notes.....	781
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.....	784
Labor's Champion.....	784
Ireland and the League.....	785
The Impatience of Minorities.....	786
A Bulwark of Civilization.....	787
American Labor and British Labor, Frank Dilnot.....	789
Essential Russian Democracy, Vladislav R. Savic.....	740
Constructive Statesmanship, John Howard Melish.....	742
War Humanly Impossible, David Starr Jordan.....	743
Current Thought.....	744
Books.....	745
News.....	748

*Founded and Edited, 1898-1918, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE TEACHER POST*  
EDITOR: STOUGHTON COOLEY  
LITERARY AND NEWS EDITOR: S. C. EBY  
PUBLISHER AND MANAGING EDITOR: STANLEY BOWMAR  
Published Weekly by

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
122 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York City  
Single Copy, Ten Cents      Yearly Subscription, \$3.00  
Canadian, \$3.50      Foreign, \$4.00  
Entered as Second-Class Matter January 11, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 8, 1879

*THE LATEST BOOKS*

By THORSTEIN VEBLÉN  
THE VESTED INTERESTS AND THE STATE OF THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS  
By FRANCIS NEILSON  
THE OLD FREEDOM  
Each \$1.00 net; postpaid \$1.10  
PUBLISHED BY B. W. HUEBSCH, NEW YORK

# THE PUBLIC

*A Journal of Democracy*

Volume XXII

New York, N. Y., July 12, 1919

Number 1110

**S**UFFRAGE is by no means safe, but safety is in sight. The ratification of the amendment by the Texas Legislature makes nationwide suffrage in time for the elections of 1920 a possibility. The most serious danger that menaced general enfranchisement of women has been the pronounced opposition of the South. Had Texas refused to ratify, opposition in other Southern States would have consolidated, and it would have been very easy to have delayed complete ratification for some years. Thirteen States are all that are necessary to assure a successful filibuster. The desertion of Texas, however, will rock the entire Southern front, and the tendency among the other States will be to ratify at once.

**T**HOSE near-wise men who have been telling us that women did not want the ballot and would not use it if they had it must have been thinking of the wrong kind of women. Some of the pets of fortune who find conditions pleasant for parasites may be content to leave the management of affairs in the hands of men who have brought about present conditions. But the women who have to make their way in the world look upon the ballot as a part of the means of life as much as the opportunity to work. Not only do they look upon suffrage as a practical power, but they are disposed to use it. Among the declarations of the National Women's Trade Union League at Philadelphia, representing 600,000 working women of the United States, was one for the "scientific taxation of land values." If women are going to carry on after this fashion what privilege will be safe? If Government is to take for com-

munity purposes the values created by the community the workers will be able to keep their whole earnings. What then will become of the exploiters of labor?

**A**NOTHER declaration of the Philadelphia convention was for the abolition of the tipping system. Some persons may think this is a small matter, but it is really of great importance. It is as great as sentiment—and sentiment is the force that makes soldiers carry the forlorn hope, that makes the physically weak do heroic things. Let Labor once realize that tip-taking means a kind of inferiority forced upon people by an unjust economic system that denies adequate wages, and they will demand pay, after the manner of their superiors. Tips, be it ever borne in mind, always go downward. Menials never tip their masters. Stand on your dignity, ladies. Perhaps the men will follow your example. A man or woman who is clothed with the power of determining laws and government, even to the choice of the greatest executive officer in the world, the President of the United States, is too great a personage to accept a tip from anybody.

**B**OLSHEVISM worries the Senate. That is the Senate's name for labor unrest, or for almost anything that disturbs the Senatorial equanimity. That being the case one would imagine that the Senate would be interested in the causes of unrest. Senator Walsh, at least, seems to have thought so when he introduced a resolution appropriating \$45,000 to inquire into labor conditions. By this time he has prob-

ably undergone the disillusioning process that every new Senator must undergo. No less than \$1,600,000 is turned over to the Department of Justice for the prosecution of anarchists; while \$300,000 more goes to the Bureau of Immigration for the deportation of alien anarchists. It is therefore safe to assume that Senator Walsh, if he has not been rolled too flat by the Senatorial steam-roller, understands thoroughly that the Senate knows all about labor unrest, and knows that it was wholly due to anarchism and bolshevism.

**T**HE press has done Mr. Basil Manly an injustice in making him responsible for the Poindexter resolution for a National Industrial Conference. The idea back of this resolution is an excellent one and Mr. Manly deserves the credit for it. The resolution provides for a National Conference on Industrial Relations to consist of equal numbers of representatives of employers and employes. Mr. Manly should be given credit for the idea, but not for the crudity of Senator Poindexter's application. Senator Poindexter's animus, and not Mr. Manly, should be blamed for the elimination of Mr. Taft's name and the substitution of that of Ex-Justice Hughes. Mr. Manly has encountered enough misrepresentation as it is during his chairmanship of the War Labor Board without being put in the position of insulting Mr. Taft.

**A**NOTHER illuminating item on street car operation comes from San Francisco, where it seems that with unwatered stock a street railway company honestly conducted can prosper on a five-cent fare, pay the highest wages, and give the best service. The municipally owned companies of that city report total receipts of \$9,825,722, cost of operation \$6,137,657. Deducting interest on city bonds issued to purchase these railways, \$1,174,077, leaves a profit of \$2,513,988. Even if the taxes that might have been paid had the companies been in private hands be deducted there would still remain a substantial profit. Wages on the municipal lines are highest and the hours of service shortest. One of the reasons for this showing of the municipal lines over privately owned companies is that the capital in-

vestment is for plant only, whereas private companies capitalize their franchise, issue quantities of watered stock, which must share in the earnings, the municipal company represents only actual values.

**S**IMPLE municipal ownership does not tell the whole story. It is a fact well recognized that land values rise with improvement in transportation just as they do with any other public service, whether it be the introduction of water, gas, sewers, sidewalks, or street pavements. And as payments for general service are made at the expense of the lots benefited, so the rails for street cars should be laid at the expense of owners whose lots increase in value by the improved transportation. The New York City Club in a special report issued October 2, 1908, estimated the value conferred upon the land north of 185th Street by the building of the subway at \$49,200,000, whereas the cost of building the road through that territory was only \$7,375,000. Had this improvement been assessed against the owners of land who received the benefit the company would today be making money on a fare of less than five cents, instead of clamoring for a six or seven cent fare.

**A**MERICA has grown accustomed to hearing that New Zealand and Australia are in advance of her in social and financial legislation. It is a bit startling, however, to find Mexico showing us her heels. While we are still hemmed in by the principles of taxation as expounded by Mr. Claude Kitchin of Scotland Neck, North Carolina, the State of Coahuila is passing legislation freeing all industries from taxation for ten years. The contrast is refreshing. Mr. Kitchin and his successor in evils, Mr. Fordney, and their associates are burning the midnight oil to find new ways to squeeze extra pennies out of commerce and manufacture. While they are doing this they are ignoring privilege as a source of revenue. The natural assumption is that the sage of Scotland Neck and the people's choice of Saginaw believe privilege a good thing and therefore to be fostered. An equally obvious assumption is that they believe commerce and industry twin evils to be stamped out by fines and penalties.

**L**AND speculation has broken out in virulent form in the Middle West. Farms in Kansas and Nebraska are changing hands at fifty to one hundred dollars more per acre than two years ago. Land at two hundred dollars an acre, several miles from town, no longer causes remark. The craze to get rich without working is spreading throughout the community, and people of the towns are taking "fliers" in real estate. Land speculation is the worst of all forms of gambling because it affects others than those directly taking part. Betting on a game of chance or even on stocks has little effect upon any but those directly interested; whereas betting on the price of land affects those who would use it. Whether stocks be up or down, the wheels of commerce go on just the same; but when the price of land goes up it means making homes more difficult to get for home makers, it means farms more difficult for farmers.

**W**HEN the price of land has advanced beyond the point at which home seekers or farmers can buy, the market breaks and prices come tumbling, bringing ruin in their wake to those who have put in their little all and face a mortgage foreclosure. The same craze will break out in the East, particularly in and near growing cities, as soon as building is well under way. This experience has come to men many, many times, and always with the same result. Must the folly be repeated? Cannot men learn from experience? The remedy is so very simple and so easily applied. It is necessary only to shift taxes from improvements to land, to have continuous progress, instead of the intermittent prosperity and hard times that have hitherto prevailed.

**L**IFE nowadays is no joyous affair for Mr. Will Hays, the chairman of the Republican National Committee. Like an overworked nursemaid he is constantly on the go keeping the Republican nursery in order. His days are spent wielding the big stick and his nights administering soothing syrup. It is no small task to find common ground for those who are for the League as it stands, those who are against any league at all, and those who are for a league provided the credit can be given to the Republican Party and not to the President. The truth

is that the Republican organization is in retreat, and Mr. Hays is merely rallying a routed army. It is a far cry from the day when practically every Republican signed the round robin. The round robin roll has dwindled to three or four at most. The great bulk of the original signers now realize that they made a very bad blunder, and they are concerned principally with finding a graceful way out. Translated into Japanese terms, they are principally concerned lest they "lose face." The Knox resolution to eliminate the League from the Treaty merely signifies the substitution of a milder form of opposition, and the Root reservations are a still further declension in the scale of opposition. Very shortly Mr. Lodge will swallow his last scruple and come out squarely for the League. Mr. McCumber and Mr. McNary have already announced that they will vote for the League as it stands. They will soon have company.

**I**N the good old Cannon-Aldrich days a majority could do anything. Senator Warren and Senator Smoot evidently still thought so when they set out to help their friends the packers. They have had a rude awakening. Realizing that the Federal Trade Commission, which has been the origin of virtually all Government anti-packer activities, needs money to conduct its crusade, Messrs. Warren and Smoot undertook to wipe out the commission by cutting its appropriation. Their Republican colleagues were willing, and many of the Democrats as well. Such a storm of protest was raised, however, by the farmers' organizations that the majority did not dare to go ahead with their plan. All of which goes to prove that, although politicians may not be overburdened with political morals, they have a healthy respect for the folks back home.

**W**E presume it is no crime for a man to own his own home in the United States. The Department of Labor has been conducting a campaign stimulating home owning among wage earners. This in itself will not establish the respectability of the idea, for a number of Southern Congressmen have accused the Secretary of Labor of being a Bolshevik. But the support given to Secretary Wilson's campaign by chambers of commerce everywhere should

remove the last vestige of doubt as to the thorough respectability of the plan. Yet strange as it may seem, Seattle still ranks home owning as one of the most serious offenses. In that city, according to advices forwarded by a responsible banker, the only conditions upon which one may own a home of any kind are that he pay an annual fine of approximately three per cent. of its real value. The next tax levy will probably be about sixty mills. If the figures are correct, it would be a good thing for Mayor Hanson to worry less about Bolshevism and more about his tax levy. The city that makes home owning a crime is breeding Bolshevism. Mayor Hanson would be less spectacular, of course, but much wiser to give more attention to prevention and less to cure.

## Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

**A**NOTHER name has found a place in the American Pantheon. Beside Lucretia Mott, Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and a host of intrepid leaders, must now be placed the name of Anna Howard Shaw. All these great women saw in their youth the laws, prejudices, and customs that were so unjust to their sex. Each saw some progress made toward freedom; and it was the lot of Dr. Shaw to live almost to the day of complete political emancipation.

The world has all but completed the struggle for political democracy. Nowhere today is the ballot withheld from a people as a right; but only on the ground of real or fancied expediency. The stage is set for industrial democracy, which concerns men and women alike.

But it was not alone as a suffragist that Dr. Shaw was distinguished. Her work on the platform, in the pulpit, and as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association demonstrated her capacity for constructive building. Her final work, that of championing the League of Nations before the American people, entered upon at the advanced age of seventy-two, illustrates the dominant impulse of her life, the determination to devote the last ounce of energy to the welfare of mankind.

Dr. Shaw was of a type of woman that one would like to see in the great places of trust. For not only did she give her life to securing

equal rights for women, but by the masterly way in which she conducted the work she demonstrated woman's qualification not only to vote, but to be voted for. It is not enough that a woman may slip into Congress by political chance; the great women of the country should be nominated and elected on their merits as qualified public servants.

One likes to think of the change that would come over the United States Senate, if there were among its members a few such women as Dr. Shaw. Much that is trifling and petty would disappear. For men do not like to act foolishly before wise women. It is inconceivable that Senator Sherman of Illinois or Senator Reed of Missouri would make themselves as ridiculous as has been their habit. It is possible even that Senator Lodge would put aside his childish ways and assume a maturity befitting his position.

Some days ago an ex-Senator died who in his day was considered a very clever politician and a great constitutional lawyer. A few newspapers took note of his passing as one of the last of his kind. But what paper in all the land failed to note the death of Dr. Shaw or to pay tribute to her worth? It was the peculiar fortune of this great woman that in pleading the rights of her sex she demonstrated its ability to acquit itself with credit in any position.

## Labor's Champion

**F**RANK P. WALSH seems likely to find himself a candidate for Senator upon his return from abroad. Without his knowledge and undoubtedly without his consent a very pronounced movement has set in that makes his candidacy of considerable importance. He would undoubtedly make a better Senator than Missouri has had for many a day. He would bring a sparkle of ability into a legislative body whose chief characteristic for many years has been mediocrity, and his frankness would let a vast amount of sunlight into its musty alcoves. Nevertheless, for the sake of his great capacity for public service, it is to be hoped that he will not become a candidate. Frank P. Walsh as Senator would be far less powerful than Frank P. Walsh the citizen. Walsh the citizen speaks for labor as no one else. He is the single great outstanding figure outside of the labor move-

ment itself who has the confidence of all factions, radical and conservative, in the labor movement. General confidence in him has sprung out of his unselfishness. He has given everything to the movement and asked nothing for himself. He is under obligations to no one. He has asked neither support nor sympathy from any one. His chief asset and the source of his strength lie in the fact that he wants nothing for himself.

If he should become a candidate for Senator it would be necessary for him to conciliate various interests. He would have to depart from the fixed principles of a lifetime and begin playing politics, and the game would not be worth the candle. Consider Mr. Walsh's services during the past eighteen months. Four months of his time was devoted as special attorney for the packing house employes to getting higher wages and the eight-hour day. He did not take a cent for his services. For nearly ten months he served as joint chairman of the National War Labor Board for pay that probably was not one-tenth of what he earns in private practice. Since then he has given a month gratis to the representation of the harbor workers of New York. In the course of these proceedings he has forced into the unwritten law of industrial America the principles of the eight-hour day, of collective bargaining, and the right to organize. Having established his services on such a plane Frank P. Walsh should not be asked to descend to a mere Senatorship.

## Ireland and the League

**I**RELAND'S cry for liberty grows ever louder and more insistent. And the new doctrine of self-determination makes more embarrassing the position of those who would deny her plea. But this is a brutally practical world, in which men subject the most sacred things to the closest scrutiny. Even the cause of Irish freedom is thus weighed and balanced. The mass of the British people would do justice to Ireland, but they wish also to preserve their own safety.

An independent Irish republic appeals to our idealism, but it involves practical considerations that demand attention. One of these is the Irish minority. The principle of self-de-

termination that would grant independence to Sinn Fein Ireland would include also self-determination for Ulster; for this is not a political question in which a minority party may hope to become a majority party; it is a racial question, in which the minority will be subject to Sinn Fein as Sinn Fein has been subject to Great Britain.

The other feature is the safety of Great Britain. That country has had a painful experience of the meaning of German control of the eastern shore of the English Channel. Were Germany or any other powerful nation to control the western shore of the Irish Channel, it would be fatal to the British Navy and to British independence.

It may be said that Irish independence could not mean such a result. Perhaps not; but it must be recognized as possible, and the British are not disposed to take any chances. Had Sinn Fein Ireland supported the Allies full-heartedly, her case would have been better today; but for the sake of her own immediate gain she dickered with Germany while Great Britain was struggling for her life. It cannot be said therefore that an alliance between Germany and an independent Ireland would be impossible.

An alternative is presented by the Irish Dominion League which is fathered by Horace Plunkett, the man who came so near to securing an agreement among Irish factions in 1917. If Ireland were given home rule on some such basis as that of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, she would have substantial independence, yet would not be able to make treaties with foreign nations to the detriment of Great Britain.

This is the most promising immediate step. With a League of Nations in force it may be hoped that some at least of the ideals now cherished may be carried out. With disarmament brought about and restraints of trade removed, there might spring up such a comity of nations that an independent Ireland would not be considered a source of danger. And if the Irish people at that time wished complete separation from England, they could have it without harm to the remainder of the empire.

The case of Ireland, therefore, like that of the Philippines, India, Egypt, Korea, and other subject nationalities, depends in a vital sense on the future of the League of Nations.

## The Impatience of Minorities

**I**N his little book, "What Is America?" Professor Edward Alsworth Ross declares: "The unpardonable sin in a would-be reformer is impatience." He bases his dictum on a survey of certain important events in American history that showed that the American people were well able to remedy great social or economical evils when they were aroused to their menacing importance. The abolition of slavery, the legislative control of the railroads, the banishment of the corrupt municipal boss are examples that occur to every one. "Where there is a free course for ideas, the radical who will not wait on the slow process of persuasion is no friend of democracy." "The man who would force reform by means of a resolute minority is morally on a level with the Prussian Junker." It is just as hard, apparently, for most radicals to "trust the people" as it is for the so-called ruling classes. They insist on having no shackles on their own liberty to change things and then change them again; but overlook with a fine and unsuspecting superiority the right of non-radicals to remain where they are, or even to go back to simpler modes of life and thought.

Whatever promise there may or may not be in proposed modes of political progress, there is no sort of security for any advance except its approval and acceptance by the majority. The majority may be supposed to be able to frame a course of government without ignoring or injuring the rights of the minority certainly as well as a minority can rule without infringing on the right of the majority. There are majorities and majorities. Proportional representation, for example, would doubtless give us a far more just division of influence than a purely geographical or traditional method of determining a majority. Our present method has been improved over that of Jefferson's or Jackson's time, first especially by universal manhood suffrage and then by woman suffrage. The rule by majority is a living principle, changing with changes of condition and intelligence.

In democratic forms of society political life has many values besides the prizes of victory at the polls. The culture of political activity itself is a priceless asset. An idea of universal

significance and permanent fruitfulness does not require a majority for its development. It may be proposed and expounded by a single believer. Nor does it depend on elections for its propagation. It may be explained, and analyzed, and criticised, and amended, and given such publicity that it is finally adopted and put in practice almost without a struggle. The minority of one solitary devotee has grown into a majority. The outstanding truths of life are always in a moral majority, and the processes of mental friction and ventilation and illumination are the ways to numerical majority rule.

We know so little about the current government in Russia that the angels are not coming forward with opinions. But if the soviet system endures it is a probably safe guess to assume that the village habit of discussion in connection with the ancient *mir* is the agency that will save the situation by eventually giving the people an established majority rule in place of the present transitional regimen. The American student, and especially the American radical, will do well to take note of the substantive and conservative germs of democratic spirit and method that all along have had a certain development in the simple political forms which the Czars contemptuously ignored but which the people piously cherished. This will probably throw more light on the destined way of Russia than sensational reportorial *pros* and *cons* concerning Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky and their performances. Among Anglo-Saxons the intelligent discussion of the town meeting grew into the power and universal reach of Parliament and Congress. We have no proofs that the practice of humble politics in the village soviet and *mir* has not in it just the mighty potentialities needed for the sovereign and gracious sway of all the Russias.

Our American growth has been a development into a larger appreciation of majority rule and an expansion of the majority itself. The public mind is fully aware that there is still work of that kind to be done. Minority rule prevails when small Congressional committees decide great public questions or spend huge sums of money against the people's desire or conviction; as it does when special privileges give a small set of men enormous power withheld from other citizens. With this increasing

sensitiveness to such minority despotism as still lingers it is not likely that the American people as a whole will have the disposition to hearken to apostles of a new minority rule of any sort whatever—least of all when the new

influence needs to be backed by force. And if any man or body of men has a great new truth to give us the one best way to get it over to us is by full, thoughtful, and good-humored explanation and discussion.

## A Bulwark for Civilization

By Herbert Quick

*Chairman Federal Farm Loan Board; Author of "The Good Ship Earth," "From War to Peace," etc.*

**I**F the work of the Peace Conference could suddenly be blotted out, if the world could be placed all at once where it would have been had there been no Peace Conference, many of those who are heard only in denunciation of its work or in querulous acceptance of it would suddenly discover that the greatest thing in world history had disappeared. It would be like the removal of a safeguard against immedicable woes, in which we have believed even while we condemned. The great treaty is here—and it will have to be accepted. To have it abolished would leave mankind gasping in utter confusion. It would be a moral conflagration burning out the heart of the new city of hope, an earthquake shaking down the great new landmark of progress, an operation cutting off the vital member of a new world organism.

Some radicals are opposed to the treaty. They object because of certain failures in it to secure self-determination of peoples, or because it is over severe on the people of Germany, or because it has not quite ended imperialism. They object to it because it is imperfect from their various viewpoints. They say it ought not to be ratified because it does not make the world safe either for democracy or for peace. In looking at things which it does not do, or which it fails to do, they lose sight of what it does.

What is the one thing of surpassing importance which the treaty does? It sets up a mechanism, seemingly powerful, for preserving the peace of the world, and for restoring it; a peace under which democratic movements may go forward toward success. Of course it does not make the world forever safe for democracy. Nothing can do that except an enlightened and eternal vigilance in every nation and in every age. The moment any people reaches the point where it feels that it does not need to fight for democracy, that moment its democ-

racy is in danger, no matter what its institutions may be. Neither does the treaty make the world safe for peace. Nothing can do that. But the absence of some such collective covenant seems to make war certain just as soon as the exhausted nations have caught their breaths. The treaty is the best effort that the wearied, exhausted, maddened peoples of the world are now capable of making for the preservation of peace. The attempt has been made; it has permanent peace as its object; no second effort is possible; the choice is either this or chaos; here is the result; take it or leave it.

For five years one has often been in doubt as to whether or not Caucasian civilization has not been engrossed in a struggle that the historian of a future age may be justified in calling the suicide of a civilization. Even if the convulsion stops where it is, there is no assurance that our culture will ever recover. No great era was ever conscious of the passing of its zenith, and torn as we are, wounded as we are, degraded as we are by this war, we may be turning our faces toward the setting sun of our civilization, to a time when all our great achievements, all our new knowledge shall have passed away with our tremendous buildings, none of which can possibly last as long as the Pyramids and the Sphinx have endured. All the glories of the present age may pass away as completely as did those of past ages, the splendors of which we are continually rediscovering, as the ruins give up traces here and there of their dead knowledge—traces more and more significant, and more and more indicative of the fact that the past has swallowed up civilizations surprisingly near to an equality with ours in intellectual development and collective as well as individual achievement, and perhaps in all these regards superior; and

which had the quality of endurance to an extent far beyond anything of which our institutions have showed themselves capable. Whether or not this civilization recovers depends upon the success of the great treaty—or, if the devastation of everything precious goes on in other wars, upon the renewal of such efforts in the ages in which we shall lapse from one stage of decay to another as did ancient Rome.

The great task that was undertaken under the treaty is the erection of a bulwark against war. This bulwark may not hold; but it is the only hope in sight. When the world war is renewed, if it ever is, it will surpass in horror the worst phases of the conflict that we hope is closing, as far as this war outstripped in these respects the wars of the past. When the armistice was signed the war was fast passing into a phase of unimaginable terror. Chemical warfare began in this war, but it ended just as the new processes of destruction had developed a poison gas a single drop of which on the skin of its victim would have been as surely fatal as a bullet through the heart. No gas mask could stop this contact spray for the destruction of human insects; for it did not need to reach the lungs. Aerial bombs had been perfected to rival, without pilots, the work of the airship. Armed with wings these dreadful inventions, guided by electricity, could be sent for a hundred miles and made to drop and explode, and converting their machinery into shrapnel, drench with poison gas, blast, or tear down anything destructible at any determined point. Explosives more powerful than had ever been known were in process of manufacture. America was preparing for her foes the culminating horrors of war. Let the world war be renewed, and there can be no doubt that new explosives, in larger quantities than have ever been launched in projectiles, will fly by their own power with their own wings for hundreds and probably thousands of miles to undo in an instant what man has taken ages to do; London will be annihilated from Berlin or Vienna, or New York and Philadelphia from any point in Europe. There is no reason to doubt the ability of a foe ultimately to launch destruction against America from Asia or the islands of either ocean. It involves a far shorter step toward the acme of success in chemical and electrical warfare than we have taken since the

United States entered the war against the Central Powers. And back of chemical and electrical warfare lie the hitherto forbidden grounds of other sciences. We may next hear of bacterial warfare.

There is no such thing longer as isolation. Already airships have crossed the ocean; and what one can do, a host can do. We are members one of another. The world is integrated. Once it was either unorganized, or of so low a type in organization that, like some low animal forms, a limb might be lopped off without inconvenience to, and outside the consciousness of, the loose collection of organs called the individual. That time is past. It has been past for a hundred years now, at least; but the failure to realize this is the cause of the confusion of thought of those who speak of the treaty in terms of blame for what it is not, and forget what it is. It is the only barrier between the world and the destruction of everything in it which we of the Western World hold precious.

Of course it is imperfect. It was created mainly by men who did not know what they were doing, or who were not permitted to do what they would have desired to do, or who were carried along by the world impulse to do what they did not believe in, or who did grudgingly what they knew had to be done, but whose old-world notions made them rebel at the task. Mainly the Peace Conference has been in the hands of typical Foreign Office bureaucrats, solicitous to multiply jobs, avid for empire, ready to saddle their respective countries with any territory or responsibility no matter how dangerous. As one has said, "Put a plugged nickel on the table of the Peace Conference, and they'll jump at it." That the treaty is imperfect we must attribute to the imperfections of man, and the agony of spirit in which the work was done. That it is as good as it is will one day be regarded as a miracle. It sets up the first great integrating force ever organized in world affairs. It has better than an even chance to end war for a generation; and when the art of doing this is once learned it will be practiced. The treaty has therefore a chance, more or less great, of ending war forever. It is perhaps the only agency by which Caucasian civilization can save itself.

# American Labor and British Labor

By Frank Dilnot

*Editor of The Daily Citizen, which was the Official Organ of the Labor Movement in Britain*

**T**HE crowded period of work by the delegates of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City was a landmark in social affairs, not only because of the wide range and importance of the questions under discussion, but also because the many and varied decisions showed the settled mood and tendency of labor in the intensified problems of life which America in common with the rest of the world has to face as the result of the war. America is to be the principal supply depot of the world from now on. The functioning of the American Labor Movement may well mean food and clothes and shelter, and, more than that, the protection of people at home and abroad from the scourge of war. The people of Europe as well as the people of America are watching the judgments and the actions of American labor.

As one who has been intimately associated with the Labor Movement in Britain, I have observed the proceedings at Atlantic City with deep interest. Many lessons were to be derived from it. It seems to me that the outstanding feature of a comparison between the present position and present aims of American labor on the one side and British labor on the other is to be found in two main general observations: first, that with some resemblances there are wide variations between the British and American methods, and, second, that there is a dramatic identity in the main purposes of the two movements. Those who take short views may be disappointed at the different ways in which the Britishers and Americans set about accomplishing their objects. As a matter of fact the variations in the presence of different conditions are a sign of wisdom. It is the unity of spirit and general desire and intention that promises so much for the future. One has to remember that the French, for example, depart from both British and American methods. You cannot put countries into a mold. Light wines with dinner are a common feature in France, we English wear thick underclothing, Americans insist that their drinking water be iced.

What are the common impulses which, as demonstrated at Atlantic City, dominate both

the British and American Movements? Here are some of the common features.

The decision not to be identified with any of the existing political parties as such, together with the steadfast determination to raise wages, to lower hours of labor, and to improve conditions toward a balancing point where ordinary manual effort on the one side and mental initiative and genius on the other receive their due proportion of the good things of the earth without exploitation on one side or the other. An example of this is to be found in the announced intention of the American Convention for a nation-wide effort for a six-hour day. At the same time there comes news from England that labor has virtually converted the nation to agreement with the nationalization of the coal mines there.

A bedrock patriotism untouched by jingoism or spread-eagleism, with the firm intention of maintaining the honor, integrity, and liberty of the people as a whole. Both in England and America this attitude of mind goes with a rigid resolve for peace and against war, in so far as the causes which have produced war in the past, for example, militarism and secret diplomacy, have been responsible for hostilities between countries.

Ruthless opposition to the unbalanced extremists who by Bolshevistic notions might defeat the very purposes to which the Labor Movements in both countries are committed. The Labor Movement in England has consistently trampled underfoot the slightest indication of violent revolutionary principles, and the American Convention last week took steps to eliminate from its makeup not merely individuals but organizations that showed what it called unhealthy tendencies, namely, tendencies in the direction of the I. W. W.

These are some of the main directions, and really they are root principles, in which the two Labor Movements are as one. There are necessarily wide variations in methods arising from various inevitable causes, one being the continental scope of America as compared with the compact and comparatively small geo-

graphical extent of Britain; another being the extraordinary diversity of conditions in America in which, when all is said and done, there is so much greater opportunity for individual effort and individual progress in the material sense than in the old country; and still another being the organized maturity of the British Labor Movement, with its weapons of swift and effective action in the political and industrial field. Here are some of the variations.

The American Labor Movement refuses to form a political party as such, whereas an integral and very powerful part of the British Labor Movement consists of its political section with its numerous members of Parliament and its several members of the Cabinet. The American Labor Movement as evidenced in the Convention seems to incline to a wider field of theoretic effort than the British Labor Movement, which is concerning itself more and more with the practical issues of the moment.

The Labor Movement of America has up to the present thrown up fewer commanding personalities in public life than the British Labor Movement, which is the natural result of the varying sections of development in the two countries.

There are two matters in which the proceedings of the Convention at Atlantic City gave

evidence on the one hand of similarity, and on the other of variation, compared with the British Labor Movement. Its decision on prohibition might have been passed by the Trades Union Congress in London, so alike in motive are the two bodies in this respect. On the other hand, the motion that virtually indorsed Ireland's plea for secession from the British Empire is something that the British Labor Movement would turn down with an overwhelming vote. One may be permitted to hazard the opinion that if a full unbiased presentation of the facts relating to England and Ireland in recent years could have been in possession of all the delegates some modification of their resolution would have resulted.

The diversities in conditions and the corresponding diversities in individual mood and national feeling seem to me to make it highly improbable, perhaps impossible, that there should ever be a simultaneous strike with a common motive of the American and British Labor Movements. I see, however, in the proceedings of the Atlantic City Convention a wide range of vision identical in spirit with that of the Labor Movement in England; and this common feeling is undoubtedly going to have its effect in the rebuilding of the war shattered world.

## Essential Russian Democracy

By Vladislav R. Savic

*Author of "Southeastern Europe;" formerly head of the Press Bureau in the Serbian Foreign Office*

I FIRST visited Russia in 1904. Those were the days of autocracy, yet the first thing that struck me in Russia was the freedom of speech. Everybody said what he wished on any subject. I traveled in Russia from the Persian border to Finland, and from Warsaw to Samara, and that fact of the freedom of speech and thought in Russia stood paramount. All institutions, social and political, in Russia and elsewhere were undergoing a searching criticism. The discussions were marked by a degree of tolerance unusual in Europe. Men of very different walks of life, students and professors, men and women, learned and ignorant, all spoke freely. Nobody tried to avoid an argument by shielding himself behind some acknowledged authority.

Then, I never felt I was a foreigner in Russia. In the beginning I attributed this to the circumstance that I was a Slav myself, that I spoke Russian, that I had read Russian authors in the original, and therefore, was able to fit myself more quickly than others to the Russian moral atmosphere. Later on I learned that that was not the case. I met Englishmen, Germans, and Frenchmen, representing very different mental and moral aptitudes, and they always confirmed my observation that only in Russia had they never felt themselves foreigners and were never treated as such. I remembered how in Paris a foreigner was never admitted into the intimacy of French life and society. A Frenchman associates himself with foreigners only to be amused. The superiority of French

civilization is ever present in his mind, and he condescendingly listens to a foreigner in order to get a new proof of how everything and everybody that is not Parisian is barbarian. The slightest foreign accent in your French makes you a laughing stock of the young ones and brings an ironical smile to the lips of the elder Frenchmen. In London nearly everything stupid or bad is foreign. "A nasty foreigner" is commonly in the mouth of the full-blooded Britisher. In Germany a foreigner is invited into German homes where a girl is to be married; or a foreigner's invitation is accepted whenever they hope to get a good dinner, or to break a bottle of champagne at his expense. Otherwise he is reminded that "*Deutschland über Alles*" is a fact never to be disputed.

In Russia this consciousness of national pre-eminence and excellence has never existed. In my experience the Russians were much inclined to admire foreigners for their knowledge and their greater political experience. For the Russians the foreigner was always an honored guest. The best way to honor him was never to make him feel that he was foreign among them. The Russians possessed in an incomparable degree the fine sensibility never to hurt a foreigner, and also a characteristic aptitude to fit themselves into the moral situation of other people. This made Russia a real cosmopolitan country, and gave her an enormous power of assimilation in spite of the rigidity and narrow-mindedness of the Russian governmental system. Therefore, invariably all foreigners could say that their best time, outside of their own country, was in Russia. A great Russian poet, Tyutchev, has said, "Russia can't be measured by yards, she can't be surveyed by eyes, she can be understood only by loving hearts." If this is true of Russia, it is true of all human things. In Russia more than elsewhere they applied that measure to foreign persons and things. How many of us foreigners are willing or able to apply that measure of sympathy to Russian things and situations?

I had read Russian books before I went to Russia. I read them again in the Russian atmosphere. I found that they were interesting and enlightening, just because they were not "fiction" but the very realities of Russian life. The heroes of those admirable "Sketches

of a Hunter," by Turgenev, lived in Russia still in 1905.

If I venture an opinion bearing on the present Russian situation, it is that, whatever may be the deficiency and the vices of the present Russian Government, the soviet in Russia has come to stay, for the simple reason that it has always been there. The Russian *mir* is an institution older than Russia herself. The *mir*, characteristically enough, is the same word that stands for world and for peace. For the Russian people the world is the same thing as peace and the same thing as the common ownership of all land, that is, of all wealth. In a Russian peasant's mind the reality of life cannot be separated from peace and common ownership. War and private property may seem to such a mind an ugly nightmare into which humanity has been bedeviled by some evil deity.

Every five years the whole village was gathered in the *mir*, which here means an assembly. The land was redivided on the basis of the need of every family that formed the *mir*, that is, the village. And the land thus divided was called also the *mir*. This institution formed the background of all Russian economic, social, and moral life for centuries.

Besides the *mir* the Russian peasants decided on many of their affairs by soviet, or village assembly. Whenever a Russian village was about to undertake some step leading to activity outside of their village the peasants would call a special meeting and discuss the matter. Nearly always three or more *hodoks*, goers, were chosen and sent out into the world to investigate and report on the matter. The *hodoks* would leave their village somewhere in springtime when snow was melting. They would return in October when the snow reappeared, and report to the village soviet on their mission. In the following springtime the villagers would undertake action on the basis of their report. Those *hodoks* were always illiterate peasants; but their honesty, their common sense and desire to see and find out the facts in which their village was interested were marvelous. Only the stupidity of the Russian bureaucracy, always interfering with them, prevented the village soviets from improving the lot of the Russian peasantry.

There was still another important social and economic institution of the Russian people

rarely or never heard of in this country. The Russian workmen, carpenters, masons, etc., mostly worked in the arteyls or syndicates. Those arteyls traveled from their villages into towns all over Russia in search of work. If there was work, say, for thirty of them and there were fifty in an arteyl, those thirty would share their earnings with the twenty unemployed. In that way they avoided competition and developed a higher degree of solidarity and sociability among themselves.

Another characteristic trait of Russian village life was their singing and musical choruses formed on a coöperative basis. The choruses of different villages arranged yearly competitive performances like the athletic teams of the best English and American universities. They were hired sometimes for festivities in the neighboring towns, but really were an inseparable trait of daily village life. Just as much of their soil was used in common, so were their

joys and pleasures socialized more than anywhere else in Europe.

One should bear in mind that individualism as practiced in western countries was unknown and unsympathetic to the Russian conceptions of good life. Just as much as the social ideal of an Anglo-Saxon is to be independent, the social ideal of a Russian was to be in harmony with his group. Therefore the Russian democracy, if it ever should come to be realized, must differ from the western democracy just as much as their national philosophy differs from the social philosophy of the western nations. If democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people, we must be ready to admit in Russia a democracy very different from ours, as our forms may appear to them arbitrary and artificial, and therefore likely to bear fruit quite different from that expected by sincere and enlightened democrat of other nationalities.

## Constructive Statesmanship

By John Howard Melish

*Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn; Author of "Franklin Spencer Spalding, Man and Bishop"*

**T**O a man who has gone to Germany, and there in personal contact with Germans convinced himself of the radical character of the German revolution, the Peace Treaty is the baying of the hounds of hell. Have not the German people repented of their loyalty to the Kaiser and the military gentlemen who led them, blind leaders of the blind, into the pit? Have they not brought forth fruit meet for revolt and liberation? Why, then, this hounding of the German people by the Allies? Let Congress simply declare that the state of war is at an end. And let the Germans work out their own salvation in fear and trembling. This constitutes the statesmanship of some of the most bitter critics of the Peace Treaty.

Other opponents of the treaty, fearless radicals who write for those who dare not speak, would have had President Wilson, Pilate like, wash his hands before the Peace Conference, and come home. If our Allies would not agree with Woodrow Wilson in every one of the Fourteen Points, in their application to the 440 articles of the treaty, then Mr. Wilson should

have sailed away and let the blood of France and England, Italy and Belgium, be on their own heads and on their children. Whatever the consequences, America and Mr. Wilson could then stand before the bar of history and thank God that they at least were not as other men and nations, carpet baggers, betrayers of the hope of mankind, even as Lloyd George and Italy.

Surely in America there is a radicalism that looks at the treaty from a constructive point of view, a liberalism that keeps its feet on the ground even when its head is above the clouds. With the exception of the orthodox Socialists, who have a dogma to maintain though the heavens fall, all liberals are agreed as to the moral responsibility for the war. They all stand behind the treaty in putting responsibility squarely and solely upon the shoulders of the German Government and the German people. That the present German Government protests is to be expected. What administration ever assumed responsibility for a former administration even in a democracy? Human

nature would pay millions any day rather than acknowledge guilt.

If America and her Allies have foresworn the Fourteen Points in drawing the treaty, their moral character is as reprehensible as was that of Germany in violating her treaty with Belgium. America gave utterance to those principles, Great Britain and the others made them their own, and Germany sued for peace on the basis of them. Now that Germany is down, militarily and economically, for the Allies to ignore those principles is to put might above right, and stir the moral indignation of an outraged world. It is to be expected that Germany should assert that the treaty violated every one of the Fourteen Points. It is to be expected also that, from some few of the 440 articles in the fourteen divisions of the treaty, one or more of the points will be found missing. On more than one of the points, it will be recalled, there was some doubt as to its meaning at the time of their utterance, some change since, and a definite reservation both by France and Great Britain.

The Allies have declared in the treaty and its covering note that their intention has been to base the settlement of Europe on the principle of freeing oppressed peoples and redrawing national boundaries as far as possible in accordance with the will of the peoples concerned, while giving to each the facilities of living an independent national and economic life.

Dantzic, the Saar Valley, Fiume, the Shantung peninsula, and the economic and financial terms of the treaty are cited as the evidence that the Allies are lying and in support of the radical objections to the treaty. Shantung should have been given back to China, and Mr. Wilson on his return will be asked a pointed question by his most ardent admirers. Fiume remains the open door to the Adriatic for Central Europe. The Saar Valley coal should certainly go to France for fifteen years and its people should continue to belong to Germany.

What specific solutions do the liberals who desire to defeat the treaty propose in regard to reparation for the destruction of French coal mines? The open door on the Adriatic, the open port to Poland.

Dantzic is really German and has belonged to Germany, but the treaty makes it a Polish

seaport. On the face of it the principle of self-determination appears abandoned. The treaty, however, does not give Dantzic to Poland, it leaves it to the Germans of Dantzic. But it stipulates that the League of Nations shall see that those citizens use it as a seaport for Poland. That this is not impossible history bears witness. For 150 years prior to 1772 Dantzic was the seaport of ancient Poland before its second partition. And the arrangement worked satisfactorily to the people of Dantzic and to the Poles for all that period.

As to the economic and financial terms of the treaty no one, not even the men who drew it up, has a very clear idea. "No indemnities" was a slogan of the liberals some months ago. When pressed for the meaning they usually replied, "Of course we desire reparation for Belgium and desolated France." Can Germany restore in those lands the wealth she destroyed, and pay for the injury she has done the civilian and military population? No one knows how much she has destroyed or the amount of the injury. It must necessarily be an unlimited amount for the present. It is all the traffic will bear for years to come. The League of Nations, backed by the conscience and sense of justice of us all, can be trusted to make the economic and financial terms of the treaty lighter as Germany shows her good will. Certainly the Germans have greater reason for trusting the good will of the rest of us than we have for trusting the good will of the Germans. We both shall have to learn to trust one another if we are to have a juster and fairer world.

## War Humanly Impossible

By David Starr Jordan

*Chancellor Emeritus Leland Stanford, Jr., University*

I HAVE been more than once reproached as a "false prophet" because before the war I had declared that "Europe could never have another war, the bankers would not allow it," and because I afterward predicted "with equal vehemence that Europe could never have another war for many years."

The second statement rests on the obvious fact that all Europe was sure to be exhausted in blood and treasure when this war was over. The nations have spent upward of \$200,000,000,000 in credit and have destroyed \$40,000,

000,000 of property already on top of their old \$30,000,000,000 of war debt, on which scarcely a dollar had ever been repaid since the great debt followed Waterloo. When the war began there were some \$200,000,000,000 of bonds and stocks in circulation in Europe. What are they worth now?

Until the affair at Zabern showed the unchecked domination of military over civil Germany, I believed, as did 90 per cent. of the business men of Germany, that the war elements of Europe could not bring on a general war against the persistent opposition of the saner elements among them,—those who were not led away by the Kaiser's reckless promises of indemnities. The chance was then compared by a German friend to a game of whist in which the business elements making for peace held 90 to 99 per cent. of the winning cards, but in which the war party would win, if it captured a single trick, and this in any country. In one fashion or another the war group had then been foiled in the annexation of Bosnia, in the affair of Casa Blanca, of Manila, of Johannesburg, of Agadir, when it had made its strongest fight. And finally, by the new weapon of the ultimatum, it won its point by indirection made effective through the weak vanity of the vacillating Emperor, and this in spite of the belated efforts of most of the financiers in Berlin and in London as well.

But it is one thing to begin war, another to carry it on. The actual daily expenditure of war (\$50,000,000 at first and then upward to double the sum) corresponded almost perfectly to Professor Richet's estimates published by me ("War and Waste," Page 176). "Great wars," I then asserted, "ending perhaps in the total destruction of European credit, present appalling risks unknown to any former generation." When I wrote this I did not realize (nobody did to the full) the deadly possibilities of the ultimatum. What I actually said in 1912 was: "The war will never come. Humanly speaking, it is impossible. *Not in the physical sense*, of course, for with weak, reckless, and godless men nothing is impossible. It may be, of course, that some *half-crazed archduke* or some *harassed minister of state* shall, half-unknowing, give the signal for Europe's conflagration. In fact, the agreed signal has been given more than once in the last few months. The

tinder is well dried and laid in such a way as to make the most of this catastrophe. All Europe cherishes is ready for the burning."

This was written before the affair at Zabern and it is fairly prophetic. The "harassed minister of state" was Count Berchtold of Austria, who signed the ultimatum under pressure and who afterward tried in vain to recall it. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand played also his part, but not the rôle laid down for him, though it came at last to the same thing. And, looking over the whole welter of carnage from Archangel to Koweit, from Ypres to Tsingtau, from Jutland to Cavalla, there are few who will say that such an "obscene slaughter" in the midst of the highest culture, the noblest civilization, the unexampled development of commerce, of industry and finance, is "humanly possible." The most "vital interest" of every nation whatever is that the like shall never take place again.

---

## CURRENT THOUGHT

---

### To Our Eldest Hope

**B**UT, Charles, have some compunctions! Could you not

Progress a thought more slow?  
Think how you dallied with a train of cars  
Less than a year ago!

Forgive that rash reminder; but reflect,  
Time's checkerboard is stern;  
It freely grants the forward move, but not  
The Prodigal return.

Ah, pretermite a little of your pride,  
A little while, your joy;  
To please the dotage of our twoscore years,  
Be twelve more hours a boy!  
—Sarah N. Cleghorn, in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

### Human Material and the Army

**T**HE best material for an army is not produced by military drill. What is wanted in young men is the full development of their limbs and minds, giving carriage, tone muscle, and readiness. Military drill kills interest and spirit in boys; it becomes wearisome and monotonous. Routine drill is necessary in an army, but it puts the finishing and not the creative touches. It is not educational in itself, for in some sense it tends to cramp the mind; nor is it the best means of training eye or hand or muscle. If, therefore, we want to produce men who will make good soldiers

quickly, we cannot do better than give them a generous and well-considered system of physical training in adolescence, in which marching, drill, and rifle drill would be a very subordinate element. In the army, it must be remembered, Swedish exercises are an important part of military training. Hence, whether we are fearing war in the future or preparing for peace in the future, wisdom and prudence call for the same measures.—*The London Nation*.

### The World's Hope—A Society of Nations

**T**HE great war has ended in the victory of the side of freedom and justice. But it is not victory but liberation that thrills the heart of the world. The moral purpose of the war is to end war, and this is possible in two ways only. The first is through the passing of the dynastic state which finds in foreign war the certain and "swift remedy" to all uprisings of the people within. The second is the removal of other incentives to war through the coöperation incident to a Society of Nations.—*David Starr Jordan*.

### A Clear-Eyed Prophecy

**I** SEE in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As the result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of our country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my forebodings may be groundless. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could raise a warning voice against the approach of returning despotism.—*Abraham Lincoln, in 1861*.

### Connecting Human Energy and Land

**W**E should make it as easy as possible for human energy to come in contact with nature (land). It is for this reason that Henry George advanced his idea of the Singletax. His proposition was: We have on one hand a great amount of idle energy and on the other hand a great amount of idle land; we must do something to bring the idle energy in contact with the idle land. He therefore proposed that every one who owned idle land should use human energy to develop the land to make it produce, or that the idle land should be taxed so heavily that its owner could not afford to keep it, and would have to sell it or transfer it to some one who would use human energy to develop it.—*Arthur Dunn, in Scientific Selling and Advertising*.

### Protectionists Opposed to Peace

**"A**S a protectionist I cannot accept the fourteen points of President Wilson." So says Senator Sherman, U. S. A. Of course not. Protectionists do not believe in Peace. After the cessation of the war of armaments they believe in carrying on an economic warfare against other nations. Australia also has its war-makers. In this Tory corner of it we have—just to mention a few—Prime Minister Hughes, Hon. Frank Tudor, Sir Robert Best, Dr. Maloney, Benjamin Hoare, Ambrose Pratt, Randolph Bedford—that's the limit. What an unholy group, and what an unholy alliance! Senator Sherman can count on these Australian colleagues of his to refuse to accept President Wilson's policy of free trade, which makes for peace, and to boost the "Made in Germany" policy of trade restriction, which leads to war.—*Progress (Melbourne, Australia)*.

### Now Vote

**W**HILE men, who never earned a cent,  
Thrive on the unearned increment;  
And plous asses who know better  
Cuss and discuss each rule and letter,  
Absorbed entirely in polemic  
And keep the matter academic—

Up, up, thou sluggard with the vote—  
The freeman's sword, nor fondly do  
On proving two times two are four.  
The argument's won. Debate is o'er,  
Waste no more time upon the fact;  
'Tis time now not to talk, but act—  
Not with the torch, nor vandal axe—  
Vote Henry George's Single Tax.

—*H. W. L., in Calumet Record, as an addendum to Edmund Vance Cooke's "Uncivilized," reprinted in The Public May 24.*

## BOOKS

### An Affirmative Intransigent

*League of Nations: Shall It Be an Alliance or a Nation of Nations?* By Alfred Owen Crozier. New York: Lecouver Press Co. 1919.

**M**R. CROZIER is a critic of the Peace Covenant, but not on any of the grounds usually put forth to base objections. He does not oppose it because he believes less in the League idea than its proponents: he insists that he believes in it more; the complaint he makes is not that they go too far, but that they do not go far enough. As matter of fact, our author, who is a very able and well-informed lawyer, now retired from the bar, has pondered long and deeply on this subject and as early as August 10, 1914, he had framed a draft of an international constitution which he mailed to the President the next month and published in October of the same year, the year the European cataclysm burst forth. He has with logical consistency expanded the American Federal

idea to a Confederation of the Governments of the world, with an international and national capitals, with a supreme executive, judiciary, and legislature. His scheme is that of an applied democracy. His League is an international government of the world. We frankly share the author's view that this would be the ideal League of Nations, and that at some future day this very desirable consummation may be within practicable grasp.

But we do not share Mr. Crozier's conviction that this is the only valid, effective, and persistent form the League can take. He assures us again and again that the Covenant adopted in February provides only for an "entangling alliance" and not for a "nation of nations." He maintains that it is impossible to have a "constitution" of a League of Nations without a competent government—executive, judicial, and legislative. Moreover, this Federal Government of the World must become a fact now or never. At least a dozen times he squarely asserts that unless all this is achieved at once the opportunity will pass and war will again be on tap.

Much water will run under London Bridge before England's crowned heads and noble lords will give their assent to the American Federal Government expansion. The same thing can be said, with different qualifications, of every government and people in Europe and in the other Continents. It may be that the world peoples will come to that form of government after years of experimentation under the League we do get, just as the thirteen colonies were educated by the years that intervened between the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the establishment of a perfected Federal Government in the United States. But it is chimerical to dream that the nations will go that length without the education that solicitous experimentation with a looser mode will bring.

Mr. Crozier has not a scrap of antipathy to Mr. Wilson, his only complaint being that the President cannot or has not gone all lengths in his achievement. A more intuitive and discriminating study of events in Paris ought to have convinced Mr. Crozier that the fine ideal that fills his own virile American mind is altogether impossible of acceptance—we do not say by the honest men and women of foreign lands, but—by the kind of representatives that they permit to stand for them in a governmental capacity. Were his convictions of what the world needs less unyielding he might understand better what the world will take.

The value of this book lies in its author's positive, logical, if extreme, presentation of the world's emphatic need of some league that will wholly prevent world wars and reduce national wars to a minimum. His arguments in details of criticism are all weak because vitiated by the general fallacy that if a thing is good you must get it just this very minute, and that if you cannot have the whole extremity of a good no part of it is worth

while. In fact, in his fourteenth chapter, under a subdivision entitled, "Vigilance Committee Government," he completely answers himself by a judicious sketch of the rise of law from the stone age club of every man against every man to the tranquil performance of the modern judiciary. "The one place in the world," he says under the next heading,—“the one place in the world where orderly government has never been created, the place that has steadily refused to accept and embrace true modern civilization and its approved agencies and processes, is the great heathen, brutal, semi-savage place known as the family of nations!” He gives thousands on thousands of years to the development of the courts for decisions of the differences of intimate neighbors in simple community relationships, but he expects Mr. Wilson to dissipate the international barbarism of conflicting peoples, and tongues, and races at one fell swoop, and with a single touch of his wand make a new world stand up like a veritable Augustinian City of God.

### The Bolsheviki

*I Bolsceviki.* By M. Perwoukhine. Bologna, Italy: Nicola Zanichelli. 1919.

WITH the smoke curtain that the censorship and its ally, the capitalistic press, have thrown around Russian affairs, it is almost impossible for the ordinary reader to obtain a fair idea of who and what the Bolsheviki and their policies really are.

It will take a long time and a considerable amount of fearless and honest criticism before we can dispel this smoky cloud and be able to see the Bolsheviki in their true colors. Meanwhile, we must perforce content ourselves with whatever fragmentary evidence we can obtain from those acquainted with their leaders, not through mere hearsay, but because they have come into contact with them.

In the introduction to his book, "I Bolsceviki," M. Perwoukhine says: "I am a true Russian. I love my unfortunate country. I am a journalist by profession. I belong to none of the political parties now existing in Russia. I serve nobody; I am free. And as a free man in a free country (Italy) I frankly say what I think. I have written this book under very difficult circumstances, while a terrible storm was upsetting my country, while on the political stage appeared and disappeared tragic shadows. No one observing this tragedy could have remained cold and impassible."

M. Perwoukhine has not remained "cold and impassible," and the more is the pity. In spite of the fact that he is virtually a proletarian, he finds nothing but words of condemnation for the Bolsheviki, bitter words oozing with that intense hatred one more naturally associates with the hot-blooded people of Sicily than with the phlegmatic inhabitants of snow-clad Russia.

Unfortunately, the crimes committed by the

Bolsheviki which M. Perwoukhine recounts were not witnessed by him. In this respect his book is not very illuminating, for the capitalist press has already taken good care to inform us of all the atrocities committed by the erstwhile exploited and ill-treated mujiks, but what renders M. Perwoukhine's book extremely interesting is a series of portraits which, fortunately, take up far the larger part of the book.

In this series are included Lenine, Trotzky, Gorki, the monk Anatolius, Parvus, and many other figures less notorious throughout the world, but of immense influence in the Bolshevik *régime*.

These portraits are drawn soberly and rather dispassionately for a man so bitterly opposed to the Bolsheviki, and in them M. Perwoukhine reveals a first-hand knowledge of his subjects. Himself a political *émigré*, M. Perwoukhine came in contact with the Bolshevik leaders at Capri, Liguria, the Riviera, Paris, Vienna, and in Switzerland. In those centers they gathered and toiled for what they thought to be the salvation of Russia, closely watched by the hateful "Okhrana," or Russian secret police, and harassed by the several governments who then thought nothing about making the world safe for democracy.

A most interesting gallery this is which flatters not the sitters, but presents them before our eyes more like the human beings they undoubtedly must be, than they appear in the lurid pictures of them furnished us by a morbid daily press.

M. Perwoukhine's portraits throw more light on the Bolsheviki than do the chapters he devotes to them as a whole, and they render his book worthy of an English translation.

MARIANO JOAQUIN LORENTE.

## For Clarity of Definition

*The Meaning of National Guilds.* By Maurice B. Reckitt and C. E. Bechhofer. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1918.

**P**UT it to yourself squarely: do you really know what you mean by such terms as "Syndicalism," "Soviet," and "National Guild"? You see and hear the words daily, but are you clear in your own mind as to what they imply? Is it not quite possible that you may be mistaking familiarity with the name for knowledge of what it stands for? Suppose you have a "pretty fair" idea of the meaning—is your knowledge definite and consecutive, or is it made up of patches of argument and unrelated notices of activities vaguely remembered from reading newspapers?

Why this worry? Well, these terms stand for ideas in government that are going to be fought over for the next several generations. You are not going to escape the responsibility of making decisions which will involve the acceptance or rejection of the new ideas. These terms stand for movements that are actually under way, and there are only two possible courses you can pursue with

reference to them. Either you can denounce the whole attempt to find a new basis for government, and employ such terms as these merely for purposes of reproach, or you can set yourself the task of understanding the movements which they designate, and arrive at your own judgment in regard to the value of the different proposals put forward.

There is a further point which should be kept in mind. Great social movements always spring from the bottom and work up. They have their roots in the life of the people, and hence there is a particular character or quality attaching to the literature in which they find expression. When you read one of the books about the guild idea, for example, you are examining a first-hand document, and not studying an academic treatise. These documents are the expression of the hopes and aspirations of men who are actually playing their part in the life of today, and are not critical dissertations produced in the seclusion of colleges. It is, therefore, useless to say that the argument presented is faulty from the point of view of "political science," for the principles of "political science" are but the mummified abstractions of once vital movements.

The book of Messrs. Reckitt and Bechhofer is of profound interest to the student of recent movements for the reconstitution of society. The authors do not lay claim to be original exponents of the guild idea, like S. G. Hobson, G. D. H. Cole, A. J. Penty, and A. R. Orage. They are, on the other hand, the first systematizers of the doctrine and aims of the movement. Even so, they are not academic. Their book is a part of the movement, an exposition made for practical purposes, not a book about the movement made by observers from outside its ranks. The authors are doers, not teachers—if you recall Bernard Shaw's phrase.

This is not the place to undertake a criticism of the National Guild program; it is one aspect of that great movement, which is now recognizable in all countries, for recognition of the human aspect of the laborer's relation to his work. "The essentials of the guild idea," the author says, "are the recovery of initiative by the ordinary worker, his release from bondage to the base purposes of profit, and his achievement of complete and responsible industrial democracy."

There are two main ideas expressed throughout this book: first, that constitutional action is possible now in the field of politics, but not in the field of industry; second, that society can only be saved by giving the laborer the opportunity for initiative and for assuming responsibility. The need of constitutional government in industry, and the necessity of placing responsibility upon the workers, these appear to be the fundamentals for which the guild is fighting.

It is one of the signs of this strange time that the authors should make the appeal: "Let us decide in the calm of civil peace rather than in the agonies of civil war that we prefer liberty to

slavery." It is still more curious that we should read these statements without astonishment; they have come to have a familiar ring. But, as I tried to emphasize at the beginning, let us beware of becoming over-familiar with phrases and ideas to which we have not given the closest attention. If trouble impends, let us utilize the time at our disposal in making ourselves thoroughly conversant with the proposals advanced; and for the presentation of one important aspect of the great problem of labor, accept the statement put forward in this carefully written book.

F. J. T.

## NEWS

### Education

—A pledge of the American Federation of Labor to support the teachers of the country in their campaign for better wages was made at the National Education Association's convention, in session in Milwaukee, by Henry Sterling, legislative representative of the Federation, who declared that "the laboring man above all appreciated the necessity of a good education."

—Since the marked success of Herman Schneider, Dean of the Engineering College, in establishing the coöperative course in engineering, the University of Cincinnati has made him Dean of the College of Commerce and has established a course along commercial lines like the one he inaugurated in engineering. The College of Commerce has been a straight academic course in the University for several years. Next fall the students will begin their coöperative course in commerce.

—The Training School for Community Workers is the name of an institution at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, that represents itself as a school that studies life. It announces that it will begin its fifth year in October, and that it will operate on a coöperative plan in organization and in methods of financial support. The fees for lecturers in the training school are met through the tuition of students. The equipment and the overhead cost during the inaugural period are to be met with the money taken from the sale of shares.

—At least a 25 per cent. increase in the salaries of Harvard professors, more housing for Harvard students in order that every influence can be brought to bear to develop them both intellectually and morally, larger and more modern chemistry equipment and better provision for the Dental School, are urged by A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University, in a statement to the committee in charge of the Harvard Endowment Fund campaign. To supply properly these needs President Lowell estimates that additional funds of \$10,000,000 will be required.

—The Open Forum National Council, with headquarters in Boston, announces a summer school of open forum lecturers to be held at Chau-

tauqua, New York, from August 19 to August 29. The summer school is held in response to the invitation and with the coöperation of the Chautauqua Institution. In addition to the conferences every forenoon and afternoon, there will be sample forum gatherings held in the auditorium two evenings of each of the two weeks of the school, when the method of conducting the regular community forum and the motion picture forum will be illustrated.

—In the Philippines between 1912 and 1918 the total number of children in school increased from 440,000 to 675,000, a gain of 54 per cent. in six years; the number of immediate pupils grew to 67,000, a gain of 160 per cent.; the number of high school students reached 16,000, a gain of 220 per cent. The Philippine Legislature, composed entirely of Filipinos, now supports 4,700 schools, with a teaching force of 12,808 teachers. All instruction is in English, and will continue to be if independence is granted. A large number of additional American teachers are to be employed and sent to the Philippines within the next year. All of the expense of education is being paid by the Philippine Government.

### Suffrage

—The Belgian Senate has unanimously and without discussion adopted universal suffrage, to be exercised at 21 years of age and with the six months' residential qualification.

—Iowa's Assembly, in special session, ratified the suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution on July 2. The vote in the Senate was unanimous, 48 voting yes. The House vote was 95 to 5. Iowa was the tenth State to ratify.

—According to a survey of Indiana women in industry recently completed by the United States Department of Labor, in 48 out of 110 establishments visited, 80 per cent. of the women were working regularly ten or more hours a day, not including overtime.

—At Charlotte, N. C., delegates representing from 600 to 700 business and professional women have effected the organization of the North Carolina Federation of Business and Professional Women, with Miss Julia Alexander, a Charlotte attorney, president. A resolution urging the State General Assembly to ratify the Susan B. Anthony amendment was adopted.

—The Women's Emancipation Bill which has been before the House of Commons for some time was defeated by a vote of 100 to 85. The motion was offered by Major Waldorf Astor. Major Astor announced, however, that the Government intends to introduce a bill to take the place of the Emancipation Bill. It will provide for the placing of men and women on equal terms in civil and judicial matters.

—Two new women's organizations for the advancement of women's interests have just been formed in Hartford. One is the Women's League

and the other is the Business and Professional Women's Club of Hartford. The purpose of the league is "to form a nucleus for and to build up and maintain an organization to encourage, engage in and carry on centralized and coöperative work and service of a useful, patriotic, educational and charitable character, local and national."

—A commission of women sent under the auspices of the American Y. W. C. A. to Europe, to study present industrial conditions, particularly as they affect women, and to coördinate their social movement with that of Europe, has arrived in London. The commission includes Mrs. Irene O. Andrews (American Association for Labor Legislation), Miss Nellie Schwartz (Consumers' League), Miss Mary Dreier (Women's Trade Union League), and Mrs. James S. Cushman (chairman of the Y. W. C. A. Council).

### Labor

—The fifty-sixth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor will be held in Syracuse beginning August 26.

—At its annual convention in Minot recently the North Dakota Federation of Labor went on record for independent political action in coöperation with the farmers.

—An International Socialist Education movement is being established, with headquarters at London which proposes an international federation of Socialist and Labor colleges; an international working-class students' union; an international system of traveling scholarships, and an international Socialist library.

—Following adoption by the State labor convention at Bellingham, Wash., of a political program combining the forces of organized labor, farmers' organizations and sixteen railway unions in a powerful "triple political alliance," representatives of the three bodies will meet in Seattle July 18 to perfect a permanent State central committee.

—At a meeting of the Hindu workingmen, held recently in New York, a new organization, called the India Workers' Union of America, was started. The organization aims to unite all the Hindu laborers in this country, of which there are about 8,000. One of its objects is to disseminate knowledge about the conditions under which workers in India are forced to toil.

—The largest appropriation measure in the history of Chicago has just been adopted by the City Council. The budget for the coming year is approximately \$115,000,000. This is an increase of about \$45,000,000 over the \$70,000,000 budget of last year. The principal cause of the increase is higher wages and salaries for city employes. Virtually every person employed by the municipality is provided with increased pay.

—The delegates representing the American Federation of Labor at the international labor conference to be held in Amsterdam on July 26 will be Samuel Gompers, president of the Federation,

and Daniel J. Tobin, of Boston, Mass., president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and treasurer of the Federation. This conference will discuss the international labor conference to be held in Washington, D. C., in October under the terms of the League Covenant.

—One thousand City Hall clerks, members of the Office Employes' Association of Chicago, Local Union 12,755, walked out after their demands for an increase of wages had been rejected by the Finance Committee of the City Council. As a result of the walk-out, the council members got busy and included the clerks' demands along with those of other city departments and July 1st offered the following increases: Junior clerks, maximum, raised from \$1,320 to \$1,500 per year; senior clerks, maximum, raised from \$1,740 to \$1,980 per year; principal clerks, maximum, raised from \$2,160 to \$2,460 per year; head clerks, maximum, raised from \$2,700 to \$2,900 per year.

### Color Line

—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has issued a pamphlet called "Burning at Stake in the United States," in which it gives a record of the public burning by mobs of five men during the first five months of 1919 in the States of Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas.

—William Trotter of Boston, representing the National Equal Rights League, on the 5th sent to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, a long petition asking that certain clauses be inserted in the League of Nations Covenant. These clauses, the petition said, were designed to secure for American Negroes and other racial minorities "full democracy."

—A campaign of education with the view to bringing about public opposition to lynching is announced by the Southern Publicity Committee of the Southern Sociological Congress. The program of the campaign provides for the sending of speakers to conventions actively to enlist religious, educational and other leaders in the movement; and a thorough study of the causes of lynching, on the results of which a conservative program of education and law enforcement may be worked out.

—Down in Washington a colored man, John W. Lewis, is constructing the Whitelaw Apartment House, a building costing over \$110,000; this building is being constructed with colored people's money, and all of the work save the plumbing and electric paraphernalia is being done by colored men. Mr. Lewis went to Washington with Coxey's Army, and twelve years after carrying the hod on the True Reformers' Building he purchased it. Later he organized the Industrial Savings Bank and the Laborers and Mechanics' Realty, both large and successful institutions in the capital.

—Three members, a majority of the public welfare board of Omaha protesting against the appointment of a Negro woman as a member of the

board to succeed Frank A. Kennedy, State labor commissioner, upon the grounds that they did not believe it possible to find a Negro woman fitted to hold the position, and that such an appointment would not be for the best interests of the Negro citizens, were overruled by Mayor Smith and the appointment made. Mrs. Julia Hudlin, a widow and former Y. W. C. A. worker in Chicago and New York, secured the position upon the recommendation of the leading Negro citizens.

### Public Order

—On the 2d of July, one day after the Prohibition edict went into effect only one arrest was recorded at the South Clark Street police station in Chicago, as against an average of more than 200 a night. Lieutenant McMahon, in command of the district, which had a large number of saloons until the preceding day said that "in the old days" the station had housed as many as 800 prisoners a night.

—The Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives gave six hearings in the middle of June to the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, the Secretary, was heard at considerable length, one day being given to his introductory statement and three days to the subsequent cross questioning. Dr. J. W. Jenks was heard during one full session. Senator Phelan made a two-hour address. The National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation is a lay organization which has been constituted under the chairmanship of Mr. Hamilton Holt, with Dr. Sidney L. Gulick as secretary, to deal with the practical phases of securing the best possible laws from Congress for the regulation of immigration.

### Cost of Living

—On July 4th Senator Robert M. La Follette said that if some great playwright would dramatize the evidence collected by Congressional and Governmental investigators of the packers and carry it to the people of the United States it would cause a revolution.

—New York City will arrest on the complaint of only two persons any retailers who charge more than fifty cents a hundred for ice during the expected shortage in August. Deputy Market Commissioner E. J. O'Malley suggests a priority list of purchasers. He claims that cellar ice men make as high as \$750 a week profit in some instances.

—Shopkeepers in Rome, learning that the riots throughout the Romagna district were spreading to other cities, decided to reduce their prices without waiting to be forced to that course by mob violence. The disorders that brought about these voluntary reductions were reported to have taken place at Arezzo, Pisa, Pistolja, Leghorn, Genoa, Milan and Palermo. Everywhere where there were disorders the people obtained 50 per cent. reductions on foods and other necessities.

### Public Health

—That tuberculosis is on the increase in Boston, and that it is very probably due to the great increase in work at the high wages paid during the war, are statements made by Seymour H. Stone, secretary of the Boston Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis.

—A determined fight will be made by the organized public health nurses of the country to have a bureau of public health nurses, with an experienced nurse at its head, incorporated in any organization of the proposed Department of Health. Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, has been asked by the National Organization of Public Health Nurses to insert a section providing for such a bureau into his pending bill for the creation of the portfolio of health in the Cabinet and a separate health department.

### Transportation

—Congress has been advised by the Alaskan Engineering Commission that the Alaska government railroad project will be completed in 1921 at a cost of \$50,486,971, or about \$78,200 a mile. L. J. McPherson, engineer in charge, said this cost compared favorably with American continental construction costs. Between 5,000 and 6,000 men will be at work this summer.

—The railroad deficit for the month of May will be close to \$89,000,000, according to advance returns to the Interstate Commerce Commission. These figures cover 98 per cent. of the Class I mileage. The average deficit for the preceding four months was \$48,500,000. The five months' deficit amounts to \$218,000,000, or as much as the total deficit for these roads for the first year of Government operation.

—The British dirigible R-84 arrived at Roosevelt Field, Mineola, L. I., at 8:45 o'clock on July 6, and a little later Major John Edward Maddock Pritchard landed upon American soil, after a parachute drop of 2,000 feet. This completed the longest flight in history, the distance covered being 8,200 miles, not counting the mileage forced upon the fliers by adverse winds. The time consumed was a few minutes more than 108 hours. The big airship brought over thirty-one persons, one of whom was a stowaway, and a tortoise shell cat.

### Land Reform

—A national convention of the Singletax Party, representing sixteen States, was held in New York City June 29 and 30. The sentiment of the delegates favored putting a Presidential ticket in the field next year.

—Under the auspices of the National Board of Farm Organization, the first federated farmers' convention held in the Northwest has just closed a three-day session at Spokane. The principal topics for discussion were the early federation of

all farmers' organizations in the United States and the building of a temple of agriculture at Washington, D. C. This federation was unanimously approved, and arrangements for a delegate convention at Spokane late in October for perfecting such an organization were completed. Twenty thousand dollars was subscribed toward the temple fund. An international bureau of agriculture was favored as a part of the plan of the League of Nations.

### Foreign

—The *Giornale d'Italia* says that news from Imola and other towns in the Romagna district of Central Italy says that relative calm has been restored, in a sense. The authorities have virtually handed over their administrative powers to Socialist, Syndicalist and Anarchist organizations, which have taken control of the region as Soviets.

—In the recent session of the Diet in Tokyo franchise reforms were passed raising the number of voters, which under the previous franchise were 1,462,226, to 2,867,551. The electors must be males and Japanese subjects of not less than twenty-five full years, which is the same as before. The voters must reside six months in an electoral district before the framing of the electoral lists instead of one year as before. The direct national tax is now three yen instead of ten yen as formerly.

—The total of the losses of the various belligerents during the world war, made public by Deputy Louis Marin, had a staggering effect upon French public opinion. France in four and one-half years of war lost one man in every twenty-six inhabitants; Great Britain, exclusive of her dominions, lost one in every sixty-six of population; Italy, one in every seventy-nine inhabitants. Germany's losses work out as one man in every thirty-five inhabitants; Austria-Hungary, one in every fifty; Russia, one in every 107 inhabitants.

### General

—Orders for the demobilization of the army by September 30 to a peace time strength of 233,808 officers and men, authorized by the National Defense Act, were issued on the 3d by the War Department. The announcement meant that definite plans had been made to withdraw almost the entire American expeditionary forces before many weeks.

—William Allen White, the editor of Emporia, Kan., who has been reporting the Peace Conference, has arrived in America. From his observations abroad he said he was convinced that there would be a bloodless uprising in England and that sooner or later England would be flourishing under Soviet government. It will be a bloodless and orderly procedure, with King George as a sort of royal "Soviet ruler."

### THE SCHOOL THAT STUDIES LIFE

The Training School for Community Workers  
Reorganized on the Cooperative Plan

JOHN COLLIER, Director

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

Address for full information

MISS A. A. FREEMAN, Room 1001, 70 Fifth Ave.,  
New York City

## How Should Taxes be Levied?

**S**HOULD every citizen be made to pay according to his means? Should all property be taxed whatever its nature? Or should there be exemptions? If so, what should be exempt and why? "Natural Taxation," by Thomas G. Shearman, answers these questions clearly and convincingly.

In cloth, 75c.

3 copies, postpaid, \$1.50

THE HENRY GEORGE BOOK SHOP  
122 East 37th St. New York

## The Railroads

A large edition of a reprint of articles on the Railroad situation, which appeared in *The Public* in April, is nearly exhausted.

### Organized Labor's Railroad Plan

By GLENN E. PLUMB

### Government Ownership and Railroad Organization

By HUGH REID

*No charge will be made for what we have*

Acute need for educational work on the railroad situation is obvious.

Write immediately to any of the undersigned:

**THE PUBLIC** 122 East 37th Street  
NEW YORK

CARL D. THOMPSON, Sec., Public Ownership  
League, Unity Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

GLENN E. PLUMB, Munsey Bldg.,  
Washington, D. C.