

 MEXICAN MISINFORMATION

# THE PUBLIC

*A Journal of Democracy*

July 19, 1919

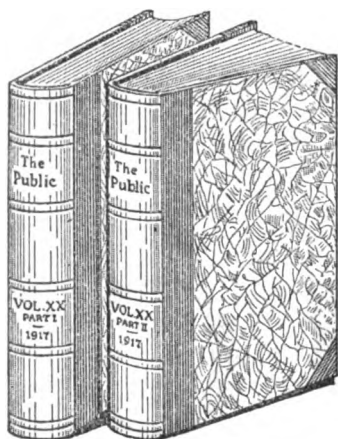
Labor and Business

Roger W. Babson

Railway Guarantees and Capital

War Without Limit

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



## History That is True

**I**T was again necessary this year, on account of the additional pages, to have the numbers of THE PUBLIC for 1918 bound in *two parts*. One book would have been unwieldy.

Volume XXI, made up in two handsome books bound in half leather with marbled board sides, gives an interpretation and a history of the outstanding social and political events of a tremendously important year.

*Price for the two, \$5.00*

We have two sets of the volumes of THE PUBLIC, complete except for volume I, now very rare. These books, twenty-two of them, uniformly bound, make a unique history of the twenty years they cover. Invaluable to journalists, men and women in public life, and to all students of the vital questions of the times. Price \$57.25. When we have it, Volume I sells for \$25.

**BOOK DEPT.**

**THE PUBLIC** 122 E. 37th STREET  
NEW YORK

## Two Single Tax Booklets You Should Have THE FARMER AND THE SINGLE TAX

*By James R. Brown*

A new booklet which shows how only one tax, and that levied upon the value of land exclusive of all improvements, would effect the farmer. Single copy, 5c.; per dozen, 30c.

## A PLAIN TALK ON TAXATION

*By James R. Brown*

Mr. Brown in this talk undertakes to cure economic orthodoxies in fifteen minutes. And his percentage of 100% cures is unusually high. This talk couples with clear thinking, direct, forceful statement and illustration. Many years of successful platform work have taught the author just what goes over the heads of his audience and what goes into their heads. Single copy, 5c.; per dozen, 30c.

**THE HENRY GEORGE BOOK SHOP**

122 East 37th Street

New York

# The Public

## A Journal of Democracy

July 19, 1919

## Contents

Editorial Notes .....	755
Good Luck, Germany .....	758
Politics and Patriotism .....	758
Persecution Not Prosecution .....	759
British Nationalization of Mines .....	759
Street Car Profits and Watered Stock ...	760
Those Who Will Not Learn .....	761
A Shifted Centrality .....	761
Vox ex Machina (Poetry), Richard Warner Borst .....	762
Labor and Business, Roger W. Babson ...	763
Woman the Touchstone .....	765
Much About Villa and Carranza: Little About the Mexican People, Manuel Carpio .....	766
Public Ownership of Railways versus Guarantees to Private Capital, Louis W. Rapeer, Ph. D. ....	768
War Without Limit, David Starr Jordan.	770
Three Things (Poetry), Elsie Jewett Webster .....	771
Current Thought .....	771
Books .....	772
News .....	776

*Founded and Edited, 1898-1918, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE THACHER 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 3, 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 19, 1919

Number 1111

---

THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE is again up to his old tricks. Some years ago he had himself committed to prison in order to learn why prisoners came out worse than they went in. What he discovered was exemplified in his management of Sing Sing. He has now enlisted in the navy as a common seaman in order to discover why so many boys are sent to the naval prison under his management at Portsmouth. A sailor brought before a general court-martial asked to be sentenced to Osborne's prison at Portsmouth, saying, "It's a prison, I know, but I'll be better treated there than I am on board ship." When Mr. Osborne has completed his service as a common seaman, naval officials might return the compliment by having themselves committed to Osborne's prison to see why the men prefer him to the service. Tom Osborne treats criminals like gentlemen and they grow to live the part. Too many naval officers treat men like criminals—and too often they learn to be such. Osborne meets his men on the plane of fellowship. More of that relation on shipboard would be conducive to that democracy that Secretary Daniels has worked so hard to establish. The United States Navy is too fine an institution to be burdened with medieval class relations.

CITIZENS of Syracuse, New York, are wrestling with the question of how much the city should pay for the bed of the abandoned canal that ran through its limits. One faction contends that it should pay for the bed of the canal the same price as adjacent land. Another faction, led by the city engineer, Mr.

Allan, contends that it should pay only the value attaching to the land outside of the city. Manifestly the citizens of Syracuse should pay the State for all the value the citizens of the State conferred upon land within the city, no more and no less. All land values are due to population, but these values vary according to the density and efficiency of the population. The people of this whole State conferred a value upon the bed of the Erie Canal, both within and without the city of Syracuse. The people of Syracuse conferred a value upon the bed of the canal within the city. As the creator is entitled to what he creates, the people of Syracuse should not be required to pay the State for the value they have themselves created, but for the value that the people of the State created. Hence they should pay for only that part of the value of the abandoned canal lands that corresponds to the value of the canal lands outside of the city.

GRASPING the nettle boldly to avoid its sting appears to be the motive of the National Association of Manufacturers in regard to socialism. That an organization of such conservative, not to say reactionary, tendencies should take notice of the socialist appeal, and send out under its stamp a temperate answer, shows a new point of view. The address admits quite frankly that there is cause for unrest under present conditions. The reasons given are: Growth of great fortunes; unfair economic treatment of labor; regarding labor as a commodity; lack of sympathy in the treatment of labor questions; maladministration of

government; unfair courts; political rings; indifference to civic duties. It will be seen that these do not touch the heart of the matter. Nor are the remedies much better. It is proposed to pass a prohibition law, which "will practically abolish poverty." The declaration for "a permanent system of taxation including taxes on income, profits, inheritance, etc., which will put the burden on the rich," is more complimentary to the heart than the head; "break down as far as practicable every artificial economic barrier between nations, so that there shall be the fullest possible trade and intercourse," is commendable; but the declaration for compulsory and military training will do anything but "teach respect for authority and inculcate a love for the American flag." The Association urges that encouragement be given the best element among the Socialists, "such men as John Spargo, Charles E. Russell, J. G. Phelps Stokes, William English Walling, Robert Hunter, etc., to exercise a restraining influence over those with whom they are associated," and "keep the active forces of public opinion—the press, the pulpit, and the forum—ceaselessly at work for the cure of evils."

A GOOD example of the exercise of the duties of citizenship is the action of the League of Free Nations Association which calls upon the United States Senate by resolution "to ratify without reservations the treaty with Germany, including the League of Nations Covenant." In addition to asking ratification without reservation the Association asks the Senate to declare it to be the policy of the United States as a member of the League of Nations to: (a) Press for the immediate restoration of Kiao-Chau and the German concessions of Shantung to the Chinese Republic; (b) Hold that nothing in the Treaty or the Covenant shall be construed as authorizing interference by the League in internal revolutions, or as preventing genuine redress and readjustment of boundaries, "through orderly processes provided by the League, at any time in the future that these may be demanded by the welfare and manifest interest of the people concerned;" (c) The inclusion of Germany and Russia in the League as soon as they have a stable government, and their participation on equal footing in all economic intercourse; (d) Press for the progres-

sive reduction of armaments by all nations; (e) Throw the whole weight of the country in behalf of such changes in the constitution and such developments in the practice of the League as will make it more democratic in its scheme of representation and procedure. The intent of the Association is to have the Covenant adopted, but when adopted to have it put to use to secure those things that should have been in the treaty in the first place. This may seem to some like a confusion of purposes, but it is really a recognition of the element of time in political affairs. Peoples will agree to things six months from now that they would not have accepted at the time the treaty was drawn; and with the League in operation advantage can be taken of these changing moods of the future.

MISS MARGARET BONFIELD, who is visiting America as a fraternal delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, has undertaken to hector American labor for not organizing a separate labor party. At the same time she is advocating the general strike to force political action. To make matters worse, the Southport Conference appears from the cable dispatches to have joined in this advocacy of two mutually antagonistic courses. It should by this time have been made plain that a general strike of this character is not complementary but antagonistic to political action. A general strike to force political action from popularly elected parliaments or congresses is a different thing from a strike against individual employers. It is even a different thing from a strike of government employes against unfair working conditions. For a strike against the Government by government employes arising wholly out of their industrial relations is only incidentally political. It is primarily a private demonstration and affects the Government only in its private relation to a few persons. It is directed not so much against the Government as against government officials who exercise the employing function for the Government.

BUT the general strike for the sole and exclusive purpose of forcing legislative action is directed against the state in its sovereign

capacity. It is a strike of a part of the people against the whole, and is one that should be exercised only through one channel, the ballot box. Its exercise through any other channel is a denial of its exercise through the proper one. In only one case could it ever become justifiable. That case would arise when a majority of the electorate participated in it. But in such an event its exercise would be unnecessary, for a majority can secure redress through the ballot. It is quite true, of course, that neither our system nor the British makes the governmental machinery immediately responsive to the will of the majority. Nevertheless, the remedy lies not in the destruction of such machinery as already exists, but in its perfection.

**G**IVE a true tory plenty of leeway and he will invariably make an ass of himself. Not so long ago it was no crime to be a radical. The theory in America was that every idea for the change of government could be properly advocated, no matter whether that idea was radical or conservative, wise or foolish, so long as its advocates were willing to urge it through the ballot. Violence we have always frowned upon as a means of changing our institutions. Even bribery of legislators has been considered unfair—except in the case of railroads and franchise monopolies. But there was no restriction as to what governmental changes one could advocate, provided such changes were to be effected through lawful channels. Gradually, however, plutocratic agitators came to class violence with radicalism although the two are as far apart as the poles. Now Mr. Archibald Stevenson, who is assisting in the New York Bolshevik investigation, has widened the scope of the forbidden classes to include “radicals, liberals, and apologists for radicals and liberals.” Tomorrow the definition will probably be again extended to include all but advocates of hereditary monarchy. This is the same Mr. Stevenson whom Secretary Baker repudiated, and he did it just in time, for Mr. Baker is himself now in the proscribed class. But he has plenty of company—fully four-fifths of the American people. He will soon have more than that. With no curb to his ambition, Mr. Stevenson can soon extend the list of undesirables until only a saintly trinity is left, consisting of

Senator Lodge, Nicholas Murray Butler, and himself. What a joyful day it will be when he begins to suspect them also!

**M**INNESOTA is next door to North Dakota. Governor Burnquist, who has been at the helm in Minnesota affairs, takes the position that every one connected with the Nonpartisan League or with the Federation of Labor is necessarily guilty of treason. We presume that the Governor will admit that the people of the United States are themselves the best judges of what is treason and what is not. An election has just been held to fill the vacancy created by the death of the late Congressman Van Dyke. It was held in St. Paul under the very nose of Governor Burnquist. A candidate was running who was perfectly acceptable to the Governor. Nevertheless, Oscar Keller, running as an independent labor candidate with the backing of the Nonpartisan League, won by a plurality of 8,000. His platform called for immediate ratification of the Peace Treaty without change, for the Covenant of the League of Nations, a comprehensive development policy for railways, waterways, and merchant marine, and for a five-year extension of government control over the railroads. There is no doubt that Mr. Keller, according to Governor Burnquist's definitions, was running on a treasonable platform backed by a treasonable organization. Yet he won the election. This should effectually dispose of treason talk from Governor Burnquist. No doubt it will, and the Governor as well at the next election.

**L**YNCHING bids fair to become unpopular. The Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs has undertaken to work up public sentiment against mob violence. The *Montgomery Journal* shows that lynching depreciates property by keeping desirable people from coming into territory given to the practice. The *San Antonio Express* commends the bill introduced in the Texas Legislature, which provides, in addition to stringent provisions for holding participants in mob murder, that the county in which the lynching occurs shall be responsible to the extent of \$5,000 to the dependent relations of the person killed. The Governor is empowered to pay from \$5,000 to \$10,000 as rewards for

information. Governor Dorsey of Georgia, gave the subject careful attention in his inaugural address. He suggested that the Legislature create a special bureau to act at once without waiting for the local authorities to call upon the Governor for protection against mob violence. He proposes also that mob members be tried anywhere in the State, and he would hold the county where crime is committed financially responsible. And he warns the Legislature that if it does not do something the Federal authorities will.

## Good Luck, Germany

GERMANY has ratified the treaty. This, so far as she is concerned, brings the war to an end and opens the way for the upbuilding work of peace. What of the spirit in which this is to be done? If Germany considers her defeat as due to a mistake in military tactics, and begins preparations to redress it, then will she add moral collapse to material disaster; but some at least among her leaders have taken a broader view and see in the present condition of the country an opportunity to start national life anew with hope, vision, and understanding from which, in time, will spring international friendship of the finer sort.

Mathias Erzberger, Minister of Finance, speaking at Weimar before the National Assembly, boldly outlines a taxation policy to meet Germany's own debt and the bill for reparation. "It is the duty of propertied people," he said, in speaking of the enormous taxes that would have to be raised, "not only to bow to a state of compulsion, but to achieve an inward conviction as to the necessity of giving up all riches and all that is superfluous."

Details of the new taxes have not been submitted. The minister declared it to be his purpose to establish justice in the whole taxation system. Incomes from capital will be taxed more heavily, he says, than the income from work. "The world has denied us international justice," he said; "all the more passionately and energetically, however, will we work for the home-land again."

Science, learning, culture—all that go to make up real civilization—remain, and remain in purer form because of the cleansing effect of the revolution. Germany has rid herself of her

hereditary rulers, and necessity will compel her people to eliminate all parasites and stop the monopoly tolls that burden industry. The spirit of sacrifice that Financial Minister Erzberger demands leads in that direction. It is the spirit that must come in all countries, but probably will be manifest only where and as necessity dictates.

One of the finest of Anglo-Saxon characteristics is to fight with all one's might, and have done with it. It is in this spirit that THE PUBLIC, believing that Germany has been deservedly chastised, wishes the German people all good fortune in their great national undertaking, and trusts they will speedily have a place—as they assuredly have a work—in the task of developing a League of Nations that will slowly but certainly draw the world together in simple justice.

## Politics and Patriotism

THE studied orations on great occasions are frequently ignored by later generations, while an incidental remark is long remembered. Lincoln's Gettysburg speech was dismissed by many of the newspapers with the brief remark that "Mr. Lincoln also spoke." Similarly, we imagine young Mr. Roosevelt's offhand remarks at the Harvard Commencement will be remembered by his auditors some time after Mr. Lodge's scholarly oration has been forgotten. "We need not fear Bolshevism in America," he said. "What we do need to fear is the tendency toward reaction which would play into the hands of Bolshevism, and is the only thing that can bring about the danger of Bolshevism here."

It would be a blessing if Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt could transmit some of his wisdom to Congress. The latter, instead of dealing constructively with the general problems of unrest, seems anxious to confine itself to repressive measures. It is improbable that any further repressive measures will be enacted, but it seems equally certain that no constructive measures will be passed. It is useless to attempt to deal with unrest of any kind by mere repression. Nor will severity of sentences aid matters. The opinion of Judge Anderson, of the Federal Court at Boston, in sentencing two profiteers to jail was perfectly sound: "I have no belief in vindictive or cruel punishments.

They do not protect society. They create hatred and contempt for Government."

The inability of Congress to deal sanely with this, or indeed with any other great problem, is but a by-product of the breakdown of both old party organizations. The people of the United States have made tremendous strides, but Congress lags behind, still talking in terms of 1914. It might as well talk in terms of 1856. The President alone seems to be thinking in modern terms. And he is so handicapped because of the necessity of working with medieval minds that his own intentions are often misunderstood. Only through a new political alignment can we have progress.

## Persecution Not Prosecution

**A**MERICANS have been wont to extol their democracy as a government of law and not of men. That indeed is the essential difference between a democracy and an autocracy; but we have come upon a new order,—government by committees and by departments.

The Lusk Committee appointed by the New York Legislature to investigate Bolshevism in the State appears to be suffering from a rush of authority to the head, and has turned itself into an inquisition. Safes have been broken into; papers have been seized; such documents as can be tortured into a semblance of illegality were published with unnatural interpretations without giving the accused an opportunity to be heard or make any explanation. The whole affair is conducted after the approved manner of the bigots of the Middle Ages.

If these reactionaries who are so sedulously cultivating the gentle art of making anarchists had deliberately set out to ruin the Rand School of Social Science and the Rand School Book Store, they would have followed just such a course. Yet after all its illegal acts and unconstitutional methods the Lusk Committee has found nothing in connection with the Rand School except some books and literature that could have been purchased in the Rand Book Store or in any other well-stocked store. The school is a public institution in every sense of the word and subject to the laws of the city and State, yet a committee from out of town comes in and undertakes to destroy an institution that the local government has approved.

Another illustration of departmental government is the persecution of the New York *Call* by the postal authorities. That the *Call* has conformed to the laws of the country is to be presumed from the fact that throughout the war it has not been interfered with by the legal authorities in any way; yet the Postal Department in November, 1917, withdrew the second-class mailing privilege, and at various times during the war certain issues were denied the mails altogether. Since the war ended the paper is allowed to be sent through the mails at commercial rates, but second-class privileges are still withheld.

Specific application for the restoration of second-class mailing privileges was made January 9th this year, and though repeatedly renewed no decision has been made by the Department. The only excuse given for the delay is that the matter is a weighty one and takes time. It has already taken over six months, and has cost the paper between one hundred thousand and two hundred thousand dollars.

There can be little doubt that the intention of the Lusk Committee and Post Office Department is to destroy the paper and the Rand School because they teach Socialism. The *PUBLIC* is not a Socialist paper. It does not believe the Socialist philosophy is sound, but it recognizes that any school and any paper has the right to teach and practice anything within the law even to the changing by lawful means of the law itself. If the Rand School or the *Call* has broken any law the correction should be made by the legal authorities, and not by a legislative committee or by the Postal Department. The present foolish course will not convert Socialists, but it will make anarchists. America, in spite of Burleson and the Lusk Committee, still stands for a government of law and not of men.

## British Nationalization of Mines

**F**EW investigations into labor troubles have attracted so much attention or caused so much earnest thought as that of the Parliamentary Committee into the coal situation. Ordinarily such inquiries concern themselves with the personal relations of the miners, their wages, expenditures, hours of labor, and gen-

eral conditions. But one Robert Smillie, a working miner, who had to do with this investigation, saw other things than coal and the men who dig it. He saw the men who claimed to own the land, and he asked the noble landlords some embarrassing questions as to the nature and source of their titles.

The committee did not agree on its recommendations to Parliament. But of the four reports rendered three urged nationalization of the mines in some form. The report that has met with most approval among the radicals appears to be the one made by Justice Sankey, which recommends immediate legislation for the acquisition of the mines, with "just compensation" for the owners, and immediate application of local administration of the mines through local, district, and national mining councils.

Commenting upon the investigation and the Sankey report, the *New York Nation* says of the hearings that "the testimony showed clearly that title to Great Britain's enormous wealth of coal vests in a few hands, as the result purely of historic accident, not of special capacity to administer the trust wisely; that the fortunate families concerned have drawn enormous incomes from such ownership, in some cases for centuries; and that in the absence of positive action by the state, their descendents will continue to do the same for centuries to come." There was no necessary connection, the *Nation* says, between ownership of the mines and any service whatever rendered by the owner, and that in many cases the owner and operator were distinct persons or corporations. The Chief Inspector of Mines estimates the total royalties at £5,587,125 annually, a sum, says the *Nation*, "paid by British industry yearly to the holders of coal rights for their permission to mine coal"; and adds, "Nationalization, by whatever means at whatever cost brought about, would turn this sum into the public purse."

But is this point well taken? If the mines be nationalized with "just compensation" to the owners, as proposed in Justice Sankey's report, the state will have to pay the capitalization of the annual rental, which will amount to the same thing in different terms as paying the present royalties, and labor—so far as this dead weight is concerned—will be little better off than before. As long as the state recognizes

the owner's right, "the result purely of historic accident," to the coal that nature stored in the earth, any attempt to pay for the mines out of the profits will mean a continuation of the burden on the people.

There are three ways in which the mines can be nationalized: (1) By paying the owners what they originally paid to the state; (2) By paying the owners out of super taxes on incomes and inheritances; (8) By taking the full rental value in taxation. The last is the easy, just, and effective way.

## Street Car Profits and Watered Stock

WAS there any American city of 700,000 whose street railways last year had no serious or fatal accidents? This is the record shown by the municipally owned tramways of Nottingham, England. It is a striking contrast, but no more striking than the contrast between the financial reports of English and American cities. In the United States the entire public utilities industry is facing bankruptcy. Frenzied raising of fares not having proved a success, a national commission appointed by the President himself is sitting to consider the future. While Boston is preparing to accept a ten-cent fare, the municipal tramways of Nottingham are reporting a profit of \$506,057 and contributing \$150,000 of it toward taxes.

We hear much of the argument that municipal ownership is doomed to be a failure because it lacks the quick incentive and adaptability exhibited by private business. Those who hold to this theory fail to consider that a private interest operating a naturally private and competitive company is a different thing from a private interest operating a natural monopoly. It is in the ability to apply new processes and labor saving devices that the American public utilities company has failed so signally. The privately owned gas companies of America are twenty years behind the publicly owned gas companies of Great Britain in point of technical processes. Judged by the very practical test of profits, they are a failure.

To return again to Nottingham, the municipal gas plant has experienced an advance of its raw material of 186 per cent. It has met a



wage advance greater than that in the United States. In spite of that it has made a handsome profit. While American companies have either been seeking relief from public funds or increases in rates, another form of taxation, the Nottingham plant has not only been able to pay all interest on capital, contributions to sinking funds, and depreciation of stores, but is contributing \$341,763 to the municipal treasury to be applied toward reduction of taxes.

## Those Who Will Not Learn

NO one need wonder why Socialists are divided in Russia. Consider the Donnybrooks now being staged by American Socialists. Scarcely a day passes without a heresy trial or an excommunication. Physical violence is common. Such gentle exhibitions of mayhem are inseparable from purely academic movements. In particular, they are inseparable from agitations in favor of reforms very far in advance of present society. Such movements seem to be obsessed with the idea that a separate political party must be created to advance every new political ideal. Yet American history is notably poor in instances of a successful application of this theory. The influence of the Prohibition Party, for instance, has been negligible as compared with that of the Anti-Saloon League, which did not find it necessary to create new party machinery. The brilliant success of the Nonpartisan League has been achieved wholly through the use of Republican Party machinery in North Dakota and Democratic machinery in Idaho. Woman suffrage without a separate party organization captured one State after another and finally the nation. Yet each of these movements is a real political party. A party is a group of people who stand for a particular idea, and such a group can exist and be successful without creating new party machinery.

Those who forget this principle and insist upon independent party action generally divide into two classes. The first proceeds upon the theory that progress is evolutionary. Consequently, they modify their demands and put forward a platform capable of enactment into law without making too violent a departure from existing custom. The other group pro-

ceeds upon the theory that progress only comes through revolution. Their tendency, therefore, is toward a policy that eliminates all immediate demands and insists upon no compromise with the existing order. Up to this time the Socialist Party had itself been the right wing in contradistinction to the revolutionary Socialist Labor Party. Now a left wing has developed within itself. The right wing apparently stands for political Socialism as we have known it in the past, while the left wing is Bolshevik in tendency, with a strong possibility that its syndicalist sympathies will carry it out of politics altogether.

The end, however, is not yet. The same tendency which originally caused the Socialist Party to create new party machinery and to reject our two party system will cause the new Bolshevik wing itself to divide. Starting with a fallacious theory of political action the logical conclusion of such a movement can only be further division to a point where the last secessionist shall himself hesitate, Hamlet-like, as to whether he shall secede from himself.

## A Shifted Centrality

WE have never had any particular sympathy with the demand that America should become a world power or with the claim made after the Spanish War and with much more jubilation after the Great War that it had become a world power. This nation has been a world power and a great world power ever since the Declaration of Independence was signed. The French Revolution, the reform of British Colonial policy, the ending of piracy in European waters, the sane reserve and benefic influence of Britannia's rule of the wave, the modern rise of Japan, the democratizing of international thought, the inspiration of the workers of all nations,—these and a score of other world phenomena in which America has made her influence felt are sufficient to show that, whatever else the United States has been or has not been, it has certainly been a "world power."

The greatest powers of the world are the moral forces that govern it. Wars have come and gone like the explosion of volcanic hells, but all the progress of the race has been achieved in the interims of peace by the sub-

stantive growth of the intelligence and character of the people. During the century and a third of its life the Republic has waged a silent, friendly, and successful rivalry with all the contemporary ideals, theories, and social ambitions of the other members of the galaxy of national units. No other nation has had such success in impressing the popular heart and mind with the principles of freedom and justice, largely because the age is ripe for the democratic culture of the race; but other nations have taken the lead in impressing the forms of government on new or reformed national entities. Thus Japan and Italy, for example, representing widely divergent conditions, modeled their governments on the pattern of Great Britain. Great Britain, Germany, and to a less extent Russia have been the molding forces in Southern and Eastern Europe, and in most other parts of the world. The sovereignties have been largely family partitions.

What has occurred through the war and the subsequent Peace Conference is not that we have become a world power, but that the center of gravity in world government has been shifted from Europe to America, from monarchism to democracy. This transformation was foreshadowed by the republicanizing of all the Latin-American countries, the formation of the French Republic, and later by the fall of the Chinese Empire and that country's determination on democracy. The American experiment has been commonly thought of as a recent adventure in government; but the fact is forced on our recognition that we are fast becoming the oldest and best seasoned of governments. The burden now is on Europe and Asia and Africa and the isles of the sea to prove that they are the domains of free peoples. It is no longer a tacit democratic example, a theoretic philosophy, that the republic is to present; it must assume responsible, vocal leadership. In the council chambers of the League of Nations, in the popular parliaments of freedom and labor and suffrage, its voice must sound the notes of the elder brother. Many Cubas need helpful friendship and encouraging fellowship.

The President's address to the Senate struck many chords, all converging in emphasis on the future promise of the League of Nations. In the new order the insistent if silent moral force that almost always kept company with our for-

eign policy in diplomacy comes into the open of recognized national aim and purpose, indorsed by the approval and coöperation of all forward-looking and progressive nations. Our leadership is real, it has come without our ambitious conspiring, it is backed by our boundless resources of wealth and humanity, and the way the President points out is one that we may follow without misgiving.

## Vox ex Machina

By Richard Warner Borst

Masters,  
I am thy creature:  
These hissing belts;  
That writhe about the clamorous wheels,  
Are my muscles.  
These mighty girders  
And these giant shafts of shining steel  
Are my bones.

Masters,  
I am thy slave.  
I have neither the will  
Nor the desire  
For more than to serve ye:  
For more than to spin, to weave, to delve, to build,  
And to do all manner of toil for ye.  
I pray ye,  
Let me bear daily a heavier burden,  
For in my tasks  
My soul is full of happiness  
As I lift up my voice in a vast roar  
Of great joy  
To feel my labors.

The docks and depots  
Of a thousand cities  
Are piled high  
With my handiwork;  
The farthest islands hid deep in lonely seas  
Know of my toils and my great deeds:  
Behold, I will provide all with plenty,  
And to spare.

But masters,  
This thing has troubled me  
From the beginning of my bondage:  
Why, after I have sought  
These many years  
To take away man's burden from him,  
That he may have strength  
For his own tasks—  
Tasks of the spirit's adventuring  
And of the soul's achieving—  
Why do I find,  
Shackled to my side  
In equal bondage with me,  
Men, sullen-faced, uncouth;

Little children that fade hourly;  
Frail women who yield me their strength  
Which it were better they might keep  
For themselves and their babes;  
All bowed down with endless burdens  
Not for such as they?

And masters,  
This mystery also  
Besets me day and night:  
Though I sing and roar and bellow,  
Seeming joyous in my smoky toll,  
Yet I am sad when I consider  
How my divers handiwork

Is seized upon greedily  
By those who have enough,  
While from those who have not,  
From them is taken away the share  
I had thought was theirs.

Masters,  
Tell me the meaning of these mysteries;  
My poor brain is not sufficient  
For such riddles:  
Out of your great wisdom,  
Make clear this matter unto me,  
Else I shall wish  
I had never been!

## Labor and Business

By Roger W. Babson

*President Babson's Statistical Organization; Author of "Future of the Working Classes," etc.*

**L**ABOR and business are facing each other. There can be no business except as labor is satisfied, and little labor except as business is recognized. It is harder to satisfy labor than it ever was. Therefore the labor question looms large in every business proposition. Heretofore it has been commonly true that labor took what was left,—what business could afford to give it. It looks as though from now on labor must be reckoned as one of the first prime costs of doing business. Just as we figure raw material, overhead, and the other common items in production cost, so we must figure labor as a prime charge.

Furthermore, this charge is not a fixed or static thing. It is always changing, always mounting higher. It is this that makes the labor question so increasingly important.

The average business man does not care much what his costs are, *so long as he knows what they are*. We have built up the habit of accepting costs and of passing the charge on to the ultimate consumer and of going merrily on with the game. Now we are confronted with an item in costs that is alive, that moves and changes while we are looking at it. What is more, the ultimate consumer has got about all he can stand in the way of costs.

The significance of this last statement is indicated by the new "Middle Class Union" just formed in London. At a big meeting held in London during March several hundred distinguished men and women, representing the consuming population of England, formed this new

union to withstand the aggressions of high costs as forced on the public by the increasing demands of labor. The program included the familiar weapons of the unionist—the boycott, the strike (on buying), and so on. The members of the new union considered that the power to curb cost greed lay in their own hands.

We may never have a Middle Class Union in America. But we shall have a virtual strike on the part of the purchasing public, which will limit the output of our mills and shops and will put a new crimp in business activity.

Now, with this kind of thing facing us, what are we going to do?

There is just one thing that will help everybody—workers, employers, purchasers, investors, and all. That thing is increased production.

This statement is a truism, and furthermore it is a very easy statement to make. The statement is none the less true because it is easy to make it. It is true today under our capitalist society. It will be true under any other system that can be devised. We must live out of income or go bankrupt. If we live better, the income must be greater. There is no getting away from this simple economic fact. The problem is how to get more production.

I make no charges against American workmen. On the face of the case figures show that the average value of the product of the average American workman has steadily gone up for the past twenty-five years. If this is true, it is a

welcome fact. There is ground for suspicion that the increasing money value of products largely accounts for this increase in value. However, I do not press that point. Let us go to England for our illustration. Since 1886 the average value of the product of the average British worker has steadily fallen. My expert, Mr. George E. MacIlwain, says in 1912 it was thirty per cent. less than it was in 1886. When you question the British worker about this he will deny it or he will say that the worker is not going to "put his back into his job," as they say over there, for the sake of piling up profit for somebody else.

Now, England is some way farther down the road than we are. What we are finding here is that the danger of unemployment, the examples of large profits, the high cost of living, and all the other items that go into the indictment which labor brings against our industrial system are giving us a labor body which does not work with the enthusiasm which marked labor in the good old days. We have somehow failed to furnish labor with the incentive to produce which labor once had. No amount of preaching can bring that back to labor. Industry *might* produce enough to give everybody the scale of life which he wants. The plain fact is that industry *does not* at present produce this amount. If things go on as they are now going we are likely to arrive at the point where England now is, namely, at something which looks like universal sabotage on the job.

This is our great danger, and the avoidance of it is our great problem. My own feeling is that the only way we can solve it is by a more equitable division of the fruits of industry between worker and employer. This means that the employer must voluntarily take less for his share. There is at present no other possibility. Progress in the immediate future can be made only by taking the worker into closer confidence, by giving him a better knowledge of the facts of the business, and by giving him an opportunity to train for a real share in the management. If labor is going to *get* more, it must ultimately *do* more. As long as labor can put forth its demands for more wages and less hours and get by with it, with no further share in responsibility, it will take that course. Why not? So would you and I.

My contention is that we have reached the

point in our most advanced industries where this process can not longer continue. We must call on labor to put its back into industry in a new way. The call will have no effect unless we can hold out some inducement to labor to do this. To bring this about labor must know more about the business and must take new responsibilities.

Labor is learning more every day. The level of intelligence of American labor is bound to rise. We are going to get fewer immigrants. The education level of the worker will therefore advance. Our Americanization activities also look in this direction. The great question is as to where the worker is going to get his instruction and what kind of instruction it is going to be. There are plenty of people ready to pour into the workers' ears education leading to the degree of the horse-leech, who had three daughters whose one cry was, "Give, give, give." It is for the employer to devise a way to get into the minds of the workers education of another sort and to make them understand that those who say, "Give, give, give," must also themselves give. There is no way to get without giving!

I therefore feel that it is up to employers to open up to the workers the doors to fresh responsibilities. They must be urged to take the part of men and women in industry, instead of being merely cogs in the industrial machine. When our workers *know* industry from the employers' standpoint, they will cease to make demands that proceed only from their own selfish standpoint. They can gain this knowledge only by doing the things that have hitherto been regarded as the sole function of the employer. This new activity must be paid for on its own basis.

I do not mean by this that the manager should be turned out and a man in denim put in his place. I know well that men cannot go from the molding room to the general manager's office overnight. I do feel that the functions of management and the problems of management must be shared by the workers just as fast as they are able to take them up. Coöperation must mean not merely coöperation in work. It must mean coöperation in responsibility, in profits, in everything that goes into industry. I see no other solution, however much both sides to the controversy now avoid it.

# Woman the Touchstone

## "The Women's Charter"

*A world right for women will be a world that is just. It will be right for every one. Not that any set of principles having regard only for women would necessarily make a just world, but those countries having courage and wisdom to see and to do what is right so far as women are concerned will presently follow with a program for political and economic progress that will have in it the fundamentals of freedom.*

*With this reflection in mind one turns to the resolutions passed recently by the International Congress of Women of Zurich, which had at its conference a group of the best-informed, constructive radical women in the world, representing all the important belligerent countries and many others. Its "Women's Charter," which is expressed with unusual clearness of thought, is published below from the official transcript of the resolutions, copies of which were received in this country a few days ago. It will be many years before the world will be fully ready for this "Women's Charter," but when it is it will be ready for permanent peace.*

**I**T was resolved that the Peace Conference be urged to insert in the Peace Treaty the following Women's Charter:

"The Contracting Parties recognize that the status of women, social, political, and economical, is of supreme international importance.

"They hold that the natural relation between men and women is that of interdependence and coöperation, and that it is injurious to the community to restrict women to a position of dependence, to discourage their education or development, or to limit their opportunities.

"They hold that the recognition of women's service to the world, not only as wage earners but as mothers and home-makers, is an essential factor in the building up of the world's peace.

"They recognize that differences in social development and tradition make strict uniformity with respect to the status of the women difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that social progress is dependent upon the status of the women in the community, they think that there are certain principles which all communities should endeavor to apply.

"Among these principles the following seem to the Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

"1. That suffrage should be granted to women and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, recognized.

"2. That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery, such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa.

"3. That on marriage a woman should have

full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and should not be under the tutelage of her husband.

"4. That the mother should have the same right of guardianship of her children as the father.

"5. That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.

"6. That all opportunities for education should be open to both sexes.

"7. That women should have the same opportunity for training and for entering industries and professions as men.

"8. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.

"9. That the traffic in women should be suppressed; the regulation of vice abolished; the equal moral standard recognized.

"10. That the responsibility not only of the mother but also of the father of a child born out of wedlock should be recognized.

"11. That there should be adequate economic provision for the service of motherhood.

"12. That no political or industrial quarrel should deprive the mother of food for her children.

"Without claiming that these principles are complete, the Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations and that, if adopted by the communities which are Members of the League they will confer lasting benefits upon the whole world."

# Much About Villa and Carranza: Little About the Mexican People

By Manuel Carpio

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

NO one has so much at stake in the present Mexican crisis as the Mexican people. Nevertheless, when a well-meaning observer looks over the records of public discussion about past and present crises in Mexico, he finds that, more from outside than from inside, most of the debates center around the conspicuous figures of the moment. For this the press in the United States more than the press in Mexico is responsible.

As regards the Mexican people themselves, that is to say, not the imaginary cut-throats that support Miss Farrar or Mr. William S. Hart in so many photo-dramas, but the millions of human beings that have had no chance for the fulfillment of their just aspirations—the men, women, and children who are as valuable an asset to humanity as any other on the face of the earth, but have been the victims of a rotten system of governmental, economic, and religious politics—those millions of people, I say, are hardly mentioned at all in the discussion of Mexican affairs. The concern of journalists and other publicists is for the men of the day. Today it is Villa and Carranza. Or is it Felix Diaz and Angeles? Yesterday it was Madera and Huerta. Or was it Orozco and Zapata? Columns upon columns of clever reading matter have been served to the American readers giving descriptions of the vices, brutalities, inabilities, treacheries, and weaknesses of those men—and nothing about the people.

For it is to be remembered that Mexico, as it is today in its better aspects, in its innate poetry, in its singular beauties, both spiritually and materially, is the result of a great and wearying human experiment carried on by a patient, intelligent, self-denying people. The peculiarly beautiful architecture, the native arts, the native music, the astounding genius of the poets—some of them among the greatest in the Spanish-speaking world of all times—the really patrician sensibility and dignity in taste of the middle classes, the never equaled

hospitality of the lower working class,—these are not the characteristics of peoples that are savage or half-savage. They are the characteristics of a people of the first class.

Now it is for us to inquire whether a people of a high order can live through and survive a long and nefarious system of political, economic, and religious oppression. It is to be answered directly that there are no indisputable evidences that any or all first-class peoples are today or were yesterday wholly free from tyrannical oppression.

The Mexican people is a first-class people, not on account of its material accomplishments, but on account of its spiritual dignity.

When you hear of banditry, and bad leadership, and personal feuds, and economic distress, you are looking upon the worst aspects of Mexican sociological facts; you are looking upon faults accumulated by centuries of defective rule and deriving from the traditions of colonial life. Mexico's real struggles are those of a people fighting its way from the violent, one-sided methods of ancestral conquest toward the new ideals of human association.

Edmundo D'Amicis gave an account of the political situation in Spain, enumerating thirty-two different parties, all of them struggling for power and all of them ready for revolution. The Carlist agitations and the many regional disorders in Spain, ever since the Bourbons came into power, give us a fair illustration of the Spanish people's shortcomings in methods of government. This, however, does not necessarily afford a conclusive judgment that the Spanish people is not a first-class one. Spanish art, Spanish spirituality, Spanish conceptions of the home and the family, and the Spanish sense of poetic worship are unexcelled. And those Spanish conceptions, welded into a new solidarity with the native people of Mexico, through one of the most admirable efforts of exploration and colonization known in history, are today a living thing, despite its faults, its

perplexities, and its paradoxes. Its finer forces of instinct and its marks of superiority are current in the great mass that constitutes the Mexican people. This great mass is struggling at present against its many inherited handicaps, and is highly representative of the Latin-American entity. It is mainly chivalrous rather than treacherous. It has endured pain, want, incompetency, exploitation, war, and calamity. It has found itself always at a distressing disadvantage in measuring its standards with those of peoples whose careers have been longer and more uniform, thanks to material development and scientific use of natural resources.

The more advanced peoples whose leaders have brought them in contact with the Mexican people, through war or through enterprise, are not free in their social strata of the very blemishes which, thanks to an insistent campaign of biased publicity, are proclaimed as being among the fundamental characteristics of Mexican sociology. It is not necessary to be an exceptional observer in order to find that all of these advanced nations are afflicted with not an insignificant number of bad men, bandits, nasty politicians, tyrannical profiteers, and a wide variety of criminals. But this scum does not constitute a dominating element, because there are within strongly organized forces to check them, and because without there are not strongly organized forces to encourage them in their infamous work. The case with Mexico is quite different. Can it be supposed, for instance—to cite a living example—that Villa has been left alone in his exploits without assistance from without? Can it be imagined that arms and ammunition go to him by aerial route from England or France or Cochin China? Can it be entertained that most, if indeed not *all* of the elements with which Villa counts for his trouble making, do not reach him from sources established on this side of the border, in utter violation of all written and unwritten laws of the United States? Can anybody blame Carranza or any other head of the Mexican Government for the support given to such a type of agitator through a criminal traffic that exists, beyond any form of doubt, outside Mexican territory?

Still, when complications come when the questions of international friction arise, when damages are inflicted by the wrongdoers, result-

ing in the loss of innocent life and property, thousands of editorials are written, thousands of protests are heard from the pens of men who believe they are voicing the claims of justice against a whole nation, whose liberties and whose destinies are put in jeopardy.

Hardly a voice is heard indicating the real sources of mischief. The men engaged in the unholy traffic grin in satisfaction and keep on in the dark engineering fresh activities to perpetuate the source of irritation. And the campaign of misrepresentation against a well-meaning people goes on, availing itself of press and screen. The whole bulk of actual and imaginary miseries looms into prominence. It astounds readers and spectators with an interminable reel of horror, degradation, and mud. It rings in the accents of indignant Senators and Congressmen.

Then comes to the ear and eye of the people the account of Mexico's deficient leadership. Graphic recitals are forthcoming of governmental blunders, the ineffectiveness of administrative control after five years of feverish upheaval, together with the bluntness of attempted reforms that hurt or may possibly hurt the vested interests. In the thick of this rush of heated opinion the actual endeavors of the Mexican people are never mentioned. No one speaks of the things looking to social betterment that have been evolved. It is the men at the head of movements that occupy attention, as if they really were the main and abiding factor, and not the people.

Carranza may be good, mediocre, or poor as a statesman. The present Mexican Government, besides its mistakes, has been able to hold things together in the largest part of the national territory, in one of the most difficult periods of Mexican history and without financial help from abroad. It has been able to maintain some of the reforms introduced in the country's legislation with private interests. Ambassador Fletcher has demonstrated to the Mexican people that he is a genuine representative of American good will and American sanity. Mr. Fletcher is enough of a psychologist to understand that Mexican-American relations must be founded in humane understanding of differences and not in forcible submission of the idiosyncrasies of one people to the idiosyncrasies of another.

Those who advocate intervention are willing to kill the child because of its mumps and adenoids, without really knowing the child or knowing only its affliction. But to kill that child is a matter of serious responsibility before the world, for it is not Mexico; it is Latin America. It is not Villa or Carranza, or even the Mexican people itself; it is the national personality of nearly nineteen million people who inhabit half of the American Continent. It is a side of Spanish-Roman civilization grafted in the heart of America with blood and bone, with thought and ideals. It is the human blossoming of the greatest enterprise in history, inlaid with wonderful spiritualists, magnificent efforts, and admirable endurance amid the storms of life.

Mexico must be discussed more intelligently, less commercially; more from the purely human standpoint, less from the side of profit,—for

profit after all is not a thing eternal. It passes and crumbles at the blow of time. Mighty civilizations are distinguished by their spiritual mark more than by anything else. Their understanding of beauty, their uplift by human contact carries more to posterity than their material accumulations, their wealth, and their arrogance.

The Mexican people has a destiny. Its way to understand Christianity and disinterestedness goes farther than its poor record in management and economic dexterity. But it is capable of learning and is willing to learn. It has a keen sense of honor, it loves its name, its independence, its traditions, and its heroisms. It has proved to be an honest fighter and an honest debtor, since it does not repudiate its obligations and is not dogmatic about its errors. Give Mexico a chance.

## Public Ownership of Railways versus Guarantees to Private Capital

By Louis W. Rapeer, Ph.D.

*Director National School of Social Research, Washington, D. C.*

THE edifice of private ownership of railways is tottering to its fall. Even the best laid plans of railway executives, investors, and those who would keep the *status quo*, instead of propping it up, are actively hastening its fall. The demand of those representing the private interests is for guaranteed returns. In the same demands are frequently found incorporated the contradictory principle of private ownership. Even such able Congressmen as Senator Cummins and such efficient administrators as Director-General Hines are found advocating the same incongruous and impracticable schemes.

The Government cannot, as a regular peacetime policy, guarantee profits on private capital invested in any private industry. In the emergency of war many ordinarily good social policies are set aside to help a nation attain to victory. The practical dictatorship, beyond all precedent in modern times, given to President Wilson, for example, could not be tolerated in peace, no matter how necessary and benefi-

cent in time of war. Even the highly centralized systems of control of the rails and wires would not, in ordinary times, be wise or possible in a democratic nation. Guaranteeing fixed incomes on private capital to the steel trust, the packers, ordinary business, or to the railways would be but starting revolution and anarchy. No matter how much a business is "affected with a public interest" and no matter how complete the regulation of the business by the Government must be, no scheme of a fixed guarantee could long be endured in any democratic country. This is the prime fallacy of the several plans and bills now before Congress.

Government guarantees to private capital place a premium on inefficiency that would be greater by far than any that could be imagined or has probably ever occurred in any form of public ownership. No matter how poorly or how well the roads were operated by the private interests, the Government, out of taxation if necessary, would have to make up all deficiencies to the guaranteed rate of return, say, six per



cent. This is but an exemplification of the old trick of "heads I win and tails you lose." If the railroads make money they keep it; if they lose, the Government makes it up! The various schemes offered to camouflage or palliate this plan of making the public the goat serve but to illustrate its inadequacies. Senator Cummins says this plan is really modified government ownership, but it is a long way from it and very unjust to the whole people.

If an attempt is made to provide a real system of service at cost the plan will be defeated by the big interests. If a large margin of profits above the guarantee is permitted by which presumably to encourage initiative and credit, the people will very probably rise and defeat it as they should. If there is but a small margin of risk and profit, even if shared by the employes and Government, the scheme will fail because the amount when divided up will be so very small, too small to encourage speculative capital or to encourage much real initiative. In fact, no plan of provision of a government guarantee to private capital is possible.

All private business must take its own risks, as it must earn its own profits. As soon as government regulation grows up near to the stature of public operation and management of this greatest public utility, with all the restrictions and handicaps to efficient management made necessary by our form of government, then guaranteed returns are called for loudly. But guaranteed returns to private capital invested in a business are impossible and abhorrent in a democracy, and moreover probably unlawful according to our legal systems. The only loophole then becomes that of public ownership. The general public can own the railroads and guarantee its own returns by insuring efficiency in operation in a single private operating corporation. Efficiency is the only possible guarantee of success under a just government.

And no one who has carefully investigated the present situation can doubt much that public ownership when weighed in the balance will be at least as efficient as, and in time more efficient than, the wasteful private ownership possible under the restrictive legislation necessary to insure that the nation's highways of steel are used solely for the nation's business and social welfare.

Those who fear government ownership and operation need not hesitate to choose both in preference to guaranteed returns to private capital, which is but a revival of the old cry for ship subsidies. They need not choose both, since public operation is not needed to meet the emergency. Guaranteed returns mean the wastes of competition, leaving America far down in the lists of nations in efficiency of railroad operation, as Hon. David J. Lewis of the United States Tariff Commission has so conclusively shown. They mean fixed private incomes largely regardless of transportation service. It means a system far more difficult and costly to operate than public ownership. It means a postponement for another fifty years of justice and democracy in the country's greatest industry.

If both government ownership and operation are feared, as they well may be together, let us have government ownership, and then we can have a single private operating company giving us a unified system and real transportation service.

Senators Lenroot and Norris, and Glenn Plumb, representing the Railway Brotherhoods and labor, have suggested excellent plans for public ownership and private, unified operation under a Federal corporation. The poorest system of this character would be better than further perpetuation of the main evils of the present system and adding to them enormously. Even with public operation the other countries of the world have increased the efficiency of labor over the private system. Thus Japan, after nationalizing and operating her roads, increased the efficiency of operation 14 per cent., Switzerland 22 per cent., and Italy 22.6 per cent. We need not fear public ownership and private unified operation properly safeguarded as the only safe plan now.

"But think of the pork barrel and the legislative scramble for extensions and betterments in every State, whether needed or not," some will say. The most clearly outlined plan, the so-called Plumb plan, obviates this by putting the matter of extensions into the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission and by requiring localities to pay part or all for the extensions and betterments desired at the discretion of the commission.

"Yes, but think of the inefficiency of govern-

ment ownership," another replies. The Plumb plan cuts this knot by providing public ownership, in which there can be neither efficiency nor inefficiency, and private operation of a unified system with the greatest stimuli to efficiency.

Thus the solution comes to be public ownership and private operation. Government bonds furnish the only possible guarantee. Private operation properly devised guarantees efficiency.

## War Without Limit

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus Leland Stanford, Jr., University

EARLY writers on war mention the "*Jus belli infinitum*," that is, the right to conduct war without limit as distinguished from war as a regulated sport, or, to express it more baldly, "as the right of war authorizes the killing of enemies, it justifies to the limit the right to rob and despoil all that belongs to them."

This assumed right, . . . though repugnant to the popular conscience, and though officials generally disavow it, exists in principle, nevertheless, and is carried out in times of stress. . . . It alone can explain the thousand acts of barbarism and vandalism which appear in recent wars.

The above quotation is taken from Le Roy-Beaulieu, writing in 1869.

"War," says Clausewitz, "is the continuation of politics by other means, the destruction of the people of the opposing party or nation."

In his remarkable analysis of the public life of his time entitled "The Prince," Nicolo Machiavelli of Florence sums up the purposes of war:

The prince or the republic is benefited by victory when the enemy is wiped out and the victor remains master of the booty and ransom. But victory is only a mockery when the enemy, although conquered, is not destroyed or when the booty and ransom go to the soldiers and not to the state. It always was, and it is only reasonable that it should always be, the aim of those who go to war to enrich themselves and to impoverish their enemy, nor is victory sought for any other purpose than to take from others what you desire in order that you may be powerful and your enemies weak.

Frederick the Great remarked with the frankness of a king: "As to war, it is a trade in which the least scruple would spoil everything. Indeed, what man of honor would go to war if he had not the right to make rules that should authorize plunder, fire, and carnage?"

War differs from other forms of gambling in the fact of unlimited liability as to stakes and gains. In common hazard the player announces the amount of his risk, and if he loses gives up the sum specified and no more. A state goes to war with no limitations as to what it may exact if victorious or suffer in defeat. For this

reason treaties of peace are "enduring" only in so far as they are based on justice. To exact all that "the traffic will bear" results merely in a temporary truce.

One merit of the Treaty of Ghent which closed the War of 1812 lay in the fact that it did nothing more than that. Nothing else was settled, and no allusion was made to the contentions of either side. Hence it left no sting.

Mr. Denys P. Myers raised this question in *The World Court* in 1917: "Are we righteous enough to make war as honest a game as gambling, in which at least the player loses only what he stakes?"

As matters are, it is apparent that the restrictions which bind at Monte Carlo are not possible in war. To wage it is to set aside all law and all agreement; it will be as easy to abolish war itself as to limit its operations by any preliminary covenant as to the extent of gains or losses. Warring nations rarely consent to forego the ulterior gain which all war makers have in mind as a pleasant possibility.

"All is fair in love and war," according to the old maxim. But, as Robert Burdette maintained, "Nothing is fair in war." All war is in detail a violation of the moral code. In a great conflict the "laws of war" are certain to be ignored on one side or both. Intrigue, deception, broken agreements, rapine are all part of war operations, petty items in the great crime itself. Many have attempted to draw lines of discrimination; some men and nations have tried to make war in gentlemanly fashion. Others, more logical though less humane, have gone to the limit in every direction.

In any case, war involves a monumental, primary unfairness,—the difference, as Barbusse puts it, between "those who gain and those who grieve," those who on the one hand venture "life and love and youth" and those who on

the other "remain in peace, enjoying enhanced prices" and the spurious prosperity that springs from the wasting life blood of the nation; "a difference," says Barbusse, "far deeper than that of nations and with defensive trenches more impregnable."

### Three Things

By Elsie Jewitt Webster

ONLY three things I ask of you, O World!  
Only three things out of your plenitude.

To Live:

Not in some darkened hole a beast would shun,  
But in the open where the sunlight falls.  
Where I can hear the notes of music sound,  
Hear poets sing and little children laugh.  
Pass greeting with the other men who live  
In the fair world that God and Man can make.

To Labor:

Not as a slave of lust, bestial and foul,  
With lash of hunger quivering on his back;  
But to go singing to the work I love,  
Knowing that I create a thing of need,  
Of joy or beauty. Touch with a comrade's hand  
My fellow workers in the market place.

To Love:

Not a slave of lust, bestial and foul,  
But cleanly as befits a man for whom  
A thousand centuries have travelled sore  
To bear thro' agony a thing worth while,—  
A creature fit for his creative task.

Give me these three, O World! Give me these three!  
Life, Labor, Love; and I will hand  
Them on from life to life as flaming lights,  
To make earth brilliant for a million years.

## CURRENT THOUGHT

### The Spirit of the League

FAR more important than the written terms of the League is the spirit which pervades it. On coöperation and conciliation its permanence must depend, and this spirit once established is bound to expand through its own innate force and through the patriotism which has as its backbone the purpose of righteousness.—*David Starr Jordan*.

### A Lawyer on the Rand School Raid

I AM a very pronounced anti-Socialist, but I believe in fair play and free speech within the law. From all I can understand the Rand School is controlled by the intellectual Socialists who believe in promulgating their doctrines through peaceful, lawful methods. They are opposed to the Left Wing of the party, which is revolutionary.

. . . The open contempt of the Lusk Committee for law and order in the conduct of their proceedings will do more to promote lawlessness than anything else I know.—*Samuel Untermyer*.

### Anna Howard Shaw

THE life story of Dr. Anna H. Shaw is epic and heroic. Daughter of a pioneer age, she experienced all the strenuous and typical struggles of the formative period following our earlier national development, and in every phase of it she was always a useful and in her later years a world respected force. Only a month or so ago she was honored by her country with the Distinguished Service Order. Such a career as hers is rich in the inspiration of what may be accomplished by unwavering courage, by patient endeavor, by noble ideals, but most of all by wholesome, helpful, lovable qualities of character.—*William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor*.

### Preparedness's Guarantees

AT the Guildhall on Thursday Sir Douglas Haig urged the nation "not to forget the lessons of the war." According to him, they were two in number: First, that "only by adequate preparations for war can peace in any way be guaranteed;" and, second, that "every citizen must be trained to arms." We fancy we have heard these phrases before— Was it in the German tongue? And we have some kind of recollection that neither Germany's preparation for war nor her system of universal military service had the effect either of guaranteeing peace or of securing a German victory.—*The New Age*.

### The Culture of Kindness

THE child that is suffered, unchecked, to torture an animal will soon pass from an unconscious to a conscious cruelty; from careless infliction of pain to enjoying the sight of suffering; from the torture of animals to the hurting of smaller brothers and sisters. For the lust of giving pain grows quickly. Sometimes it originates in the love of power. The child knows himself weak and helpless in the hands of his elders, and finds a pleasure in proving himself strong and powerful to a creature feebler than himself. . . . Kindness must be taught. Weeds only are self-shown; we need but leave the garden uncared for, and before long we find it overgrown with weeds. But we must sow and plant and tend with ceaseless care, if we would have our garden filled with sweet flowers and fruit.—*Vera Countess Serkoff, in The Humanitarian, London*.

### A Free Chamber of Commerce

THERE is infinitely more harm in shutting people up when they have troubles or when they have ideas on public questions than to let

them come out with what they think. The community that is afraid of a Chamber of Commerce where open expression of opinion is encouraged is not keeping step with the march of progress. A community that would regulate the thought as well as the speech of the plain people is dangerous to the bulk of the people. Free expression of public opinion should be at all times encouraged by an organization like this, because it is not only consistent with human progress, but consistent—elementarily consistent—with the Constitution of the United States. Incidentally, such discussion will make the people think. And never forget that to make a people think is one of the prime functions of a Chamber of Commerce.—*Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Hazleton, Penn.*

### Proportional Representation

THE importance of P. R. now can hardly be over-emphasized. More and more, radicals are realizing the futility of our present political machinery as a means of carrying out the popular will. Unless better machinery is provided, the legitimate yearning of the workers for industrial freedom may bring us also a catastrophic overturn which may destroy much that all would wish to preserve. But a real political democracy would guarantee industrial democracy just as soon as the mass of the people want it. It is to the interests of conservative and radical alike, if they could but see it, to make government truly responsive to the popular will and open again the doors to an orderly and peaceful progress that will preserve the good and remedy the evil in things as they are.—*George H. Hallett, Jr., in Young Democracy.*

### A Lie and Its History

HOW does it happen, you will ask, that Senator Lodge corrects this lie two years later? The explanation is beautifully simple. The pacifist, Alexander Bannwart, sued the United States Senator for \$20,000 on three counts, as stated by the Boston *Evening Transcript* on April 12, 1919, "one for alleged assault, one in which he alleges that Lodge had him arrested and locked up in Station 8, Washington, and one in which he asserts Lodge made false and malicious statements against him." Senator Lodge quietly settled the suit, a part of the settlement being an agreement by the Senator to have published the correction which we have already quoted as appearing in the Boston *Evening Transcript* of April 14, 1919. In that correction Senator Lodge sought to save his face by denying that he had given out the "formal statement" placing Bannwart in a false light. Presumably he would deny having made any of the statements regarding the affair that were attributed to him by the press. However, there is no doubt that the Senator did give out all of these lying

statements. It is a fact that he allowed this story to be misrepresented throughout the country and that he did not lift a finger to prevent the circulation of a lie calculated to injure a fellow mortal who, instead of having assaulted Senator Lodge, had himself been assaulted by the Senator. Was this behavior on Senator Lodge's part gentlemanly? Was it fair or just or truthful? No, we now know it was the very opposite of all these, thanks to the belated appearance of the truth. The facts that stand out in the story are: 1. That Senator Lodge lied out of whole cloth. 2. That the capitalist press of America energetically assisted him in spreading the lie. 3. That now, when Senator Lodge, not from motives of fairness or honesty, but under compulsion of a suit at law, has briefly and brusquely admitted the truth, the American capitalist press will suppress it as conscientiously and completely as it spread broadcast the lie two years ago. All of which contains a moral that is by no means hidden or doubtful.—*Appeal to Reason.*

### Bol-she-veek!

I MUSTN'T call you "Miky" and you mustn't call me "wop,"  
For Uncle Sammy says it's wrong and hints we ought to stop;  
But don't you fret, there's still one name that I'm allowed to speak,  
So when I disagree with you I'll call you Bol-she-vik!  
week! week!  
It's a scream and it's a shriek;  
It's a rapid-fire response to any heresy you squeak.

You believe in votes for women? Yah! the Bolsheviki do.  
And shorter hours? And land reforms? They're Bol-shevistic, too.  
"The Recall," and other things like that, are dangerous to seek;  
Don't tell me you believe 'em or I'll call you Bolshevik!  
Bolshevik! week! week!  
A reformer is a freak!  
But here's a name to stop him, for it's like a lightning streak.—*Edmund Vance Cooke, N. E. A.*

### BOOKS

#### The Land of the Progressive

*What Is America?* By Edward Alsworth Ross, Ph.D., LL.D. New York: The Century Company. 1919.

THIS is a book to be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested at the present juncture. It will prove a wholesome tonic to every balanced citizen's Americanism. Professor Ross rapidly surveys our past, and then takes a hopeful view of our future. His book is worth attention because it does not optimistically overlook either the great evils we have survived or underrate the difficulties that lie before us. Incidentally he gives us twenty-two maps and diagrams which are

of great value as showing in a quite original way the distribution of our foreign strains throughout the general population, the division of the country according to products, the changes in the size of families, the percentages of children enrolled in school at various periods, the moving average of lynchings, and similar data.

The problems arising from our vast and varied immigration are estimated at their proper value, and entirely without animosity or hysteria. In a study of this subject he puts his finger on one of the most dangerous results of too great an access of foreigners of peasant temperament and limited education. After saying that the absorption of strangers in such numbers has effects both good and bad, he remarks of one of the bad effects: "It is bad for politics because it injects a lot of old-fashioned questions which were settled long ago in this country—such as the relation of the church to the state, of the church to the school, of the state to the child, etc. We are forced to thresh over this old straw, when we ought to be thinking of such questions as the protection of labor, the control of monopoly, and the conservation of natural resources."

Professor Ross takes a good, sound citizen's view of marriage and divorce. His tables show that marriage, instead of being on the decline, is on the increase. "Marriage occurs earlier and is more popular than ever. While the outlook for the spinster has brightened, the outlook for the wife has brightened more." While it is true that one marriage in ten ends in the divorce court, the author does not look upon that as an unmixed evil and shows that it is offset by the increased value and dignity of marriage. "If there is a greater tendency to seek divorce it is not so much that wedded couples care less for the home as that they care less for the mockery of it. There has never been a people with a higher ideal of home or with more faith in love than ours. The cautious provision of relief for the mismatched has made matrimony more popular. . . . Indeed, the oft-noted purity of the American home and the general faithfulness of both spouses to their vow may owe something to the opportunity of the unhappy to secure relief on a legal basis instead of in following secret amorous intrigue."

Perhaps the most interesting chapter of all is the one on "Democracy," where are exhibited the very distinct political gains that have been made in our growth as a people. He calls attention to the fact that the men who signed the Declaration of Independence were not members of a democracy. He recalls the circumstance that religious prejudices of rich and poor, of learned and unlearned, and other dividing lines of colonial times long existed as marking off distinct classes. The first generation of our citizens were very far from having the universal privilege of voting or holding office. Our actual rights and privileges have come to us by degrees. The fact that a democracy at-

tempts to employ on its problems the mind of the whole people makes it impossible to do many things at one time. Consequently, at a time when we are progressing at a rapid pace, great evils and perils may be growing apace unseen. Thus, the railways, the money interests, the corporations, the land-grabbers, and other self-seekers at different times became a real menace to our democratic life. But our steady-going democratic balance enabled us at every crisis to reject the evil and choose and establish the good.

The center of gravity has at different times changed in respect of government. Professor Ross calls attention to one point that is usually overlooked. It is commonly asserted that State rights are a thing of the past; that it is now hard to tell what are the functions of the State. Our author recognizes that the authority at Washington constantly increases in force and reach. But he is not alarmed. He recognizes that, parallel with this increase of Federal power, the functions and authority of the separate States also increase in new directions. "It is annexing to its field the guardianship of the public health; the care of the defective and the insane; the regulation of public utility companies; the supervision of insurance companies and State banks; the building of trunk highways; the maintenance of State forests and parks; the conservation of fish and game; the inspection of weights and measures; the testing of foods and drugs; the settlement of wild lands, and the providing for every form of higher education."

## What Is a Secretary of a Chamber of Commerce?

*Community Leadership: The New Profession.*

By Lucius E. Wilson, Vice-President of the American City Bureau. New York: The American City Bureau. 1919.

THE "new profession" addressed by Mr. Wilson in this book is the "commercial secretary," as he denominates the secretary of chambers of commerce or organizations resembling chambers of commerce. Of these organizations he tells us that there are more than three thousand towns and cities in America possessing them, and that there is a rapid increase in the number of communities that are endeavoring to advance themselves by means of such organizations. And there exists a "National Association of Commercial Organization Secretaries" which holds annual conventions. We may accept, therefore, the "commercial secretary," in the sense in which the author uses the term, as a new profession. Mr. Wilson has himself been active in this field—in Des Moines, Detroit, and Dayton—and writes from personal experience and a boundless faith in the possibilities of the new profession. We like the emphasis which Mr. Wilson places on the *spirit* which impels men and communities forward, as distinguished from the mere material advantages they enjoy.

And now as to scope, function, and requirements of the new profession. Here is where the author stumbles in our judgment, and through very excess of zeal. Hear ye, and marvel at the necessary accomplishments, according to Mr. Wilson, of one who would venture to assume or hope to discharge the duties of secretary of a local chamber of commerce. He must be "statesman" and "engineer," "community teacher" and "practical politician"; "whatever is to be learned about city planning, Americanization, industrial welfare work, new charters, taxation, social unrest, vocational education, charities, and a host of related matters, demands the secretary's study"; he must not only be an "orator," studying orations like that of Demosthenes' "On the Crown," which the author specially recommends; but he must cultivate an entirely new "noonday" style of oratory for his membership, as well as make speeches throughout the community. "There is no specific rule as to the amount of public speaking a secretary should do. Good sense will have to be his guide," sagely remarks this writer. And in addition to other expedients in the "art of appeal," the secretary is advised to "keep a loose-leaf note-book into which he puts the best anecdotes, inspirational poetry, well turned phrases, and telling quotations that come into his ken." In addition to all this he is told that he must cultivate "courage" and "vision" as well as "adopt some simple plan of improving his conversation, appearance, voice, and smile." *Some profession!* And we are told that, while the salaries range from \$1,500 to \$12,000 a year, "the greatest number of secretaries are in the \$2,400 to \$3,600 class."

Finally, we are driven strongly to doubt whether Mr. Wilson is not making a mistake in attempting to exalt, magnify, and expand the office of secretary of a chamber of commerce, at least in the way he urges. A chamber of commerce in a city is composed of picked business men, representing the live and intelligent portion of the community, who have come together in an organization because they have developed in themselves community spirit or social conscience. Each one of these members should be a leader in his community, and the secretary of the organization should be content to be the servant of all. Take a city like St. Louis, with a population of nearly 800,000, with a registered electorate of about 160,000, and with a chamber of commerce of about 2,000 members. Is there any reason why different members of the organization should not take the lead, *within* the organization, in committee work in different lines, such as those which involve questions of natural resources, of transportation, of public buildings, streets, schools, playgrounds, garbage, public utilities, etc., and *outside* the organization throughout the community, preaching the gospel of intelligent and disinterested associated action for community progress, in ward clubs, in improvement associations, before men's clubs of the

churches, etc.? Would not the secretary have his hands full in enlarging his membership, in endeavoring to find the proper men for the proper places, in so constituting his committees as to secure efficient action, in formulating reports, etc.? We believe in the "new profession," but we doubt if the proper ideal is set before the aspirant in giving him to understand that when he assumes the office of commercial secretary of a chamber of commerce, he must aspire to become the "whole cheese."

PERCY WERNER.

## Better Than Tracts

*Tumblefold.* By Joseph Whittaker. With an introduction by Ben Tillet, M. P. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1919.

A RECORD of child life in the slums of an English manufacturing town of the 'eighties is "Tumblefold," written by one of the five little street urchins with whom the story deals. The author, now grown up and presumably in material comfort, can afford to let the mellow aureole of reminiscence rest upon boyhood friendship, fortitude, and innocence. Here were five little lives, welded by fellowship almost into one, playing their games, fighting their battles, planning great deeds, dreaming wonderful dreams, yearning forever for the green fields that they but rarely glimpsed, all with a profound and mysterious religious faith nurtured alike from the ghastly superstitions of the community and the influence of one Christ-like little creature named Stubbs, too precious and lovely for earth—this against the somber background of wretched Tumblefold with its stench-exuding walls, its chemically poisoned air, its dirt-choked gutters, its labyrinthine alleys, its tragedies born of poverty and the ale-house. Here men beat their wives when they came home Saturday nights clammy and sodden from the "Spotted Dogs," girls went into street careers in order to bring money to the family; men killed when they were jealous; and all that these folks got in spiritual sustenance was some gaunt parson who came every once in a while—especially in times of affliction—to tell them how the just Lord was punishing them for their sins.

But Mr. Whittaker has the tenderness of Barrie with something more than his share of *naïveté* and simplicity of diction, and there is never revealed a trace of bitterness or of vehemence. Rarely is irony employed, and then only upon provocation. Once the tatterdemalion children are chased from Sunday evening service at church and they organize an impromptu choir of their own "to sing of a 'home eternal,' while they were never sure of their own for more than a fortnight at a stretch; of being 'clad in robes of white' while the lads wore clothes in rags and odd boots with or without soles, and the girls wore torn and dirty frocks, few with more than a patch work skirt under them; of a

Great Physician always near while Teddy Wall was a hopeless cripple through spinal curvature, and scarcely one but in his or her stunted body carried the germs of debility, consumption, or some other disease, from the varied stock which the children of Tumblefold inherited—and they ended by singing 'Marching to Zion'—*via* Tumblefol', the gaol, and the workhouse." Here it is that the author says, "And God saw everything that he had made; and behold, it was very good."

The work, however, is permeated by a spirit of love and restraint—a spirit that induces Mr. Ben Tillet, one of Britain's foremost labor leaders, to describe the book as "the sweetest human document I have ever heard of or read" and that goes to make a more wholesome and salutary, as well as more cogent, argument for social solicitude than a hundred tracts.

LEO H. JOACHIM.

## Labor to the Front

*Towards New Horizons.* By Mary Patricia Willcocks. London: John Lane. 1919.

**T**HE urgent need of the moment is for clear statements in regard to the issues that confront us. We want all sides represented. Definiteness, at this juncture, is of the highest order of merit. We want open diplomacy between nations, and frank expression of aims between individuals and parties.

In this situation this book by Miss Willcocks is a valid contribution to thought. It may be accepted as a touchstone of sane radicalism. On whatever side you stand you will find it of value. It expresses in fine literary form, and with the quiet certainty of absolute conviction, the constructive ideas of the rising classes. The author has performed a service by placing before us, fearlessly and candidly, the hopes and aspirations which are the new facts with which statesmen, politicians, and human beings must alike be prepared to reckon.

"It has indeed come to this point with the world that it must 'learn or perish.'" In this present crisis, "neither Arab nor Negro, neither Yellow man nor Red will be left safe if the white races fail to find the way out."

How, then, are we to find the way out?

Certainly not by fighting. History, Miss Willcocks says, "tells us quite clearly that never once, so far, has any nation been in possession of the facts behind the show of things. Men have fought always for ends that they knew not, and for purposes which, had they understood, they would have disavowed."

The way out is not to be discovered by holding to the old order. Western civilization is built on self-assertion and on possession. "The one mental joy of the classes in power, and of most of those out of it, consists purely in property and the power which springs from it." "Both landlordism and capitalism measure a nation's greatness by its

square miles of territory and a man's by his bank balance."

The way out is through the acceptance of genuine democracy, which means "humanity's trust in its own inner nature." "It is a definite creed, this trust, and it simply says that every human being possesses within him a spark of self-directing life that is divine." The definition is but another expression of labor's claim for responsibility and the exercise of initiative.

Miss Willcocks is right in saying that the strength of labor today comes from the fact that it is the one party in the community that has a definite and constructive program. The old order is bankrupt of ideas, but the workers have declared their adherence to the principle, "Production for service, not profit." This pronouncement represents a new departure. The worker has come to the full realization of the importance of education in its broadest sense. "We don't want education for industry, but for life. What we want is to be finer men, not better laborers. We refuse to be sacrificed any longer to output."

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

## Peace and the People

*The People's Part in Peace.* By Ordway Tead. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1919.

**T**HE well chosen title of this volume is a democratic challenge. The people are not to be mere spectators of the peace settlement. The reconstruction of the world is not to be simply an affair of governments. But the feelings, opinions, aspirations, hopes, and above all the clarified common thought of the people are to be the forces that will usher in the new era.

The moral atmosphere of the book is wholesome; and with much that the author writes all fundamental democrats will find themselves in hearty sympathy. The world's industrial anarchy all works back to the simple proposition that in the markets of the world each nation is trying to sell all it can regardless of the total effective demand. The adjustment of spheres of influence and investment areas carries with it either a parade of force or a commencement of hostilities. Yet far from contemplating any withdrawal from these areas after the war, the financiers who play the game on a world scale are planning greater enterprises than ever.

The author sees very clearly the dangers of financial imperialism. His book will do service in calling attention to those dangers and in promoting a spirit of inquiry into the problems underlying the need for a league of nations. His method of dealing with the situation seems to be an elaborate program of economic and social research, and then of governmental regulation based on the conclusions of research experts.

The author advocates a policy of interminable

official dealing with secondary causes. This policy overlooks the fact that the phenomena in question ("each nation trying to sell all it can regardless of the total effective demand") are those of a social system based on a monopolized earth. To counter this Mr. Tead would say the phenomena are those of private capitalism organized for private profit.

The business men who are hot for commercial imperialism, protected by armies and navies, are forced into this attitude by domestic conditions. Productive business everywhere has to carry fiscal burdens far heavier than those borne by property in natural resources. The difference in taxation upon developed and undeveloped land is capitalized into a monopoly price which, continually rising with the growth of population, blockades the healthy local expansion of business and forces the investor to turn his attention to foreign countries where land is cheaper. Business men feel the economic pressure of this condition; but, as a class they have not yet learned to generalize it, because it stands outside of their ordinary technique. The state of mind exhibited by the business world today constitutes a problem in social psychology that is not taken up in this book.

Mr. Tead calls his treatise "an inquiry into the basis for a sound internationalism." The volume will do good service in emphasizing the danger of an internationalism which is *not* sound. But, before we can find the basis of an internationalism consistent with fundamental democracy, it will be necessary to set the author's facts in a sociological and psychological perspective that brings local business problems more clearly into view.

LOUIS WALLIS.

## Books Received

*A Romance of Two Centuries.* By Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie. Alpine, N. J.: The Platonist Press.  
A concrete picture of present day events and a forecast of their final outcome.

*How to Live.* By Irving Fisher and Eugene Lyman Fisk. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 1919.

Rules for healthful living authorized by and prepared in collaboration with the Hygiene Reference Board of the Life Extension Institute, Inc.

*A New Municipal Program.* Edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1919.

*The Dramatic Story of Old Glory.* By Samuel Abbot. Foreword by James M. Beck. New York: Boni and Liveright. 1919.

*Humanity or Hate: Which?* By Harvey Carson Grumbine. Boston: The Cornhill Company. 1918.

A comparison of the German soul with that of the French and a contrast of the war songs of the two countries.

*Rebels and Reformers.* By Arthur and Dorothea Ponsonby. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919.

A narrative of the lives of Savonarola, Bruno, Voltaire, Mazzini, William Lloyd Garrison, and Henry D. Thoreau.

*Economic Effects of the War Upon Women and Children in Great Britain.* By Irene Osgood Andrews, assistant secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation. New York: Oxford University Press. 1918.

*Zionism and the Future of Palestine.* By Morris Jastrow, Jr., New York: The Macmillan Company. 1919.

*Carnegie Pensions.* By J. McKeen Cattell. New York: The Science Press. 1919.

A protest against the control of teachers by the Carnegie Foundation through its pension endowments.

## NEWS

### Labor

—When the miners of District No. 1 meet in biennial convention at Scranton, Penn., demands will be made for a six-hour day, an increase of from 20 to 25 per cent. in wages, complete recognition of the union, and the establishment of the check-off.

—The Manchester cotton strike, which has tied up the industry in Lancashire since the middle of June, has been settled. The operatives resumed work on the basis of a forty-eight-hour week and an advance in weekly wages amounting to thirty per cent.

—Virtually all shipping in the harbors of Melbourne and Sydney has been tied up by the seamen's strike which began several months ago in Queensland and has extended to Victoria and New South Wales. The resultant shortage of coal will be the most disastrous feature.

—Telegraph operators employed on private, leased, and brokers' wires plan to demand an increase in wages of about 20 per cent. and a forty-four-hour week. F. D. Davis, President of the Western brokers' division of the C. T. U. A., said the demands would be presented August 1.

—According to Mr. Hasbrouck Haynes, industrial engineer and lecturer at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, profit-sharing is being adopted by many manufacturers as stimulating production and establishing good feeling for the management. "A profit-sharing system where the workmen are permitted to buy stock seems to be the most satisfactory because of the feeling of ownership which results during lean periods when there are no profits to be shared. The workman is contented in ownership of stock, but when he has no stock and no profits, discontent results. Failure of systems of profit-sharing has been due in most cases to the discontent during lean periods."

—To promote more cordial feeling with their workers, a commission of forty employers has been formed in Chicago, under the leadership of Harold F. McCormick, President of the International Harvester Company, and Harold Swift, Vice-President of Swift & Co. The announcement says the idea originated with John J. Mitchell, a banker, as the result of a conversation with Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle, Wash. The Mayor said the indifference of employers gave opportunity for radicals to promote trouble. "The idea is to form a community service organization which will afford entertainments, lectures, and generally improve conditions and display a spirit of sympathy and helpfulness."

—At the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the British Labor Party, held in Southport on June 25, a resolution was passed deprecating the action of the Government in preventing the completion of the taxation of land, and demanding



that the valuation be completed as early as possible, and a system of taxing land values be instituted. Another resolution urged that the whole system of land taxation be revised so that "the whole of the unearned increment of values should accrue to the State." Local taxation was covered by a resolution which condemns the present system of "rating" and demands that the Government grant powers to local authorities (1) to rate all lands within their respective areas, whether occupied or unoccupied, (2) to abolish the special rating privileges now given to owners of agricultural land, and (3) to levy rates on income.

### Cooperation

—The *Minnesota Farm Bulletin* says that reports from 288 coöperative creameries in Minnesota for March show that 126 paid between 70 and 77 cents a pound for butter fat; 72 paid between 65 and 69 cents; 25 between 60 and 64 cents, and 10 between 55 and 59 cents. The average price paid by these 288 creameries was 70 cents. As these creameries are representative of the 600 coöperative creameries in the State, it is estimated that this price was the average price paid by the coöperative creameries of Minnesota.

—Among the individual coöperative organizations which carry on educational activities on a large scale, a prominent place is occupied by the Altai (Siberia) Union of Coöperative Societies. During the first six months of its existence this union published 26 leaflets of diverse contents, to a total number of over 200,000 copies, which were distributed among 1,260 individual coöperative societies. During the same period the Union purchased 42,000 books, of which 24,000 were resold to the affiliated societies, and was responsible for the organization of a large number of lectures and cinemas in the villages of its district.

—A number of unions of coöperative societies of the Altai and the province of Semipalatinsk, in Siberia, have jointly formed a new association. The objects of the association are to prevent the unfair exploitation of forests by means of spreading amongst the peasants true knowledge about the harm done by this to their interests as members of coöperative societies, and to erect and run saw mills and wood working factories provided with the most up-to-date American and Swedish machinery. The association starts its work with a capital of one million rubles, subscribed by the individual unions, and it has leased large plots of land on the river Ob and in the proximity of the railway line for the future works and stores. It is expected that the great scarcity of fuel and building timber will guarantee the success of the new venture.

—Some years ago Jewish immigrants at Paterson, N. J., finding it difficult to get the kind of bread suitable to their tastes, organized a coöperative bakery. They did not adopt the Rochdale

plan, but fixed retail prices slightly over productive costs, devoting any surplus to charitable purposes and strike benefits. The Federal Food Board, during the war, to protect the public, fixed the selling price to consumers. Telegrams poured in from all over the United States from profiteering bakers protesting against the price fixed; many saying they would be ruined. The Purity Coöperative Bakery of Paterson, however, wired to the effect that if they were compelled to sell at the Government price they would have surplus funds accumulating on their hands with which they would not know what to do. The Government failing to give them permission to sell at a lower price, this coöperative baking society adopted the Rochdale baking method of distribution of surplus revenues, which enabled them periodically to return the same to the consumers in proportion to the purchases of bread made by each member.

### Cost of Living

—Announcement was made by Sir Auckland Geddes, the Minister of Reconstruction, in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to raise the price of coal to the consumer by six shillings a ton on July 16.

—In a report to President Wilson the Federal Trade Commission warns of an approaching packer domination of all important foods in this country and an international control of meat products with foreign companies unless fundamental action is taken to prevent it.

—The British coal output for the first twenty weeks of the year was at the rate of 242,000,000 tons, compared with 287,000,000 tons in 1918. This means that exports must be cut down and restrictions maintained on home consumption. The average output per miner is decreasing, averaging 16.8 tons a month, compared with 19.8 in 1918.

—Figures printed by *Le Petit Parisien* indicate how the wave of high prices has swept Europe. At the time of the signing of the armistice the cost of living in France, according to these estimates, had increased 350 per cent.; the increase in Italy has been more than 400 per cent.; the increase in England 250 per cent., and the increase in the United States 200 per cent.

—The Department of Agriculture, through Acting Secretary Ousley, declares the present retail prices of beef are not justified. Market reports of the Bureau of Markets show a reduction of \$4 a hundred weight or nearly 25 per cent., at Chicago, and retail prices have not followed. He gives a comprehensive history of the beef industry since the beginning of the war, and urges Federal control.

—The rapidity with which the Big Five extended their operations in South America is shown in the Federal Trade Commission's report. The

steps were: In 1907 Swift & Co. established a single plant in Argentina. In 1910 the Big Five had secured control of 40 per cent. of Argentina and Uruguay. In 1915 they controlled 65 per cent. By 1917 they were exporting 57.4 per cent. of all exports of frozen and chilled beef quarters from those two countries, and today they are in control of or associated with seventeen meat companies or holding companies in South America.

### Public Ownership

—British South Africa now has 4,185 miles of railway, all but 499 of which are government owned. The government railroads operate motor trucks to collect and deliver goods for shipment.

—The city of Manchester in England is preparing to carry out an extensive town planning and housing scheme. Plans are under consideration for the erection of approximately 6,000 homes and the improvement of an area of 5,290 acres.

—Chinese Government railroads yielded a good profit for the year 1917, according to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The report for that year showed a surplus for the entire system of \$21,680,195, which is a slightly larger sum than the 1916 surplus and nearly double that of 1915.

—A comparative financial statement was recently issued by the City of San Francisco, giving in clear statistical form the revenues, expenditures, and profits of its Municipal Railway System for the six years that it has been in operation, from 1912 to 1918. The total net profit to June 30, 1918, is shown to be \$1,087,469.80.

—It is very probable that Ohio will soon engage in the coal business, thereby initiating the first American State-owned mines. The State has under consideration the purchase of 7,000 acres of land in Vinton County, containing enough coal to supply State institutions for 100 years. The land is said to be underlaid with an eight-foot vein of coal.

—The Nottingham, England, municipally owned gas plant showed for the year ended March 31, 1919, a profit of \$463,451. Of this amount, \$341,763 has been applied toward the reduction of city taxes. During the same period the municipally owned street railways showed a profit of \$506,057, of which amount \$150,000 was applied toward the reduction of municipal expenses.

—At a special election recently the citizens of St. Joseph, Missouri, declared themselves overwhelmingly in favor of public ownership by voting five to one in favor of a bond issue of \$500,000 for the extension of the city's electric light plant. St. Joseph has owned and successfully operated its electric light plant for many years, but an enlargement of the plant and service was necessary to take care of the increased volume of business.

—The permanent Spanish Electric Commission has reported to the Ministry of Public Works as in favor of the construction by the State of a national system for the distribution of electric currents. Power is to be generated at the larger water falls and at mines where coal of too low grade to be exploited commercially is produced, which it is proposed to burn at the mine shaft for the production of energy. These latter stations are to be used only when the supply of current fails because of lack of water power. The amount of electricity capable of being produced from waterfalls is more than 8,000,000 horse power.

—Director-General Hines makes much of the fact that under the present form of government control of the railroads great economies have been effected. These "savings" are a very striking evidence of the importance of unified operation and control, showing a total saving of \$117,358,435. Great as these economies are, they are but a fraction of the economies possible under public ownership. For example, it is a well-known fact that the Government can borrow money at a lower rate of interest than private individuals or corporations. The differences average about 2 per cent. Thus the saving under public ownership on this one item of lower interest rates would be \$800,000,000 a year, or nearly three times as much as the "savings" scheduled by Mr. Hines under public "control." But even this is not the greatest saving possible under public ownership. For when finally all the bonds issued for the purpose of the roads are paid off, as would be the case in about 25 or 30 years, there would be no further interest burden to carry. In other words, public ownership will ultimately eliminate the entire burden of interest on the capital account of saving, amounting to over \$1,029,000,000 a year. This would be nearly ten times as much saving as that effected by Mr. Hines under public "control."

### Education

—The Juilliard Musical Foundation, to "aid all worthy students of music in securing complete an adequate musical education, either at appropriate institutions now in existence or hereafter to be created, or from appropriate instructors in this country or abroad," is established by the will of Mr. Juilliard, who died on April 25. According to a representative of the executors the sum available will be considerably in excess of \$5,000,000.

—The parents of children attending an elementary school in Aberdeen, Scotland, have shown by an attack on the school their resentment against the action of the authorities in cutting off the hair of girl pupils. Armed with missiles, a large crowd of men, women and children, women predominating, gathered near the school, understanding that the shears were to be applied to other pupils' hair. The school windows were wrecked and damage amounting to more than \$1,000 was caused. Forty

policemen were required to keep order in the crowd, which was estimated to number 15,000 persons.

### The Public Health

—Recently Governor Smith, in laying the cornerstone for a new group of buildings at Letchworth village, a New York State institution for feeble-minded which, when completed, will be the largest in the United States, declared that of the 33,000 defectives in New York State only 5,000 are receiving proper care.

—More than 98 per cent. of the 2,000,000 officers and men of the army, who have been demobilized since the signing of the armistice, were discharged with a clean bill of health. Six per cent. of the men were reported to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance for disabilities and 1 per cent. was held on account of communicable diseases, under-development, or other causes. The Negro troops showed a slightly better physical condition than the white, but a higher percentage was held for communicable diseases.

—To prove his theory that germs do not cause disease, Dr. H. A. Zettel, electropath, of St. Paul, challenged Dr. H. W. Hill, executive officer of the Minnesota Public Health Association, to a duel to the death with germs. Dr. Hill accepted the challenge, and the two were to expose themselves to the most virulent of contagious diseases, including typhoid, smallpox, and bubonic plague. Dr. Zettel was to use in his defense against the germs only sanitation, pure air, and sanitary food and drink. Dr. Hill would expose himself after scientific inoculation and vaccination. The survivor was to be honorary pallbearer at the funeral. The duel is temporarily delayed.

### Public Order

—Lieut. Colonel Samuel T. Ansell, who has been the storm centre for months in the controversy over military justice in the army, is to tender his resignation to the Secretary of War.

—When Prosecutor E. H. Nicholas completed his argument in Jackson, Minn., in the case of A. C. Townley and Joseph Gilbert, charged with conspiracy to teach disloyalty, Townley made a personal plea to the court that he be permitted to argue his own case to the jury on the ground that he felt the Nonpartisan League was on trial. Judge Dean denied Townley's request to address the jury, and Townley announced that he had decided to rest his case without argument.

—Prohibition is directly responsible for a strike of taxicab drivers in Milwaukee. They assert the falling off of business following the dry law has so reduced their earnings that a flat wage of \$20 a week is necessary, and reimbursement for half of the gasoline expenses. Managers of the companies admit Prohibition has made a big dent in their earnings. One estimated that business had fallen

off 50 per cent. "When completely sober," he said, "nobody rides any further than he necessarily has to, but in the old days a driver was good for a couple of hours anyway and also came in for a fat tip. They are going tipless now."

### Color Line

—The exodus of the Negro from the South during the war as a result of the favorable labor conditions elsewhere has brought the educational authorities to a realization of the need of dealing with this problem, and they believe that a lack of educational facilities, to which is attributed much of the desire to go North, has already been remedied to a certain extent.

—There are 14 county training schools for teachers in North Carolina, and 73 in the entire South. Last year there were 54; and their usefulness was so demonstrated that the county boards of education gave \$132,000 for their support against \$45,000 by the Jeanes Fund and the General Education Board combined. Such facts show that the South is, in the words of a distinguished Methodist bishop, turning its attention "from the Negro problem to a Negro program."

—The London *Herald* reports that the unprecedented spectacle of colored men appealing to a British crowd for "fair play" was witnessed in Hyde Park recently. A meeting had been hastily called by the Society of Peoples of African Origin to protest against "the manifestations of race hatred and antagonism" which had recently broken out in the East End of London, Liverpool and Cardiff, and appealing to the authorities for "adequate protection" to be granted.

### Transportation

—On the 10th all control over ocean freight rates was relinquished by the Shipping Board.

—Travel in Australia is much improved since the Trans-Australian route has been opened. Not only is the road a great convenience to those desiring to cross the island continent, but it has already had the effect of opening up interior regions whose development was not profitable under the old conditions. Local traffic in manganese, barytes, salt, and other minerals is growing.

—The total capitalization of the electric railways, street and interurban, for the year 1917 was \$5,525,025,923, representing an increase during ten years of 46.4 per cent. The net capitalization per mile was \$111,238 as compared with \$100,495 in 1907. The heaviest net capitalization per mile is in the middle Atlantic States and the lowest in the Mountain States. The total number of passengers increased 51.9 per cent. in ten years.

—Principles to govern aerial navigation, already accepted by most of the Allied nations, have been made public by the Aeronautical Commission of the Peace Conference, which recently concluded its

work. These principles are contained in an international convention which provides for the creation of an international commission. The principles concern the nationality of airships, certificates of navigability, rules for flying, lists of forbidden routes, steps to be taken by all signatory nations to develop aerial navigation, various provisions governing the licensing of aviators, equipment of airplanes with signals, distribution of weather reports and customs and regulations.

### League of Nations

—Frank L. Polk, Under Secretary of State, will succeed Secretary Lansing as head of the American peace delegation at Paris.

—The resolution ratifying the Peace Treaty was adopted by the German National Assembly on the 9th by a vote of 208 to 115. The German National Assembly is the first elected body in any country whose representatives signed the treaty to pass a ratifying resolution.

—A demand that all the nations of the world be made eligible to the League of Nations was expressed in a resolution unanimously adopted in New York on the 9th at the first annual congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor by delegates from ten countries, including the United States. The demand was formulated in an amendment proposed by Samuel Gompers, president of the congress and head of the American Federation of Labor, following a report by the committee on resolutions indorsing the League of Nations.

—In an open letter to the Socialist parties of America and of the world, Y. P. Hsieh, a Socialist member of the Chinese National Assembly, appeals to the workers of America to do everything within their power to prevent American financiers from extending further loans to the militarists of Peking, who are merely using these loans to strengthen their strangle-hold upon the Chinese workers. Hsieh also charges that the diplomats appointed as delegates from China to the Paris Conference of the world powers do not represent the Chinese people, but merely a military clique in Peking.

### Reconstruction

—The Council of Five raised the blockade against Germany on the 12th.

—If the extremists in London are able to secure legislation making it impossible for any business interests of England to employ more than 10 per cent. of aliens, it is the general belief that other countries will make reprisals upon British subjects.

—Several Chinese patriots tried to commit suicide in the presence of Hsu Shih Chang, President of China, as a protest against the transfer of control of Shantung Province to Japan by the Peace Treaty, according to a message from Peking to N.

C. King, President of the Chinese National Welfare Society.

—Efforts to attract farmers to New Jersey through a land registry bureau are to be made, the Conservation and Development Department announces. It was said that New Jersey's farm advantages are ignored despite the fact that "in the hands of skilled farmers the farms of the State are the most productive in the country."

### Foreign

—Twenty thousand picked men, representing all the Allied armies, paraded from Portemaiillot to the Place de la Republique in Paris on Victory Day, July 14.

—The establishment of government sugar factories and the legalization of trade unions are recommended by the Governor of Jamaica in his address to the legislative council. Trade unions exist at present in Jamaica unpunished, although forbidden by law.

—The British Government has decided to appoint a Parliamentary body to report on some measure for legislative evolution along the lines of federalism, according to an announcement made on the 10th in the House of Commons by Andrew Bonar Law, Government leader.

—The Japanese Overseas Development Company (Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha) is encountering difficulties in the fulfillment of its agreement with the Brazilian Government for the supply of 20,000 Japanese emigrants because of the reluctance of the Japanese in rural districts to leave the country.

—Of the revenue of India, which is expected to amount to \$481,875,000, 47 per cent., or \$206,000,000, is allotted to military expenditure. In 1918-19, during the European war, India was compelled to spend 51.5 per cent. of her total revenues for the military, according to the International Labor News Service.

—In the House of Assembly of the South African Union a bill was recently passed which renders it impossible for Hindus in future to obtain trading licenses for new business, according to *Young India*. It proceeds to ask what would become of British trade in India if India had the power to retaliate and shut out all non-Indian business men.

—Australian coal exporters are making a strong bid for the Philippine market. They are offering their product at a much lower price than the Japanese dealers, who have heretofore held the monopoly in this commodity. The lowest Australian price recently quoted was about \$3.86 per ton f. o. b. mines, while that quoted by the Japanese was \$12.75 per ton f. o. b. mines.

—A deputation of Czecho-Slovak Catholic clergy was intrusted with the bringing of a request to Pope Benedict asking that an independent Czecho-Slovak patriarchate be established, that the Czech

language be used in services instead of Latin, and that the priests be permitted to marry. More than 80,000 Czecho-Slovak women have signed a memorandum in favor of the marriage of priests.

—In describing details of Erzberger's plan of taxation in the German Republic, George Renwick, in the *New York Times*, says: "Fortunes of private persons and capital of all kinds of business concerns of less than 5,000 marks are exempt. Above 5,000 marks the levy rises from 10 per cent. till it reaches on fortunes or capital of over 2,000,000 marks 65 per cent. Pearls and all sorts of precious stones, articles made of gold and other precious metal are regarded as capital when their value is above 20,000 marks."

—A nitrogen syndicate has been organized in Germany on the initiative of the State. During the war the State had invested several hundred million marks in new nitrogen works, and is, therefore, interested in supervising the industry. It is also planned to equalize the prices of domestic nitrogen products with the prices of imported wares. Germany is now able to produce about 500,000 metric tons of nitrogen annually, while domestic consumption is estimated at 225,000 tons only. Thus an enormous quantity will be available for export, and competition in the world market will increase, for prior to the war Germany had been importing about one-half of the amount needed in the form of Chile saltpeter. The imports of saltpeter averaged 750,000 tons, representing 116,000 tons of nitrogen. Such a large item of export will be missed by Chile, and its elimination will be felt in the freight market.

### General

—Kate O'Hare has been reported ill in her prison, but her friends are distributing far and wide the Kate O'Hare booklet called "Socialism and the World War." It is published in St. Louis.

—E. Laneuville, of Havre, estimates the world's production of coffee for the year ended June 30 at 14,212,000 bags as follows: Rio, 1,768,000 bags; Santos, 7,869,000 bags; Victoria, 881,000 bags; Bahia, 194,000 bags; other kinds, 4,500,000 bags.

—The National Popular Government League, 637 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C., has had reprinted for wide distribution two articles which appeared in *THE PUBLIC* of July 5—"The Non-partisan Victory," by Judson King, and "New Law for Packers," by Hon. William Kent. Copies can be secured from the League.

—In the *Arbitrator* for July, Edward Paul has an article on "Newspaper Methods," which is a first published contribution to the study of the veracity of the modern newspaper when interest is involved. Mr. Paul has undertaken the serious, scientific study of newspaper conditions and has collected a large volume of data.

—The Workers' Defense Union, a delegate body of labor unions and radical organizations, with headquarters at 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York City, has protested in a circular against the continued implications that the bombs of April 29 and the explosions of June 2 were traceable to the radical or the labor movement. It maintains that not a scintilla of evidence has been adduced to show that these terrorizing efforts emanated from this source and characterizes as a malicious libel the charge of the press and investigators that the responsibility lies with the radical or labor element.

### Political

—A proposal that a referendum be held in New Jersey on Woman Suffrage has been made by the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, which has started a campaign to defeat ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

—President Wilson on the 12th blocked the repeal of the daylight saving law, by vetoing the agricultural appropriation bill carrying a rider for that purpose and at the same time vetoed the sundry civil appropriation bill because it would limit the appropriation of money for the rehabilitation and training of disabled soldiers. On the 15th the House attempted to override the veto, but failed of the necessary two-thirds vote.

### Land Reform

—In England there is on foot a project to reclaim land on the coast which is at present covered by the tide twice a day and to improve it, build on it, and give it to returned soldiers that they may have comfortable homes and means of livelihood. Thomas H. Mawser, architect and town planner, has sketched out a plan of improvements and buildings.

—Dr. Julio J. Pikler, Vice Director in the Budapest Land Association office, has written a little book in Hungarian called "Practical Georgism," which has been translated into "Ido" by Stefano Bakonyi. The author defines the doctrine of Henry George as "an ideal capable of life and in fact realizable precisely because it is realizable gradually: first in small, later in grander proportions, today in one land or city, tomorrow in another. And this is the way it should be. Such gradual development terrifies no one and all will willingly help to slowly transform the ancient edifice without bringing it down on our heads." The author has not merely preached the theory of the Singletax to official societies and to state and municipal politicians, but in Budapest he suggested the fixing of a tax on all land values at one-half of one per cent., which was adopted. A little later a tax of one per cent. on all land values was proposed, and adopted by Budapest and several other cities. He looks forward to a remarkable and steady growth in land reform in his country.

## THESE BOOKS WILL GREATLY HELP YOU TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF PUBLIC QUESTIONS

### The State and the Nation

By EDWARD JENKS

A simple, concise and direct statement of the necessary functions of Government outlining the historical development of that sense of community interest and responsibility upon which true citizenship depends. The author's "Short History of Politics" is a widely-used text-book, and he has written also a book on "Law and Politics in the Middle Ages." Net, \$2.00

### The Freedom of the Seas

By LOUISE FARGO BROWN

A systematic tracing, through old treaties and other documents, the meaning given in the past to this somewhat loosely-used phrase. It is very useful as an aid to clearness in future discussions, and to the Student of the subject its bibliography is simply invaluable. Net, \$2.00

### A Society of States

By W. T. S. STALLYBRASS

An analysis of the much-discussed subject of a league of nations showing that such an agreement is a logical development in international politics, no more limiting the individuality of a nation than many another treaty which has in the past been freely undertaken. Net, \$2.00

### The Science of Labor and Its Organization

By DR. JOSEFA IOTEYKO

The author is a recognized authority on physical fitness for work, the measurement of fatigue, the sources of labor, etc., in France and in Belgium, where, before the war, the technical schools were the best in the world. Net, \$1.60

### Labor and Reconstruction in Europe

By ELISHA M. FRIEDMAN

Mr. Friedman, editor of that valuable symposium "American Problems in Reconstruction," in this book describes impartially the means undertaken or proposed in sixteen countries, belligerent and neutral, to deal with reconstruction in labor matters. It is of value to employment managers, directors of corporations, and students of labor problems and of the effects of the war. Net, \$2.50

"For those who are patriotic enough to be constructive, it is a work of inestimable value."—*The Public*.

### Labor in the Changing World

By R. M. McIVER

A study of the place of labor in the industrial world, aiming at bringing about such a co-operation as shall prevent the accumulation of excessive wealth on one hand and the existence of dangerous dependence on the other. In press.

### Germany's New War Against America

By STANLEY FROST

A warning against the menace of Germany's industrial and commercial plans to attack American business. Ready Aug. 1.

POSTAGE EXTRA. ORDER  
FROM ANY BOOKSTORE

**E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY**

681 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

### 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

### "Co-operation" at Co-operative Prices

OUR special edition of Emerson P. Harris's new book on Co-operation, which we sell at 90c less than the price of the standard edition, is going fast. If your copy is still unordered, it would be advisable to get into action. \$1.10 postpaid. With a new subscription to *The Public* for six months, \$3.10.

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

## St. Stephen's College

A Christian College, conducted for Christian men of all communions, by the Episcopal Church, furnishing undergraduate training of the highest scholarship, in an atmosphere, of simple living and campus democracy.

Specializing in old-fashioned classical education and in those social sciences having to do with human relationships.

Terms: \$450 a year for tuition, modern quarters and good simple food. The low cost is due to simplicity of life and endowment.

Endorsed by the Commissioner of Education, State of New York.

There are a few vacancies for next year.

Address, at once,

**BERNARD IDDINGS BELL, President**

POST OFFICE, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.

STATION, Barrytown on the N. Y. Central R. R.

## The Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce

By LOUIS F. POST

WHAT are the ethical principles of Marriage—of Polygamy, Polyandry, and Free Love—of Successive Marriages—of Marriage Ceremonials—of Divorce? In this book Louis F. Post critically examines these vital questions in an absorbingly interesting manner. Every student of social questions should read it, and every person who is bewildered by the conflict of ideas upon these subjects will find that this book will clarify his thoughts and lead to sane conclusions.

Price, postpaid, 75c.

**The Public** Book Department New York  
122 E. 37th Street