

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

March 8, 1919

History and Free Speech

James H. Dillard

England's Labor Problem

Populism Today and Yesterday

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

Subscribe to The Public

Now and Save 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %

¶ In April the subscription price of THE PUBLIC will be increased to \$3. By subscribing now, you save 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %.

¶ If you are a reader, your renewal will be accepted at the present price of \$2.00 for as many years as desired from the date to which it is now paid.

The Public

122 East 37th Street, New York

Enclosed find \$2 for which extend my subscription to THE PUBLIC one year, and \$1 for which send THE PUBLIC for six months to the two names herewith.

[Add 35c. and we will show our thanks by sending you a copy of Frederic C. Howe's new book, "The Only Possible Peace," or of "Joseph Fels: His Life Work," or "Woodrow Wilson's Selected Addresses," edited by Albert Bushnell Hart.]

Name

Address

[Please check the book you prefer.]

The Public

A Journal of Democracy

March 8, 1919

Contents

Editorial Notes 127
 England's Labor Problem..... 229
 Political Representation 230
 Lawrence, Massachusetts 231
 Stratifying Citizenship 231
 President Wilson 232
 Is the Feudal Estate in America Passing
 Away? George Frederick..... 233
 Populism Today and Yesterday, Leo H.
 Joachim 234
 History and Free Speech, James H.
 Dillard 236
 The Citizen Army and Militarism, Merle
 Armitage 237
 Tax on the Unearned Increment, Walter
 Clark 238
 Current Thought 238
 Books 240
 News 242

Founded and Edited, 1898-1918, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE TEACHER POST

EDITORS:

STOUGHTON COOLEY MRS. JOSEPH FELS
LITERARY AND NEWS EDITOR: F. C. EBY

PUBLISHER AND MANAGING EDITOR: STANLEY BOWMAR

Published Weekly by
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
122 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York City

Single Copy, Ten Cents Yearly Subscription, \$2.00
Canadian, \$2.50 Foreign, \$3.00

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



OSCAR H. GEIGER
WHOLESALE FURRIER

6 WEST 37 TH STREET
NEAR 8TH AVENUE

TELEPHONE
OSGLEY 8270

NEW YORK

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXII

New York, N. Y., March 8, 1919

Number 1092

FREE speech won a striking triumph at Philadelphia on the 27th in the acquittal of John Reed on the charge of inciting to riot. The mere fact of the acquittal, important as that is, is less striking, however, than the circumstances accompanying it. The case was tried before a judge who said in charging the jury: "Freedom of speech, of course, does not mean license. It has been found necessary that there shall be one great universal power that shall always be considered in interpreting the Bill of Rights, and that is the police power." To this the chief counsel for defense, David Wallerstein, protested: "I am not a Socialist, I am not a radical, I am not a revolutionist, but when the superintendent of police can say who shall or shall not speak, it is better that we stop talking about democracy." To admit that the police have a right to anticipate a man's words, and to declare that what he is going to say will be illegal, was a little too much even for a Philadelphia jury.

IT is interesting to note, as a result of the activities of the various patriotic agencies in this country bent upon promoting the growth of Bolshevism, that this high-handed assumption of the police power was what led Mr. Wallerstein to jeopardize a very wide law practice among the conservative business class and defend Mr. Reed without fee. If these various agencies of good-intentioned people who are urging the police to persecute Socialists, or others who do not happen to have the approval of the ultra-conservative class, continue their present course they will increase their number more than all other influences combined. In the midst of war people act upon impulse; but reason is returning, and all fair-

minded persons will resent such action as that of the New York police in handling a Socialist meeting. After many halls had been refused because of fear of the police, and the audience had gathered in the dining-room of a fashionable restaurant, a police officer presumed to forbid the meeting and turned out the lights. One of the speakers happened to be a prominent attorney and his protest to a higher official secured a reversal of the order. Had the speakers been of lesser social standing, and the audience gathered in a hall on the East Side, the original ban would not have been lifted. The war is over. It is time that we resume our democracy.

GERMANY continues to be the chief object of the world's solicitude. For four years every sign and portent was critically examined for evidence of the collapse of autocracy. Now that autocracy is gone the signs and portents are weighed to see whether the republic will survive. As all predictions went far astray during the war, they may now be no better; but it must be confessed that the prolonged pressure of the Allies in suspending industrial activity smacks of danger to the stability of responsible government. It is one thing to exact the fullest reparation from Germany for the mischief done, but it is an altogether different thing to resort to means that may lead to the overthrow of all authority. Germany will serve the Allies as well as herself best by returning to normal conditions. Let every cent of surplus wealth be taken from her as fast as created, until she has paid in full; but let her industries be started as soon as possible. Extreme severity on the part of the Allies appears to have been necessary to crush the remains

of the military spirit. It would be a sad mistake to destroy also the sense of order and responsibility.

GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, president of the American Free Trade League, drew attention at the free trade dinner on February 27 to the fact that free trade if adopted would simplify the work of the Peace Conference at Paris; for if goods were permitted to move freely through foreign ports it would matter little to interior countries whether they owned the seacoast or not. George Burton Adams, professor of economic history in Yale University, contended that trade restrictions such as those imposed by protection could not live in the atmosphere that has been created by the new freedom and world brotherhood to which the last four and a half years of war have given birth. Autocracy, militarism, imperial expansion, exploitation of colonies, he said, have been replaced by a true democracy, the desire for justice, and a feeling of brotherhood between peoples. Franklin H. Giddings, professor of sociology and history in Columbia University, said that it would be inconsistent for the nations to agree to a curtailment of armament if protectionism, which he looked upon as the fundamental cause of all wars, were to be allowed to continue in force. He thought it more important to remove the causes of war than to destroy the means of conducting war, for as soon as the people realize that the cause has been removed they will gladly give up armaments. Whatever action is taken by the Paris Conference in regard to trade restriction, the very fact of a league of negro irls when labor was scarce began to exchange.

“**A**FTER us the deluge,” appears to be the philosophy of the *Atlantic Constitution*, which says: “Twenty years hence the idle lands of the country will largely have disappeared, and then is when the land problem will become most acute—when the young man of today who failed to provide himself with a home of his own while homes are to be had and within the reach of every man who is able and willing to work, will wish that he had done so.” What could be more pessimistic? It is to say that as man becomes more efficient, as he makes

new inventions and discoveries, and increases his power over nature, as he learns, in short, to make two spades with the effort that was formerly required to make one, spades will be harder to get. With a population of 324 per square mile in Germany, 480 in the Netherlands, and 673 in Belgium, it is idle to talk of crowding in the United States with a population of only 28½ per square mile. But if we continue to adhere to the policy of permitting individuals to hold land out of use for purposes of speculation, fourteen persons per square mile might feel the effect of crowding.

WOMAN knocking at the closed door of opportunity has long marked the pathos of progress; woman forced out of industry by the men returning from war marks its tragedy. But she is silent no longer; neither is she helpless. She has the ballot in a sufficient number of States to command the attention of politicians; and soon they must give heed. The first word heard after the end of the war was that women could now return to their household duties. But many have no household duties, and others do not choose to assume them. Those who wish to continue in industrial work resent their discharge to make room for the returning men. And the burden that thus falls upon white women bears with redoubled weight upon the colored sister. For, the moment the armistice was signed employers who had hired negro girls when labor was scarce began to discharge them.

HERE, as before, women will have to fight their battle mostly alone, as they did in breaking down the prejudices regarding political rights. They were taken into industry because there were not enough men, and colored women were added because there were not enough white women. The process is now reversed. The colored women have already been discharged from the more desirable positions, and the same rule will be applied to as many white women as is necessary. But society, man-directed no longer, cannot bar women from industry as it formerly kept them from the ballot. It has long been customary to think of wars as opportunities for bold men to make the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth, and to acquire quick fortunes in trade;

it is something new to look upon it as a time when the workers at peaceful pursuits prosper. Yet, this has been the case with a large number of women, and particularly of colored women. It all comes from the fact that there was more work to be done than there were workers to do. What an argument for the removal of the burdens and restrictions that hamper industry. And why should not industry thrive in peace as in war? Are there not myriads of wants unsatisfied? Are not the needs of the workers as great now as were those of the Government in war? How can there be one idle person who wishes to work as long as there is a want unsatisfied? How, except by bungling laws that prevent labor and capital from access to the bounties of nature? Men have blinked this fact for a generation. Will women be as slow to grasp it?

SOME fundamental democrats will criticise, and criticise rightly from their point of view, the action of women's organizations like the New York State Woman Suffrage party, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Woman's Trade Union League, and the Consumers' League of New York State and New York City, for devoting time and energy at Albany to securing the passage of bills for health insurance, minimum wage, eight-hour day, and the protection of women employed as office workers, elevator operators, and transportation workers. But it can at least be said that though such measures are not fundamental they nevertheless give temporary protection to those who cannot protect themselves; and they will have a tendency to set people to thinking, and to cultivate a spirit of social solidarity. The sudden inrush of women into occupations hitherto looked upon as belonging to men has brought about a state of affairs similar to that in the English factory towns after the introduction of machinery. Incidentally, it is interesting to note the attention legislators pay to these organizations since women secured the ballot.

KEEN regret at the failure of Congress to repeal the postal zone law for periodicals will be felt by persons interested in cultural work by means of the printed page. Enacted as a war measure it has been seized upon by

rural Congressmen as a means of making political capital by championing the supposed rights of local country editors. But the matter has not been permanently settled. The whole postal system needs overhauling. "Let thought flow freely," says Charles Johnson Post, in his comprehensive pamphlet, "Some Postal Economics," "among all the inhabitants of our country. This is the American ideal of postal function that paves the way to a contented and orderly democracy."

England's Labor Problem

PROGRESS was made at the meeting of employers and labor representatives in London on the 27th. Prime Minister Lloyd George recognized the gravity of the situation, and appealed to both sides to hold together. Press reports indicate that the employers had little to say, and that the labor men spoke with frankness and confidence, but with great determination. A cotton manufacturer said a reduction in hours would be impossible in his line because he was engaged in manufacturing for export, and he had to meet the longer hours of foreign competitors. He was at once answered by the retort that the Labor Conference in connection with the Peace Congress would settle that, and that an international agreement should make better industrial conditions possible everywhere.

The vital theme running through the whole proceedings was a determination on the part of labor to have a greater share in the control of industry, and a more potent voice in fixing wages and hours. James Henry Thomas, M.P., general secretary of the National Union of Railway Men, declared that the "organized workers of Great Britain have made up their minds to obtain for themselves an increasing share of the wealth which their labor has produced and produces." He said that the "scandalous profiteering countenanced by the Government during the period of the war" was responsible for the prevailing unrest, and declared that labor was no longer content that every wage advance should be thrust upon the consumer, thus "canceling every improvement instantly and automatically." Statesmen, he said, of every party "must make up their minds that there is going to be a drastic change; wise

men will allow and provide for it." A committee composed of thirty capitalists and thirty laborites was appointed to make a thorough investigation into the question of hours, wages, and general conditions of work, and the best means for promoting better relations between capital and labor.

Lloyd George is facing the great problem not to solve which means his own destruction. In his famous campaign against the Lords in behalf of the land values budget he made a dramatic exposition of England's absurd land system, which resulted in an overwhelming victory. If he thought the facts marshaled against the landlords would serve to win an election and then be forgotten by the people, he was grievously mistaken. Those facts are as true today as then, and they become more perceptible to the working class as industrial conditions grow harder. Lloyd George will have to choose between the conservative supporters of his government and the labor interests for which he has spoken. The land question is about to re-enter English politics in a form that will challenge decision.

Political Representation

ON election day John Smith, American, goes to the polls and marks a ballot. John's neighbors, who live near him, do likewise, and when all the ballots have been counted John is pleased if his favorite wins. If his candidate loses John is resigned, for he believes in a majority rule.

Over in Russia Ivan Ivanovitch does the same thing; but Ivan does not vote with his neighbors. Ivan believes that his first interests are as a worker. So he votes with the men in his shop. If they happen to live near him, well and good. If not, well and good also. Ivan is primarily interested in the shop, and if the election goes well Ivan also is elated. If not, he, too, is resigned, for he also believes in a majority rule.

There are people in Russia who believe that John Smith's method is the better. And there are people in America who believe that Ivan has the only fair plan. Each side believes the other wrong, and each has a very plausible argument. "Of what use," says John, "is a vote to me if I don't exercise it with my neigh-

bors? My children and my neighbors' children go to the same school. I use the same streets, have the same interest in keeping them clean. My neighbors and I are guarded by the same police. We use the same street car, the same water and gas mains. How can my neighbor and I live in amity if we do not thresh out our differences together at the polls?"

"A fine bourgeois argument!" retorts Ivan. "Neighbors indeed! My boss may be my neighbor. Are our interests alike? Then why do I go on strike? My neighbor may be a land owner, and I am a working man. My neighbor may be comfortable. Well fed. Does it matter to him that I am poor? But Nicolai, who works at the same bench with me—there is another matter. If I work long hours so does Nicolai. If Nicolai is poor so am I, for we get the same wage. Wherefore I vote with Nicolai, my shop neighbor, and not with my house neighbor."

Both John and Ivan are logical. John believes thoroughly that living together is the proper basis for voting, and so he disfranchises all who have not been his neighbors for a fixed time. Ivan, who believes just as strongly in work as the basis for voting, disfranchises all who do not come within his definition of workers.

Both John and Ivan, it should be understood, believe in majority rule. Neither has seriously questioned the supremacy of the majority. John insists that his interests are the same as his neighbor's. Ivan feels the same way about his shop mates. When it comes to electing an alderman, however, under either scheme there is always a healthy minority who do not believe with either Ivan or John. No matter how the election comes out, there are always plenty of neighbors and plenty of shop mates who do not feel that their interests are sufficiently identified with either John's or Ivan's to vote for the same candidate.

Neither the Soviet system nor the American district system is a success. John may be right or Ivan may be right as to where his interests lie. The primary thing in a democracy is that each shall vote where he thinks his interests are. There are men, for instance, to whom their religions are their chief interest. And if Roman Catholics and Christian Scientists think alike on public questions it is important that they

be represented by the same person, no matter where they may live or work. They are neighbors of the heart and brain, and not of either house or shop.

One wonders whether either John or Ivan has heard of proportional representation, which would let John be represented according to John's method, and would let Ivan be represented according to Ivan's method. It would also enfranchise the minority under either system. What is wrong is the compulsory division into districts. The reasonable plan would be to let every man choose his own district, whether of the home, the shop, the church, or anything else.

Lawrence, Massachusetts

LAURENCE is again on the map. What is more, it is getting on the American conscience. The people of the United States have done a great deal for Lawrence. The farmers who raise wheat and cotton in competition with the whole world have said to the woolen manufacturers, who declared they could not make cloth in competition with England and Germany and pay wages sufficient to keep up the American standard of living: "Go ahead; keep up the American standard. We will put a tariff on foreign made cloth so that you can charge as much as is necessary."

Thus the farmers, and other workers who had no protection, have paid the higher prices in order that Americans who made their cloth could enjoy a decent standard of living. And so busy have they been in keeping up their own standard of living that they forget about the cloth makers, until they were suddenly startled by reports from Lawrence, that things were not as they should be, that a great strike was on, and that clashes had occurred between police and strikers. The American standard of living that the rest of the country has been taxing itself to maintain is not quite what it was thought to be. Fifty per cent of the adult male wage earners receive less than \$1,800 a year when they work full time; and when they asked for the forty-eight-hour week, which is coming to be recognized throughout the country as the standard day, the employers declared it could not be granted except with a reduction of pay.

The "Americans" for whose benefit the tariff has been endured are roughly estimated as follows: Italians 12,000, Poles 4,000, Syrians 5,000, Germans 6,000, Lithuanians 4,000, other Russians 1,000, Franco-Belgians 1,500, Portuguese 500, French Canadians and English-speaking workers 10,000. The strikers and the leaders have been denounced by mill owners, the clergy, the press, and the city officials as "foreigners," "masked liars," "plagues," "mountebanks," "evil doers," "radical Socialists," "anarchists," "Bolsheviks," "foreign bandits," and "brigands."

The air is full of criminations and recriminations. Rumors of enormous fortunes made in the woolen business are current. Manufacturers who accept largesses from the public in the shape of tariff enhanced prices, refuse to show their books or make statements. The earnings of the American Woolen Company are given by Amos Pinchot in an open letter to Claude Kitchin as averaging for the years 1911-12-13 \$1,754,793, while the net earnings reported in 1917 are given as \$13,883,156.

Until the American people who tax themselves to maintain the American standard of living have set up some sort of machinery for carrying out their purpose, or at least to secure statements of profits from the beneficiaries of the tariff, the sympathy of the general public will be with the strikers.

Stratifying Citizenship

THE City Club of New York has transmitted to Governor Smith, the members of the Reconstruction Committee, and the Legislature, a program of social reforms deemed by it to be necessary for solving the problems arising out of the war, but which were really inherent in social unrest before the war. It regards as universally accepted the need for protecting the wage-earners against the consequences of accident, sickness, old-age disability, and involuntary disemployment. It proposes, though it does not definitely state, that such protection shall be undertaken by the State, thereby conceding the inability of individuals to protect themselves under our modern industrial system.

To many it will seem ungracious to criticise such a mental attitude, and yet it cuts a

the very root of the independence of the citizen. Before the war England had begun to import many of these ideas from Germany, so that we have had an opportunity to see the probable outcome of such a policy. These benefits cannot be conferred by the State without the imposition of corresponding obligations. As Hilaire Belloc clearly shows in his book, "The Servile State," the adoption of such a policy divides the population into two classes—those having incomes above a certain figure who are free, and others having incomes below that figure who are bound. The wage-earner goes about with a card in his pocket, and is under state surveillance practically all the time. His right to stop work or to strike is impaired because thereby he loses the right to benefit.

The more strenuously modern civilization struggles with the problems arising from the denial of equal rights to land rent and to the bounties of nature, the more involved it becomes in the meshes of a net from which it cannot extricate itself. One would have supposed that we had had enough experience of what state socialism inevitably portends to make it unlikely that we would adventure in the same direction. The only way in which salvation can come to the wage-earner without the sacrifice of his freedom must come through opening to him alternative avenues of employment which will enable him at least to live without selling his labor to another. As long as self-employment is for the great mass of people impossible all the elaborate schemes of salvation by state interference, will tend inevitably toward serfdom.

President Wilson

JOHN MORLEY, in characterizing the thought of liberalism during the time in the middle of the nineteenth century when liberalism was rising into wider consciousness, after saying that "respect for the dignity and worth of the individual is its root," and that "it stands for pursuit of social good against class interest or dynastic interest," has this striking sentence: "In lawmaking it does not neglect the higher characteristics of human nature; it attends to them first." To what Morley here calls the higher characteristics of human nature no statesman in history has ever

appealed so surely and steadily as President Wilson. And in doing just this he has lifted the whole world forward in thought as no other statesman during the Christian era. His appeals, whether made directly to the people, or to Congress, or to the nations, have all been on this high plane.

Whether or not he succeeds in this present crisis in his efforts to lead the world toward fundamental democracy within the nations and toward friendship among the nations, he has shown the way which the world cannot forget and must some day follow. Who could have dreamed a year ago that a statesman would soon be uttering in Europe, with approval and applause, such a thought as the actual possibility of righteousness among nations! "This man, before all others," says a writer in the *London Nation*, "has brought forth an idea filled with real hope."

Detractors may speak of President Wilson's rhetoric, yet what writer or speaker has ever shown less effort after fine rhetoric? Opponents are hard pushed when they resort to such criticism. Certainly no fair critic can fail to be struck by the strong spirit back of the words which makes us feel the sincerity of the purpose to give effect to the words by the passage of laws and measures based on high ideals of and for mankind.

Let us add that there is a certain note about these appeals of President Wilson that makes them all the more effective. I refer to the simple, natural way in which he deals with these great issues. There is no preface or apology or excuse—he simply appeals to the world's highest impulses, calling attention to the evident but neglected facts, that open dealings in politics and diplomacy are better than secret dealings, that fairness and friendship among nations are better than jealousy and hostility, that the welfare and advancement of all the people is more important than boundaries and balances of powers. Never was there a statesman who thought less about ingratiating himself in popular favor by making explanations of his actions. He has simply gone straight forward, saying and doing what he believed to be right, and trusting to his fellow citizens to understand. This was his way in New Jersey, in Washington, in Mexico, and it is his way in Paris.

Is the Feudal Estate in America Passing Away?

By J. GEORGE FREDERICK

President of the Business Bourse International, devoted to Business Research. Author of "Sales Management" and "Breezy."

THE last twenty or thirty years have seen great numbers of country homes built on a large scale from five to seventy-five miles away from a city center. Being frankly patterned architecturally after European models, standing since mediæval times (and mainly in decay today), the new American feudal lords of money have, with equal frankness, imitated the social standards of Europe in their relations to the quite formidable retinues of workers hired. Quite frequently these are imported from abroad in order to secure the genuine aristocratic atmosphere, with the least possible tinge of the democratic point of view. The ratio of such employes to the number of members of the family they serve has been an average of at least two to one, often five to one. All the evils history has shown to be attached to the feudal system have cropped out in miniature here, and it is a common observation that where rich people come with their estates and servants the neighborhood is turned from average American to a degenerate cross between European servility and American graft.

But of late years the Americanized feudal system, the pretentious estate snobbery, is crumbling under that healthful American anti-septic, *practicality*, greatly speeded up by the war time leveling of wealth and pomp, and the general decay of all things feudal. Like the foolish snobbery of rivalry over highly expensive automobiles, the snobbery of immense establishments with a display of servants is passing. It is now rather common for people to give up their showy places (often as unattractive and hotel-like as they are large) and live in smaller, simpler homes. Women have frankly confessed that the burden of responsibility for such institutions, mistakenly called homes, became odious, however abundant and efficient their assistance.

The really significant tendency developing here and there away from this sheer possession of workers, toward the more democratic and more practical thing, interdependence, is

illustrated by one "country gentleman's" plan.

For three years he has not had an automobile, a cow or a horse, a conservatory, a gardener, or any of the long retinue of feudal estate appendages which many of his friends have. He sold his huge place and secured a charming villa a mile and a half from the village. Yet, despite the fact that he has none of the above mentioned appurtenances, he has never before had such splendid service of every kind and variety. He has but to lift up the telephone (indeed, just as must do his servant-ridden friends) to get his pick of half a dozen automobiles, or any of a dozen horse-driven vehicles, or a saddle horse or pony. He has also but to lift the receiver to have flowers in any quantity or hothouse fruits and vegetables delivered. The cost is less than the mere interest on the investment in equipment he owned when he had chauffeurs, footmen, gardeners, and helpers galore.

How does he get this high standard service now? Well, there was a man operating a livery stable in the village who was a better hand with horses than could be hired at any price. He was fast becoming a socialist, because on the one hand autos were driving out horses, and on the other hand the country estates were caring for their own horses. In consequence, he, together with the other natives, were getting poorer and poorer, because too proud to become the vassals of the rich about them as servants. A good man-to-man talk with this liveryman, a purely business contract with him, agreeing upon a minimum of service and specifying needs and required standards, the advancement of a loan to the amount of the year's minimum guarantee, to buy the extra equipment, and the thing was done. This liveryman now takes all the risks, loses his own sleep over the quarrels of his help or the spavin of his horses, and works for the country gentleman's interests with a zeal he could not possibly get from him as a servant.

Practically the same story is true of the garage. A good chauffeur and mechanic was commuting to Brooklyn every day, trying to give his family the benefit of country life. His ambition was to save enough capital to start a garage in the city. The shrewd country gentleman had a talk with him also; proved to him that a garage could be put right into that small town. He saw the point, took the gentleman's contract and has ever since expressed his gratitude for the sound business advice from which he has profited so well, by giving more service than he bargained for. He will cheerfully get up in the middle of the night to perform a service if needed, whereas if he had been an employe he would have grumbled.

An elderly man in the village who had a very small hothouse has also transformed the vegetable and flower situation.

The idea has so much interested others in the vicinity that they too have patronized these village business men (sometimes through sheer emergency necessity, due to the exasperating vagaries of those sub-normal types who fill the ranks of vassals to the rich). As a consequence the village is a lot more alive and has less of that servile, parasitic character that villages so often assume after they become surrounded with rich country estates.

The plan of having the servant working class sleeping and eating month to month and year to year on one's preposterously, arrogantly,

and uselessly large estate is a wasteful, unnecessary expense, comparable only to the pomp of kings and feudal barons.

There is a definite parallel between the industrial notion of a generation ago, that it was a good thing to own and control one's workmen just as far as possible, and the notion hitherto so common, the "gentleman's ideal," to have a huge house modeled and mounded after those of the landed gentry of Europe.

The thing is in the last degree undemocratic and unsound, and it must decay. Even houseworkers are bound in the future to be supplanted, wherever at all possible, by workers who do not sleep and eat in the house off a "mistress's" bounty. There is no place in American ideas for the feudal servant standard; all work must be democratic in atmosphere and plan and provide for the indefeasible dignity of every human being.

Specialization and standardization are successful principles applicable anywhere. No individual business makes its own screws, rivets, or pencils or desks or paper. Why should a country gentleman endeavor to create a plant isolated from other centers, for a score of specialized activities? The most prominent fact of the day is the increasing multi-division of all labor and the consequent increase in interdependence. Possession as a principle is doomed—interdependence is the triumphant principle, and for just plain practical reasons.

Populism Today and Yesterday

By LEO H. JOACHIM

CHARACTERISTIC of the history of our Middle West has been the chronic unrest in agricultural and industrial communities. Since the Civil War and the early days of Reconstruction the farmers have repeatedly protested that, though they have been granted their full measure of political independence, they have been driven by the growth of industry into an economic servitude to the capitalistic "interests" of the East. Railroads overcharging with seeming disregard for local conditions, large industrial corporations utilizing their agencies of destruction at the first sign of small competition, credit and currency neglect-

ing the needs of a community that could borrow only in times of prosperity and was forced to pay in times of distress, these were tangible grievances not to be dispelled by any fine talk of tariff and campaign promises of great political parties. Out of such ingredients of discontent have developed the Greenback, Granger, Populist, and Silver agitations.

The most recent *protégé* of the farmers is the National Nonpartisan League. With 300,000 members, a political organization in thirteen States, a working capital of \$4,800,000, an enlistment of sixty newspapers in its cause, absolute control of the legislative and

administrative branches of the North Dakota Government, legislative representation in six States and in the Congress of the United States, and prospects, apparently not overestimated, for complete victories in 1920, the League has legitimate claim for serious consideration both as regards its function and its future.

The ties of allegiance the Nonpartisan League holds to the past may not be apparent at first; yet there are certain genuine elements of similarity in all our Western movements, the Nonpartisan included. The present uprising, for example, has the characteristics of class warfare like all its predecessors. All our farmer agitations, too, have had their roots in certain acute economic evils. All have aimed at removal of these through political tactics and enlightened legislation. All have seen the coöperation of the agricultural and industrial communities of the pioneering West—two groups that have, whatever their differences, this element in common—their antagonism to capital. All have been the symbol for anarchy and destruction to those who have had most to lose by their success.

Always the credit and loaning facilities at the disposal of agricultural communities have been defective. The Granger movement and later the Greenback had their origin in the alarming condition of agriculture after the Civil War. The tiller of the soil on his newly-acquired farm found himself between two fires—increasing railway rates, alone capable of eating away his small margin of profit, and decreasing prices, especially disastrous for him inasmuch as the interest on his heavily mortgaged land remained fixed. Of course, the farmer was convinced that a conspiracy was abroad, engineered by Eastern financial groups, to rob and oppress him. It was natural, therefore, that this antagonistic feeling should create a demand for instant remedies. Granger legislation lowering railroad charges and Greenbackism urging an inflated currency were the two methods most immediately at hand.

The Populist movement, too, was carried on primarily for the benefit of the mortgage-laden farmers of the West. During the campaign of 1894 Governor St. John computed that the farmers were under an indebtedness of from seven to eight billions of dollars. The Cincinnati platform of 1891 and that of St. Louis

in 1892 declared for freer loans on real estate. Paper money and free silver seemed plausible remedies.

The grain growers of North Dakota were the victims of similar conditions in 1916-17. Mortgaged property, refusal of local bankers to extend credit, and a cash basis in retail stores because of war conditions combined to bankrupt the credit of the farmers. Requests to the Department of Agriculture, the National Council of Defense, and other Federal agencies met with neglect. Even the Department of Agriculture's revolving fund of six million for purchases of seed had proved inaccessible to the North Dakota agricultural workers. What to do? Enter a Nonpartisan Legislature and Lynn Frazier. And in three days a measure is completed authorizing counties to issue bonds proceeds of which go to the farmers on their personal notes payable at harvest time.

Again, the Nonpartisan League has in common with its precursors a socialistic flavor. As the Nonpartisans insist on state ownership of all public facilities, so Populists in their Ocala (1890) and Cincinnati platforms came out unequivocally for government ownership. Likewise, it is no new thing to desire an equitable apportionment of financial burdens. The spirit that prompted the Populist conventions to declare for an income tax (long before that proposal had ceased to be regarded as revolutionary) was the same that induced the Nonpartisan League to urge, as we entered the war, "that the principle of man conscription be applied to wealth; that the war be financed first from the pockets of those best able to spare the money."

Then, too, every popular party in the West has urged the destruction of the institution of the middleman. This policy forms the very marrow of the League's creed.

But the most significant element common to all the movements has been their inability to form, or their tendency not to form, strongly welded, politically enduring entities. And herein lies the greatest lesson the new movement can teach us. The Nonpartisan League, as its name declares, is not allied to any one political organization. It is a free lance in the realm of politics. And this undetermined nature has characterized every one of the minor parties, so called, in the United States. "People's"

parties, strictly as such, have never been successes. Realizing this frankly, the League is Democratic or Republican as it happens to feel like being. Failing itself on the primaries, it will indorse a candidate of a major party, as, possibly, the best in the field. The function of the Nonpartisan League can thus be seen. Regardless of whether it is able to attain the maturity of a full-fledged political party, it can at least call attention to certain acutely-felt economic ills. "People's" movements may have adopted crude methods in attempting to attain their objects—and that they have there is no doubt—but they have never failed to demonstrate that something was decidedly awry with our economic system. If the causes of discontent were not quickly removed, either they instituted remedial measures themselves, or the larger political groups took their cue from the minor leaguers and adopted legitimate means of combating these ills. Thus the Insurgent and Progressive legislation of the 1900's was but a harking back to the long-repeated tenets of the Populist platforms throughout the 'nineties. The initiative and

referendum laws, the direct primaries, the recall, woman suffrage—all were advocated at one time or another by the "people's" parties. The reforms, too, were enacted largely in those States where the Populist agitation had been strong. And there is reason to believe that much was learned as a result of the Greenback outburst. So that by calling attention to legitimate grievances merely the Nonpartisan League can be of invaluable service.

This is not by any means to imply that it is not destined ultimately to emerge from its present nonage in politics. The point was made that even should the movement cease at its present stage, it would not have been in vain. Actually, however, a really promising future seems to be in store for the Nonpartisan Leaguers.

Already the League is preparing for the 1920 campaign, when, unhampered by disloyalty charges, it will have much to do in deciding who will be our next President and expressing itself on government ownership—which from present indications would seem to be the center of the coming storm.

History and Free Speech

By JAMES H. DILLARD

Educator; President Jeanes Foundation for Negro Rural Schools; President of John F. Slater Fund; devoted to the solution of Social and Economic Conditions

I REMEMBER hearing my father say that when he saw in 1860 copies of the New York *Tribune* taken from the Post Office in Franklin, Southampton County, Virginia, and burnt in the street, he knew that slavery was doomed. I did not know what he meant when I heard him say this; but I have thought of it many times since, and I now know what he meant. He meant that when any régime or institution could not be discussed it was doomed, and all history shows that this is so.

It is very strange that people have not learned this fact, and the strangeness can be accounted for only by the supposition that those who attempt to deny freedom of discussion do not know history. History shows that every attempt, whether by law or by lawlessness, to shut off the free discussion of any public matter has been an indication of such

weakness on the side of those who opposed freedom of speech that it pointed inevitably to the collapse, or at least to the modification, of their cause. For, the very fact that discussion is refused is a confession of weakness. No explanation, nor subterfuge, nor camouflage, can get around this plain statement, that any cause that refuses the light of criticism and discussion does not feel itself secure in the right.

In spite of all declines in faith there still lurks deep down in the heart of men the belief that in the end the right will triumph. As Browning says, we never dream "though right were worsted wrong would triumph." We instinctively believe in the ultimate triumph of truth and right, whenever the truth and the right are known and recognized. To this belief the opponents of free discussion bear unconscious confirmation. For, by denying free

discussion of what may be truth and right, they show doubt and fear about the truth and right of their own cause. If there were absolute certainty of their position, they would have no objection, no uneasiness, no alarm concerning criticism. What is solid fears no assault.

No institution, government, or social *régime* has yet appeared in the world that can claim and show itself by its fruit to be perfect. No institution, government, or social *régime* should therefore claim to be exempt from criticism. The fact is, as all history shows, that all progress in bettering the conditions of human life has come from criticism of existing conditions having their foundation in existing institutions, governments, and social theories that wished to consider themselves as fixed for all time. It has not been so long since there were all sorts of penalties for all sorts of alleged crimes against Church or State which no one now regards as crimes, and these foolish penalties have been removed by the persistent criticism of the laws imposing them. Were it not for such criticism we might still be hanging people for witchcraft and imprisoning men for debt. It is a pity that we cannot learn from even very recent history that suppression of free speech reacts upon itself in a very short time. President Wilson did homage to Mazzini in Genoa a few weeks ago, and yet Mazzini, simply because he persisted a few decades ago in discussing a little measure of liberty for his fellow Italians, was not allowed to live in any country of Europe except England.

It is indeed hard to understand how any one who knows the facts of history can fail to see that the attempts to curtail free speech by laws and penalties are utterly foolish and futile. Those who propose and support such attempts are as foolish as the excited men who burnt the papers that were discussing the subject of slavery. This conduct of lawmakers who would stop free speech we can understand only by supposing them ignorant of our own history and the history of the progress of civilization throughout the world. As a matter of practical common sense they could see from history that by such efforts there would never be any real gain for their own causes and convictions.

A great teacher once said that any one applying to teach in any school should be required to pass an examination in Dean Stanley's

"Life of Dr. Arnold." Likewise we might well suggest that any one standing for election as a member of Congress or of a State Legislature should be required to pass an examination in certain chapters of Buckle's "History of Civilization." He would there see that no matter what his beliefs he could not bolster them by oppression.

The Citizen Army and Militarism

By Merle Armitage

What Mr. Armitage says in this article is the result of personal observation; he served as a Sergeant in the Army

THE Anti-Militarists, pacifists if you will, who some months ago raised the cry that American youths who entered the army would emerge therefrom enthusiastic supporters of a militaristic policy, that contact with the military would lead to a desire on their part for further military experience, possibly of an aggressive nature, should have been present with, or have been soldiers in the citizen army when the armistice was signed. They would have learned much. Here a new phase of American character evidenced itself.

No better illustration of the motive underlying the zeal of both the enlisted and commissioned personnel to create and perfect an army for victory could be imagined. Not for love of the game did the men from every section of the country adapt themselves to the new order of living. To win the war, forever to destroy the power that wages war for war's sake, to avenge the wrongs humanity has suffered—these were the things for which they cheerfully donned the khaki. Temporarily the army seemed the only vocation worth while, the only place for a man. Crafts, professions, all activities of civil life were forgotten in the eagerness to make good in the new business of war. To have been in the new army is to have seen one's faith in the fundamental goodness of men vindicated. The morale of the American army could not possibly have been higher.

The armistice was signed. The spirit of the troops did an about face. From that moment on, to the men who composed it, the army was a dead issue. Its hardship, its discipline, its deadly routine, and the days of exhaustion that had been borne cheerfully and willingly, the

whole military existence, suddenly became a yoke, the duties a burden. The military viewpoint, so carefully built up, could no longer be sustained. Home and the occupations of civil life never were so inviting. The spectacle of men moving in unison lost its greatest power to thrill when its purpose was removed. Nothing could be quite so depressing to the spirit of American youths as army routine in time of peace. No amount of training will make the American man a professional soldier. He is built of different stuff. He remains the individualist, he can and will direct his own course. The very qualities that make him a splendid fighting man during an emergency must cause him to shun the army as a profession.

Tax on the Unearned Increment

By Walter Clark

(Chief Justice Supreme Court of North Carolina)

WHEN a tax is levied upon realty it is passed on to the renter in higher rent. When it is levied by the tariff it is passed on, many times increased, to the consumer. Just as the walls of a building press upon the lowest tier of bricks, and with increasing weight the higher the wall goes, just so taxation bears with its increasing weight upon the consumer and the toiler—the men at the bottom. Those higher up often derive really more profit than the tax adds to their nominal burdens.

There is one tax that cannot be "passed on," and that is the tax upon the unearned increment. The unearned increment is not due to the labor or any effort of the owner of the property. It is added entirely by the increase in population and business. In England whenever property is sold or as often as it is transferred by inheritance, or devise, the Government takes 20 per cent. of the increased value. This is the most just of all taxes, and it would be fairer perhaps for the public to take back one-half of the unearned addition to value.

In looking around for subjects to be taxed that will bear the least oppressively upon those who create the wealth of the country ought not some organized effort be made to present the justice of such taxation?

CURRENT THOUGHT

Sanctions for War

IT is generally agreed that war for war's sake is a crime. Under this head come all wars of aggression, whether the motive be political, suppression or territorial robbery. It may be admitted that the details of warfare are in themselves repugnant to the moral sense. On the other hand, it is generally understood that in default of other defense against the abuses of power, the use of a counter-force is sometimes necessary. Waiving all question of the relations of war to the individual conscience, it would appear that the use of armed force against force is politically legitimate, in three conditions: Civil revolt against unbearable tyranny, national resistance against military aggression, and defense of other nations subjected to wanton attack.—*David Starr Jordan.*

Cost of War

NOR will this terrific demand for food be a matter of a season only. For years and years we must continue to supply unheard-of amounts of food. Indeed it would have been almost as easy to put Humpty Dumpty together again as it will be to restore the world's agriculture. The soil of thousands of acres has literally been blown away by high explosives. Practically all the lands in the embattled nations have decreased in producing power through poor handling, neglect, and lack of fertilizers during the war. Of the host of farmers that toiled to feed Europe before the war, millions now lie beneath the soil they tilled, and other millions, maimed and crippled, can never again turn a furrow or harness a horse. Assuredly, agricultural production is not, like Aladdin's palace, the growth of a night. Years must elapse before Europe's production is restored to normal.—*Charles Lathrop Pack, in Victory Gardens Feed the Hungry.*

Economics International

AS we scan the literature of industry, trade and finance that grows visibly week by week, we are struck with the fact that there is an accepted body of opinion on very few things—that on many subjects there is a veritable anarchy of opinion. The idea, poorly expressed, seems, nevertheless, struggling to express itself that economic law is as exact, as peremptory, and as universal as physical law, and that national systems of economics are as absurd and as ineffectual as would be national systems of mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, or astronomy. If this idea is correct—and he would be a brash individual who would categorically deny

it—the Peace Conference and the League of Nations now being born will be able to harmonize the interests of the nations only when the general recognition of this truth and the conforming of national policies thereto have been brought about.—*Stephen Bell, in Commerce and Finance.*

Freedom of the Land!

FREEDOM of the Seas? Ah, yes!
But the Greater holds the Less.
Freedom of the Seas indeed!
Such the hurt world's right and need,
Yet the world-old world-distress
Is not answered by this "Yes,"
For the seas are only planned
As the roads which link the land.
So, shall freedom only be
For the highways of the sea?
Nay, then! Let the Land be free!

Fellow-dwellers of the Earth,
Of whatever state your birth,
Briton, Latin, Teuton, Slav,
All ye wish for, all ye have,
Aye, and more than this, God wot;
All your hapless sons have not,
All your future years are planned
By the wisdom of your stand
For the Freedom of the Land!

Now our men return by millions,
Held in Bond-age by the billions;
Now the rich earth offers yield—
Farm and forest, mine and field—
Offers to pay all, and spare
Every man his living share,
Offers it on one condition,
That we grant her manumission.
Only as the earth is manned,
Only as the willing hand
Spends its labor on the land
Shall the world return to health
And the Bond give way to Wealth.

Thus, and only thus, shall she,
Freed herself, make all men free!
Neither brawn nor breath nor brains
Shall give man his rightful gains
With his Mother held in chains.
How shall any Earth produce,
Held and hoarded out of use?
Strike her shackles! Make her free!
Free for you, for him, for me;
Then, if any Statesman be
Who would make the oceans free,
Lo, he finds (as one might guess)
That the Greater holds the Less!
Peoples! Let the Land be free
Wed to Freedom of the Sea!

—*Edmund Vance Cooke.*

(Copyright, 1918, N. E. A.)

Tax Land for Reconstruction

AT a time when Congress is much perplexed for a source of revenue which will not penalize business, it could study, very profitably, the effect of the war on land values. The investigation would show how land values are the product of population, how they are public wealth now taken by private interests. The truth is so apparent, on investigation Congress might conclude to liberate industry and business from taxes and super-taxes and avail itself of the land values created by society as revenues with which to pay the administration and maintenance of society's government.—*Circular of Division of Public Works U. S. Department of Labor.*

Good Roads as War Memorials

NOW that the war is over there will be a great surplus labor supply, stores of dynamite and quantities of structural steel. Why should we not now plan ahead to build roadways, conduits, bridges, etc., enlisting the surplus of men and material in the improvement of those necessary arterial channels? There must be from this time on a freer interchange of ideas, better avenues for the mobilization of whatever in industrial or social life survives our present great upheaval. Does not this suggest how we may memorialize the material and spiritual benefits of our world-wide struggle? The small town as well as the large city will have opportunity to distribute tablets recording the fact of great individual sacrifice. Every community should be studying how best to relate its vital sacrifices to the wholesome ongoing current of its present and future life. Why not plan, then, to build up and support what we need and make these memorialize this great and costly stage of history?—*Paul W. Goldsberry, in a Letter to the Editor.*

The Lesson of Seattle

NEARLY three hundred million people in the world are now living in a state of anarchy or semi-anarchy. This was brought about partially by military defeat, principally by famine. When people are hungry, when children cry for bread, when willing workers are unemployed, the field is already plowed and harrowed ready and waiting for the seed of Anarchy.

Our attempted revolution in Seattle was brought about by alien agitators and criminal labor leaders who, drunk with power, believed they could start a flame here which would sweep over the country. The story of the failure you already know. It was indeed fortunate that at the time this trouble occurred the people of Seattle were prosperous. If they had been hungry, no one knows the end.

You, gentlemen, have in your custody the wealth of the rank and file of the people. Words spoken by you are very powerful. You are each

one a power in your community, and being powerful you owe a great duty to our country, and this duty I feel that you will with courage and patriotism fulfill. Your duty and my duty and the duty of every patriotic American citizen is, first, to stop the influx of antagonistic aliens; second, to assist in the passage of a law whereby the aliens now in this country should be compelled to register their addresses and re-register with each change of address; third, to enact national laws making the I. W. W. and kindred organizations outlaws; fourth, to encourage in every manner possible public work of all kinds in city, State and nation.—*Ole Hanson in a Letter to American Bankers' Association.*

BOOKS

Is the Remedy Complex or Simple?

Democracy After the War. By John A. Hobson.
Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. \$2.

WITH the greater part of this book the liberal and progressive mind should find itself in complete harmony. That militarism is the arch-enemy of liberty; that war is but a dramatic episode in the career of militarism, and that while militarism leads up to war, war in its turn generates and normally leaves behind it an invigorated militarism, are truths as obvious as the axioms of geometry. And it is equally obvious that "only the substitution of a mode of settling grievances conformably with reason and justice can break the vicious chain of mutual causation by which militarism and war support each other." That militarism also acts as the precipitating reagent which holds the forces of reaction in combination, and enables landlordism, ecclesiasticism, high finance, trade protection, and educational culture to coalesce in a kind of unconscious conspiracy against the encroachments of democracy, requires little arguing.

While appreciating the kindly spirit in which the book is written one may discover discordant notes and lines of thought which must jar upon the minds of all but uncompromising socialists. The word "capitalism" is persistently used to describe the power which obstructs democracy and which must be destroyed, while no glimmering suspicion is discoverable that the aim of a true democracy should be not to abolish capitalism but to spread its advantages among the people—or at all events to produce those natural conditions under which capital, in addition to day wages, may be acquired by the humblest servant of society. "The pursuit of private profit," too, is assumed to be inconsistent with the principles of democracy, and on this point many of Mr. Hobson's sincerest admirers must continue to differ with him. Why should we, they may ask, condemn a primary instinct which may be made to serve the best ends of society by keeping

men at work and stimulating the arts of invention, simply because under the present lop-sided economic structure of society it lends itself to ignoble uses? If for the word "capitalism" wherever it is found in Mr. Hobson's writing we substitute "privilege" the argument will go on as conclusively as before up to a certain point, and at that point we shall find ourselves diverging to a different and much more cheerful conclusion as to the possibility of setting up a real democracy on earth. For there is something unspeakably depressing in Mr. Hobson's conception of the complexity of the social problem. In common with most professional economists, he avows a strong distrust of simple explanations of social ills, or of simple remedies for them. Yet all the analogies from physical science, philosophy, or religion lead us to conclude that the solution of every problem, the explanation of all mysteries, the remedy for every ill, will, when discovered, turn out to be exceedingly simple. The plain man therefore should take heart of grace and renew his confidence in his own simple theory that if privilege in the use of natural resources is finally abolished the whole mighty structure of interlocked "interests" that forms so seemingly invulnerable a cabal for the suppression of democracy will disintegrate and fall apart of its own weight. But, in contrast to this simple faith of the plain man, let us look at the task Mr. Hobson sets before a harassed people as the only way to "break the vicious circle." After the war the unholy alliance that is based upon "impropriety" (another awkward word for which surely "monopoly" might be substituted) must be assailed "not at one but at many points." Or in other words, as we learn from the context illustrated by a diagram, the circle of interestocracy (militarism, protectionism, bureaucracy, church and press authority, etc.) is not to be attacked at its center or root of "impropriety," as would seem to be the scientific method of approach, but at its periphery, and that with a strategic simultaneity of impact which suggests military coordination and the need of a Generalissimo endowed with appropriate powers. If the triumph of democratic principles depends on the possibility of such coordinated action by the people, are we justified in indulging hope for the future of democracy?

If there is an error in Mr. Hobson's analysis, it seems to arise from what most of us will call a misconception of society as a complex machine or structure put together and maintained in running order by human hands, rather than as a living organism growing and expanding from within through the pressure of its *elan vital*. The difference in the social philosophies which normally flow from these two conceptions, will in the end be worlds apart. From the first conception one gets a picture of the body politic as a mechanism kept in order by a company of specialists, each holding under control the forces of deterioration that manifest themselves in the particular combination of wheels

and ratchets with which he has to deal; one taking charge of the heart, another the liver and stomach, a third looking after the nerves, while oculist, dentist, manicurist and other experts manage the details. From the second, the image arises of a living full-blooded magnified man, *homo maximus*, in whom the physical organs function so easily and spontaneously that he is unaware of possessing them; who throws physic to the dogs and requires no assistance to live healthily; whose only absolute necessity is liberty to seek the things that belong to his well-being—good food and the work necessary to produce it and the appetite for it, along with a sufficiency of rest and the opportunity to work off his unexhausted energy in play or recreation. Look upon this picture and upon that. Which most nearly represents a true analogy to the entity we call society? Those of us who prefer the organic to the mechanical conception will certainly enjoy a more hopeful and cheerful outlook upon the future. To us it seems clear that the sluggish blood circulation, the faulty digestion, the eruptive skin, the defective eyesight and hearing, are all due to a certain artificial ligature we call Privilege or Monopoly. Our faith in the laws of health is such that all we demand is the removal of that ligature.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

Romance and History

Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence. By Elizabeth S. Kite. Boston: Richard G. Badger. Two volumes. Illustrated. \$5.

SO much has been written of late concerning the obligations of the United States to France for aid rendered in the struggle for independence, that Miss Kite's book derives from it an element of special appropriateness. By writing it she has performed a patriotic service. The oblivion which has been permitted to gather around the memory of America's most devoted friend in Europe during the momentous struggle for freedom is discredit-able alike to our gratitude and our historic sense. It seems hardly too much to say that, if it had not been for Beaumarchais' indefatigable labors with the French King and ministers, French support at the most critical moments of the struggle would have been lacking.

But, apart entirely from his contribution to our cause, which, however, he regarded as his chief claim to the remembrance of posterity, his life was one of such surpassing interest that Miss Kite places her readers under obligation merely for giving them a chance to become acquainted with one of the most interesting of careers. Had there been no Beaumarchais, and had some novelist imagined such a life for one of his heroes, he would have been deemed to have devised a personality too various to be possible.

The son of a watchmaker, without even a *de* to his name, in a period when descent meant every-thing, he provoked his father's reproaches for idle-

ness, and yet in his teens invented a watch escape-ment, which helped indirectly to make his fortune because somebody tried to pirate his idea and thus made it the subject of a lawsuit which brought him to the attention of the court of Louis XV.; he acquired enough musical proficiency to be made a tutor to the daughters of the King; he had a sufficient eye to "the main point" amid the frivolities of the court to make an alliance with the great financial powers of the time, and to lay the foundation of a fortune which later mounted up in the millions.

In spite of the envy of the courtiers, who resented the success of this *parvenu*, he became after a partially successful attempt to ruin him, a foreign confidential agent for Louis XV. and Louis XVI., which in turn brought him into contact with the agents for the colonies; his enthusiasm for the struggling rebels, joined to his belief that it afforded France an opportunity to offset the constantly mounting power of her secular foe, Great Britain, rose to such heights that in addition to organizing government aid he advanced nearly two million francs out of his own resources to help them. He wrote the two dramatic masterpieces of the French eighteenth century drama, "The Barber of Seville" and "The Marriage of Figaro," and thereby imparted, perhaps not altogether knowingly, a potent impulse to the social upheaval which culminated in the French Revolution. He anticipated men of our generation as different as Shaw, Conan Doyle, and Maeterlinck, for Figaro was 'Eney Straker a century earlier; a letter to the London *Times* contained the whole groundwork of Sherlock Holmes; and in his "Tarare," a heroic play, he introduces souls before birth in the prologue.

He was repeatedly made the victim of legal persecution by men who thought that their influence with the courts of the time would result in verdicts in their favor. He was a living refutation of the dictum that a man who is his own lawyer has a fool for a client. He had to plead his own cases because the lawyers of his time were too cowardly to antagonize his enemies, and he ultimately won every suit and came in the eyes of the people to typify their own struggle against an oppressive and despotic autocracy.

Beaumarchais was finally forced to flee by the very Revolution which he had helped to generate, but he finally died at home in his sixty-eighth year, with his fortune rehabilitated under the ægis of Napoleon.

May we not challenge the genius of Dumas, Hugo, or Balzac to give us a hero so wonderful as this, and yet in this brief statement a number of Beaumarchais' marvelous achievements have been omitted. We are attempting a review and not a biography. We can say with confidence, "If you are looking for truth stranger than fiction, this is it."

OWEN MERRYHUE.

NEWS

The League of Nations

In America.—Since the President's return to Washington interest in the Peace Council has centered chiefly in the relation between Mr. Wilson and the friends and critics of the proposed League. —Ex-President Taft presided at the National Congress of a League of Nations, held in St. Louis February 25 and 26, when he quoted John Marshall to show that our Constitution was not in conflict with that proposed for the League of Nations, and described the objections voiced in the Senate as merely destructive criticism.—On the 26th the President entertained at dinner at the White House the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, and made a statement of his attitude, freely "laying himself open for cross-examination."—On the 28th Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska read in the Senate extracts from a report in the *New York Sun* of slurring remarks attributed to members of the Senate in reference to the President's exposition of the plans for the League as given at the dinner, which gave rise to an altercation with Senator Borah as to the President's opinion of the Irish question; the newspapers had reported that Mr. Wilson had said that Ireland had no place at the Peace Council and would be left to the mercies of England, which statement was contradicted by Mr. Tumulty, who said that the President had authorized him to state that the report of his words was altogether false.—On the same day Senator Lodge of Massachusetts delivered an elaborately prepared speech in opposition to the proposed League of Nations, declaring that it might lead to war and implied the surrender of the Monroe Doctrine.—Senator Cummins of Iowa in a speech on the 26th declared himself in full sympathy with the purpose to form an international peace tribunal, but said he was opposed to the proposed constitution of the League of Nations because he believed some of its provisions would strike at American sovereignty.—The President invited ex-President Taft to join him on the platform of the Metropolitan Opera House on the evening of March 4, and together make a joint appeal to the American people to adopt the constitution of the League of Nations; there were 100,000 application for seats, while only 8,426 could be allotted.

—Representative York of Darke County introduced a resolution in the Lower House of the Legislature of Ohio asking Congress to submit the proposition for a League of Nations to a referendum vote of the people of the United States.

—A correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, writing on the French plan for the League of Nations, quotes at length from a forecast originating with M. Leon Bourgeois, the most striking

feature of which is that every member nation should intrust to some duly constituted central authority the free control of its military resources for the purpose of enforcing the decisions of the League.

—The German Society of International Law has drafted a constitution for a League of Nations, which it has sent to the German Foreign Office with the request that it be used as a basis for negotiations; it is said that a large army and a new navy are provided for.

—In Vienna there has been formed an association for the promotion of a League of Nations on the lines laid down by President Wilson; former Ambassador Dumba is one of the Presidents of this Austrian association.

—The American Military Mission which has been in Silesia for the purpose of investigating the counter-claims of Poles and Germans regarding the nationality of the population, and also inquiring into general conditions there, has finished its labors and returned to Paris to report to the peace commission.

—Thomas W. Gregory, the retiring Attorney General of the United States, will accompany President Wilson to Paris as general adviser and assistant at the Peace Conference. Mr. Gregory expects to be in Paris for thirty or forty days.

—It is reported that the Allies in conference on Greek affairs debated the new situation to be created in Asia Minor, and that a general plan was adopted for the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the internationalization of Constantinople and the straits, the creation of a Turkish state in the center of Asia Minor, and the liberation of all nationalities from the rule of Turkey.

—The *New York Times* of March 8 published an article containing excerpts from Irish publications in America tending to show that the Irish organizations are opposed to the League of Nations, and that the Irish organs are indulging in characteristic criticism of the President.

Reconstruction

—More than 160,000 aliens have been naturalized in the army since the declaration of war. The Bureau of Naturalization estimates that 200,000 will be naturalized when all the returns are in.

—During the last week Albert Rhys Williams gave considerable testimony concerning Russia, in which he presented many facts or opinions favoring or modifying news concerning the Bolsheviks.

—Service and wound stripes, testifying to overseas duty, do not get the returned negro soldiers a job in Chicago, according to Forester S. Washington, of the United States Department of Labor, supervisor of negro economics for Illinois.

—President Lowell and the Fellows of Harvard University have appointed a committee to coöper-

ate with the members of the course of industrial health to investigate and propose measures for health supervision of mercantile employes in the large cities of the United States.

—Representative Ben Johnson of Kentucky, chairman of the special House committee which investigated the alleged political activities of the National Securities League, made his report to the House on March 8. It reviewed the testimony heard by the committee, and declared that the league had violated the Corrupt Practices act. No action was taken on it.

—Thirty-nine per cent of the army officers on duty November 11 last and 88 per cent. of the enlisted personnel had been discharged by February 19, the War Department has announced, on the basis of complete returns to the General Staff. The total strength of officers and men November 11 was 8,670,888, while those discharged to February 19 numbered 1,288,428.

—The Merchants' Association of New York in its bulletin for the past week prints a long series of letters from business houses asserting that import and export business is being seriously injured, with no apparent benefit to any one, because of delays and difficulties in cabling and because of the refusal of the Government to permit the use of code in commercial messages.

—The Inter-Allied Commission at Warsaw, on the 23d, announced that some 4,000,000 inhabitants of Poland were entirely dependent upon public relief at the present time, and that another 9,000,000 were partially dependent on this source. The latter consist mainly of persons living in towns and some country districts, where the peasants have not enough land to supply their own needs.

—The newly formed Inter-Racial Council, in New York, of which Coleman du Pont is Chairman, issued a statement on February 26 setting forth the objects of the Council and announcing that it indorses a bill to be presented to Congress proposing that persons of foreign birth and native illiterates be educated and asking an appropriation of \$12,500,000 for that purpose. Charles E. Hughes and Lindley M. Garrison were among the organizers.

—Herbert Hoover has been appointed by President Wilson as Director General of the American Relief Administration, created under the new \$100,000,000 European Famine Relief bill, with full authority to direct the furnishing of foodstuffs and other supplies purchased out of the relief fund and to arrange for their transportation, distribution, and administration. Mr. Hoover was already Director General of Allied Relief under the commission sitting at Paris.

—The World Conference of Churches is sending a deputation to Europe and the Near East to make plans for a world-wide conference of the Christian Churches of all countries. It is expected to form a church league along lines like

those embodied in the proposed league of nations, in which Roman Catholics, Greeks, Russians, and Protestants may get together and cooperate in Christian work. The deputation will visit Rome and seek the coöperation of the Pope.

—On March 8 President Wilson's Conference of Governors and Mayors who have been invited to exchange views with Federal officials on pressing reconstruction and unemployment problems met in the east room at the White House. Secretary of Labor Wilson delivered the address of welcome. The President addressed the Conference, as also did Secretaries Baker and Daniels, who were scheduled to speak on Government contracts. Eighteen Governors attended, while others sent representatives.

—Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle has taken a prominent part in the fight before the Washington Legislature, in session at Olympia, for the passage of the bill providing ways and means for the suppression of prostitution and the eradication of venereal diseases. The proposed bill was drawn up after a conference with representatives of the United States Public Health Service and is modeled after the Fosdick bill. Mayor Ole Hanson spoke in favor of the bill, instancing the effective quarantine regulations enforced in Seattle.

—Director General Hines announced on February 28 that the President had decided not to return the railroads to their owners until after the matter had been discussed in Congress and decisive legislation had been adopted. Mr. Hines made this announcement in a letter to Senators Smith and Martin, chairmen respectively of the Committees on Interstate Commerce and Appropriation, and Representatives Sims and Shirley, chairmen of the Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Appropriation.

—On February 29 the War Council of the American Red Cross, appointed by President Wilson on May 10, 1917, came to an end. Henry Davison, chairman, issued a statement in which he said that during the past twenty-one months the American people had given in cash and supplies to the Red Cross more than \$400,000,000; but that no value could be placed upon the voluntary service, which had been given without stint and often at great sacrifice by millions of Americans. When we entered the war the American Red Cross had about 500,000 members; today it has a full paid list of members of 70,000,000.

—In the British House of Commons on February 26, in introducing a bill to establish a Ministry of Ways and Communications, Secretary for Home Affairs Shortt said that hitherto there had been no coöperation between the various means of transport. It was impossible, he said, to revert to pre-war arrangements. The new Ministry, under the bill, would take over control of railways, tramways, canals, waterways, roads and power. It would maintain the control over the railways which

was exercised during the war, and might make such changes as it thought necessary. Any changes, however, would require the sanction of the House.

—Before the Senate Military Committee on February 26 Major General Crowder asserted that 5,000 army trials where the sentences seem to have been severe are to be reviewed by a special board headed by Brigadier-General Ansell, who was Acting Judge Advocate General during the war, and added that he opposed the provision of the Chamberlain bill, which advocated the review of military decisions by the Judge Advocate General; that would give the Judge Advocate General extremely broad powers authoritatively to administer the entire system of army discipline. Many times the commanding officer in the field is best qualified to review the case.

—At a meeting of the American Road Builders' Association, held at the Hotel McAlpin in New York on February 27, General D. Coleman du Pont, head of the Equitable Building Corporation and owner of the Waldorf Astoria, spoke of the need of a comprehensive highway system, and a resolution was adopted to urge the Secretary of War to bring back at an early date a large proportion of the highway engineers now with the army in France. It was maintained that the efficiency of the political units, like the States, towns, and counties, can only be united in the accomplishment of the work that is needed through an organization that is national and has power to do the work in an intelligent and economical manner.

—Before his retirement from office on March 4 Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory wrote a letter to the President concerning the Espionage act prosecutions and convictions. He recommended that the sentences be set aside in cases where there had been undue patriotism or prejudice on the part of those who were either jurors or prosecutors, but did not recommend a general amnesty. Mr. Gregory maintained that the persons who were convicted and sentenced for a violation of this statute were not political prisoners, but were convicted upon trial by jury of a willful violation of a law whose sole aim was to prevent deliberate obstruction in the prosecution of the war. The statute under which they were convicted required in every instance that proof be made of their willfulness and of an evil intent to hinder this country in its conduct of the important business in hand.

—The annual report of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for 1918 shows the net income to have been \$44,070,899, an increase of \$4,789,314 over the figures shown in the 1917 report. The gross income was \$88,594,487, an increase of \$26,445,534 over the preceding year. The gross of last year was made up of compensation under Government control, amounting to \$65,992,740, and other corporate income of \$22,601,747. The

net income was equivalent to 8.82 per cent on the outstanding stock, as compared with 7.87 per cent in 1917 and 10.47 per cent in 1916. After the deduction of dividends amounting to \$29,950,704, and \$2,818,201 for income applied to sinking and other reserve funds, there was a balance of \$11,806,998. The profit and loss account now stands at \$89,675,852. Expenditures for equipment, additions, and betterments on all lines amounted to \$35,464,416.

Legislation

—On February 26 the Victory Liberty Loan passed the House with only three dissenting votes, and was adopted by the Senate at dawn on March 2 after a twenty-hour Republican filibuster.

—By the signature of President Wilson just affixed to the Pomerene Child Labor amendment to the Revenue bill, the standards of the Child Labor act of 1916 declared invalid by the Supreme Court have been reestablished.

—On February 25 the Senate passed a bill prohibiting the sale of liquor and maintenance of houses of prostitution in the Panama Canal Zone; the bill seeks to preserve in peace time regulations introduced by the army in the zone during the war.

—The high cost of living and the shortage of teachers are the reasons given for demanding an advance of \$6,000,000 to the pay of the teachers of the City of New York in a bill introduced into the Legislature and approved by the State Department of Education.

—As a result of the Senate investigation of the packers the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture has framed a bill to compel the licensing of all persons engaged in buying, selling, shipping or dealing in the by-products of livestock; to transfer the ownership of stockyards from the packing interests within a maximum period of four years; and to turn over the refrigerator car service to the railroads within six months; any person conducting or operating stockyards must have a license.

—In Bismarck, North Dakota, on the 24th, the House passed the minimum wage bill by a vote of 77 to 18, which provides that the Public Welfare Commission of the Workmen's Compensation Bureau be empowered to fix the minimum wage standard for all women and girls engaged in various occupations. The commission was also authorized to enforce sanitary regulations and to compel the employers to provide comforts and conveniences for their female help. The North Dakota Legislature passed a bill providing for the creation of an insurance fund for the benefit of employes injured and dependents of an employee killed in hazardous employment, and providing for the administration of the fund by a Workmen's Compensation Bureau in the Department of Agriculture.

—In the House Chamber at Bismarck, North Dakota, February 25, members of the Legislature, State officials, visitors to town, and the citizens united in a celebration of the signature by Governor Lynn J. Frazier of a number of the State's program measures advocated by the organized farmers and city workers of the State and recently adopted by the Legislature. Among the bills signed was one creating an industrial commission to have charge of the State industries and the operation of the various State institutions; a bill providing for the establishment and operation of the bank of North Dakota, which is looked upon as the bulwark to strengthen and back the State-owned institutions while getting started; a bill to provide for the establishment and operation of the North Dakota Home Builders' Association, giving the people of the State an opportunity to build and own their homes in the city or on the farm; the bill to create the North Dakota Mill and Elevator Association, and several others apparently as important.

Labor

—The kimono strike in New York was settled during the week, and the forty-four hour week was conceded to the workers.

—In Boston on March 1 the forty-four hour week will be introduced for a large number of working people; it will be adopted in Montreal on April 1 for a wide range of working people.

—From \$18,000,000 to \$28,000,000 will be available in the State of New York this year for highway construction; the work is to begin at once and pushed for the purpose of reducing serious unemployment.

—The special committee of the Chicago Labor Party has perfected plans for holding a delegate convention to arrange coöperation between the Nonpartisan League and the Labor Party to be held either in Springfield or Chicago in May.

—*Forward* of Boston has published as a supplement a full statement of the Lawrence strike based upon investigations of its staff. Persons interested—and every right-hearted person ought to be interested—should send for copies of "The Truth About Lawrence," 120 Boylston Street, Boston.

—At a meeting of District Council No. 16, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, held in the assembly room of the Pulitzer Building in New York, a resolution was passed requesting President Wilson to request Postmaster General Bureson's resignation from the Cabinet, and if it was refused, to remove him from office.

—Committee of the International Seafarers' Union in London, appointed on February 25 to consider the American Seamen's act, declared that the extension of the act to all countries would be detrimental to seamen. It suggested that the extension of the principles of the act be left to the

judgment and efforts of the seamen of each country.

—The United States Department of Labor at Washington, through a commission headed by Miss Alice Huntington, is conducting an investigation of living cost and other conditions in Des Moines, Iowa. The purpose is to assay the factors that bear on the cost of living with the intention of presenting legislation to Congress; Des Moines is taken as a type of many cities in the Middle West.

—In Illinois organized labor is taking a stand against the passage of a bill in the State Legislature providing for the establishment of a State constabulary. The *Weekly News Letter* of the State Federation of Labor contains a protest by J. H. Walker, president of the Federation, in which he declares that the "constabularies that have been created in several States where corporation interests dominate are really armed Government strike breakers."

—Ten years ago the railroad payroll for the whole United States was \$1,000,000,000, and the interest and dividends paid to railroad security holders was \$700,000,000. Figures from Washington officially state that last year the payroll was \$2,400,000,000 and the security holders received \$775,000,000, which shows that while the profits of the security holders are little above what they were, the receipts by labor have become two and a half times greater than they were a decade ago.

—On the 8d the Marine Workers' Affiliations unanimously voted to declare a strike to begin at six o'clock the next morning on all craft in New York Harbor except those in the service of the Army or Navy or of hospitals; seven port labor organizations were involved, and the decision was reached in spite of the urging of Government representatives to abide by the Macy decision and some concessions by the boat owners; the workers insisted on the eight-hour day and large increases of pay.

—The *Australian Worker* in its January 28 issue contains an article entitled "The Menace of Milnerism." As one of the colony members of the British colonial family it declares that "nothing could more completely demonstrate the absolute apostasy of Lloyd George than the appointment of Milner to the office of Colonial Secretary—the one position where an absolutely unrepentant imperialist could do the greatest possible harm to the cause of democracy. We know by past experience what South Africa will do in the last extremity before her people will again submit to Imperial control. We do not yet know what Australia will do when faced by the same peril. One thing at least is certain—the more rampant and aggressive Milnerism becomes, the more converts will be made to Bolshevism. Social Revolution with all its terrors—real or imaginary—is infinitely preferable to Imperial slavery."

—In Lawrence, Mass., all the textile mills were placed under heavy guard as the result of an explosion near one of the American Woolen Company's plants in Franklin on the night of February 28. The strike began in Lawrence on February 3, and is still continuing, but no efforts have been made at the destruction of property. The State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, headed by Charles G. Wood, held a meeting in Boston with the representatives of the striking textile workers from Lawrence. The object of the meeting was to learn the minimum demand of the strikers, with the hope that the question of hours and of wages might be submitted to arbitration. The textile workers of Lawrence struck to secure a forty-eight hour week instead of a fifty-four hour week, without reduction of total wages. They separated from the American Federation of Labor because the authorities in their union had urged them to accept the proffered forty-eight hour week with a reduction in weekly wages. The foreign-speaking workers of Lawrence are radicals, but the strikers maintain that it is not a strike of foreigners, but of workers who wish to obtain the eight-hour day which has already been granted to most of the skilled workers of the United States.

Suffrage

—The second annual convention of the Woman's International League was held in New York from February 28 to March 2; Miss Jeannette Rankin was one of the speakers; Crystal Eastman, chairman of the League, presided.

—The State Senate of North Carolina on February 28 passed by a vote of 35 to 12 the bill to permit women to vote in municipal elections. The measure, which is the first equal suffrage measure favorably acted upon by either branch of the Legislature, has yet to go to the House.

—The utter lack of adequate means of guarding the life and health of mothers at childbirth has led to the strikingly high maternal death rate found in a recent survey of a lowland cotton-raising county and of an inaccessible mountain county of North Carolina, says a recent report of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

—March 24 and 29 there will be held in St. Louis a jubilee convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association with representatives from all the States of the Union; it will round out 150 years of struggle for American freedom, and is intended to emphasize the various victories won by the cause of suffrage during that period.

—All of the committees interested in Red Cross work in Europe are to be invited to an international conference of Red Cross delegates, to be held in the city of Geneva a month after the signature of the treaty of peace. The purpose of the meeting is to report on plans for the transfer of

the efforts of the Red Cross organization from a war to a peace footing, notably in the direction of such activities as child welfare, public health, the fight against tuberculosis and the assistance of victims of the war. The Allied Governments are said to indorse the plans of this meeting.

—After an hour's debate the House of Representatives late on Friday night, in committee of the whole, voted 68 to 58 against increasing the appropriation of the Woman-in-Industry Service of the Department of Labor from \$40,000 to \$150,000. It later confirmed this vote by passing the sundry civil bill containing the provision for only \$40,000. The amendment was proposed by Representative Jeannette Rankin, and the opposition of the Appropriations Committee, headed by Representative Sherley, of Kentucky, and including Representatives Byrnes of South Carolina, Democrat, and Mondell of Wyoming and Cannon of Illinois, Republicans, with various anti-suffrage, anti-labor members, was responsible for its defeat.

General

—Secretary Daniels reports that the war bills of the navy were \$1,591,970,888.

—The profits of the past year to the Swift and Armour packing interests were more than \$69,000,000.

—On February 27 President Wilson nominated A. Mitchell Palmer of Stroudsburg, Penn., the Alien Property Custodian, to be Attorney General to succeed E. W. Gregory, whose resignation was to take effect on March 4.

—On February 27 Representative Frederick H. Gillett of Massachusetts was nominated for the Republican leadership of the incoming Sixty-sixth Congress. He was named on the first ballot. Former speaker Cannon supported Mr. Mann.

—It has been announced that Carter Harrison, five times Mayor of Chicago, has promised to run again as an independent rival of Thompson and Schweitzer. His friends are going to further his campaign with the slogan "Save the City or We Perish."

—Homer S. Cummings of Connecticut was unanimously elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee on February 26 to succeed Vance E. McCormick recently resigned. At the same time the committee decided on complete Democratic reorganization for a militant campaign in 1920.

—A great tide of emigration out of the United States of aliens, is reported. In the last few months 5,500 permits to leave this country have been granted by the emigration officials in Boston and its sub-stations alone. Of the 4,000 aliens passed from Boston proper approximately 2,500 are Italians. The officials are refusing permits to very few aliens wishing to return to their native country.