

LABOR GOVERNMENT FOR ENGLAND

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

November 22, 1919

People Versus Senator Lodge

Robert L. Owen

Banking and Steel and Townley

Judson King

Labor's Dilemma

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Volume XXII

New York, N. Y., November 22, 1919

Number 1123

NEW YORK is an unhealthy publication center these days. The combination of strikes, lock-outs, and "vacations" in the printing trades continues as this number goes to press. Printed and mailed in Cleveland, as was the issue of last week, this number is much smaller than usual, because of the difficulty and expense of operating under present conditions. It is, too, printed on paper which is lighter, but which, though less imposing, is almost as good a conductor of comment. The continuance of this curtailment may be necessary for several weeks, but our readers can be assured that each number will be made as good as the indulgence of inclement circumstance will allow.

MASSACHUSETTS' treatment of Senator Lodge should awaken sympathy for the "scholar in politics." Notwithstanding the Senator's arduous efforts to save the country from the League of Nations into which the President has tried to inveigle it, his own party demanded at the State convention that the treaty be passed without amendment. And now that same State and party have re-elected Governor Coolidge by such an overwhelming majority, and under such spectacular circumstances, as to start a Presidential boom for the intrepid Governor. When a man has sacrificed all that Senator Lodge has, when he has stultified himself and repudiated past opinions as no Presidential aspirant has since Daniel Webster abased himself before the Southern Democracy of his day, it is nothing less than a new idol.

SENATOR RANDELL of Louisiana, though willing to support a measure to continue Federal control over sugar, opposes giving the board power to buy and sell domestic sugar as "an unwarranted interference with natural economic laws." This from a Senator of a State that has been coddled by tariffs and bounties for three-quarters of a century! Hundreds of millions of dollars have been paid Louisiana sugar growers over and above the world price for sugar; and now that an effort is made to stop sugar dealers from further oppressing the people who have paid these generous largesses, protest is made against interference with domestic industry. The Senator has a rare sense of humor.

MOST illuminating is the report of the treasurer of Fairhope Colony, Alabama. It appears that the receipts so far this year about equal the eight thousand dollars received last year, and this, notwithstanding the enormous increase in the price of land in surrounding territory. There have been virtually no increases in rental rates for four years within the Colony. This is due to the fact, says the Fairhope treasurer, that lands outside the Colony are held idle for speculative purposes, which creates an artificial scarcity; but inside the Colony any increase in value is taken by the community in the shape of a land value tax. Hence, there can be no speculation; and no one holds land idle to create an artificial scarcity in order to force up the price.

SENATOR SMOOT is eyeing his colleague, Mr. Fall of New Mexico, with suspicion nowadays. Hitherto they have been like

Damon and Pythias, and no hostile thought or word has been permitted to mar their sweet companionship. But the other day Mr. Fall arose and pointed out that the League of Nations might send United States troops to Constantinople to guard Turkish harems. Since then Mr. Smoot is no longer happy. The serpent has entered his Eden. He is uncertain as to whether or not Mr. Fall is conducting an underground campaign in favor of the League by dangling before the eyes of the Mormon youth of Mr. Smoot's State the alluring possibilities of army service under such happy circumstances. And so there is no balm in Gilead. Mr. Smoot's soul is sadly disturbed.

The Election

LOST election speculations may be poor consolation for lost election bets, but they have their uses for those capable of learning. The reasons for the defeat of Tammany are obvious. The Socialists drew the radical Democrats because their party had nothing definite to offer, and the Republicans drew the conservative because of Boss Murphy's tactical error in meddling with judgships.

The reason for the Massachusetts landslide is equally plain. While Americans are not a closely cemented race, they are a nationality with clearly defined convictions, of which they are nervously self-conscious and sensitive. Foreign born citizens have long mixed old-world politics with American politics; but that will not be good tactics for some time, if it ever is. Germans, Sinn Feiners, Italian Irredentists, and other bi-nationalists should take warning. Americans sympathize with the victims of tyranny in all lands, but they object to having foreign causes thrust into home politics.

Of more import is the gain in the Socialist vote. The reason for this is even more obvious than the others, though it is doubtful if political leaders will see it. It has long been apparent that the chief reason for the survival of the Democratic Party is the Republican Party, and that the explanation of the persistence of the Republican Party is the Democratic Party. It is now apparent that the growth of the Socialist Party is due to both the Republican and the Democratic parties. Heretofore when the Democrats have won an

election it was due less to the fact that the people wished a Democratic administration than that they could no longer endure the misgovernment of the Republicans. And when the Republicans have regained control it was not so much that the people wanted them as that they could no longer put up with the Democrats.

This is the explanation of the Socialist vote. An increasing number of voters are asking: What vital constructive policy has either the Democratic or the Republican Party? And the answer is so faint and halting that an alignment with the Socialists seems preferable. Add to this the stupid investigations of the Lusk commission, the persecutions under the Espionage act, and the confinement of political prisoners long after imprisonment has served its purpose, and there is the best of reasons for expecting a continued growth of Socialism, for the Socialist poll is a vote of protest rather than a vote of conviction.

Persecution and abuse will avail nothing in a contest with Socialism; nor will a fusion of the old parties. The Socialist fights fairly, and he advances a definite and specific proposal for the cure of social and industrial evils. It is no answer to say of an untried thing that it will not work. If the evil conditions continue, and no better remedy is proposed, the people will be disposed to try it. The leaders of public affairs should announce their reason for leadership.

The First Conference of the League

IN the middle 'thirties a New York judge sentenced a number of citizens to terms in the penitentiary for organizing a shoemakers' union. It was not until just before the emancipation proclamation—if memory is correct—that labor organizations were permitted under the New York law. For some years after Wellington saved Europe at Waterloo it was the custom for trades unionists in England to meet in caves and cellars. Even at that their situation was vastly improved over that of two centuries before, when the law provided that persons who showed an undue tendency toward collective bargaining should be "hanged, drawn, and quartered." These things happily

are now history, but it is interesting to recall them in view of the fact that the first conference of the League of Nations is presided over by a union miner from Pennsylvania. The nation that was hanging trades unionists a few generations back is today sending its cabinet ministers to sit under the union miner—himself a cabinet minister.

The International Labor Conference opens under troublous auspices. In spite of opposition from Congress and from the Senate, which like the poor we unfortunately have with us always, the Conference seems likely to arrive at some progressive conclusions. The most serious obstacle to success is that item on the agenda which refers to the universal adoption of the eight-hour day. But it is a long step in advance even to meet for purposes of discussion. The present conference is necessarily conservative in tone, but the next one will be more radical. The important thing, however, is not that the conference is either conservative or radical, but simply that it exists. Like the League itself, it is important in itself, but more important for its promise for the future. Out of it will come a unity of labor regardless of racial lines, as out of the League itself must come—and will come—the Parliament of Man.

Labor's Dilemma

ORGANIZED labor itself appears to have fallen a victim to the unrest and discontent that has turned the world topsy-turvy. The radicals in the movement have grown impatient at the slowness of the old leaders, and are trying to speed up the work of readjustment. But this process of displacing the conservative leaders has cost the movement much of the public sympathy that hitherto has been one of labor's chief assets.

Public respect for organized labor has been steadily growing for the last twenty years, and was never stronger than at the beginning of the war. But with the development of the Russian Revolution a change came over the public mind. Many who had been friendly to the movement have grown confused and uncertain, if not absolutely hostile.

The revolution in Russia that was hailed with delight throughout the democratic world

lost many friends when Russia withdrew from the war. The subsequent overturning of the new government, and the reported excesses of the Lenine-Trotzky regime alienated many more. Whether or not these reports will be borne out by the facts, the public mind has been charged with them, and anything looking toward similar action in this country rests under grave suspicion.

The struggle within the ranks of organized labor between the old leaders and the new, the friction between the local and the national organizations, and the disregard for agreements have all tended to create a bad impression. Coincident with this have been persistent reports that the new spirit in the ranks of labor is due to the determination of the ultra radicals, or "reds," to effect a revolution and set up a soviet government.

Hence, strikes have come to have a new meaning. The boasts of a few ultra radicals have been taken seriously. The Boston police strike was interpreted as a new allegiance of labor. The calling of the steel strike in spite of the request of the President that it be postponed till after the industrial conference, the local New York harbor strike and the printers' strike in disregard of the national officials, the calling of the coal strike in spite of an agreement and in defiance of the President's warning, have tended to confirm the suspicion in many minds that the real animus behind it all is a determination on the part of labor to abandon democratic government. Whether or not there are enough men in the labor ranks holding such views to give color to the idea is not now in question. The point is that the public has come to believe this to be the case, and as a consequence is withholding its approval.

It has long been recognized that no important strike can be won without public sympathy. Labor therefore cannot do better than to set about recovering this indispensable asset. If the radicals in the local unions cannot agree with their national officials, they should at least take the public into their confidence to the extent of allaying the soviet government and violent revolution suspicions. Organized labor will win few strikes without public approval, and public approval is not accorded to men suspected of revolutionary ends while political means are at hand.

An Early Labor Government for England

By Frank Dilnot

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

THE picture of conservative England with its age-long caste customs establishing a Labor Government as an evolutionary stage in its constitutional history is going to be one of the dramatic spectacles for future generations to look back upon. That England should be the first of the great nations (with a King still ruling amid the appurtenances of ancient state) to install, on trial, workers as its governors is one of those contradictions in which English history abounds, contradictions evolved by common sense rather than by logic. I believe the time is in sight when a Labor Cabinet will sit at Westminster. I say it will be on trial, only in the sense that all British Governments are always on trial. Any one of them can be dispossessed in twenty-four hours by a majority of the House of Commons. That is the great popular check on all British Governments.

The labor movement has virtually doubled its strength in the war, and the recent Trades Union Congress was attended by the delegates representing five and a half million members, who with their families constitute half the population of the British Isles. Labor is not only stronger numerically than before the war, but is tremendously stronger politically and industrially, and at the Congress there were various drastic proposals for direct action for political ends, and for some of the wider industrial projects, such as nationalization of mines.

It may be that the next general election, which cannot be very long delayed, will not return a majority of labor members to Parliament, but it will undoubtedly return a much larger proportion than hitherto. The present labor members number 70 out of a total of 707 of all parties. I confidently expect the number of labor members to be increased to at least 200 at the next election, and possibly more. It is not out of the question that they might be the largest group in the House, and if they could return 300 members they certainly would be. In this case they would inevitably be called upon to form a Government. But, whatever

happens in the next few months, it is virtually assured that a Labor Government will be in office in Britain before a very great while. I do not know that it will last very long. Here is a possible Cabinet: Prime Minister, Arthur Henderson; Chancellor of the Exchequer, J. R. Clynes; President of the Local Government Board, Ramsay MacDonald; Foreign Secretary, George Barnes; Minister for War, George Roberts; First Lord of the Admiralty, Stuart Bunning; Home Secretary, John Hodge; Minister of Health, Philip Snowden; Minister for Labor, Frank Hodges; Secretary for the Colonies, J. H. Thomas; President of the Board of Trade, C. W. Bowerman; Secretary for Ireland, Robert Smillie; Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Brownlie.

Mr. Henderson, originally as a youth and iron molder, is a dour north-countryman of Scotch extraction, cautious in council, fiercely obstinate in matters of principle, has been a member of the War Cabinet, has traveled Europe, and is accustomed to responsibility. Mr. Clynes is a brilliant, unobtrusive man, with balance and courage. He was Food Controller in the Coalition Cabinet, and stirred Parliament and the country to enthusiasm by his talents as an administrator. Mr. Barnes, who used to be Secretary of the Engineers, has been one of the British delegates to the Peace Conference and has dived deep into foreign affairs in the past few years. Mr. Snowden and Mr. MacDonald are Socialists of intellectuality and wide experience in domestic administration. Mr. Hodge and Mr. Roberts led the Labor patriots from the day war broke out.

I have included the leading Socialists as well as Trade Union chiefs, because a Labor Government will have to utilize the very best brains in the movement irrespective of sectional differences. A Cabinet such as I have indicated would be a very strong one, and all the men have a sense of responsibility and much experience in the administration. At the same time the Government of the country calls for qualities of statesmanship that are only to be

discovered and tested by experience in the very highest office. There are bound to be elements of discord. With the strongest men of the labor movement of the Government all together there would probably be divergencies and resignations within a month or two. The hot-heads of the party would never be contented with the step by step progress necessary in all affairs of state. At the same time the experience gained by the movement even in a short period of responsibility for the government of the country would be of incalculable benefit not merely to the labor movement but to the whole of the community. When the time came for the second Labor Government to be formed it would probably have a long and productive period of office.

While broad schemes of nationalization for great industries like the mines and the railroads would undoubtedly form the framework of a Labor Government policy, I think it would

be the indirect effect in the shape of mood and tendency that would be the first Labor Government's greatest achievement. The whole country would automatically turn to new views of social problems. There would very likely be some orientation in the labor movement itself toward action for the whole community as distinct from action only for that section which lives by the work of its hands. Active steps toward securing the permanent peace of the world would certainly be one of the leading ideas of the Labor Government. The abolition of red tape, the accessibility of high officials, the abandonment of secret diplomacy,—all these things I know are in the minds of labor leaders, and there would be endeavors to carry them into effect. Much would be left undone when the Labor Government went out of office but a new vision would have come into existence.

Government by the People Versus Senator Lodge

By Robert L. Owen

United States Senator from Oklahoma

THE chosen leader of the majority party recently delivered a carefully prepared argument against the League of Nations. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized as a learned scholar and a very studious historian, and an argument that he delivers may fairly be regarded as the ablest possible presentation of the case against the League of Nations. If this argument cannot stand an analysis, the case of the opposition to the Covenant falls to the ground.

He calls attention to the alluring promises made in the Treaty of Paris November 20, 1815, and the high purposes alleged in the treaty of the Holy Alliance, and shows historically that wars followed and not peace. He argued by inference that the declaration of principles found in the present Covenant of the League of Nations would naturally be followed by war because "mankind repeats itself."

The Senator quoted in derision the preamble to the Covenant. "No one would contest the loftiness or the benevolence of these purposes," he said. "Brave words, indeed. They do not differ essentially from the preamble of the

Treaty of Paris (1815), from which sprang the Holy Alliance." In other words, the promises made by the treaty of the Holy Alliance having led to war, these promises will also lead to war, because "mankind repeats itself."

The obvious fallacy of this argument is that the alleged purposes of the Holy Alliance had nothing to do with the consequences that ensued from that Alliance. War did not result from the virtuous promises made by the Holy Alliance. Wars followed the Holy Alliance because that treaty was between military dynasties, made by monarchial autocracies controlled by intrigue, rival armaments, and ambitious secret purposes. The Senator from Massachusetts has shown himself unable to discriminate between the unavoidable consequences of war of governments based on tyranny and brute force and the consequences favorable to peace of governments based on the consent of the governed. He has failed to discover that the wars of military dynasties rest on the rule of the few. Everybody seems to know this except the Senator from Massachusetts. The stability of republics and their power for peace

is not based on their preambles or lofty promises of high purposes. They are based upon sound principles affecting the structure of government, which go to guarantee justice and liberty and humanity and the organized righteous self-government of the people. Those are the principles that guarantee stability.

The Senator thinks it was the "virtuous promises" of the Holy Alliance that led to war. Let me call his attention to their pledge to destroy the democracies of the world. Listen to the secret treaty of Verona:

Article I—The high contracting powers . . . engage mutually in the most solemn manner to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative government in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known.

Article II—As it cannot be doubted that the liberty of the press is the most powerful means used by the pretended supporters of the rights of nations to the detriment of those of princes, the high contracting parties promise reciprocally to adopt all proper measures to suppress it, not only in their own states but also in the rest of Europe.

The Senator from Massachusetts believes that the promises of these royal scoundrels may be justly compared with the promises and aspirations of the democracies of the world. He really believes in the rule of the representatives of the people over the people, in the rule of the few over the many. He would draw a wide distinction between representative government and government by the people themselves. He does not believe that the people of a state have a right to instruct or control their elected representatives or to initiate and pass the laws that they want or to veto laws they do not want. He thinks that for the people even to express their opinion upon a public question is dangerous to the principle of constitutional government.

Am I hasty in making this charge against the leader of the Republican Party in the Senate? I certainly am not. I have not forgotten his famous speech in Boston in 1907, delivered in opposition to a bill in the Massachusetts Legislature known as the "Public Opinion Bill," which proposed to permit the people of Massachusetts the astounding liberty of expressing their opinion upon a public measure. This bill Senator Lodge violently opposed on the ground that it would overthrow the constitution of Massachusetts and destroy representative government. He said, in criticizing the "Public Opinion Bill," that it "would mean nothing less than a complete revolution

in the fabric of our Government and in the fundamental principles upon which the Government rests," and that it "would undermine and ultimately break down the representative principles in our political and governmental system."

This hostility toward allowing the people a mere *advisory* vote on public questions led the Senator to still more violent opposition to the Initiative and Referendum when it became a political issue. Hundred of thousands of copies of his speeches attacking it have been distributed throughout the nation. To date twenty-one States have adopted it, and none of his dire prophecies of disaster have come to pass.

In Massachusetts, two years ago, the leading issue in the campaign for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention was the Initiative and Referendum. An overwhelming majority of the delegates who favored it were elected. Even the President of Harvard University, who opposed it, was defeated. Ex-Governor Walsh, who favored it, was elected to the convention. Last fall the people of Massachusetts elected Governor Walsh to the United States Senate as against Senator Weeks, who had opposed the Initiative and Referendum. I commend the decisions of the people of Massachusetts to the considerate judgment of the senior Senator from Massachusetts. His leadership against popular government has failed in his own State.

The Senator does not believe in the wisdom of the people. He does not believe that the people have the intelligence to initiate laws that they want or to veto laws they do not want, and therefore he does not have a great deal of confidence in the stability of a league of the democracies of the world or their ability to make sure their own peace. He looks upon them with even less confidence than upon the military autocracies that framed the military alliance, for the Senator favored a league in 1915 when the autocracies were in full flower.

A man can be a good citizen of a town, of a county, of a State, of a nation, and of a world without inconsistency. He can love his home and be utterly devoted to his own nation, and be an American, and yet favor international justice and liberty and good neighborhood, and the means of attaining them. But the galleries always applaud when a Senator strikes an ora-

torical pose and thunders forth his sturdy Americanism. The Senator from Massachusetts did not fail to strike this popular chord. "Call me selfish if you will, conservative, or reactionary; but an American I have remained all my life. I can never be anything else but an American, and I must think of the United States first." Fine! This is magnificent. The galleries burst with applause. But in June, 1915, at Union College, the Senator was still an American, "whether selfish, conservative, or reactionary," and he told the world then that "nations must unite as men unite to preserve peace and order." He stated that nations must be so united as to be able to say to any single

country, "You must not go to war." When Germany and Austria and Bulgaria and Turkey, the great military dynasties, were at the height of their power the Senator from Massachusetts argued in favor of nations uniting to prevent war. He was willing to admit military dynasties to a league of nations in order to prevent war. But now that the military dynasties have been humbled to the dust, now that brute force and the doctrine that might makes right have been overthrown, the Senator rises as the chief opponent of what he himself generously argued as a good American in 1915.

Am I going too far if I appeal from "Philip drunk to Philip sober?"

Banking and Steel Interests and the Townley Trial

By Judson King

Executive Secretary National Government League

TO understand the virulence of the opposition of Big Business in Minnesota to the Nonpartisan League one must picture North Dakota (whose politics for a generation had been directed from the Twin Cities) already in the hands of the League, and the League itself, with its 60,000 paid-up members, on the verge of capturing Minnesota.

The Minnesota League Platform called for exemption of farm implements from taxation; tonnage tax on iron ore production; rural credit banks operated at cost; State owned terminal elevators, warehouses, flour mills, stock yards, packing houses, creameries, and cold storage plants; State hail insurance; more equitable system of State inspection and grading of grain; equal taxation of railroads, mines, telegraph, telephone, electric light and power companies, etc., as compared with that of other property owners; refusal to return to private hands ownership or operation of those public utilities, owned, operated, or controlled by the Government during the war, and continuance and increase of the conscription of wealth through income and excess profit taxes that surplus wealth may be compelled to pay the money cost of the war.

Every monopoly operating in Minnesota was hit by that program. All through the Townley trial at Jackson I got the "feel" of tre-

mendous forces in the background struggling for supremacy. It was a political fight going on in a courtroom, and is so understood throughout the Northwest. I knew the situation fairly well; but again and again came the question: What is the cash value to Big Business to stop the League program and retain political control of Minnesota? I went back to St. Paul and interviewed an old friend, a banker with no illusions, who knows the game, and will talk—in private. He said:

You must first understand that the active political force running our State Government today is the Big Bankers. They do that service for themselves and the other large interests operating in the State—steel, the packers, the millers, grain men, lumber, railroads, insurance, public utilities. Formerly the brewers managed politics for the bunch; now it is the bankers. These men make their money not in banking *per se*. You will find their names as directors and officers of all the big corporation interests. They have no idea of the proper function of banking in a healthy, national economy, but regard it merely from the viewpoint of privilege. The little bankers down-State are still more ignorant.

A State bank has just been established in North Dakota, and they are afraid of one in Minnesota. Much money was spent to kill the North Dakota bank at the referendum election on June 26, but the farmers put it through. The Twin City banks are depositories for the North Dakota banks, 700 in all. Some \$30,000,000 or more came down here every year. Around \$15,000,000 was sent back, and that left about \$15,000,000 of North Dakota money always on hand for our boys to play with. From now on it will be to the advantage of the North Dakota bankers to carry their reserves in their State bank, and most of that \$30,000,000 will remain in that State.

Again, in Minnesota we pay two per cent, if anything.

on public money deposited. This is loaned out at from six to ten per cent. The total amount of state, city, county, township, and school funds on deposit amounts to tens of millions. I don't know just how much. State deposits alone for 1918 were over \$28,000,000. Now the North Dakota State bank is made by law the depository of all public funds. The big thing, of course, is that a State Bank would smash control of credits by the big Twin City banks in this State, and there is no way of estimating the millions that control is worth. All the little bankers down-State are dependent on the Big Twin City banks, and must play the political and financial game as per orders. It is interesting to note that as the big bankers have taken the place of the big brewers and liquor men in politics, so in the little towns the local banker, as political agent, has taken the place of the local saloon keeper. Finally, a State Bank will enable the people to use their own money to finance such things as State elevators, flour mills, packing plants, and home builders' associations.

We have found substantial cash reasons why the big bankers of the Twin Cities were in politics and against the League, and that they were backed by the big trusts; and the first of these was United States Steel. Take a look at the League platform. Demand number two reads, "Tonnage tax on iron ore production." On the lists of those active against the Nonpartisan League is the name of Russell M. Bennett, iron millionaire, reputed to enjoy an income of \$1,000,000 a year or more. He was not known in politics until the "tonnage tax" became an issue. The League meant business, and Mr. Bennett became the real political representative in Minnesota of the United States Steel Corporation. His job is to prevent the passage of a "tonnage tax" law, and otherwise to keep taxes down. He succeeded nicely at the 1919 session of the Legislature, which was *not* dominated by "pro-German Leaguers."

Some one should write "The Romance of the Mesaba Range." Our old friend, John D. Rockefeller, put in some \$500,000 back in 1892, and his total earnings up to 1918 equaled more than \$300,000,000. The United States Steel Corporation holds the whip hand in ownership and transportation facilities, and every year takes out of the back door of Minnesota seventy-five per cent. of the iron ore it uses. According to the financial report of the Steel Trust for 1917, its average profits per ton of iron ore during the sixteen previous years of its existence were \$7.09 and its earnings per share of its capital stock averaged 24.35 per cent. per annum. Prior to 1918 it declared dividends on common stock of \$2,392,718,974

and accumulated assets of \$1,100,152,832; total \$3,492,934,806 net. *All this was due chiefly to control of Minnesota iron ore.*

And now, how much do the Steel Trust gentlemen pay in the way of taxes for the support of government, education, and public enterprises in Minnesota? Up to 1911 the iron ore magnates were *ridiculously undertaxed*. Then a classification tax law was passed against strenuous opposition, and they paid more. But today the Steel Trust pays proportionately less than one-third of what common folk pay, due to a low assessed valuation set by a State Tax Commission, the members of which owe their jobs to the State political machine, which in turn is dominated by the bankers, steel trust, packers, etc., who are all fighting the Nonpartisan League, under the banner of "loyalty" and "America First!"

Let us get at the cash value of this sort of patriotism. I quote from some figures prepared for me by Professor William G. Roylance, an able and careful statistician, from official reports.

I.—ASSESSED VALUATION OF MINNESOTA IRON ORE DEPOSITS

By State Tax Commission for 1918.....	\$ 368,500,000
By United States Government Survey for War Purposes	1,105,331,265
Net value computed on earnings of United States Steel Corporation for 1918.....	2,576,355,000

II.—TAXES FOR 1918

Amount paid by Iron Ore people on State Tax Commission's valuation	\$11,215,610
Amount that should have been paid, using Federal estimate for basis.....	33,646,830
Amount, using Steel Trust profits for 1918 as basis of value	78,454,107

The people have been so befuddled and flim-flammed over this question of "valuation" that they have long demanded a straight "tonnage tax" in addition to the regular tax of ten per cent. on the profit of each ton of ore mined. The League is supporting this demand. If the profit were fixed at the extremely modest figure of \$1.60 per ton it would have brought a tax of \$7,000,000 from the Steel Trust alone in 1918.

So, we may conclude that it is worth to the Steel people at least \$7,000,000 per year to prevent the Nonpartisan League from putting over the tonnage tax, and an additional \$22,000,000 to keep the present tax system in the hands of their political friends.

CURRENT THOUGHT

The Moon Rose Up

THE moon rose up in a dove-wing sky,
 The wafer moon went drifting by.
 The dove-wing deepened into blue,
 The moon turned silver, the stars looked thro'.
 Looked thro' the fir-boughs, blown to flame
 By the gusty wind that went and came.
 Till the sea, unseen in the gathering night,
 Strewed the distance with crests of white.
 What tho' the like had fallen before,
 I knelt to Beauty, and shut my door.
 —Joseph Campbell, in the *London Nation*.

The Slave Mother

A FOOL! There is no solution but in freedom.
 And man cannot be free until he has freed
 his mother, the earth.—Wayland Smith.

The Diverted Spoils

IT is not the money paid to legitimate capital
 or the high salaries paid to the actual guiding
 brains of industrialism that rob the toiler, but
 rather the fabulous sums paid upon capital which
 never existed and to hordes of men who render no
 useful service to the world.—John de Kay, in "*The
 World Allies*."

The Law's Delays and Costs

I DO know that the United States, in its judicial
 procedure, is many decades behind every civil-
 ized government in the world; and I say that it is
 an immediate and an imperative call upon us to
 rectify that, because the speediness of justice, the
 inexpensiveness of justice, the ready access of jus-
 tice, is the greater part of justice itself.—Woodrow
 Wilson.

Wages and Banditry

THEY [the peons in Mexico] are still slaves,
 inheriting in its full bitterness the curse of
 Adam, toiling for starvation wages and kept in
 squalor and perpetual debt. The average daily
 wage for the peon on the large hacienda, the great
 landed estate, is about twenty-five centavos, the
 equivalent of twelve cents; and on this he has to
 support a family, or see them starve.—Charles
 Johnston, in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

A Tight Rein on the Legislature

IT is fun to be behind a spanking team, if one
 has a tight rein. But it is not so pleasant to
 lose the lines and have to cling to the seat while
 the horses run wild. The Initiative and Referen-
 dum is a bridle and a good pair of lines on the
 Legislature, and a gad in hand. The people do

the driving. There is no chance for wild radical-
 ism or for balky conservatism. With this kind of
 a harness, government will be a good, safe, steady
 pull for democracy and social betterment.—Herbert
 S. Bigelow, in the *Illinois State Federation of
 Labor's Weekly News Letter*.

Building the Temple of Peace

IT is for the friends of peace in all countries to
 strive for the creation of the spirit, in all the
 nations that enter the League, which will inspire
 and guide those in whose hands the direction of its
 policy will lie, helping them in their great task by
 sympathy and by keeping alive the enlightened
 public opinion which will aid them in their task.
 Earnestly we do hope that the American people,
 who have led the way in the pursuit of this high
 ideal, will not only enter the League, but will give
 it that constant and wise support without which it
 cannot succeed.—The Right Hon. James Bryce, in
 the *Annals of the American Academy of Political
 and Social Science*.

BOOKS

Courts Will Be Courts

*The Tryal of William Penn & William Mead for
 Causing a Tumult*, etc. Done by Themselves,
 transcribed from the Compleat Collection of
 State Tryals, first published in 1719, and edited
 by Don C. Seitz. Boston: Marshall Jones
 Company. 1919.

DON C. SEITZ, editor of this little book, de-
 scribes it as the "first record of a legal effort
 to punish free speech among the English race—and
 by the same token to vindicate it." His biographi-
 cal foreword concerning Penn is interesting and
 very much to the point, as Penn was not only the
 prisoner at the bar but also the reporter of the
 trial,—the report, as the editor remarks, reading
 none the less fair.

In the summer of 1670 Penn and his fellows of
 the Society of Friends had been forbidden the use
 of their meeting-house, and they assembled peace-
 fully in Gracechurch Street for purposes of wor-
 ship and edification. Anywhere from three to five
 hundred people were in the gathering, and Penn
 preached to them. They were charged with
 tumultuous and disorderly assemblage, and it was
 easily proved, and was not denied, that they had
 congregated together, but the court enjoined the
 jury to find them guilty of what amounted to
 tumultuous and disorderly riot. The jury was
 expected to fall in compliantly with this instruction,
 but declined to find the defendants guilty of any-
 thing but meeting together. The court undertook
 to starve and exhaust the jury into a verdict that
 covered tumult and disorder. They couldn't be
 made to see it that way, and the court had to con-

tent itself with fining and incarcerating prisoners and jurors alike for contempt of court. Some of them being men of importance, the trial probably helped on judicial reform and freedom of speech in England.

The case was cited with effect in America in 1735, when John Peter Zenger, Palatine printer, was prosecuted for libeling Governor William Cosby of New York and Mr. Justice De Lancey attempted to coerce the jury. Andrew Hamilton was attorney for the defense and enforced the story of the Penn "Tryal" in a way that helped to shape American court procedure in a manner compatible with democracy. Don Seitz characterizes his pleading in the case as "an address that solidified the foundation for liberty of the press and free speech on this Continent and was a worthy preface to the Declaration of Independence drawn some forty years later."

This little reprint with its able and tasteful editing will have served a sufficient use if it recalls the fact that the law court existed and wielded power long before the liberties of the people were safeguarded either by trial by jury or the vocal and vigorous press; its opposition to the genius of freedom is very ancient, and unless it is habitually on its guard it necessarily falls into the hereditary trick of substituting its arbitrary inclinations for the welfare and rights of a progressive public.

Science and the Soul of Labor

Employment Psychology: The Application of Scientific Methods to the Selection, Training, and Grading of Employees. By Henry C. Link, Ph. D. The Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. 400.

THIS book deserves a wide reading, especially among those who are interested in the employment of labor. It once more serves to prove what Henry James the elder said: "We must beseech science to tell us what are God's requirements in human nature." Dr. Link is a scientist who has applied his science by making psychological tests under working conditions in a representative industry. His book is a demonstration that the minute subdivision of labor which now prevails in our industries must be followed by a parallel discrimination in the selection of the workers who are to be set at their separate tasks. The old picture of the mob waiting at the gate for employment, and the old method of hiring and firing, with its consequent enormous waste in labor turn-over, the present inevitable discontent that arises from workers' being set at tasks for which they have no aptitude, will vanish as Dr. Link's scientific methods are put into practice. We regard his book as a signal contribution toward the proper laying of the economic foundations of society.

PERCY WERNER.

Important Recent Publications On Questions Of Current Interest

The Labor Situation in Great Britain and France

In February, 1919, a commission of seven members, representing capital, labor and the general public, was sent by the National Civic Federation to study at first hand the labor situation in Great Britain and France and such problems as the adjustment of relations between employers and employees, the shop committee system, the joint industrial council plan recommended in the Whitley reports, and the housing problem. This is their extremely important report.

Modern Germany: Its Rise, Growth, Downfall and Future

By J. ELLIS BARKER

"We are glad that a new and greatly enlarged edition should have made once more available a work that had extraordinary value in its earlier form and that has now been brought up to date with the same lucid and comprehensive accuracy. . . . Many admirable books have been written on the many phases of the war—political, social and economic. Here we have a combination of all, one that is admirably balanced and that is alike retrospective and anticipatory."—*San Francisco Argonaut*.

Labor in the Changing World

By R. M. MACIVER

The author discusses the new elements introduced into labor during the past few years and their probable effect on the attitude of labor towards the whole social body. His conclusion is sanely optimistic, and his suggestions as to the permanent status of labor are most fruitful.

International Commerce and Reconstruction

By ELISHA M. FRIEDMAN

After some introductory chapters on the economic development of nations, the history of American Commerce, and the effects upon it of the war, the author discusses clearly the immediate needs of the situation, the reorganization of international credit and America's foreign trade policy. It is an exceedingly timely and very valuable work.

The France I Know

By WINIFRED STEPHENS

A study of the France of yesterday and today, with special reference to the building up, out of devastation and destruction of the France of tomorrow. "It is refreshing," says *The New York Evening Post*, "to meet with such a book, not because it is on a subject beloved of civilized man, but by reason of its sincerity. . . . It shows as clearly as any small book can why France is immortal."

Labor and the Common Welfare

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Compiled and edited by HAYES ROBBINS from addresses and writings.

The philosophy of Trade Unionism; Labor's Relation to the Community, Government and Law; Labor's View-point on National and Civic Issues; Political Policy of Organized Labor. Organized Labor's Challenge to Socialism, the I. W. W., and Bolshevism, are among its subject headings.

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Co-operation

—A co-operative shipping company has been organized by New Zealand sheep and cattle raisers with a capital of \$25,000,000.

—A federation of many co-operative societies in the Union of South Africa has just been accomplished. The total membership now representing the federation is about 35,000.

—Seattle's drive for \$20,000 to open its first Co-operative Wholesale Warehouse has been over-subscribed by \$10,000. The new wholesale house will supply co-operative stores throughout the state of Washington. Miners, electrical workers and postoffice employes are among the unions supporting the Consumers' Co-operative Association.

—A Co-operative University or "Institute" is now operating in Moscow, under the auspices of the Moscow Union of Co-operative Credit Societies. The object is to educate qualified workers for co-operative business and propaganda. Entrants are required to possess a previous high school education. Several hundred applications have already been received.

—An annual business of more than sixty million dollars was done during 1918 by the eleven co-operative associations of New Zealand. A net profit of a million dollars was distributed among 26,000 shareholders. The New Zealand co-operative societies look forward to the federation with co-operatives of Australia and eventually with those of the whole British Empire.

Proportional Representatives

—Proportional representation is the first plank in the platform of the Labor Party of New Zealand.

—Since July, 1918, proportional representation has been adopted by no less than seven countries, including Switzerland, New South Wales, Poland, Germany and France. In France the principle is applied to the Parliamentary elections only partially.

—The Liberal Party of Canada, assembled in convention this last summer, adopted proportional representation as a plank in its platform, and elected as leader, to take the place of the late Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, a member of the Council of the Proportional Representation Society of Canada.

—On account of the extraordinary success of proportional representation—the Hare system—in the municipal elections of Sligo, Ireland, an act has been passed by the British Parliament prescribing the system for all local Irish elections. More than

a hundred Irish local governments are to be elected by the new system on the same day next January.

• —The National Industrial Conference of Canada, which met at Ottawa in September at the invitation of the Dominion Government, unanimously adopted a resolution asking the Government to call a Parliamentary Conference to investigate the Hare system of proportional representation "without delay". Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, has already assented to this proposal.

—The only proportional system that has ever been adopted for public elections in an English-speaking country is the Hare system, in all essentials as carried out in Ashtabula, Ohio, and Kalamazoo, Michigan, and as embodied in the proposed new charter of Flint. The Hare system has already been adopted in cities in British Columbia, Alberta, Transvaal, New Zealand, New South Wales, Ireland and Scotland. As applied to legislative assemblies and national parliaments it has been adopted in Tasmania, South Africa, New Zealand, New South Wales, Great Britain and Ireland.

Land Reform

—The Union of South Africa is projecting a government housing scheme for the erection of 40,000 dwellings.

—Eighteen thousand acres of wild forest land including the whole of Mount Seward and Mount Seymour in the Adirondack region have been added to the New York State Forest Preserve.

—An organization for the purpose of translating and publishing the writings of Henry George in the Bulgarian language has been established in Bulgaria according to an announcement of St. George Peneloff of Plovdiv.

—James Dundas White, long a Liberal M. P., has joined the Independent Labor Party, because the party has always stood for free trade in contrast with the general tendency of the Unionist and Liberal Parties to "go backwards to protection", and by recent resolutions has shown itself anxious to associate itself more closely with the taxation of land values.

—Governor Runyon of New Jersey has announced the appointment of George L. Record as member of the special commission which is to frame a tax reform bill for the consideration of the new Legislature which meets next January. Mr. Record is known as champion of the idea that taxes should be taken from industry and that houses, factories, machinery, tools and implements should be exempted.

—Labor unions in the State of Oregon have been asked by the executive committee of the State Federation to contribute to the single tax campaign

in progress under the direction of the Oregon Single Tax League. The committee has recommended that the unions contribute an amount equal to five cents per member, to be distributed under the supervision of the executive board after a referendum vote by the locals.

Agriculture

—Japanese land owners control most of the fertile agricultural lands of the rice growing sections in the Philippines, according to information published by the Philippine Bureau of Labor. In the Province of Davao, the acreage is distributed as follows: Japanese, 55,000; American, 20,000; Filipino, 15,000.

—Hail losses in the Province of Saskatchewan this year have been estimated by the directors of the Saskatchewan Municipal Hail Insurance Association at \$1,950,000. The total number of claims to August 30 was 7,780. The flate rate of four cents per acre on all lands within the municipalities will yield \$800,000. An additional tax of 22 cents per acre on seeded land will be levied to make up the remainder.

—The crop yields this year will show some notable increases over those of last year, according to the October bulletin of the United States Department of Agriculture. The predicted production for corn is 2,900,511,000 bushels as compared with last year's crop of 2,582,814,000 bushels, for wheat 918,471,000 bushels against 917,100,000 in 1918. Other Government crop estimates were: Rice, 44,261,000, against 40,024,000 bushels last year; peaches, 51,327,000 bushels, against 34,133,000 bushels last year; pears, 13,687,000 bushels, against 10,342,000 bushels last year; tame hay, 86,623,000 tons, against 66,069,000 tons last year; wild hay, 16,821,000 tons, against 14,374,000 tons last year; sugar beets, 17,303,000 tons, against 5,090,000 tons last year. A notable decrease occurred in rye, the production of which will amount approximately to 84,552,000 this year as compared with the ninety-odd million bushels last year.

Foreign

—England has paid 338 millions of dollars to date for the cost of assistance to Kolchak and Denikin and the leaders of operations against the Bolshéviki, according to an official statement of the Government.

—The plebiscite recently held in Luxemburg in which men and women participated resulted in a majority for the retention of Princess Charlotte as ruler of the principality and for an economic alliance with France.

—The Spanish Government recently reported progress in its military campaign against Raisuli,

the Moroccan bandit leader who during the war from his stronghold in the Spanish zone in northern Africa made many depredations on French territory.

—In a referendum vote taken among the 25,000 members of the Socialist Party of Switzerland, the decision of the party congress to affiliate with the Third Moscow International was reversed. The Swiss Socialist Party has been known as the most revolutionary of the socialist parties of the world and long ago repudiated the stand of the social patriots of the Second International. The British Socialist Party has already decided to affiliate with the Third Moscow International.

—Dr. Adolph Lorenz, the famous orthopedic surgeon, has issued a public statement to the American people calling upon them for financial help for the inhabitants of Vienna. He states that during this coming winter two millions of men, women and children in that city are threatened with starvation as a result of the blockade and calls attention to the importance of the work now being done by organizations that are attempting to alleviate the suffering, especially among the children by contributions for the purchase of milk.

—Elections held recently in Bulgaria have resulted in the emergence of a strong socialist majority in the national parliament, according to the French *Humanite*. The Socialists were reported to have increased their seats from eleven to thirty-nine; the Communists from ten to forty-seven; and the Agrarians, whose vote usually went with the Left groups, from forty-eight to eighty-five. This makes a total for the Left Block of 171, as against the 69 in the old Sobranje. The total membership of the parliament is approximately 215.

—The Independent Socialists of Germany are in accord with the aims of the Socialist Party of the United States as expressed at their recent emergency convention, according to a communication from Haase, Crispen and Stoerker of the central committee addressed to Morris Hillquit and transmitted to the executive committee of the Socialist Party. The German Socialists are pledged to a program of co-operation with the radical Socialist parties of the world, and they advocate the establishment of workers' councils or soviets as permanent institutions of governmental machinery.

—A new movement for political reconstruction in Japan is being organized by several of the leading editors, members of the House of Representatives, and many of the nobility in that country, according to a report of the Tokyo Jiji. The platform as formulated at a recent meeting includes: Adoption of universal suffrage; overthrow of bureaucratic diplomacy; abolition of the distinction between peers, knights, and commoners; establishment of a democratic government; socialistic revision of the

revenue system; public recognition of labor unions; guarantee of the national living; abolition of formal and conventional education; overhauling of colonial administration, and reform in the Imperial Household Department.

Public Ownership

—Government operations of railroads in Brazil have been much more successful than private operation, according to a report of the American vice-consul at Rio de Janeiro.

—The United States Parcels Post system is earning a profit of \$10,000,000 annually, and rates have been constantly on the upgrade since the beginning of the service several years ago, according to the recent testimony of Assistant Postmaster General Koons before the House Committee on Postoffice Department Expenditures.

—Uruguay has at present under consideration a project for the expropriation of all cigar, cigarette and tobacco factories and for the monopolization of the business by the Government for the purpose of "improving the situation of the military class and the organization of national defense and furthering the merchant marine and the navy", without the addition of new taxes.

—The municipal electric light plants in many California cities have reported large profits for the current year, though none have raised their rates. The following are the cities and the profits made last year: Los Angeles, \$661,880; Pasadena, \$102,092; Alameda, \$64,499; Riverside, \$92,602; Glendale, \$17,776; Palo Alto, \$16,286; Santa Clara, \$8,158; Anaheim, \$18,212; Colton, \$5,494; Roseville, \$4,585; Lodi, \$14,677; Healdsburg, \$6,896; Burbank, \$7,842; Gridley, \$6,015; Tehachapi, \$1,480.

Color Line

—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of New York recently made public a statement showing that 68 persons were murdered by mobs in the United States in the first 10 months of 1919. Of the victims 61 were American citizens and 2 were Mexicans. Fifty-nine of the Americans done to death were Negroes, of whom 11 were burned at stake.

—The Hayward Unit of the National League for Women's Service, the only colored women's motor corps unit in the world, are transporting weekly hundreds of convalescent soldiers on sightseeing trips about New York City. The unit has a membership of forty, and its equipment consists of three ambulances, two busses, and a dozen cars.

—The experiment of a book store managed by a Negro and specializing exclusively in the collection, exchange, purchasing and selling of all literature, books, and manuscripts dealing with the Negro

and his achievements has become a success in New York City. Young's Book Exchange at 185 West 185th Street has increased its business steadily and today has a large patronage amongst American students of social, political and economic problems.

—The Georgia State Board of Education has issued a bulletin showing the improvement in the Negro county school situation since 1914. In this period the number of teachers holding first grade licenses in county schools has almost doubled, amounting to 12.5 percent of the total number employed. Forty-three percent hold third grade certificates, a decrease from the 71 percent of five years ago. The report states that 171 have no certificates at all. Local and private funds totaling \$88,800 have been appropriated in the last three years for the improvement of the condition of the county schools.

General

—The will of John Mitchell, the noted labor leader, indicated that his personal estate was valued at almost \$250,000.

—The Bureau of Navigation of the United States Navy Department has announced an enlistment of 5,868 Filipinos in the Navy.

—The Government of Argentina has recently been making steps through the diplomatic and legal channels to institute a movement for the promotion of free trade between the nations of the world in foodstuffs.

—The Boston Trade Union College established by the General Labor Union of the City for the purpose of enabling workingmen to enlarge their cultural life and understand the problems of law, economics and government, has begun its second term.

—A "tank" competition for the purpose of determining the transportation and mountaineering capabilities of this hitherto military machine has been planned by the Touring Club of France and the Automobile Club and will take place in the Haute Savoie district of the Alps.

—The American Union Against Militarism has made public a letter from Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania stating his opposition to all legislation aiming at compulsory systems of military training and indicating his belief that a small standing army on a volunteer basis would meet all the requirements of the nation.

—The League of Oppressed Peoples has just been formed with a distinguished list of liberals as sponsors. The purpose is to give authoritative and dependable statements concerning imperialism, to co-ordinate all legitimate movements that aim at self-determination and to bring political pressure

to bear upon those governments engaged in defeating the moral aims of the War.

—A recent cable from Vice-Governor Yeater of the Philippines to the War Department states that seventy percent of the inhabitants of the islands over ten years of age are literate, as shown by the census of 1918. Still better educational opportunities than exist at present are anticipated as a result of the action of the Philippine Legislature at its last session in voting 30,000,000 pesos to extend the educational system so that school will be available to every child and youth in the islands.

Labor

—Figures just compiled by the General Federation of Labor of Italy show that that body has now passed the million-member mark.

—As a result of an arrangement between the Government and the mine owners, Spanish miners in Asturias have been granted the seven-hour day.

—The German newspapers report a sudden and amazing growth of trade unions. The number of trade unionists had grown from 1,500,000 in October 1918 to 4,000,000 at the end of June 1919.

—Jewelry workers are the first New York factory workers to win the seven-hour day. Twenty-five settlements on this schedule were recently made between employers and Local I of the International Jewelry Workers' Union.

—There are over 1,000,000 unemployed persons in Germany, according to the Frankfurter Zeitung, in spite of the fact that 1,700,000 men have been killed, 600,000 severely injured, 800,000 are still prisoners, and over 1,000,000 foreign workers have left the country.

—The organization of Indian labor is progressing rapidly, although the first organizations were formed as recently as April 1918. There are now five unions in Madras, the birthplace of Indian labor organization, and organization is in the process of extension to other parts of peninsula.

—The Bolshevik regime in Russia was indorsed by the Utah State Federation of Labor at its fifteenth annual convention recently concluded in Salt Lake City. The delegates went on record by a vote of 49 to 13 in favoring the Soviet Government and demanded that American troops be withdrawn from Russian soil.

—Uruguay has adopted an old age pension law providing for the automatic pensioning of all persons at the age of 60 years and of other persons absolutely incapacitated or indigent, regardless of age. Revenue is provided by assessment of employers and by taxes on real estate and liquors. The minimum pension is \$99.28 per year.

—Peru now has a compulsory rest law, passed by the last congress. It provides that on Sundays, civic holidays, and election days work is prohibited in factories, shops, commercial houses, mines, salt works, quarries, construction work, agricultural operations in which mechanical motors are used; public work, including charitable and educational institutions, whether carried on directly or through contractors. All teachers and students of all schools and colleges in the Republic, without exception, are included.

—Women were barred from 60 percent of the government positions for which examinations were held in the first six months of 1919, according to an official report made public by the Woman's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. This statement covers examinations for 260 different types of positions, exclusive of manufacturing and mechanical positions in the ordnance factories, quartermaster depots and navy yards, and exclusive of unskilled labor. According to the report women were not allowed to compete for 16 percent of the clerical positions.

Cost of Living

—Figures gathered by the Department of Labor indicate that house rents have not risen during the war as rapidly as commodities. The relative increases are as follows: House rent, 40 percent; food, 90 percent; clothing, 100 percent.

—The rise in food prices in New Zealand during the war is said to have been only 28 percent as compared to the 100 percent increase in most countries. The Dominion has, according to the latest figures, a private wealth of \$1,668.98 per capita, one of the highest figures for per capita wealth in the world.

—For the first time since February of the present year the statistics of Bureau of Statistics in the United States Department of Labor show a decrease in the index number of wholesale prices in comparison with that of the preceding month. The index number for September, built on 323 articles or individual price series, stands at 221, as compared with 226 for August, a decrease of slightly more than two percent. Noticeable decreases from August to September occurred in the groups of farm products, food and miscellaneous commodities, while slight decreases took place in the metals and metal products group. The index number for fuel and lighting material increased from 175 to 181, while that for lumber and building materials increased from 209 to 229.

Instructive Side Lights

Italian Women in Industry: A Study of Conditions in New York City. By Louise C. Odencrantz, New York: The Russell Sage Foundation. 1919.

SOMETIMES in the cubby-hole in a Pullman car called the smoker, conversation falls on work and wages. It did the other day on the Big Four, when that sturdy Singletaxer, E. W. Doty, alone and single-handed opposed a crowd of cads camouflaged as class-conscious capitalists. Talking of high wages, one spoke of "silk stockings worn by working girls." Another countered with the statement that high wages were only found in spots and that low wages were prevalent as ever. One told of women in New York City earning as low as \$500 per annum and supporting a family. Some scornfully said that such women "made extra" on the side. Then a quiet man who was sitting in the wash-bowl, the car being overcrowded, arose, searched his grip, brought forth the book above mentioned, and read aloud from it things that astonished all and gave Doty an opportunity to prove very conclusively that an application of the Singletaxer would abolish forever the wage inequality of today.

The book presents an indictment of the social and industrial conditions that we permit to exist. From it we find that, of 1,905 wage earning women studied, the majority were very young, being between sixteen and twenty-one, and that all were so underpaid as to be on the verge of actual want. The average per capita income for a group of nearly fifty families was \$195 per annum. (See also current volume of *THE PUBLIC*, page 1080.) No compensation for low earnings exists in regularity of work. In fact, the reported conditions are such that, lifting from the book paragraphs here and there and reprinting under the caption "Miserable Mexico" or "Rotten Russia," a fine plea for intervention on the ground of social justice and the avoidance of slavery could be made.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

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National Urban League

"Not Alms But Opportunity"

Room 33-34

127 East 23rd Street, New York, City

TALK 15

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Cooperation—An Example

THE Chicago riot brought disgrace to a city, suffering to a group of citizens and an opportunity to observe the demonstration of cooperation to civic bodies throughout the country.

During the riot, Negroes suffered from lack of food supplies, from loss of time at work and for want of money to buy food because of inability to reach their places of employment to receive wages due them.

The Chicago Urban League—because of its cooperation with 91 social organizations in Chicago—was known and was used.

It used its own funds to help relieve suffering.

It was a supply station for the Red Cross to receive and dispense food for the needy.

It was a pay station for Morris & Company, Packers, who reached their Negro employees thru the League's office.

It was a clearing house for information, for arbitration and for consultation between the races, and was one of the groups instrumental in having a permanent race relations commission appointed by the Governor to discuss and provide means of removing the causes of race friction in Illinois.

Cooperation—all classes working, sympathizing and deciding *together*—will prevent lawlessness.

Every other week the Urban League Special Bulletin Appears on this page

100,000 Starving Children in Vienna

VIENNA once the gay and pleasure-loving is now the home of unutterable misery and distress. Its people are in direst need of food, particularly its little children. Mary Heaton Vorse, who was sent to the war regions by the American Red Cross, and to German Austria by Herbert Hoover, to investigate food conditions among the children, has returned to this country with the following pitiful tale.

"The plight of the children in German Austria, especially in Vienna, is infinitely worse than that of the children in Northern France. Their condition would bring tears to anyone's eyes.

"The saddest sight is that of the children of thirteen to fifteen, who look not more than four or five. Undernourishment has arrested their development. They have the yellow pallor that bespeaks famine, and their lips and mouths are blue. Some of them have distended stomachs that result from lack of food for long periods.

"These marks are the same that I had seen on the countenance of the Austrian prisoners in Italy. There are 300,000 starving children in German Austria, and of these 100,000 in Vienna alone.

"We have been providing one meal a day to these children. The food consists of cocoa, sugar, milk, flour, beans, peas, rice, lard, corned beef and cod liver oil. We set up our kitchens in large buildings, such as casinos and palaces.

"I think the American public ought to continue this benevolent work. Unless they contribute liberally, it will have to come to an end."

The women of England, the Governments of France and Italy and the men and women of Switzerland, though themselves in want, have sent relief to the children of Vienna. We appeal to America, who has so generously played the role of the Good Samaritan for all the war stricken countries, to respond now to the crying need of these little children.

The Vienna Children's Milk Relief (non-sectarian) is authorized by the Department of State to solicit funds to relieve the situation. It needs immediate and generous financial support. All collected funds are handled through the American Relief Administration, European Children's Fund, Herbert Hoover, Chairman. Already thousands of cases of condensed milk have been distributed among the starving children and babies of Vienna.

Won't you respond to this appeal as generously as possible? Make checks payable to Mrs. Fritz Kreisler, Chairman, and send with the blank below to:

Vienna Children's Milk Relief

150 Nassau Street, Room 2104, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Edw. S. Rothchild, Pres. Public National Bank, Honorary Treasurer.

Patrons:	Dr. Felix Adler	Mrs. Elsa Muschenheim	Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Stoeger
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Mrs. Fritz Kreisler, Chairman,
Vienna Children's Milk Relief,
Room 2104, 150 Nassau St.,
New York City.

Dear Madam:

I am enclosing herewith my check for \$..... to help towards relieving the starving children of Vienna.

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