

**BOSTON AND SELF-DETERMINATION**

DEC 5 1919

THE

PUBLIC

*A Journal of Democracy*

November 29, 1919

**Shall We Intervene in Mexico?**

John F. Moors

**Politicians and the Townley  
Trial**

Judson King

**Electric Progress in New  
Zealand**

Arthur Withy

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# The Public

*A Journal of Democracy*

Volume XXII November 29, 1919 No. 1123

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

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Published Weekly by

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,

The Educational Bldg. Fifth Ave. and Thirteenth St.  
Single Copy, Ten Cents      Yearly Subscription, \$8.00  
Canadian, \$8.50      Foreign, \$4.00

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

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PUBLISHED BY B. W. HUEBSCH, NEW YORK

# THE PUBLIC

*A Journal of Democracy*

Volume XXII

New York, N. Y., November 29, 1919

Number 112

## PUBLISHER'S NOTICE

With the next number of *The Public*—that of December 6th—this publication will cease to exist. Notice will be given in that issue of the arrangements made to meet our obligations in respect to unexpired subscriptions.

We had planned—even if worse came to worse—to continue at least to the end of the year and complete the current volume. But under the pressure of new conditions we find it impossible to fulfill that intention.

THE impossible has come to pass. Senator Lodge has carried his point. By enlisting the support of blind partisanship, he succeeded in loading the treaty with hobbling reservations that made it necessary for its friends to vote against ratification in order to save it. Ambition, political rivalry, personal hatred, and extreme partisanship have often been displayed in the Senate; but it may be doubted that they ever before culminated in greater evil. Senator Lodge's temporary triumph should not be taken as an indication of his merit as a national figure; rather is it a measure of the limited vision of his fellow partisans. Without uncharitableness may it not be suspected that he has given an example of the wantonness celebrated in Colley Cibber's lines:

The aspiring youth that fired the Ephesian dome  
Outlives in fame the pious fool that raised it?—  
The treaty will now sleep until Congress reconvenes in December. Meantime, the Sena-

tors, having stopped their wrangling and returned to their constituents, it were well that the people, who certainly have been doing a lot of thinking, should let their convictions known. President Wilson might have accepted the Lodge reservations after the manner that he compromised with his adversaries at the Paris Conference; but believing that the people do not want a viciously emasculated treaty he is giving them a chance to say so.

M R. HOOVER is right in saying price will not come down as long as buyers take all the goods that are offered for sale. It is only when the seller has to seek a buyer that he names a lower price. The plain fact of the situation is that surplus stocks of goods have been used up during the war, and the demand is still so great that producers have been unable to supply more than current con-

sumption. If demand continues to press upon supply as it has since the signing of the armistice there will be no relief from high prices until sufficient new capital has gone into production to replace the waste of war. People are too apt to talk economy, complain of prices, and continue spending. But that will not bring relief. Nothing but a readjustment of the relation of supply and demand will secure the desired end. Hence, whatever will stimulate production will tend to lower prices.

**S**Ocial revolution is seen by a great many people in the steel strike. Opinions of various labor leaders advocating force are wisely quoted, and probably correctly. It would be strange indeed if the working conditions which have prevailed in the steel trade had not bred men who see no way out but by force. But such opinions do not represent the views of more than an infinitesimal number of wage workers. Until they are held by a substantial number they need be of no concern to any one. But it is of immediate concern that they are held by the head of the Steel Corporation. Here is an industry which profiteered shamelessly at the expense of its own Government during the war, which threatened its own Government that it would close the mills if its profits were interfered with, which defied the War Labor Board during the war, which has accepted a public subsidy in the way of a tariff for many years, and which refuses even to confer with its men with regard to working conditions. Is or is not such an industry essentially anarchistic? John Fitzpatrick's statement that Judge Gary was greater than the Government has been taken by most persons as hyperbole, but there is more than a grain of truth in it.

**T**HE old saying that children should exercise discretion in choosing their parents has been paraphrased by the Children's Bureau, which advises babies to take care to choose a sanitary home in which to be born. It appears from a report on infant mortality in Saginaw, Michigan, that it is more than six times as dangerous for a baby to be born in one ward of the town as in another. The essentials of a safety zone, according to the Bureau's report, are fathers who have a living wage and moth-

ers who are not employed the year before or the year after birth. The mothers must have proper care when the babies are born, the fathers and mothers must be able to read and write, and the babies must be properly housed. It is a striking coincidence that in the wards where the fathers' wages were small, where the mothers worked outside the home, where the drainage was poor, the streets filthy, and the water impure, one baby in six died before it was a year old; whereas, only one in thirty-four died in wards where good wages and sanitary conditions prevailed. The babies should be unionized and might well join the Federation of Labor.

**W**HATEVER may be the conclusion of science regarding Patience Worth, the Puritan maiden who died in Massachusetts nearly three hundred years ago, and who is now dictating poetry to Mrs. John H. Curran of St. Louis, one thing is certain: The aforesaid Puritan maiden is running counter to the spirit of our protective tariff, and is putting in jeopardy the livelihood of American poets who are still in the flesh. She is reported to have transmitted as much as twelve thousand words of "perfectly good poetry" in two hours. It may be doubted if even the writers of vers libre could sustain that speed. Besides, the spirit author is not subject to the high cost of living, and is free from the income tax that falls upon American poets. The customs officers quickly found a way to levy duties upon the British airplane that flew into the United States. Manifestly it is just as unfair to our poets to have poetry brought into the country through a spiritualistic medium as it is to airplane builders to have planes come in by air. Congressman Fordney's Ways and Means Committee should come to the rescue with proper tariff duties.

**T**HE President, of course, cannot always be right. But on the other hand consider Colonel George Harvey, who is always wrong, and who is at present opposed to the President. Senator Lodge may be right once in thirty years, but it hardly seems possible that he and Senator Knox could be right at exactly the same time. Or assume that their simultaneous rightness should occur by some miracle or in

accordance with some infrequent event like the conjunction of the planets, it still needs the miraculous to explain how the Chicago *Tribune* should also be right at the same time. Then consider the latest of the League's opponents. "Just as we had made up our minds," says Bert L. Taylor, "that the President was wrong upon every point, Chancellor Day had to come out against him." And there still remains Nicholas Murray Butler. These men, we desire to point out, have all their lives consistently traveled in one direction,—backward. How, then can the President be going in any other direction than forward? Or must the ghost of James Buchanan rise from the dead to re-enforce the company of anti-Presidential brethren, many of whom in good truth have long been dead, but know it not?

**C**RITICS who have expressed disappointment that the question of disarmament has not received more attention, should not despair. It is true that there are many tories and standpatters who still have their lesson to learn, but no one need have any doubt that the lesson will be learned. If the reactionaries should be so blind to the writing on the wall as to persist in the policy of an armed peace, they will bring the whole social structure down about their ears. The people at large, the working people, the people who do the work of the world, have found their power and will be satisfied with no reactionary policy. To maintain a great military establishment and pay for the war, too, is impossible. There will be disarmament or a revolution. Some of the tories and standpatters may believe that they can return again to the old conditions, but this is nothing less than stupidity, and will give way before enlightened statesmanship, or be swept away by outraged humanity.

**S**WITZERLAND, the political laboratory of Europe, has taken another step in democratic development. Proportional representation was introduced into the Canton of Ticino as long ago as 1890. Not only did this system of representation pacify the warring factions that had appealed to arms, but it worked so well that other cantons adopted it for local

elections. It was not, however, until last August that proportional representation was written into the Federal Constitution; and great satisfaction is expressed over the working of the new system at the October elections. The Swiss use what is known as the Free List system of proportional representation, which corresponds to our form of voting for party candidates on a party ticket, but which apportions the successful candidates among the several parties in proportion to the votes polled by each party. The List system is not so elaborate as the Hare system, which is in use in three American cities and in various parts of the British Empire. Either system, if applied to the election of representatives in this country, would go far to relieve us of many of the prevailing evils.

**A**N interesting trick of the trade was brought to light in a proceeding before the Federal Trade Commission. It seems that under the existing custom all steel is sold everywhere in the United States as if it were manufactured in Pittsburgh. The consumer is charged the prevailing price in Pittsburgh plus the imaginary freight rate from Pittsburgh to the point of delivery. Steel manufactured at Gary, Indiana, will serve as an illustration. Logically, the product of Gary should make steel cheaper in Chicago than anywhere else on the Continent. It is strategically located so that iron ore can be brought cheaply by water from Lake Superior and manufactured with the coal from Illinois and Indiana. But, instead of profiting by these economies, Chicago is actually penalized. Not only is cheap steel manufactured at Gary charged for at the same rate as steel more wastefully manufactured in Pittsburgh, but the Chicago consumer, forty miles away, must pay an imaginary freight bill for a fictitious five hundred mile journey as if the product had been manufactured in Pittsburgh. In Duluth the situation appears to be even worse. The buyer of the manufactured product appears to pay the price based upon a fictitious transportation to Pittsburgh and a fictitious transportation of finished material back to Duluth. The situation appears to be very much as if a New Yorker went around the world in order to get to the

other side of Broadway. There is doubtless some abstruse explanation perfectly clear to Judge Gary. But if we recall the facts aright the Judge has of late been thundering much about the inherent iniquity of workmen demanding pay for services never performed.

## The Melting Pot Boils Over

**D**EPORTATION, fines, and imprisonment were long ago proved to be poor means of meeting social unrest. So thoroughly, indeed, have these methods been tried out by Church and State, and so completely have they failed, that it would seem that to attempt to suppress opinions by force in this day and age is little less than absurd.

Ideals that have found a crude and imperfect expression in what we have been pleased to call American institutions have been brought into question; different ideals have been set up; democracy has been challenged; a new order has been proclaimed. But why the panic that has seized some of our people? There is nothing strange about it all. The Russian people who have had little political experience or responsibility have broken from the thrall of autocracy, and, finding themselves with great power, have become impatient at the slow process of evolution, and have attempted a short cut to freedom. A few people in other lands have tried to imitate the Russian experiment, and have found themselves entangled in the laws they were unable to overthrow.

How shall this new thought be met? Surely not alone by force. That is what czars and kaisers have tried to do and failed. Force has no more effect upon ideas than matter has upon spirit. Only ideas can meet ideas. In short, the way to meet Soviet propaganda is with American propaganda. To use physical force is to drive the opponents of the present order under cover, which will in turn beget spies, suspicion, and distrust, and arouse all the prejudice of ignorance and bigotry. Whereas, to meet it openly, is to appeal to the conscience and intelligence of the people.

But if Sovietism is to be met by democracy, it must be by democracy translated into modern terms, and not by democracy that has been outgrown by society. It is not enough to point

to the past achievements or to present conditions. Our practice has fallen far short of our ideals, and it is only when we bring practice up abreast of theory that we can withstand the attacks of the ultra-radicals. Though we profess democracy and political equality, the present status resembles too much a class government, which is a direct invitation to a counter-class movement. American democracy must be made so broad and so impartial that no man will have an excuse for starting a class movement. Unless we can make liberty and justice real, unless we can make all men feel that they have equal rights and opportunities, our interpretation of the principle of democracy has failed.

## Government by Injunction

**I**T may be assumed that the great mass of liberal minded men and women of the country feel that the Government made a tactical error in resorting to the injunction as a means of meeting the coal miners' strike. Maintain order the Government must, or confess itself a failure; but the means to that end are not necessarily restricted to one course of action.

Ordinary strikes and lockouts require no more attention from public authorities than keeping the peace; but a strike may take such form—as for instance the Boston police strike—as to make it necessary to interfere with the act itself. The treatment in that case, however, lies in declaring the jobs vacant, and employing new men; but a different end was sought in the coal strike. The object in this instance was to get the men back to work at the earliest possible moment.

But the injunction is inadequate for that purpose. Not only is it inadequate, but its use is looked upon by a large part of the people as an evil. It has too often been used by capital to override the rights of labor. It is in such disrepute indeed among trade unions, that its employment for any purpose whatever distracts attention from the end to be achieved and centers it upon the means employed. Hence, few will discriminate between its use by the Government in behalf of the public, and in the name of the whole people, and its use

by individual employers for their own selfish ends.

Besides, it is an unpractical measure. To attempt to enjoin four hundred thousand men from stopping work would be much like indicting a whole nation. A few might be shot or imprisoned, but one does not think of shooting or imprisoning by the hundred thousand men whose offense is at worst only an indifference to the rights of their fellows.

The Government could have achieved all that it has done by giving protection to those of the miners who wished to work; and no amount of coercion is likely to add to that number. Either the conditions under which the miners work are intolerable or they are not. If they are as described by the miners few men will return to the mines on the old terms, short of starvation, injunction or no injunction.

The Government's action in suing out an injunction may have hastened the order recalling the strike, but it is doubtful if it quickened the return of the men to the mines. The greatest weapon in the hands of the Government was public opinion, but by resorting to the courts it alienated all those persons who are opposed to the use of the injunction in labor disputes.

But if the Government used the wrong weapon, it accomplished two things at least: It steadfastly insisted that the right to strike was not involved, and it limited the selling price of coal. Both were concessions to the claims set up by labor, and have done much to establish the good faith of the Government. It is now the duty of Congress to enact legislation to prevent a repetition of the trouble.

## Traction Problems in New York

**N**EW YORK traction problems have reached a stage that baffles all save those who are willing boldly to weigh the rights of the victims of past errors and mistakes against the privileges of the beneficiaries. The city is bound by perpetual street car franchises, some of which were stolen, some bought, and some received gratis. They long ago passed out of the hands of the original holders into

the possession of new companies, and these into still newer holding companies, until they have lost all identity but that of drawing dividends. The city has in fact become inmeshed in such a labyrinth of laws, contracts, franchises, and agreements that there is now no way out except by setting aside privileges that some one looks upon as his right.

Mr. Delos F. Wilcox, traction expert, has essayed the task of analyzing the situation in a pamphlet that has the indorsement of George Foster Peabody, Lawson Purdy, John J. Hopper, Charles T. Root, John J. Murphy, and others who have given the matter special attention. Mr. Wilcox finds that the traction companies are losing money, that the service must deteriorate, and that a strong movement is afoot to increase fares. If fares are raised, however, it will mean still further congestion in an already overcrowded city.

Municipal ownership, Mr. Wilcox concludes, is the only solution. But municipal ownership, because of the legal entanglements, is difficult of attainment. The owners of perpetual franchises are not likely to sell at a price that will make purchase advisable. Condemnation laws are faulty, and the city's debt limit will not permit the assumption of further burdens.

These difficulties Mr. Wilcox has met in a manner that denotes a thorough grasp of his subject and a disposition to be fair. Special consideration should be given to the principles upon which he has based his conclusions. The Fowler bill, which failed of passage in the last session of the legislature, will empower the city to own and operate a traction service. Operation of bus lines and the acquirement of bits of car lines where possible—after the manner of San Francisco—these, together with the pressure of the present low fares, will incline owners to sell at a reasonable price.

Evils that might otherwise inhere in such a large civil service may be avoided by giving the men a voice in the management. But it is in meeting the danger of corruption and waste of unwise extensions at the behest of land speculators that Mr. Wilcox especially shows his grasp of the subject. "Any tendency toward the over-extension of car lines," he says, "would probably be corrected by the adoption of a plan requiring that the cost of all new lines petitioned for by the residents of the districts

which they would serve should be paid by special assessments on the property benefited." He is also bold enough to say that in order to retain a fare low enough to prevent congestion the deficit, if there should be a shortage of revenue in spite of all economies, should be met by a tax on "the business men and land owners who receive great benefits from street railway transportation."

When the problem is approached in this intelligent and fearless manner progress will be made toward a solution; for it will never be solved until people realize that traction service, like all government service, is reflected in the value of the land in the territory served, and must be paid for by those who receive the service.

## Compulsory Investigation

**C**OMPULSORY investigation," but "not to the extent of compulsory arbitration," is the pertinent suggestion of the Senate Committee that investigated the steel strike in a report that appears to be broad and judicial, and calculated to carry conviction.

It is apparent that the lack of some agency before which disputes between capital and labor can be brought for investigation has been a serious handicap in securing industrial adjustments. Not only should this medium be available to both parties to the dispute, but these investigations should be compulsory. The strike or lockout may follow, but the facts would first be published by an impartial agency, and the public could then take sides according to its inclination.

Under present conditions a great upheaval occurs in industry. The public becomes a party to the controversy without having an intelligent understanding of the case. Claims diametrically opposed are put forth by the steel company and by its men, while the public knows little of the merits of the case. Public opinion has been inclined against the strikes in some cases not because the strikers have no grievance, but because they have not presented it in the right way. Similar conditions exist in regard to the coal strike. Charges and counter-charges have been made, but no one who is disinterested seems to know the facts. Few doubt the men have a grievance,

a very serious grievance, but the injection of revolutionary talk has aroused prejudices that have obscured the real issue.

What the Senate Committee found after the strike had been declared should have been discovered before the strike was called. And had the facts been known, had they been set forth by some tribunal or other body commanding public confidence, informed public opinion would have compelled redress. Compulsory arbitration is so repugnant to labor that its use would be inadvisable even if such a law could be enacted. But compulsory investigation should be welcomed by all honest parties to a controversy. With free discussion of labor troubles and impartial reports of the facts, public opinion will compel a settlement.

## Labor And Capital

**T**HE failure of the industrial conference at Washington, in so far as it was a failure, was due primarily to misunderstanding and distrust. Labor and capital entered the conference as enemies, rather than as friends. Both were obsessed by the erroneous idea that the relations of employee and employer must necessarily be on a hostile basis, and they proceeded to wage war instead of negotiating peace. This working at cross purposes was inevitable from the fact that, whereas the labor delegates represented labor and the public delegates represented the public, the capitalist delegates did not represent true capital.

The old idea that labor and capital are naturally antagonistic has no more basis in fact than that traders have opposing interests. Each party to a trade wishes to give as little and to receive as much as possible; but both know that unless there is mutual gain the trading will not continue. If one party has a monopoly, however, and can exact more than he gives, strife and enmity are certain to follow.

This was the condition at Washington. The so-called capitalist group represented something more than capital. It represented capital plus monopoly or privilege. And whereas legitimate capital was interested in coming to an agreement with labor, monopoly came between them. Real capital seeks to produce wealth, which it can do only by employing la-

bor; and when so engaged under free conditions the product of labor and capital is sufficient for both. But when monopoly or legal privilege enters, and exacts toll for permission to produce, there is so little left for wages and profits that labor and capital fall to quarreling over the division.

Had the personnel of the capitalist group been different there might have been some sort of truce; but it must be manifest that with special privilege gnawing at the vitals of production there never can be permanent peace.

Labor and capital work up the natural elements into steel, and divide the product between them. But the owner of the coal beds and the iron lands insists upon a part of the product for permitting labor and capital to use them. The coal operators and the miners produce coal, which they would divide between them but for the fact that the owner of the coal land charges them for permission to dig the coal.

Under free conditions, that is, with the toll for access to the natural elements eliminated, labor and capital could be as friendly as traders. But when they have to give a large part of their product for the mere privilege of co-operating, the remainder is so small that each feels that the others gets too much.

Since the particular representatives of capital who constituted the capitalist group at Washington chose to identify themselves with monopoly and privilege, thus preventing co-operation between labor and legitimate capital, it is incumbent upon the Administration to announce some plan that will eliminate this spurious capital, and permit labor and real capital to divide the whole product of industry between them.

Whatever will restrain monopoly will aid industry, increase employment, and raise wages. The plan proposed by Jackson H. Ralston of levying a tax upon the privilege of holding land exceeding ten thousand dollars in value might serve as a beginning. This super tax will limit monopoly at its source, and at the same time it will enable government to remit a corresponding amount of taxes from industry.

It may be questioned whether labor has not achieved the economic purpose of its being, and should not now turn its attention more toward political action; not necessarily by means of

an independent party, but by means of definite political programs. The steel strike has failed of its purpose; but the united pressure of labor on Congress would, by imposing a super tax on the enormous holdings of coal and iron in the hands of the Steel Trust, accomplish all and more than the strikers sought. The power to oppress labor that is enjoyed by the trust is due to political laws that are subject to change or repeal by the people.

Labor should strike hands with real capital, and real capital should separate itself from special privilege which, under the guise of capital, exercises the power of monopoly. The Administration cannot do a better thing than to advance such a program.

## Boston And Self Determination

**N**OW that distance lends the proper perspective, it is quite clear that Boston is the victim of politics. Its people have been particularly flagrant in shirking their civic duties. For the first two centuries of its history Boston was distinguished for the sturdy self-reliance of its people and for their ardent civic pride. More than once it set up its own will against that of the Legislature; and it always won. In startling contrast,—now there is not another large city in the United States, with the exception of Washington, so completely in the control of outside authority and where the people have so little voice in the affairs of their own city. Its charter, which was not asked for by the city, and which was imposed upon it by the Legislature against the unanimous protest of both branches of its council, provides for a mayor, with sole authority to make all appointments and all contracts, and grant all franchises, and an absolute veto upon every act of the council, even though it is supported by all its members. Then, in order to watch him, the Commonwealth appoints a commission of five, who from time to time publish their criticisms of his acts. Several departments of the city have been made by the Legislature distinct and independent corporations. So complex are the relations of over one hundred different boards and departments, as established from time to time by the Legislature, that, when a new school is to be established,

there must be favorable action by a school committee elected by the people, then by the street commissioners appointed by the mayor, and then by the school house commissioners, appointed by the mayor, and then by the mayor and council.

The city can establish a budget for some of its departments, but not for others,—the schools and police for instance, and possibly the library and hospital departments. Its police are controlled by the Commonwealth, its water and sewer works were taken over by the Commonwealth, and the franchises in its streets are granted by the Commonwealth. Boston is superbly situated for commerce, as was dem-

onstrated by its early history, and a great scheme was begun a few years ago to fit its harbor for the changed conditions of modern commerce; but instead of doing this itself, it got from the Legislature another State Commission. Its important public buildings have been built, not by its own government, but by commissions authorized by the Commonwealth, and this is true also of its subways. If Boston wishes to recover its fast waning prestige, it must revive its public spirit, cease to rely upon outside control, return to democratic principles, and learn again to manage its own affairs. Self-determination should not be out of place even in America.

## Shall We Intervene In Mexico

By John F. Moors

Member of Boston Finance Commission and Harvard Corporation

**M**EXICO is said to be capable of producing one-half of the oil supply of the world. Oil is said to be now the world's most valuable product. Mexico is potentially very rich. It has recently been the scene of a bloody revolution. A new Mexican Government is face to face with great corporations, which, by their own admission, are employing a bandit to resist it. The great corporations operating in Mexico have created an organization called "The National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico." This organization has an expensive press bureau. The newspapers of the United States are flooded almost daily with tales of the weakness, if not the wickedness, of the Carranza Government.

There have been prophecies, alleged facts, actual collapses. There have been two Congressional investigating committees, one in the House of Representatives, the other in the Senate, both manifestly favoring intervention.

The prophecies have been remarkable. Last winter there was to be a new revolution in Mexico by June. In the early spring Felix Diaz was to take Mexico City with an army of 40,000 men led by a redoubtable general named Blanquet. In the late spring Villa was made to appear about to triumph. But there was no new revolution by June. The size of Diaz's army, as reported, seems to have been 10,000

per cent. bigger than the reality. The movement collapsed. Blanquet was killed. The threat from Villa was more emphasized. Every American knows what was formerly Villa's reputation, especially in the tory press of the country. Villa was the most unspeakable of Mexican bandits. When President Wilson expressed eloquently in 1916 his sympathy for the Mexican revolution, the press hostile to him singled out Villa as the wretch whom he was in fact supporting. Villa was not merely a bandit but a cut-throat. Last May, however, an extremely tory New York paper suddenly absolved him from responsibility for the Columbus massacre. And the Washington correspondent of another equally tory paper made it illuminating in its new inconsistency. Villa, it is said, had been "grossly misrepresented," he was a philanthropist; his sentries were "a guaranty of life, liberty, and prosperity"; he was "ameliorating conditions in Parral"; he was not in reality the "drunken Villa"; he was regarded by "his American friends" as "one of the most uncompromising prohibitionists on the Continent." Villa actually reached Juarez and then, bang, he was driven by United States troops perpendicularly down to his previous level of unspeakable bandit.

This new interpretation of Villa seemed suspicious. Who were his American friends?

They could hardly have been in sympathy with the American troops which drove him back into obscurity. The suspicious statement appeared again several months later. The same Washington correspondent of the same tory paper said September 29th, when Villa had otherwise not been heard from: "It is doubtless the fact that the rebels, under the now acknowledged leadership of Francisco Villa, control all of Durango," etc. "That they do not advance against the cities and tear up railroad communications is due to their canny unwillingness to assume at present more burdens than are necessary for the success of their plans. In Durango, where he is making his headquarters, Villa has been joined by General Raaulos, who has come up from Zacatecas with 2,000 mounted men and plenty of ammunition. In fact the rebels are now believed to be better supplied with ammunition in the State of Durango than at any time since 1915. It is expected that the next military move, soon to be perpetrated, will be directed against Torreon. If Torreon is taken a thrill of nervousness will run through the Carranza forces. Should this program be carried out successfully, the rebel leaders count confidently upon local defections which would undermine swiftly the Carranzista morale everywhere."

Whence comes this renewed friendliness for Villa, an avowed rebel against an officially friendly Government? Whence comes this inner knowledge of his plans? Whence comes the ammunition said to be ample? Whence comes the desire to spread facts favorable to Villa and unfavorable to Carranza before rich Americans?

There are bits of information that may supply a suitable answer. Last October the general counsel of the Mexican Petroleum Company, one of the largest oil companies with property in Mexico, wrote a long letter in a New York weekly deplored conditions affecting the rights of oil property in Mexico under the new Mexican constitution. Said he, "The oil companies have opposed, and will oppose to the end, the attacks to which they are being subjected." Mexican Petroleum stock then sold in New York at about \$100 a share. It now sells at about \$250 a share.

In July the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives began what purported to be an investigation. One witness was

so *persona grata* with this committee that he was recalled to the witness stand. The testimony of this witness was spread broadcast over the country. He testified that most of the bandits were Carranza men, and that most Mexicans would say, if they should hear of financial and possible military assistance against Carranza, "Thank God, you have redeemed belief in America." This witness was described in the newspaper dispatches as an "archaeologist." One of the great New York dailies said he came from Baltimore, two others that he came from California, and a fourth that he came from Cleveland. Presently, however, it was shown that this prominent witness had written a gentleman in Southern California letters showing himself to be a "bridge" between the various rebel elements in Mexico.

Shortly after this the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate, Senator Lodge, appointed a Senate investigating committee, consisting of Senator Fall of New Mexico, Chairman, Senator Smith of Arizona, said to be a "conspicuous chum" of Fall, and Senator Brandegee of Connecticut. Senator Fall has been the most persistent champion of intervention. A committee could hardly have been appointed more predisposed to find for intervention.

Meanwhile the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico had been busy. All sorts of strange developments could be traced to this association. Among these developments was the sudden appearance of a mysterious individual with a German name who purported to have pretended, while in Mexico, to be in the German Secret Service. Accompanying the sudden appearance of this witness with most unfriendly testimony about the Mexican Government, there was published the photograph of a dashing widow to whom it was said that he had become engaged "to get information from her." This strange gentleman said, "Mexico is nothing more than an agglomeration of anarchist gangs who kill and plunder with no restraint but their own caprices."

Reliable witnesses state that Senator Fall has dominated the Senate Committee, that he has brow beaten conscientious witnesses opposed to intervention, that alongside him at the hearings have sat the head of the Mexican Petroleum Company, the press agent of the

National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, the "archaeologist" who later proved to be a "bridge" for the rebel factions in Mexico, and the strange individual with the German name who purported to have got engaged to the widow.

Last summer, when the various attempted revolutions had failed, with considerable mortality, outrages in Mexico were featured. The National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico had the hardihood to announce publicly that the Executive Committee had decided "to use its utmost endeavors" to make these outrages "an international issue." The newspapers, not unmindful of the news value of sensations, have made much of them. On July 20th great headlines announced, "Outrage on American Sailors." "This is one of the gravest of the many grave incidents which have been staged in Mexico within recent months," the acting Secretary of State is reputed to have commented. "Every sensible American knows the course we should adopt to stop these outrages,—we ought to kill about 2,000 Mexicans," Senator Ashurst of Arizona was quoted as saying. Senator Fall was described as one "who gave free expression to his feelings." When, however, the losses were officially reported, they proved to have been only a watch, a pair of shoes, and "some money." The Mexican authorities were said at the time to be most zealous to capture the wrong-doers and recently news reached us that they had been successful. Much space, however, is still given to every outrage on American citizens in Mexico, regardless of the responsibility for them.

When Ambassador Fletcher testified last July that 217 Americans had been killed in Mexico in eight years, the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico exclaimed that 391 had been killed, no opportunity being lost to inflame public opinion on this side of the Rio Grande.

Little heed has been given to pleas for mercy by Mexican officials. Last February, three days after a committee of bankers had been formed "for the purpose of protecting the holders of securities of the Mexican Republic, with a view to such positive action as may be taken whenever circumstances permit," a prominent member of the Mexican Government

expressed fervently the hope that the bankers did not "wish Mexico to return to the basis of ten years ago." In July the Mexican Ambassador at Washington addressed the people of the United States urging that the government of Mexico had become comparatively stable, that the outrages there were not altogether unlike those here after our civil war, that Mexico was paying two-thirds of her income to chase bandits, that the balance sheets of the big companies operating in Mexico showed them very prosperous. In August President Carranza himself said: "The petroleum companies have set out to engender ill-feeling between Mexico and the United States. They are doing this through the medium of some sections of the American press which are distorting facts to suit their own ends. Mexico is not opposed to the petroleum companies or to any other foreign investors. We merely require that, if such companies are to operate in the Republic, they abide by our laws."

These appeals have gone almost unheeded. The more approved view is that of a financial column last December, which said: "The outlook for companies operating in Mexico is believed to be brighter than it has been for a long time. The great expansion of the American army undoubtedly will exert a salutary effect on the obnoxious elements in the Southern Republic." In July the Coblenz correspondent of a great New York daily was quoted as saying that the military machine was drawing up plans for a Mexican campaign. "This machine," he wrote, "has begun to do what the armies of European nations have long done, that is, draft plans of campaign against neighbor nations." This time our army was to fight "with the most modern weapons" with "the 1919 stamp upon them."

Are, then, conditions so bad in Mexico as to justify the statement of the witness with the German name and those of the "bridge" between the Mexican rebels and the proposed killing out-of-hand of about 2,000 Mexicans, innocent or guilty, and the sharpening of those cruel knives with "the 1919 stamp upon them?"

Last January an important business man with large business interests in Mexico reported indiscreetly: "Nearly all the mines are being worked, especially those owned by large foreign corporations." In April the President

of a great express company with wide-spread business interests in Mexico was also indiscreetly optimistic. In April a high-minded director of a mining company in Mexico, employing 7,000 Mexicans, told an Episcopal Church Congress in New York that throughout the Revolution his plant had run continuously, the loyalty of the Mexicans being matched by decent treatment by the owners. In May readers of the *New York Times* were informed of a trip through Mexico of the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce. "The visiting merchants," says the story, "had a halcyon time, traveling 3,000 miles and enjoying all the comforts of home. The impression that Mexico had been devastated by revolutions the Americans found to be a grotesque exaggeration." Within a few days Mr. P. Harvey Middleton has published a book on "Industrial Mexico," after touring the whole country. He strikes a favorable balance sheet between the Mexico of disorder of which we know so much and the Mexico of industrial possibilities of which we know so little.

The issue is now clearly drawn. On one side, President Wilson through very troubled years has done his best to maintain toward Mexico the friendly relations which should obtain between a strong nation and a weak neighbor struggling toward the light. On the other side, extremely rich corporations, hoping to be richer, are sending out propaganda most

unfriendly to Mexico manifestly to the end that we may intervene in Mexico (a euphemism for making war on her), "clean up" the country with fire and sword, and ourselves take charge. This attitude toward Mexico has been made to appear to many influential Americans the proper attitude.

If it prevails we shall have sharpened our knives "with the 1919 stamp on them" at the very time when this country has tried to lead the world in improved international standards, particularly as regards the relations between strong nations and weak; we shall have thrown to the winds the new confidence of Latin America born of President Wilson's unselfishness; we shall have returned to the arbitrament by force for our own advantage, just after expressing lofty sentiments about appeals to reason and about the brotherhood of man.

Let us agree that we should seek by all legitimate means to have justice done our interests and reasonable protection granted our citizens in Mexico as elsewhere. But where in all history will there be infamy like unto our infamy, if, through the bearing of false witness against a helpless neighbor, trying to struggle to her feet, we should be led in this supreme crisis the world over, to attack this helpless neighbor, at the behest of a few millionaires and a few politicians, and ravage her lands and take to ourselves her riches?

## Millers, Packers, Politicians and the Townley Trial

By Judson King

Executive Secretary National Government League

**A**S the steel and iron men from New York to Minneapolis see it, there is something radically wrong about an organization that proposes to take taxes off farm buildings and machinery and put them on natural resources. But this is not all.

The iron industry in Minnesota employs many thousands of men, mostly foreigners. Wages are low. There is chronic labor trouble. The employes are held down with an iron hand by hired gun men and detectives. Labor unions are forbidden. I am told there are localities where an ordinary American citizen

arriving unannounced is quickly spotted by detectives and told to "get to hell out of here," unless satisfactorily vouched for.

An organization of farmers stretching hands politically to organized labor in cities would be an undesirable body to have in control of the police force of the State. It might object to private standing armies; turn an investigating light on something besides tax returns, or pass an up-to-date Workman's Compensation act, as was done in North Dakota last winter at the same time one was being killed in the Minnesota Legislature.

In this latter act the Steel Trust men and manufacturers were not alone. I have seen an affidavit stating there was organized in 1918 "The Insurance Economics Society of America," supported by the insurance corporations for the purpose of putting down radical legislation and political movements,—"especially was it opposed to State health insurance, the Single Tax, and the Nonpartisan League"; also "that in the summer of 1918 seven of the most influential insurance men in the United States sat down together around a table in Detroit and pledged \$1,000,000 for the campaign to kill the Nonpartisan League in the States where it had taken root."

The grain marketing and milling men who control the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce bemoan the danger of "Townleyism" to our homes and free institutions of government. This chamber is a unique institution. By State law its operations are secret and exclusive, and *the courts of the State have no power to set aside its rules and regulations.* Please now, I know it is impossible, *but it is true.* The law was passed in 1881, when John S. Pillsbury of flour mill fame was Governor. Its membership is largely an interlocking combine of elevator and commission men and big millers which controls the Northwestern output of the people's bread from the farmer's wagon to the local grocer. Its unjust extortions run into the hundreds of millions. In 1916 it was cleaning up a profit of \$7.19 per barrel of flour and that year Minneapolis alone put out 18,541,650 barrels. Herbert Hoover said to the United States Senate Committee on Agriculture, June 19, 1917: "With righteous manufacturers' and distributors' prices, the price of flour should not have been over \$9 a barrel. Yet it averages \$14. In the last five months on the item of flour alone \$250,000,000 has been extracted from the American consumer *in excess of normal profits.* Depend on it, the Twin City boys got their share.

State elevators and State flour mills do not look good to this monopoly. Neither does the strict enforcement of new grading and dockage laws in North Dakota passed by the League. Hence, we find active in the fight against Townley, Mr. Fred B. Snyder, son-in-law of old Governor Pillsbury, conservator and attorney for the family estate, and for twenty-

five years prominent in State politics.

The packers have their second largest plant at St. Paul. This combine is to meat what the millers are to wheat. Get the ungodly story of its profits and methods from the Federal Trade Commission report and the Senate hearings, and don't overlook the \$1,700,000 Mr. Swift spent last year on newspapers. But the Nonpartisan League demands "State packing plants, stockyards, and cold storage plants." They are on the way in North Dakota already. So we need not be surprised if by drawing the "America First" curtain back a little farther we discover the law firm of Kellogg, Severance & Olds, regular attorneys for the packers and for United States Steel. This is the same Frank B. Kellogg, trust buster, who broke up Standard Oil back in Roosevelt's time. Recently he announced the removal of his name from the firm stationery. He is now United States Senator and is gravely alarmed at the Nonpartisan League. Is it not horrible that Townley once voted the Socialist ticket in a local election?

Among the "America First" men are Louis Hill of the Great Northern Railroad, Jule Hannaford of the Northern Pacific, and James T. Clark of the Omaha,—all presidents. That the League demands that Uncle Sam *keep* the railroads, that the League in North Dakota is making the railroads pay an extra \$1,000,000 per year in taxes, and that there are \$331,000,000 worth of untaxed railroad securities in Minnesota alone are circumstances that sink into insignificance in comparison with their grief over the poor farmers being fleeced out of \$16 every two years by Townley and his gang of "I. W. W. Organizers."

Municipal utility men are interested. Twin City Rapid Transit men shudder at the "Hun in Our Midst," meaning the League. These men refused to abide by a strike settlement by the National War Labor Board, with Taft at the head, right in war time, and were upheld by Burnquist, loyalty Governor. Their franchise expires in 1923. It is certain they can never get a new one on the terms they are demanding. Hence, the hope for a Legislature that will pass a State Utilities Commission Law and take from the cities any power over utility rates and franchises. But the League stands for municipal ownership and

home rule for cities. Therefore, be not surprised that the active Commander in Chief of the America First men is the Honorable Charles Patterson, long time a lobbyist and fixer for the utility interests, who has held street lighting contracts for years, and who has by nature and experience the shrewdest political brains of them all. He supervises the expenditure of the funds—and they are some funds.

Manufacturers don't like the League. It passed too many good labor laws in Dakota. It affiliates with labor in the cities. Hence, George M. Gillette is fighting Townleyism. His firm has for years led the fight against organized labor. It successfully resisted every effort of the National War Labor Board to have it deal justly with its employes. Yet it held large war contracts.

Wholesale men of all kinds are well-nigh solid in their opposition, and their drummers—"Prune Peddlers," the farmers call them—are traveling phonographs ready at all times to recite stories of the evil exploits of Townley and the disloyalty of the League. Wholly separate from political activities, there is being established among League members a string of co-operative stores, having a wholesale store of their own already with a monthly turnover of \$75,000.

Then there are the statesmen and makers of statesmen who fear the "downfall of our American system of government" should the League succeed. Ed. R. Smith, for twenty years Republican State boss, brewery and utility lobbyist; A. D. Rahn, his first lieutenant.

lumber lobbyist; ex-Judge Robert Jamison, close up corporation lawyer and campaign manager for United States Senator Knute Nelson; Eli Warner, keen political leader, printer with fat printing contracts from the State; George H. Sullivan, street railroad lawyer, stand-pat leader in the State Senate for many terms, are among those who proclaim the danger from "Bolshevism" if the League goes into power—and they go out.

There are several unpardonable sins that have been committed by this League to date. It is solvent and collects enough money to be a going concern; that is petty larceny. It goes into party primaries and takes the machinery away from its rightful owners; that is grand larceny. It has got farmers and city workers thinking and voting together; that is stirring up class hatred. It has a vigorous press of its own which reveals the taboo thing, with the result that the people scorn the established press and laugh at our noblest politicians; that is disloyalty. Finally, it is actually setting up publicly owned and operated utilities—flour mills, packing plants, banks, etc., powerful enough to unloose the clutch the private monopolies now have on the people. That is "revolution"!!!

Henry Drummond wrote once, "Of a heretic they used to say, '*Burn him*'; now they say '*Brand him*', call him a bad name." To Big Business Townley is a political and economic heretic. So it attempts to brand him, the current epithet being "disloyal" and the most effective branding iron being a court of justice.

## What New Zealand is Doing in Hydro-Electric Development

By Arthur Withy  
of the Editorial Staff of the New Zealand Times

**F**Ollowing the lead of the Ontario Power Commission, the New Zealand Government has taken up in a comprehensive manner the question of the hydro-electric power supply for the whole Dominion. In 1910 the Aid to Water Powers Act was passed, which dedicated two and a half million dollars for this purpose; and Mr. Evan Parry, B. Sc., M. I. C. E., was brought out from London to

lay out the works. The first plant installed was at Lake Coleridge, sixty-five miles west of Christchurch, where eight thousand horse power is now in operation, and provision has been made for doubling this capacity. The reticulation extends to the city and the surrounding country, including meat works, dairies, and farms. The saving in coal, as compared with the previous small and inefficient plant, is

estimated at eighteen tons per horse power a year, which means that 100,000 to 150,000 tons have been saved per year. This is the only plant that has yet been constructed, but it has proved such a great success that the Government has had a complete scheme drawn up for both the North Island and the South, involving in the case of the North Island, which is to be gone on with first, three different power stations—Mangahao, 24,000 horse power; Arapuni, 90,000 horse power; and Waikaremoana, 40,000—with a complete reticulation extending from north to south and east to west of the island, and with connections with the small existing hydro-electric plants. The power to be provided is one-fifth of a horse power per head of the present population. As a preliminary step the Government has purchased the power plant of the Waihi Gold Mining Company at the Hora Hora rapids on the Waikato River, where 12,000 horse power is available. Only 4,000 of this is required for gold mining purposes, leaving the balance for general distribution. In 1917 the State Electric Supply Act was passed, reserving to the State the right to develop the water powers of the Dominion for hydro-electric purposes and placing the hydro-electric power schemes on a definite commercial footing. In 1918 a further measure was carried entitled the Electric Power Boards Act, which authorizes continuations of local governing bodies in any district within the Dominion to undertake the distribution of electric power, whether obtained in bulk from the Government schemes or generated from their own local scheme. This act will be largely taken advantage of. Already a proposal has been mooted in Southland for the development of 10,000 horse power from Lake Monowai for the supply of electricity within a radius of sixty miles, including the City of Invercargill and an extensive dairying area. In addition to the Government undertakings, the Dunedin City Council has had for some twelve years a scheme in operation at the Waipori Falls, the capacity of which now amounts to 8,000 horse power. Proposals are in hand for an extension; and the City Electric Engineer, Mr. M. Henderson, is on his way to America to get in touch with the latest developments in this connection. The Dominion Portland Cement Com-

pany erected a small plant of two thousand horse power at Wairua to supply their new cement works, and with power to distribute also in Whangarei Borough and district. This plant has now been in operation some three years.

The future of hydro-electric power in New Zealand offers enormous possibilities. The industrial applications, though important, will form only a fraction of the uses to which the power will be put. Already the farmers, particularly in the dairying districts, are appreciating the difference that hydro-electric power is making in connection with their work, both as regards lighting, motive power, and heating water for scalding utensils, etc. A prominent Auckland dairy expert states that, in spite of the already high quality of New Zealand dairy products, this feature of convenient water-heating on the farm will do more than any other factor to still further enhance the quality of the produce of our dairy farms. "It will," he said, "remove half our trouble if we can get boiling water on the farms at six o'clock in the morning."

All the local hydro-electric schemes under the Electric Power Board Act, are subject to the approval of the Chief Government Electrical Engineer, Mr. Lawrence Birks, and must conform to the general State scheme of hydro-electric development. The route length of the transmission lines in the North Island is 1,421, and the number of primary substations is twenty-nine. The total capital expenditure in connection with the triple North Island scheme is estimated at £7,300,000 (\$36,500,000), including interest during construction, working capital, and a sum to enable financial assistance to be afforded to power users and local authorities. This means £45.63 per horse power of plant, or rather less than the present inclusive expenditure (about £50 per horse power) upon the Lake Coleridge undertaking, the success of which is already assured.

The significance of the proposed expenditure may also be appreciated in another way. It would require at least 1,000,000 tons of coal per annum to do the work of the proposed hydro-electric plant, if burnt under existing conditions. Coal would therefore be conserved to that extent; and if its value on the average be assessed at merely £1 per ton, that

means a sum of £1,000,000 per annum, which, if invested at only 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., would amount in seven years to £7,600,000, as against the total estimated capital expenditure of £7,300,000. Mr. Evan Parry, formerly Chief Government Electrical Engineer, but now employed by a big British syndicate on hydro-electric development in the Old Country, pointed out further in his report, dated October 26, 1918, on the North Island scheme, that the total yearly capital charges, including interest, sinking fund, and depreciation, of seven and a half per cent., "amount to seven-eighths of a penny in the pound on the present unimproved value of land in the North Island." On the basis of seven and a half per cent. per annum the capital charges will in round figures amount to £547,000, while the working expenses are estimated at £220,000, making a total of £767,000, and requiring an average return of £5-18-0, practically £6 per horse power of substation load. Since, however, the hydro-electric scheme will enormously enhance land values throughout the island, it is only just that the capital charges should be levied upon unimproved land values. As stated by Mr. Parry, seven-eighths of a penny per pound per annum would suffice. This would mean that in place of £767,000, power users would only have to pay £220,000 of working expenses, and that instead of £5-18-0, the charge for electricity would amount to only £1-10 to £2 per substation horse power, thus enormously encouraging the use of hydro-electric power and tremendously stimulating trade and industry.

A similar hydro-electric scheme is under consideration for the South Island. Briefly, it will consist of a system of power stations all linked together. Starting from Lake Coleridge, the power-house there would be linked up on the north to a power-house in the Marlborough district and to Westland, and in the south to a power-house intermediate between the present Waipori power-house and Lake Coleridge. This would in turn be linked up to the Dunedin Corporation's plant at Waipori, and Waipori to a power-house in Southland. The inclusive cost would be less, if anything, than that of the North Island scheme. The full details of the South Island scheme have not yet been worked out.

## OH!

By Arland D. Weeks

RUMORS of the Great War having reached the offices of the *Supertopia Review*, a Messenger was despatched Earthward.

Upon nearing our planet, the Messenger, encountering a Vibration, thought to save mileage by securing information forthwith.

Learning that the war was largely over, the Messenger remarked, "So everything is going pretty well?"

"I should say not," declared the Vibration.

"What's the trouble now?" asked the Messenger. "A few words will do, I can fill it out. What ails the Earth?"

"A struggle between one side and the other," responded the Vibration. "One side has wealth, power, leisure, freedom. One side has the good things of Earth. The other side lacks and complains. One side holds the seats of the mighty and dwells nobly, while the other finds halls closed and gets chased out of town by the constabulary. One side tells the other what to do and how little to live on. One side exercises monopoly and sets conditions of life. One side gets public questions settled its own way, making promises and breaking them and raiding the weak by schemes and policies and making them foot the bills."

"The sides?" asked the Messenger.

"Labor and Ownership," replied the Vibration.

"Ownership frets about its lowly status. It begrudges Labor's wealth, power, prestige, and occupancy of the seats of the mighty," repeated the Messenger.

The Messenger appeared about to leave.

"Stop, wait a minute," shouted the Vibration. "Don't take that report back. You've got it all wrong."

"What's wrong?" the Messenger inquired.

"You've got Labor and Ownership turned around. Ownership has got Labor's goat—not the other way," the Vibration declared excitedly. "Labor gets a living wage—when it gets that. Ownership has everything you think Labor has. Why, Labor is fighting for its life."

The Messenger looked closely and suspiciously at the Vibration.

"You ought to visit the Earth," added the Vibration.

A curious expression played over the features of the Messenger,—and the beginning of a friendship went out in a suspicion regarding sanity.

"Not this trip," the Messenger curtly remarked, backing into space.

## A Great Victory at That

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus of Leland Stanford, Jr., University

**T**O have carried the spirit of American idealism, which is the essence of true statesmanship, to the masses of Europe and among its time-serving statesmen and cynical diplomats, is in itself a victory and one which will remain. That the President was forced to compromise on much of his lofty idealism is true, of course, and for that factious opposition at home, not to his purposes but to his personality and his political party, is largely responsible. The covenant of nations is, as Mr. Wilson well said, the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the whole world. But when he appealed for the formal approval of the doctrine he had to surrender his lofty position of asking for nothing, and to enter the lists as trading for one thing against another. A single concession weakens the whole line. But even this concession does not satisfy his American critics. Many of these cared nothing whatever for Monroe's Monroe Doctrine except as a means to entrap Mr. Wilson himself.

It is said that Carranza does not recognize the Monroe Doctrine. "That is not strange," observes the *New York Sun*. "Monroe wouldn't recognize it either."

The Monroe Doctrine must be accepted as promulgated by President Monroe, not as interpreted by Senator Fall and others, who would make of it a scheme for control of Mexico by American corporations and land-holders, an interpretation which is quite in line with Europe's singular misconception of idealistic America as a nation caring only for money and success, or as the Germans used to phrase it, "Worshiping the Almighty Dollar."

## CURRENT THOUGHT

### Why Unrest?

**T**HE Mexican census of 1910 reveals the fact: some seven thousand families of Spanish Creole descent own nearly all the fertile soil of Mexico; and since Mexico measures in all some 750,000 square miles, it follows that these feudal estates average over a hundred square miles each. Many of them are immensely greater. The Terrazas estate in Chihuahua contains some 13,000,000 acres, an area as large as Holland and Belgium combined; the Terrazas family owns, not a kingdom, but a pair of kingdoms. And there is an estate in Yucatan said to contain 15,000,000 acres.—*Charles Johnston, in the Atlantic Monthly.*

### Internal Free Trade and China

**U**NTIL some Power does for all China what Prussia, in spite of her sins, once did for all Germany—that is, creates a Chinese Zollverein, or Custom Union, making absolute Free Trade within the territories of the Republic a fact—commerce in China will continue to be a medieval enterprise, inviting medieval diplomacy suitable to the courts of petty princes and amounting in the gross to little more than the trade of Switzerland.—*B. L. Putnam Weale, in "The Truth About China and Japan."*

### What Would It Have Been?

**T**HERE was Aristides, who was called "the Just" till it got on the nerves of the Athenians. He couldn't understand it. Now, the trouble wasn't that he was too just, but that he did justice too monotonously. I used to say, "Aristides, I don't mean to suggest, but can't you let your justice break out in a new spot? You have been doing justice to the free-born citizens till they can't stand it any more. Their consciences have reached the saturation point. Why don't you practice justice on a new set who are not used to it? Why not try it on the slaves? It would be a real treat to them. The Athenians wouldn't know what to make of it and would quit calling you the Just." "What would they call me then?" "I'm sure I don't know, but it would be interesting for you to find out."—*Samuel McChord Crothers, quoting Dame Experience, in the Atlantic Monthly.*

### European Exploiters of Asia

**W**HETHER the cause of democracy in Japan will be promoted must, to no small extent, depend upon the attitude of the Powers toward the Orient. If the Western Powers con-

ture to deal with the Orient as they have been accustomed to dealing, the cry of "preparedness" will continue to be the dominant note in the opinion of the leading men of Japan. Not long ago an Occidental writer declared that the "only Chinese question that exists is what the Powers of Europe will decide to do with China." If such continues to be the attitude of the Powers its effect upon Japan's internal politics cannot but be unfortunate. For it will furnish the military faction a convenient pretext not only to keep up a large army and a powerful navy, but to foster imperialistic ideas as against the progress of liberalism and democracy.—K. K. Kawakami, in "*Japan and World Peace*."

### Woodrow Wilson, Christian

**A** CHRISTIAN? Yes, a Christian dreamer he. He dared to hold his dream while war-flames curled About the universe, while nations hurled Themselves into the conflict's seething sea; And when the strife was calmed, he crossed the tide, Still fear-beset, and held before a world distraught The Christ ideal. To raging hordes he taught The ways of brotherhood. Though far and wide His teachings spread, he could not wholly stay The old-world thought; but there, amid the rage Of blood-stained foes, he plead—and won! An age Of love began—which shall not pass away. That new age dawns, though still the shrouding night Appalls the world, though all earth cries for light. —Thomas Curtis Clark, in *The Living Church*.

### The Sufferings of the Sane

**T**H E mental distress of living amid the obscene din of all these carnagnoles and robberies was not the only burden that lay on sane people during the war. There was also the emotional strain, complicated by the offended economic sense, produced by the casualty lists. The stupid, the selfish, the narrow-minded, the callous and unimaginative were spared a great deal. "Blood and destruction shall be so in use that mothers shall but smile when they behold their infants quartered by the hands of war," was a Shakespearean prophecy that very nearly came true; for when nearly every house had a slaughtered son to mourn, we should all have gone quite out of our senses if we had taken our own and our friend's bereavements at their peace value. It became necessary to give them a false value; to proclaim the young life worthily and gloriously sacrificed to redeem the liberty of man-

kind, instead of to expiate the heedlessness and folly of their fathers, and expiate it in vain. We had even to assume that the parents and not the children had made the sacrifice, until at last the comic papers were driven to satirize fat old men, sitting comfortably in club chairs, and boasting of the sons they had "given" to their country.—*Bernard Shaw, in Preface to "Heartbreak House."*

### BOOKS

#### The Real Difference

*The Great Issue. Disclosed by the Leaders and the Plain People in Europe and America.* By John Farwell Moors. Pages 47. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 1919.

**A**LTHOUGH this brochure was written before the treaty and Covenant were brought from Versailles and laid before the Senate, it is as timely as if it had been published yesterday. While full of pertinent and not to be forgotten facts, it deals primarily with great, commanding moral, and therefore eternal, principles. It can be read in one short sitting, and whoever foregoes the privilege of its perusal denies himself a rare treat in that sort of literature that is at once a stimulant to the understanding and an inspiration to the highest ethical emotions.

Mr. Moors sketches with a delicate and certain pencil the policy of the President in respect of world morals from the first day of his assumption of office to the consummation of his work in Europe. In his earliest dealings with Mexico he laid solid foundations for America's achievements in peace and war during the later years. No amount of misunderstanding, criticism, vituperation, or opposition caused him to swerve a hair's breadth from his high purpose in behalf of America and its ideals. A wide array of citations shows the glaring contrast to this noble standard exhibited by his enemies in the last Presidential election, in the crises with Mexico, and before and after the exploits of our overseas forces,—a sinister array that might well be pondered from one end of the country to the other just at the present juncture.

This little work would be an admirable basis for a sincere study of the moral issues of the hour by preachers and teachers, forums and women's clubs. At a time of rancid prejudices a book that shines with a clean ray of light is a treasure.

#### Books Beat Guns

*Intervention in Mexico.* By Samuel Guy Inman. Pages 248. New York: Association Press. 1919.

**T**H ERE has been a marked recrudescence of opinion, during the last few months, in favor of military intervention in Mexico. One

hears, quite frequently, the statement: "Now that we have a fine army let us go down and clean up the mess." When such bellicose individuals are asked, "Why?" they generally become indignant and make vigorous assertions backed by ignorance or interest. Mr. Inman's book is "propaganda," but of a rare and inviting sort. It is propaganda in favor of knowledge as against money, in favor of justice as against rough-shod aggression.

South of us lies a great land inhabited by peoples as varied as those of Eastern Europe. It contains a percentage of cultivated Spanish creoles, or "colonials"; a smaller number of American, English, and German business men and exploiters; and a population primarily aboriginal, only lightly touched either in blood or civilization by the Spanish conquest. These "Mexicans" are very far indeed from being a homogeneous people, for they consist of races and tribes ranging from "naked savages" and cave-dwellers to the highly developed Mayas, Quiches, and Aztecs. The native Mexicans are alike only in that they have all been ruthlessly exploited from the time of Cortez to the present moment, first, by Spanish holders of land grants, and, latterly, by the representatives of modern capitalism. In all these centuries since the European came lack of opportunity and consequent ignorance have guaranteed to the aboriginal just one thing—serfdom.

In Mexico, the native inhabitant of the country has never, even remotely, "had a chance." The European has never done anything for him save to utilize him for drudgery. Against this domination by outsiders, Spanish and American, the native has at length risen. His rebellion has two objects. First, to see that the great landed estates (measured literally in millions of acres) shall be broken up and sold to the peons; second, to protect Mexico from foreign exploitation. The latter policy has been expressed by Carranza in the form that "no nation should intervene in any form or for any reason in the affairs of another;" that "nationals and aliens should be equal before the sovereignty of the country in which they reside;" that "diplomacy should not serve to protect private interests." It is against the application of these doctrines that the present agitation for intervention by the United States is directed.

Our investors are not interested in the Mexicans, but in Mexico and what they can get out of it. Such a policy can never lead to any other result than demands for invasion and annexation. There is only one possible way by which the difficulties between Mexico and the American investor may be overcome, and that is to educate the people of Mexico, not forgetting those of the United States. There is great promise in the movement, too briefly alluded to by Mr. Inman, for a wide extension of educational facilities in Mexico under American auspices. It is to be

hoped that this movement may have strong and unhesitating support. Think: in the year of the Columbus raid the United States Government spent enough on guarding the border and on the abortive Pershing expedition, "to build in every town of Mexico of more than 4,000 people, a college, a community center, a hospital, and a church, and to equip them magnificently, and there would be left over a sufficient amount to endow the public school system of each of these towns with some \$700,000. There would still be left a tidy little sum of \$15,000,000 for other parts of the program of education and the production of good literature."

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

### **Anticipation of the Industrial Commonwealth**

*American Company Shop Committee Plans.* A digest of twenty plans for employes' representation through joint committees introduced by American companies. The Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City, 1919.

THE Bureau of Industrial Research has performed a useful if somewhat limited piece of work in preparing and issuing its study, "American Shop Committee Plans." Even in these days of costly printing one may be excused for criticising a charge of one dollar for a thirty-seven page paper-bound study, no matter how erudite; the price puts the document automatically out of easy reach of many working people. But once the admission is paid, you get a good show for the money.

Twenty more or less typical plans of employe representation are digested; from almost every important angle except those which involve statistically imponderable factors, the shop committee is examined. Most fortunate is the deliberate omission of the so-called "industrial democracy" scheme out of the exploitation of which John Leitch is said to be making fabulous fees. This device the pamphlet dubs but "a step removed from the 'company union' in form, and several steps removed in jurisdiction." What the Preface has to say about the shop committee movement is distinctly worth quoting: it summarizes much current discussion and explains to the public why the public is interested in what might otherwise seem rather unremunerative and technical discussion:

The company shop committee movement . . . is still unproved and tentative. Its relation to the spontaneously democratic activities of organized labor is still unsettled. Clearly, however, there is no necessary antipathy between collective bargaining with trade unions and the intimate contacts between management and men which the development of company shop committees is intended to establish. On the contrary, the two developments should supplement one another as time goes on.

One thing may be safely taken as a certainty—if plans for employes' representation . . . are deliberately used to keep out, put out, or weaken the estab-

lished trade unions, they will arouse suspicion, they will become fresh sources of friction, and will ultimately defeat their own avowed ends. What we have constantly to keep in mind is that there is need of different organizations and different types of organization to perform different functions.

The function of the Shop Committee form of employees' organization is clear and of superlative importance. The Shop Committees are designed to provide a basis of co-operation and common understanding between the two immediate parties to the conduct of a business enterprise. The scope of that co-operation must inevitably be extended beyond the interest of the employees in wages, hours, and satisfactory physical working conditions to include their interest in problems of management and production.

Since the publication of this study other agencies have undertaken to review current progress in and toward real democracy in industry. As the *Preface* declares, the shop committee movement is spreading at a rate that defies inclusive record. No serious thinker, however, can afford to exclude from his study of the modern processes of democracy this keen and orderly survey of a thing that may be the seed of the future industrial commonwealth.

W. L. STODDARD.

### **The Neglected Open Secret**

*The Place of Agriculture in Reconstruction.* By James B. Morman. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1919.

M R. MORMAN is eloquent. His final chapter is thrilling in places. His task is to

formulate a plan of land settlements for soldiers, sailors, and marines. To that end he examines what has been done or planned in Great Britain, France, and Canada. Then come essays on farm labor supply, the proposed plan of co-operation between Federal and State Governments, and the problem of rural credits.

So far so good. But there are others, Mr. Morman, besides soldiers and sailors and marines. There are plain men who never marched under arches or heard the plaudits of assembled thousands. There are millions of us who stayed at home and scraped to buy Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, and who dug down day after day for Red Cross drives, and Salvation Army drives, and this, that, and the other. We are gray men, quiet men, commonplace men. We too are interested in the attainment of a peaceful and a happy life. Some of us believe that there is a way to get it, which way you do not seem to have discovered. Now, as Assistant Secretary of the Federal Loan Board, you, Mr. Morman, should be able to get to many at Washington without knocking at the door. Here then across to the office of Louis F. Post, or drop is a hint. It is for your ear alone. Just slip a line to Frederic C. Howe, and ask them whether they know of a plan that will make the incoherent efforts of many after good to converge. It's worth the while.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

## **These Books Will Help You to an Understanding of Public Questions**

### **The Labor Situation in Great Britain and France**

By the Commission of Foreign Inquiry of the

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION, 1919

This is the report of a commission of seven men representing capital, labor, and the general public, who were sent last spring by the National Civic Federation to study at first hand the labor situation abroad. "This report," says the Richmond News-Leader, "cannot be praised too highly for sanity, clarity and utility. . . . One of the most notable contributions of the year on a problem of immense and immediate importance. Employee and employer may read to advantage every page." \$2.50

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### **Modern Germany; Its Rise, Growth, Downfall and Future**

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Mr. White addresses Chambers of Commerce, Commercial, Rotary, Kiwanis, Advertising, City Clubs, Women's Clubs, Men's Clubs of Churches, Farmers' Organizations, Fraternal Lodges, Labor Unions, etc.

Mr. White will be available for lecture appointments in Chicago, Springfield, Eflingham, Illinois, Muscatine, Marshalltown and Des Moines, Iowa, AND CITIES ENROUTE during November. During December Mr. White will accept invitations for Memphis, Nashville, Jackson, New Orleans, Rome, Atlanta, Columbia, S. C., and Evansville, Indiana, and cities enroute. About January 10th Mr. White will proceed from Chicago to the Pacific Coast following the Burlington Railroad to Kansas City, Mo., the Santa Fe to Denver, the D. & R. G. to Salt Lake City; Union Pacific to Boise and Spokane and the Great Northern to Seattle and Portland.

Mr. White will probably devote two months to the State of California and then accept invitations for Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. Mr. White will accept all invitations tendered him in your State as he proceeds on his tour digressing when necessary from the main route. For this reason we desire to be advised at the earliest possible date about how many appointments you can secure for him in your own and neighboring cities.

May we have your cooperation at this time so that Mr. White's lecture tour for the coming six months will form an eventful chapter in the educational work of our movement?

(Mr. White's lectures are free—no fee—expenses optional.)

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## Representation?

The Labor Conference called recently in Washington by the President of the United States failed in its purpose. The next one called will probably succeed, profiting by the cause of this failure.

The President chose representatives from all affected groups—labor, capital and the public. Yet one-tenth of the population of the United States and one-seventh of its labor supply—the Negro—had no direct representation. He was not included in either of the three groups named, because labor largely excludes him from its organizations, capital takes advantage of this exclusion, and the public ignores him.

Negro labor is in constant and growing demand—North and South; not as formerly, only in unskilled work, but in skilled work and in every field of labor—agricultural and industrial. The fact that the causes of the recent race riots were largely economic proves that the Negro workman is an important and growing factor in American labor.

Can there be a hope of satisfactory adjustment and a lasting peace between labor and capital with this balance wheel left out? Perhaps a conference conceived on broader lines might succeed!

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