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Wanton Waste.

It has been estimated that in the wars of the nineteenth century the average cost of killing a man was $3,677. Since it only costs about $1,000 to rear a child to the killing age, this looks like a case for the efficiency experts. S. C.

Willingness to Sacrifice Others.

The Czar is said to have expressed a determination "to sacrifice his last mujik" in order to capture Berlin. He only draws the line apparently at sacrificing himself and other members of Russia's predatory classes. But that is the spirit of all who make war. Europe would be at peace today had there been a requirement that in case of war no peasant soldiers be put on the firing line while the supply of Romanoffs, Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns held out. S. D.

The Cowardly Game of War.

The press reports a story attributed to an American in Belgium, who tells about the infliction of summary justice by a German officer on two of his soldiers who had maltreated a Belgian woman. Now what would have happened to this woman had she fired on these soldiers before they entered her house or afterward? Under military law she would have been subject to the death penalty. According to reports some civilians did fire on soldiers this way, and were punished either with death or the burning of their homes. Possibly not more than one soldier in a hundred would needlessly harm a non-combatant. But no non-combatant knows but what the soldier of the invading army who enters his house may be the hundredth case. What wonder if he or she refuses to take chances? The invading soldier is morally a trespasser. He is not morally entitled to any more consideration than a trespasser in time of peace. Perhaps not even as much, since he has helped to overthrow the local government

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and to deprive the people of all protection, save what a hostile military despotism may see fit to accord. It is cowardice of the meanest sort which denies to non-combatants the right of self-defense. But war is a cowardly as well as a barbarous game.

S. D.

Prayers Without Faith.

Do any of those who will pray for peace on October 4 demand appropriations for an army and navy? Do any uphold protective tariffs or other predatory taxes? Do any defend denial of the natural right of their fellowmen to the use of the earth? If so, where is their faith in the efficacy of prayer?

S. D.

A Warlike Clergyman.

A Baptist minister, Reverend I. M. Haldeman, of New York City, in a letter to the New York Herald, given a prominent place in its issue of September 7, demands the building by the United States Government of fifty warships and increasing of the standing army to 200,000 men. To make his position perfectly clear, Mr. Haldeman denounces as a fallacy "that human government is to be maintained on the basis and by the exercise of the Golden Rule." Of course he is entitled to his opinion, and to the right to express it. What is more, he deserves encouragement for frankly saying what he thinks, since that is far better than to endorse war and to dodge explanations about the Golden Rule. Mr. Haldeman makes clear that when called upon to choose between faith in armaments and faith in the teachings of the Prince of Peace he prefers the former. With the possible exception of some ritualistic ceremonies, there can be but little difference between his religion and that of those, whom perhaps he calls "heathen," who share his belief in the superiority of the sword to the principles of Christianity, as a means of preserving peace. It would be interesting to know if any of Mr. Haldeman's brother clergymen share his faith—or lack of it—and, if so, whether they share his courage to proclaim it.

S. D.

Saul Also Among the Prophets.

Not a few persons rubbed their eyes in amazement when they saw in the newspapers the report that Representative Hobson, of Merrimac and kissing fame, had introduced a resolution directing the President of the United States to call a special assembly of delegates to the third international peace conference, in Washington, "as soon as practicable," to attempt to end the European war. When Hobson, sponsor for a big navy, hero of young ladies' seminaries, and baiter of Japanese, begins to talk peace, Mars may as well sheathe his sword. Next thing, we shall hear that the Big Stick has been used to prop a clothesline.

S. C.

Inexcusable Extravagance.

Concerning the suggestion that naval vessels be put to useful purposes, a naval officer writes to show its impracticability. To carry either freight or passengers the vessels must be entirely rebuilt, he says. That only makes clearer than ever how hopelessly wasted was the money spent in building these ships.

S. D.

Conflicting Emotions.

What American does not thrill at E. A. Powell's account of his journey from Antwerp to Brussels through Belgian and German lines with dispatches for United States Minister, Brand Whitlock:

From Louvain to Brussels our car with its fluttering flags passed between lines of cheering people all the way. Men stood with uncovered heads as they saw the Stars and Stripes whirl by; women waved their handkerchiefs as tears rolled down their cheeks. Soon we were passing between solid walls of Belgians, who screamed "Vive Amerique!" A lump came into my throat and tears filled my eyes. To these wretched, terror-stricken people the banner that streamed from our windshield really was "a Flag of the Free."

Nor are the governments of the several countries less backward in paying homage to this country. America, indeed, today towers above the nations of the world like Saul among his brethren.

But why? Is it because we have a great military establishment, an invincible navy, or an unconquerable army? Is it because we have the most extensive territory, the most people, or the greatest wealth? No, we are exceeded in all these, save wealth, by some other nation. Our distinction is due wholly to the fact that we have an ideal, Democracy, and at the present time are led by a man who is trying to live up to that ideal. Had we the largest navy and army in the world we could do nothing with them but help the Allies to whip the Germans, or aid the Germans in overcoming the Allies. In either case we should merely add to the misery of the world, and end by having the enmity of one or both sides to the conflict. But by holding aloft an ideal, and satis-

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fying the people of the world that we are reasonably faithful to that ideal, we can help both sides, not only in hastening the end of the war, but in allaying the bitterness that is to follow.

The weakness of America today lies in her backslidings. In times past her affairs have fallen under the charge of tories, reactionaries, men who have failed to grasp our ideal, and so have drifted blindly, and madly through the currents of political passion, in disregard of social and economic justice. For Democracy has not had an unobstructed way in this country. Privilege here has been incorporated into law, as it has in Europe; and the violence that is ever the fruit of privilege has blackened many a page of American history. Just what these reversions mean may be seen in the words of the Turkish Ambassador to the United States:

I will permit myself to say that the thought of the lynchings which occur daily in the United States and the memory of the water cures in the Philippines should make them chary of attacking Turkey in connection with acts of savagery committed by her under provocation compared with which the economic competition of an Italian or the sniping of a Filipino or even the outrage of a negro are as nothing.

But it is not alone the acts of personal violence and military aggression that today rise up and accuse us of unfaithfulness to our ideals. Not only have we defied the law, but we have had courts to misinterpret the law, and we have had legislatures to emasculate the law in its making. Big-stick statesmanship was accompanied by big-stick finance, and Labor and Capital, in the grip of Monopoly, have struggled for survival, as the victims of the Black Hole fought for air. Even at a time when the victims of European militarism cheer our flag, and European governments are waiting for us to save them from their folly, President Wilson is obliged to plead with the contending coal mine factions in Colorado to be reasonable. "This is a time," he says, "when everything should be done that is possible for men to do to see that all untoward and threatening circumstances of every sort are taken out of the life of the people of the United States." And he adds: "I hope that you will consider it as if you were acting for the whole country."

Here is our weakness. Here we must grow strength. It is not a greater navy that we need, nor a greater army. Our foes are not without our borders, but within. And their enmity and violence are due rather to their ignorance than to evil propensities. That Colorado's black chapter of disgrace should have been due to the very riches that nature has showered upon her simply adds to her shame. Had nature starved her children there might have been some excuse for fighting for the last crust. But for them to fight because of her favors is madness. Colorado must find a way to distribute the blessings of nature among all her citizens. To give her natural resources into the keeping of a few, who are thus able to exploit the many, is merely to perpetuate in this country the very worst features of European privilege.

America today is as a city set on a hill. The ideal that she has raised aloft, freedom of action and equality of opportunity, in a word, Democracy, is the hope of mankind. Whoso does aught to lower that ideal, or in any way hinders its realization, is the enemy not only of his own country, but of the human race. Much has been given us; much will be required in return. We have been blessed in land, in people, and in time; for with the wisdom of the past it is given to us to work out in a new country the problems of the future. It is for us here and now to resolve that American diplomacy shall not again be lowered from its present position, and that our domestic policy shall be raised in keeping with it. S. C.

A Humiliating Position.

The Jones bill's grant of autonomy to the Philippines is so far short of independence, to which the Filipinos are justly entitled, that it is no wonder that the periodical called The Philippine Republic, issued at Hong Kong, expresses disappointment and irritation. There is no explanation possible of the failure to keep the pledge of the Democratic platform, except the discreditable one, that there are not enough Democratic Congressmen and Senators willing to see that it is kept. President Wilson has found it no easy task to hold enough members in line to secure fulfillment of pledges directly concerning the American people. The Jones bill probably represents about all that can at present be obtained from Congress in fulfillment of a pledge that concerns people thousands of miles away, who have no power to punish faithless Congressmen. Disgraceful as the situation is, it must be recognized and accepted. S. D.

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Philippine Independence and Irish Home Rule.

Even if no party had ever promised Philippine independence, it is still so immoral a policy to force upon the Filipinos a government which they do not want that one would not expect to see a protest in a religious paper against its cessation. Yet there is such a protest in the September 4 issue of the New World of Chicago. It even protests against so incomplete a measure as the Jones bill, and actually uses the following argument in reference to the Democratic party's pledge: "If its leaders can, with rare convenience, discard such planks as the exemption of American ships passing through the Panama Canal, or the single term for each President, we may imagine that it would be no great strain on party conscience to go slowly in dealing with the Filipinos, and redeem the spirit rather than the letter of their plank." If this argument means anything at all, it means that it is all right to violate a party pledge when violation "would be no great strain on party conscience." This is a new and convenient means of distinguishing right from wrong. It is probably no great strain on a burglar's conscience, for instance, to burglarize a house, but the New World would undoubtedly decline to consider his act justified for that reason. As to keeping the spirit or letter of the pledge, unfortunately the Jones bill does neither. Nothing short of a grant of complete independence will do that.

The New World happens to be a strong advocate of home rule for Ireland. There is no argument that can be advanced against Philippine independence which would not apply as well against the right of the Irish or any other people to rule themselves. Even more unworthy than its argument in favor of pledge-breaking is the New World's attributing of unworthy motives to William J. Bryan. These are not to be considered seriously, but even if they existed, they offer no excuse for the New World's position. The Democratic party can no more morally violate its pledge of Philippine independence than the Liberal party of Great Britain can morally break its promise of Irish home rule. Every delay in withholding fulfillment of these pledges only adds to the dishonor of those who have made them. S. D.

Strange Tales from England.

The changes that have come over the English industrial world in this generation are finding striking illustration since the war began. Most domestic problems are dropped or laid aside for future consideration when fighting abroad begins, but the English land question is very much in evidence. The problem of unemployment and poverty, which is always present, is just now joined to the question of food supply; and it is most encouraging to see that the relation between the two is recognized by persons who heretofore have not been suspected of holding heretical opinions as to landownership. The whole country, indeed, seems to have awakened to the idea that a great part of the food that England must have can be grown by her unemployed labor applied to her unused land. And, lest some should marvel that it should require a devastating war to awaken people to such an obvious truth, it may be said in passing that the same maladjustment is seen in every country on earth.

Local authorities, citizen committees, and even landowners, are taking the matter in hand. Agricultural colleges are aiding with expert advice. And the whole of England seems to have awakened to the fact that it lives on the earth, and draws its sustenance from the earth. Some of the people are so eager to make use of their new discovery that, notwithstanding the lateness of the season, they hope by planting seedlings and sowing seeds now to get autumn and spring crops of quick-growing vegetables. In some rural communities landowners are giving the land rent free for a year; which, one authority points out, will improve its prospects. But steps are being taken by the committees to pay the rent asked if necessary. The London Nation draws this conclusion:

> **The scheme has been started in rural counties, but there is no reason whatever why it should not be copied in and around our towns. There is plenty of vacant land that can be turned to good account in the neighborhod of large towns, and even within the City of London.**

Here is a revolution indeed. The great war may soon pass into song and story, but if idle labor be joined to idle land for the purpose of feeding hungry mouths, the connection will never be forgotten. Idle land! Idle land in London, with idle hands and hungry mouths all about it! Landowners giving the land rent free for a year! Golf courses and game preserves put under the plow! Ah, the war has indeed shaken the "tight little island" to its foundations. "The sacrifice of the food of the nation to the pleasures of sport," says the staid and dignified Nation, "is nothing less than criminal. Game should be commandeered for the hospitals, and rabbits should be

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made common property." It is outrageous, thinks this paper, that in a crisis like this a man should go to prison—as one has already gone—for knocking over a rabbit in the harvest field. Bold words are these, even for a Liberal paper, and far reaching will be their effect. What with Lloyd George nibbling at the rent roll, and the public's assertion of its right to use the land to grow food, England is in the way of realizing great things. S. C.

Constructive Advertising.

Newspapers have sought to ingratiate themselves in the public favor by ventures covering the whole gamut of human activities, from financing an aerial expedition to the North Pole to distributing patent grease spot eradicators; but it has fallen to the lot of the Chicago Herald to undertake something really meritorious. In its proposition to send a ship load of toys from the boys and girls of America to the boys and girls of the warring countries of Europe, the Herald has hit upon an idea of great worth; for it is doubtful if any other one thing could do more to lighten the gloom of the afflicted homes on Christmas day. It is the little things that contain the finest sentiment; and it is at Christmas tide that the heart grows warmest. Whether we shall at that time see the killing still under way, or merely the stricken homes, nothing should be left undone by us in this country to extend our sympathy, and to draw in return their love across the boundary lines. Whatever will tend to wipe out boundary lines, or overcome the idea that stranger is synonymous with enemy, is good. S. C.

A Tory Tax Measure.

More taxes on labor. No more on privilege. That is the program of the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee in dealing with the deficit. The adoption of this measure taxing freights and liquors will show once more how Congress may have a Democratic majority but not a majority of democrats. S. D.

An Anti-Democratic Bill.

The pending undemocratic Burnett immigration bill, which adds to and intensifies the barbarous features of existing immigration laws, has been matched in absurdity by a bill introduced by another non-democrat, Representative B. P. Harrison of Mississippi. Mr. Harrison's bill would exclude from re-admission all naturalized citizens or other foreign residents who have left the country to take part in a rebellion or war. To the Burnett bill which would penalize foreigners who seek entrance, Congressman Harrison would add a measure to penalize some who would leave. Under it, should a Russian refugee return to his native country and take part in an unsuccessful movement to establish a democracy there, he would be denied re-admission, although that denial might send him back to the vengeance of the Czar. That it would be inconsistent, if nothing worse, for an American legislative body to adopt such an act is made clear by the National Liberal Immigration League in the following brief statement:

> **Monuments opposite the White House commemorating the deeds of Rochambeau, Steuben, Kosciusko and Lafayette—all foreigners who did great service for our country. Ought they to have been excluded from their respective countries because of service here?**

According to Congressman Harrison they should have been. S. D.

Judicial Contempt of the People.

Defenders of judicial sanctity have an unusually hard job should they try to defend the act of Judge Strong of Trinidad, Colorado. This judge has summarily convicted of contempt and sentenced to fine and imprisonment two citizens of the State who exercised their constitutional right of circulating a petition for recall of another judge, named McHendrie. Technically the charge of contempt was based not on the act of demanding a recall, but on the statement of reasons for such action. But the State Constitution specifically allows petitioners for a recall to state their reasons for the information of voters. Strong's act amounts to a claim that judicial authority is higher than that of the people of the State. Such a claim is not new, but has never been so openly flaunted before. It is now for the people of Colorado to say whether a judge's contempt of their rights shall go unpunished. S. D.

Progressive Democracy in Pennsylvania.

In Pennsylvania the Progressive party candidate for Governor, William Draper Lewis, recognizing the need of a union of all democratic elements, has withdrawn to help election of the Democratic candidate, Vance McCormick. He has thus set a splendid example which should have imitators. It would be well if Congressman Mitchell Palmer were now to withdraw from the Senatorial race and help so good a democrat as Gifford Pinchot to defeat Boies Penrose. There should

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be a similar union on the other State offices. For the office of Secretary of Internal Affairs, the Democratic candidate, William N. McNair, has been conducting an energetic campaign in behalf of progressive principles. He would be the logical candidate for progressive elements of all parties to unite upon. Such a union would not merely make a victory in Pennsylvania this fall more than probable, it would make the State the leader in a national movement to bring together the progressive elements of all parties and force reactionaries out of both the Progressive and Democratic parties. S. D.

A Union for Practical Progress.

A union of progressive elements in New Jersey, for the election of this year, at least, seems forecast in the endorsement by the Democrats of Paterson of the Progressive party legislative nominee, John H. Adamson. As explained in the Progressive party organ, The Way, published at Paterson, the adoption of a home rule in taxation law is the most important measure on which local Progressive forces can unite. Such a bill was supported in the last legislature by all genuine democratic members. It was opposed by reactionary Democrats and all but one of the Republicans. In helping the progressive Democrats to push this measure the Progressive party is doing the best possible work in New Jersey for true progressive principles. S. D.

A Tedious Process.

Political evolution, like all other forms of evolution, is a slow process. We think to hasten it by making short cuts, only to find in the end that there are no short cuts in nature. Quick changes we can make, but the substance will have its time for growth. Representative government made possible the application of democratic principles to great states. The theory is sound; but there is still difficulty in making the application. The advantage to the winner is so great that no device has yet been discovered to prevent designing politicians from outwitting the people. Instead of the voters selecting their representatives, the politicians still manage to bring about a state of affairs in which the people have to choose them. Party conventions easily become the playthings of the bosses. The voters had no choice except among the candidates put up by the machines. Direct primaries followed; but only to betray another weakness, the long ballot. And while the campaign for the short ballot is still on, there comes the cry of "too many elections." To conduct two effective campaigns bars out all but the rich and the machine candidates, which leaves us little better off than under the boss-ridden convention.

The immediate needs to meet present evils are a short ballot that shall eliminate all clerical and other minor officials, nominations by petition, and a single election with the preferential vote. Possibly when this has been attained other difficulties will arise. But whether the solution is near at hand, or remote, we cannot stay or go back; we must go on. Pure democracy is an ideal which, though it may never be attained in all its perfection, may yet be approached nearer and nearer as we master its principles. The sporadic ringster who still slips through in spite of electoral restrictions is the more conspicuous because he has fewer companions. Should any one feel disheartened over present conditions it needs only a glance at history to give him the courage to continue the struggle. S. C.

Illinois' Duty.

It had been hoped that Illinois would send to Washington a democratic Senator from the Democratic party. The Democrats had the opportunity when John Z. White's name was presented for their consideration. But the party heard its master's voice, and has decided to place its standard for the coming campaign in the hands of one who is anything but a democrat. But while this bars the Democratic party from sending a democrat to Washington in November, it does not prevent the people of Illinois from sending a democratic Senator. For, while the Democrats have named as their candidate the least fit man in the party, the Progressives have named their strongest. Raymond Robins is a democrat from the ground up. He not only is a democrat, but he knows why he is a democrat, and he has the courage of his convictions. He will be a power in the United States Senate, as he has been on the platform. Let every democratic Democrat in Illinois vote for Raymond Robins, and a twofold purpose will have been served: The state will have a fine representative in the Senate, and the country will be spared the humiliation of seeing another plutocrat making laws to govern a democracy. S. C.

Raymond Robins for Senator.

It was unfortunate that the opposition to Sullivan's nomination had no inspiring leadership. To

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effectively fight reactionaries there must be a leader who is not compelled to get his ideas of democracy from a party platform. While a perfunctory democrat is to be preferred to a reactionary, that is not the kind of democracy which usually gains victories. Sullivan's nomination was assured the moment it became known that there was no better hope for the opposition than concentration on Stringer's candidacy. However, since there was no vigorous democrat to take the nomination it is well that the final contest will be between an avowed reactionary and so advanced a democrat as Raymond Robins. Had Stringer been nominated, some democrats would have felt bound to support him, and the democratic vote would have been divided. There is no need to feel such an obligation now. Robins is clearly entitled to the vote and energetic support of every democrat in Illinois. S. D.

WHEN THE PRIMARIES FAIL.

Getting the right men elected depends on two things. There must be enough people to want these men and they must want it hard enough to busy themselves about it.

When nobody cares very much, the professional politicians will nominate the men they prefer and the public can either vote for them or stay home and let them be elected by default. That situation developed so many objectionable results that the people went to work in many States and had primary election laws passed.

In nearly as many cases they have been disappointed. The same men who were busy under the old system busied themselves at the primaries. The discontented public found itself confronted by the choice of accepting the candidates offered by the politicians, voting for self-seekers whom nobody wanted, or staying home and letting it go by default.

As an attempt to eliminate the politician, the primary is a failure. The politician is the man who attends to political duties. He cannot be retired by men who do not attend to political duties. The machine is an agency for collecting the available strength of any political group. It can be overcome only by opposing it with an organization equally effective or by a force of numbers vastly superior. Upheavals sometimes come which carry everything before them, but ordinarily the only way to get action in politics is by political action. The non-political brand of politics never has been a success and never will be for any length of time.

Under any system the people can get anything they want any time they want it bad enough. Under the primary system, it is easier to get what the people want, or rather it is harder to thwart the well-defined will of the public. But the primary is no automatic device for registering the unconscious desires of the public.

The best engine in the world won't run till the steam is turned on. Primaries or any other popular machinery won't work unless the people supply the necessary energy.

Unceasing effort is the price of political progress.

JOHN S. PARDEE.

MAKING HISTORY.

Of all stock phrases used as conversational currency by the majority of mankind, the above is the most pernicious, and the most mendacious. We are hearing it constantly just now. Whenever there are wars and rumors of war, and the daily papers bristle with scareheads that fairly drip gore, the good citizen takes another hearty drink of his morning coffee, leans back in his chair and remarks unctuously—as if he really enjoyed it—"Ah, we are making history now—in great chunks."

Were this point of view not so pernicious, one could laugh at it because it is so ridiculous. It's true, the average good citizen, belonging to the great mass of those who think in phrases they have heard, has an excuse for it. In his youth, he was probably, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, taught history only by dates of battles and names of kings. The different periods of civilization's development were marked for him by wholesale slaughter on some battlefield, or by the life story of some swash-buckling King Tiger, or some mildly innocuous King Log. Small wonder then, that this average citizen does not understand that he and the hundreds of thousands like him do a great deal more to "make history" than do the sanguinary encounters or the pompous coronations or funerals he so much admires in the movies. We do not make history by killing men but by making it possible for them to live more human lives. History, any dictionary tells us, is a record of the development of the human race. Development implies constructive effort, and so does the verb to make. It means to construct, to build up. Wars and battles, and very frequently the monarchical principle and its representatives, are the destructive forces of society. Civilization has developed in spite of them, not because of them. Destruction can never mean development, it is always the force which interferes with development. Therefore a record of the destructive moments in civilization's course cannot be making

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history. It is unmaking it, holding it up, if indeed history be a record of the development of human civilization.

It was not the Pharaohs who made the history of their age, they held it up with their wars. Moses, who led a people forth from bondage to build up a new civilization and to make laws that are of value today, made a very large chunk of the history of that epoch. It was not the Spanish Emperors with their Armadas and armies who made the history of medieval Europe. They tried their best to unmake it, but Columbus and Gutenberg, and a few others of that kind, managed to keep up a forward movement in the development of the human race. It was not Crecy nor Agincourt that made history for England, but it was the signing of Magna Charta and the Repeal of the Corn Laws which marked well-defined strides forward in the history of England's development. The discovery of steam did more to make history than a dozen of the most famous battles, however they turned out. Every great thinker, every great artist whose dreams inspire mankind to make them a reality—these are the history makers of all times.

No, gentle reader, we are not "making history now"—we are unmaking it—more's the pity.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

UTOPIA IN MARYLAND.

Oxford, Maryland, September 1.

Oxford is a curiosity. It is a democracy where there are no rich or poor, or at least where there are no sharp drawn lines or contrasts. There is no poverty. No workless class, and as for work, well, they don't do much after providing for their simple wants. It's hard to get help because of the abundance of opportunities for self-employment —oystering, fishing and crabbing. In oystering season a man and boy in a boat can earn from $30 to $50 per week if he works all the week and the weather permits. I have known men to earn $10 and even $25 per day. Do you suppose you can hire those fellows to work? The bottoms of the water abound in oysters and crabs. They are free, and what a man gets are his wages. He doesn't work all the time. He is satisfied with three days a week. They have a baseball team here, and I thought the fellows were the ordinary loafers you see around a ball ground. Fellows that lie on the grass and look up to the floating clouds, as I did when a five-year-old. So I "jacked" them on being in the easy class when some one said: "Why, Mr. Bingham, these boys have been to work. Got up early, caught a boatload of crabs and sold them to the canning factories, and have the money in their pockets." Three days' work in a week is enough. There is no drunkenness. Living is cheap and house rent low, so are land values. The town is older than Baltimore and doesn't grow. They don't want the improvements (so-called). They are satisfied. If you want help, be good-natured and jolly them and perhaps you can get it. If you put on "airs" and are not considerate, you can't get any help. I had a whole crowd of colored people "just quit me," because I pushed them on some work. They don't starve. They get another job. Or, this being fine climate, they could sleep out of doors, and a confiscated chicken would give a sumptuous repast.

MILLARD F. BINGHAM.

HOME RULE CAMPAIGN IN CALIFORNIA.

San Francisco, Sept. 10.

The outlook at this moment is very encouraging. If all "good weather signs" do not fail us, and our ammunition and supply trains make connection, we shall surely win a great victory, not alone for California but for the cause all over the country.

In 1911 the California League of Municipalities at their annual conference held at Santa Barbara, after a thorough discussion of the local tax problems that confront every town and city administration, unanimously passed a resolution endorsing "Home rule in the matter of local taxation." At this conference there were 231 delegates, mayors, councilmen, city attorneys and others, from 87 cities of the state. The state controller and other prominent citizens participated in this discussion. At Berkeley in 1912, at their annual conference, "home rule in taxation" was endorsed by a five to one vote, of those voting. At this conference there were 308 delegates from 104 cities.

Again at Venice, California, 107 cities and 417 delegates endorsed the home rule amendment by a unanimous vote.

The 1913 Legislature passed the measure by a two-thirds majority vote.

The Farmers' Educational Co-operative Union, the Fruit Growers' convention and the State Federation of Labor have endorsed the amendment, while thirty-seven individul city councils have also endorsed it.

It would seem foolish, in the face of such facts, to have any fears of the measure carrying; but a similar measure was defeated in 1912, largely, as we believe, because the people did not understand it, and this will be the reason, or the principal reason, if it should be defeated this fall. This lack of information, coupled with a conservative fear based upon prejudice (preconceived and illogical opinions) that obtains with the masses, must be overcome in some way. The printed page is the most potent agency by which to do this. But this means money for stamps, for printing and clerical help. To send leaflets explaining the matter to each voter would mean thousands of dollars for a one-cent stamp to each one, aside from other expenses.

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Our friends must not forget that we have 48 amendments and initiative measures to vote upon this fall and that the local papers are deluged with demands for space from the friends of each measure. The wet and the dry amendments and the eight-hour-a-day amendment all are calling for funds and favors.

Aside from these obstacles, we must not forget that the friends and diplomats of special privilege, tax dodgers and the brigands of speculative values are now using the purchasable columns of newspapers, both in the city and country, to befog and deceive the people.

If you want this amendment to carry, send your pennies, dimes and dollars to the Joseph Fels Fund. Prompt action will help us to win the day—delay may mean defeat. J. W. WELLS.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, September 15, 1914.

The European War.

The general course of the war now favors the Allies. The French and English are forcing back the Germans in France, the Belgians and English are clearing them out of Belgium, the Russians, while retiring in Eastern Prussia, are meeting with marked success in Austria. No great sea fight has taken place. The losses of life and property are enormous, but very few accurate details have been published. [See current volume, page 874.]

Japan.

Japan's censorship has been so thorough that no information regarding military operations in the neighborhood of Kiau-Chau has been allowed to leak out. A German dispatch says 20,000 Japanese have landed at Lung-Kow. The Chinese government is trying to maintain strict neutrality.

Turkey.

The Ottoman Empire still holds aloof from the war, but has seized upon the present opportunity to abrogate the conventions, treaties and privileges whereby foreigners in that country were exempt from local jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases. Heretofore foreign subjects in Turkey have enjoyed extraterritorial rights, through which they have been tried by their own judges, diplomatic representatives or consuls. The announcement as given out by the Turkish Ambassador at Washington, A. Rustem Bey, reads:

A cablegram to the Turkish ambassador from the Ottoman minister of foreign affairs states that, by imperial irade the Ottoman government has abrogated as from the first of October next, the conventions known as the capitulations restricting the sovereignty of Turkey in her relations with certain powers.

All privileges and immunities accessory to these conventions or issuing therefrom are equally repealed. Having thus freed itself from what was an intolerable obstacle to all progress in the empire, the imperial government has adopted as the basis of its relations with the other powers the general principles of international law.

These conventions extend back to the eleventh century, when the Venetians had the right of trial by judges appointed in Venice and resident at Constantinople. Similar conventions covered the economic field, and prevented the Turkish government from fixing tariff duties without the consent of foreign powers, or of imposing professional taxes on foreigners. The Turkish government takes the position that this is humiliating to Turkey, as well as being a hardship.

The Franco-German Campaign.

The German advance in France was checked on the 8th. Up to that time the great army that had come down through Belgium, reinforced by the armies that had crossed through Luxemburg and Lorraine, had swept without a pause to the environs of Paris. But though the Allies had given way before the invaders, they had not been broken or disorganized, and their presence in the field made it impossible for the Germans to invest Paris. This led to a change of campaign that involved the swinging of the German right wing clear to the eastward of Paris, with the apparent purpose of bending the Allies' left back upon their center, and so bringing on a decisive battle. This plan failed; and after driving the Allies across and beyond the river Marne the advance ceased. On the 7th began the battle of the Marne, engaging, it is reported, the largest number of men ever participating in a single battle. On the 8th the German forces began to give way at the extreme right. The defeat extended up the line, as the invaders recrossed the Marne; and by the 10th and 11th the whole German army from Lorraine south and west, with the exception of Verdun and in the forest of Argonne, was in retreat. The retirement of the army has been so rapid quantities of guns, ammunition, supplies, the exhausted and the wounded were left to the pursuers, but there has been no rout. The army has reformed beyond the river Aisne, where there is promise of another battle, which will determine whether or not the Germans will have to quit French soil.

A war loan of 1,000,000,000 marks was announced in Berlin on the 9th. The loan will consist of 5 per cent treasury bonds and government notes, which are to be offered at 97.50, and will be

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divided into five sections of $50,000,000 each, redeemable at intervals of six years, beginning 1918.

Servia.

The Servian army has begun the invasion of Bosnia by crossing the River Save near Mitrovica. The Servians have also taken Semlin, near Belgrade, where the people are said to have received them with great rejoicings. While the Montenegrins expect to effect the conquest of Herzegovina from the south. The Servians are preparing to march on Budapest.

Russo-Germanic Conflict.

The Russian arms have been successful in Austria and have met with reverses in Prussia. The Austrian army has gone so entirely to pieces that military critics are predicting its utter destruction. Seventeen days of continuous fighting has resulted in overwhelming the Austrians in Galicia, with the capture of 180,000 men, including 800 officers, together with great quantities of munitions of war. The northern Russian army had penetrated Eastern Prussia as far as Koenigsberg, to which they laid siege, but the Germans compelled them to retire with heavy losses. Russia claims the retreat from Koenigsberg was a ruse to draw the northern German army away from the possibility of reinforcing Posen or Breslau, which they contend are exposed by the defeat of the Austrian army. Rumors of riots and panic come from Vienna, and much discontent is reported among the people.

England.

Troops continue to flow from Canada, Australia and India. Parliament voted unanimously on request of Premier Asquith to add another half million men of all ranks to the regular army. This brings the total to 1,854,000, an unprecedented figure for Great Britain. The regular army will comprise 1,200,000; territorials, 300,000; reserves, 214,000; Indian contingent, 70,000; Canadian first and second contingents, 40,000; Australians, 20,000, and New Zealand, 10,000. This contemplates placing 1,200,000 men in the field. Persistent though unconfirmed reports come from Belgium and England to the effect that 70,000 Russian troops have been transported from Archangel to Belgium by Britain. Sixty thousand Indian troops are about to arrive.

Premier Asquith announced in the House of Commons on the 14th that the Home Rule bill and the Welsh Disestablishment bill would be placed on the statute books this week; and said that on the morrow he would introduce a bill providing that neither law should be put in operation for one year. This declaration was further amplified by the Marquis of Crewe in the House of Lords. He pledged the government to introduce a bill to amend the Home Rule bill, and promised that it should be dealt with before the Home Rule measure became operative. The amending bill, he said, would not necessarily exclude Ulster or any part of Ulster, as the whole temper of Ireland had changed greatly for the better since the outbreak of the war.

Belgium.

The Belgium army of about 80,000 men has continued the offensive, and by hard fighting has pushed the Germans back all along the line. The provinces of Antwerp, Limberg and Flanders are reported to be entirely free from the invaders, while victory at Cortenberg cut the army in two sections. It is reported that General Von Der Goltz, military governor of the Belgian territory annexed by the Germans, went to Antwerp, under safe conduct, to negotiate terms with the Belgian government. But the government positively refused to discuss any terms.

Mexico and the United States.

Various manifestations of the return of peace appear from day to day. Arrangements are in making to resume the exchange of the traffic between the American and Mexican railroads. It is expected that the Mexican government will soon put the railroads under the general management, known as the National Railways of Mexico.

An echo of the past comes in the announcement by Secretary McAdoo to the collectors of customs along the Mexican borders that:

In view of the restoration of peace in Mexico, collectors and other officers may, in the future, treat arms and ammunition as ordinary commercial shipments and permit them to go forward accordingly.

[See current volume, page 876.]

The evacuation of Vera Cruz was the substance of an order to General Funston, issued on September 15, by President Wilson. The object of the occupation has been accomplished, the President holds, and continued presence of American troops is hurtful to peace prospects.

Washington Doings.

The House Ways and Means Committee on September 8, through Chairman Oscar Underwood, recommended as a war tax measure a bill putting a three per cent tax on all freight charges and an additional tax of 50 cents a barrel on beer and 20 cents a gallon on domestic wines. The bill is reported to be unsatisfactory to many of the Democratic members and reports come of com-

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binations being made to oppose it. The proposed new liquor taxes have brought on protests from W. C. T. U. and other temperance organizations. The freight tax is opposed on the ground that it will increase the cost of living. [See current volume, page 876.]

The House adopted on September 10 the conference report on the Trade Commission bill. The bill had passed the Senate on September 8, and is now before the President for his signature. The Commission will have five members and will absorb, with enlarged powers, the functions of the Bureau of Corporations which the bill abolishes. It will assist the Department of Justice, upon direction of the courts, in solving economic problems connected with the anti-trust laws, and will supervise compliance of corporations with decrees of dissolution. The Commission will investigate at the direction of the President alleged violations of anti-trust laws, making recommendations for readjustment of business so that corporations investigated may operate lawfully, either at its own discretion or on request of the attorney general. The Commission has authority to investigate practices which may affect foreign trade and to provide publicity for "facts which ought to be common property of American business men." It will have the usual right of summoning witnesses and requiring testimony, and its orders will be enforced by the Circuit Courts of Appeals, which may pass only on the questions of law, the Commission's findings as to facts being conclusive. Judgments of the courts of appeals are to be final, subject only to review by the Supreme Court on writs of certiorari. [See current volume, page 706.]

The President vetoed on September 11 the bill to raise the limit of individual deposits in postal savings banks to $1,000, because it contained a joker repealing a section of the new banking law providing that federal funds must only be deposited with members of the federal reserve system.

On September 10 the State Department received word that Great Britain, France, Spain and China have agreed to sign peace commission treaties with the United States on the line of the Wilson-Bryan plan. [See current volume, page 805.]

Election Results.

The Illinois primaries on September 9 resulted in nomination by the Democrats of Roger Sullivan for United States Senator, by the Republicans of Lawrence Y. Sherman, the present incumbent; by the Progressives of Raymond Robins and by the Socialists of Adolph Germer. For Congress all of the present incumbents who were candidates for renomination were successful. James McDermott of Chicago, who resigned his seat on account of the Mulhall revelations, was renominated by the Democrats. Ex-Speaker Joseph G. Cannon was renominated by the Republicans of the Danville district. Oscar Nelson, a fundamental democrat, at present State Labor Commissioner, received the Democratic nomination for Congress in the Ninth district, now represented by Republican Congressman Fred L. Britten. Caroline Grote received the Democratic nomination for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. M. L. Igoe received the Democratic legislative nomination in the Fifth district and Michael Maher the nomination for one of the ten municipal court judgeships. So far as is known the entire list of democrats receiving Democratic nominations in Cook County consists of Congressman Frank Buchanan, Oscar Nelson, M. L. Igoe and Michael Maher. The greater part of the nominations went to Sullivan adherents and a few to Hearst-Harrison men. Stringer carried the State for Senator outside of Cook County by about 17,000 majority, which was overcome by a majority of 50,000 for Sullivan in Cook. The total vote cast in Cook County was as follows: Democratic, 107,873; Republican, 52,486; Progressive, 3,494. About 40,000 of these votes were cast by women. The light Progressive party vote is explained by the fact that there were practically no contests. [See current volume, pages 654, 713, 726, 733, 797, 846.]

The primary in Colorado on September 9 resulted in nominating E. P. Costigan for Governor by the Progressives, ex-Senator Thomas M. Patterson by the Democrats and George A. Carlson by the Republicans. For United States Senator the Democrats renominated Charles S. Thomas, the Progressives nominated Benjamin Griffith and the Republicans Hubert Work. Congressman Keating and other Democratic Congressmen were renominated, with the exception of Congressman Kindel, who had joined the Republican party. In Denver, Ben Salmon, secretary of the Colorado Singletax League, received the Democratic nomination for one of the twelve legislative positions. He was the only candidate to win who had not the endorsement and support of the regular organization. George J. Knapp failed to receive the Democratic nomination for the Pueblo assessorship, but polled 1,400 votes as against 2,000 for his successful opponent. [See current volume, pages 687, 807.]

The total number of voters in Congressman Kent's district in California who wrote his name on their ballots at the primary on August 25 and whose votes were counted was 13,878. He has requested a recount of the Democratic ballots, in which matter he has the support of the Democratic

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State Committee, which has sent him the following letter:

Dear Mr. Kent:

The Democrats who advocated the writing in of your name in the recent primaries believe that whether through inadvertence or ignorance of the election laws that you have not received credit for the Democratic votes for your nomination. We, therefore, ask you, as a vindication of the election laws and also in the belief that you are our party nominee to ask for a recount of the vote, and to take such steps as are necessary to obtain the result of an accurate canvass. Yours truly, J. O. DAVIS, J. W. PRESTON, J. B. HOLOHAN, ED E. LEAKE, WALTER MACARTHUR, A. E. CAMPBELL, J. B. SANFORD.

[See current volume, page 877.]

The regular State election in Maine on September 14 resulted in election for Governor of the Democratic candidate, Oakley C. Curtis of Portland, by about 3,300 plurality over the present Governor, William T. Haines. The three Republican and one Democratic Congressman appear to be re-elected. The legislature is apparently Democratic. [See current volume, pages 591, 871.]

Mrs. Fels on Rangel-Cline Case.

In contributing to the fund for defense of Rangel and Cline, charged with murder at San Antonio, for killing a deputy sheriff who had lawlessly attacked them, Mrs. Joseph Fels sent the following letter:

Rangel-Cline Defense Publicity Committee,
Rm. 108, Labor Temple,
Los Angeles, Cal.

Dear Sirs:

Taking it for granted that the explanation of the case given in your printed matter is an accurate statement, I desire to contribute $25.00 to your fund, and enclose check for that amount.

I can the more readily believe it since the number of cases is becoming alarmingly large, of efforts to railroad to the penitentiary or gallows uninfluential persons who have made themselves obnoxious to influential ones.

Nothing shows more plainly the failure of our courts to protect the rights of moneyless persons charged with crime than the fact that it is necessary to make such appeals as you are making to make a fair hearing possible. Even at that it is not certain.

Without the fund you are attempting to raise, even a candid upholder of existing conditions will admit the prisoners would surely be convicted and punished regardless of their guilt or innocence. Such a state of affairs is as disgraceful as it is dangerous. Yours truly,

MARY FELS (Mrs. Joseph Fels).

[See current volume, page 666.]

Using Judicial Power to Block Recall.

John Murray and A. Marrians were convicted of contempt by Judge Strong at Trinidad, Colorado, on September 9. Murray was sentenced to one hundred days in jail and a $100 fine and Marrians to a fine of $50 and costs and to remain in jail until paid. Marrians is the Socialist nominee for Governor. Their offense was the circulation of a petition for recall of Judge A. B. McHendrie, in which specific charges of misconduct against the judge were made. Judge Northcott, attorney for mine owning interests, pressed the charge.

Commission on Industrial Relations.

Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, appeared before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations at Los Angeles on September 8. His testimony was to the effect that he found the open shop and dealing with his men as individuals more satisfactory than carrying on business under unionized conditions. A number of other employers testified to the same effect. One employer, Fred L. Baker, president of an iron works, employing both union and non-union men, testified differently. He believed it to be advantageous to employers to deal with union labor alone and hopes conditions in Los Angeles will soon change to permit it. Representatives of labor organizations testified on September 9 that open shop conditions in Los Angeles have caused low wages, long hours, inefficient work and increased financial profits for employers. On September 10, J. E. Timmons, president of the Central Labor Council, testified that any employe of Baker's iron works or of the Union or Llewellyn works who attends a union meeting imperils his job. Non-union iron workers in Los Angeles receive from $1.75 to $2 a day, he said. The union scale is $4 a day in Los Angeles and $6 a day in San Francisco. [See current volume, page 878.]

The Labor War.

President White of the United Mine Workers notified President Wilson on September 12 that a meeting of the mine workers would be called on September 15 to take up discussion of the three-year truce plan proposed by the Department of Labor. J. F. Welborn, representing the operators, notified the President on September 14 that they would consider the proposition at a meeting called for September 19. [See current volume, page 879.]

The Michigan copper mining companies involved in the strike of 1913 filed a brief on September 8 with Congress giving their side of the controversy. It charges that "the Western Federation of Miners preaches continuously and in all

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places the doctrine of discontent and class hatred. It urges its members to carry on the conflict by any means which may seem effective, whether lawful or unlawful, and its preaching, when interpreted by the ignorant, necessarily means violence, bloodshed and sudden death. Its effect upon labor is sinister and debasing. It transforms good citizens into anarchists and criminals, and brings shame, disgrace and untold misery upon those who are induced to follow the bloody trail of its red flag." It further denounces Charles H. Moyer, president of the Federation, for placing the blame of the Christmas tragedy at Hancock on the Citizens' Alliance, and ordering bereaved families to refuse aid from that body. "The outburst of indignation which resulted," continues the brief, "carried the 'captain of humanity' out of the copper country." This has reference to the assault on, kidnapping and forcible deportation of Moyer. [See current volume, page 204.]

NEWS NOTES

—The discovery of a ninth satellite of Jupiter was announced by Professor S. B. Nicholson of the Lick Observatory at San Jose, California, on September 13.

—As a result of the Australian general elections the Labor party will be in power. In the House of Representatives Labor has 41 members, Liberals 33, and one Independent. In the Senate Labor has 32 and the Liberals 4 members.

—Judge Killits of the Federal District Court of Toledo, Ohio, enjoined on September 12 the city from enforcing the three-cent street car fare ordinance which became effective on March 27 last. The court found the ordinance confiscatory. [See current volume, page 565, 784.]

—On the ground that William Barnes dominates the politics of Albany county and that a fair trial before a local court is therefore impossible, Theodore Roosevelt on September 12 asked for a change of venue on the $50,000 libel suit brought against him by Barnes. [See current volume, page 732, 831.]

—Federal Judge Kohlsaat on September 14 at Chicago enjoined the Illinois State Board of Public Utilities from enforcing its order to the receivers of the Oak Park Elevated Railway Company to elevate their tracks. The order had been issued after a series of accidents had occurred in Oak Park due to grade crossings.

—The Washington State University, through its librarian, Mr. J. M. Hitt, is endeavoring to supply high school students throughout the State with literature on the singletax question from both favorable and unfavorable points of view. The subject was also included by the State Board of Education in the list of topics recommended for debate. The Seattle school board, however, in a meeting on September 8, ordered the subject excluded from debate in the Seattle schools this year.

—The Mexican Bureau of Information, with headquarters in Suite 335, 17 Battery Place, New York City, says in its bulletin of September 10: "The Mexican people are in advance of the Americans in one respect, at least, and that is: they are firm believers in the principle of national ownership of all public service mediums. Thus the railroads in Northern Mexico, under the control of the government, gives better service and charge far less than their American neighbors. Telegraph tolls in Mexico are about one-fifth of what the Americans are forced to pay."

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States [see current volume, page 757] for the seven months ending July, 1914, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce for July, 1914, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	$1,200,925,440	$1,141,094,215	$59,831,225 Expt.
Gold	117,643,959	34,135,137	83,508,822 Expt.
Silver	29,463,126	13,828,568	15,634,558 Expt.
	$1,348,032,525	$1,189,057,920	$158,974,605

The imports of merchandise for July, 1914, were $160,178,133, of which 59.24 per cent were entered free of duty; for July, 1913 the imports of merchandise were $139,061,770, of which 51.66 per cent was admitted free of duty.

PRESS OPINIONS

Reflections While on the Verge of War.

Bodenreform (Berlin), August 5.—Arising before us is an historical epoch of world-wide dimensions. No one knows how matters will have shaped themselves by the time this issue reaches the hands of our readers! But this one fact must today be impressed on every mind and every conscience: Every nation that wants to live and grow must arrange its existence to best advance that purpose.

Such decisive periods, as definitely determine conditions for a lifetime, make manifest what a sin it is from the viewpoint of national well being, for society to allow any of its members to suffer want. At such a time determination of events does not rest with a few groups of speculators who have somehow become rich, however shrewdly these may have managed to push themselves into the foreground during times of peace. At such a time a nation must depend on its last man, however much he may have been overlooked and forgotten before! Then the call goes through the darkest of our tenement dwellings; it reaches the last laborer in the fields, in the hope that the call for the Fatherland will bring into life spiritual, moral and physical powers which we must have, lest we perish. Then will be demonstrated whether the sentiment concerning fatherland and home of one's sires can still instil power into the people, a genuine living power, a source of strength and of willingness to make sacrifices. Such periods enable us to note how truly patriotic, in the most significant meaning of that word, is the work of all those who in times of peace and plenty did not content themselves with leading a life of comfort, but who unafraid undertook the role of advisers and monitors, and did not weary of toiling in order to keep in sound condition the basis of na-

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tional well being, so that no power of the nation should be lost in time of social need, lest, in a thousand different ways, ruin come upon the people should our fatherland be reduced to a mere convenience for abuse by speculators and usurers. If, as we all hope, the dark clouds of today should once again pass our nation by, let the warning given be nevertheless remembered. Who truly loves the German people and would prepare for them a great future among the nations of the earth, let him faithfully help on the truly patrictic work of German land reform!

"Patriotism" and Murder.

New York Call, September 5.—There is a certain "moral" justification in the shooting of armed but ununiformed peasants who "snipe" the invaders of their district, which, of course, is to be found in some vague law of "civilized warfare" that holds only uniformed persons to be legitimate combatants. If reports are true, the German invaders of Belgium have been working this law to the limit upon those of the ununiformed populace of Belgium whom they catch with arms in their hands or accuse of firing upon them. For this offense the stern laws of war always demand the shortest shrift, military execution. . . . But . . . the German Socialist paper Vorwaerts, directs attention to the fact that the laws of Prussia themselves in time of war distinctly enjoin upon the landsturm, the last reserve, in case of invasion, to destroy the enemy in every possible way, and that they shall not be in uniform while doing it.

In other words, the Germans shoot Belgian peasants for doing what they distinctly enjoin their own peasantry to do in like case, and a German Socialist paper is the first to point out the fact. . . . Which is no doubt an "unpatriotic" action from the point of view of the militarists of Germany. They will hardly deny that it is the truth, but no doubt will hold that it is the wrong time to tell it. It is a truth that hurts, and should therefore not be told. This kind of "patriotism" consists in exposing the other fellow's pretenses and concealing your own. But the Vorwaerts is indubitably right from the Socialist point of view, and it took no little courage to make such a statement at this time, when the danger of suppression and even the lives of the editors are more than ever imperiled, and telling the truth the most dangerous activity that could possibly be indulged in.

A Militarist Sees a New Light.

The Tribune (Chicago), September 14: Laws may be silent during war, but treaties in the making evidently are not. It is a noteworthy fact that right in the midst of the terrible war four powers, including England and France, have instructed their ambassadors at Washington to sign the Bryan commission or investigation treaties. Faith in the restraining power of paper instruments has been largely shaken as a result of the violation of Belgian neutrality. It is certain that the average man attaches much less importance now than he did a few months ago to treaties of conciliation, investigation or arbitration. But the reaction should not be suffered to go too far. The Belgian tragedy emphasizes the futility and even danger of making promises that cannot and will not be kept, but this does not mean that all pledges, all treaties, are a waste of paper and effort. Treaties of peace and arbitration are valuable manifestations of public sentiment. They also help to create and deepen right sentiment. They are educational and they foster habits of thought that make for sobriety and moderation. The Bryan commission treaties are designed to insure delay and give reason and common sense a chance. If such treaties had been in force in Europe last July, and if Austria and Servia, to begin with, had lived up to them and appointed a high joint commission of inquiry, the war might have been averted. The whole world knows that delay and opportunity for more discussion and moral pressure were devoutly wished for at that anxious time. Without cherishing illusions then the acceptance by so many powers of the Bryan treaties may be welcomed as a heartening sign. Such treaties will be part of civilized and democratic machinery of war prevention. Military cabals never can wait; peace-loving nations will give themselves ample time for reflection and sober second thought.

Civilization's Disgrace.

Mid-West Magazine (Lincoln, Neb.), September.—We have been flattering ourselves that this is the greatest age in all the world's history; that this civilization of ours is the highest civilization the world has ever known. Yet this very day nations representing nearly one-half of the really civilized people on the globe are flying at one another's throats. Of the four most highly civilized and progressive nations of earth, three are engaged in a death grapple. We are sending missionaries to darkest Africa and benighted India and sleepy China and idolatrous Japan, our purpose being to teach them the gospel of love and peace promulgated by the Nazarene. And we who pretend to be so much better than the heathen are either witnessing or taking part in the most stupendous and most causeless war in history. If this is civilization, it needs fixing. If this is Christianity, we need a new religion.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE INFERIOR RACES.

For The Public.

Who are "the inferior races"—who, indeed?
And by what standards judge we "low" or "high"?
Perhaps it is who liveth to his creed,
Is lowly born, yet learns to nobly die;
Who treads the humble paths, whose world is small,
Yet knows the meaning of such word as "friend,"
Or "faith" or "duty"—maybe, after all,
God finds none such "inferior" at the end.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

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PIONEERING IN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

Dedicatory Address of Louis F. Post at the Unveiling of Memorial Window at the Shepard School, Chicago, on Labor Day, September 7, 1914.

We have unveiled a memorial to a useful man whose work among us is done. Are we, then, at variance with those who object to a multiplicity of memorials to the dead? Not necessarily; for it *is* unwholesome to live overmuch in graveyards. We can certainly agree that it is wise to "let the dead past bury its dead." The *dead* past. But not the past that lives: and much of the past does live. It lives as the seed lives in the sprout, as the sprout in its maturing stalk, as the stalk in the flower it bears and the fruit it yields. It lives as the principle of the wheel, discovered in darkest antiquity, lives in the newest automobile; as Promethean fire lives in the motive power of modern machinery; as the blood of father and of mother lives in the lives of their children. When our meeting, and this school building, and the memorial window we unveil, and the man to whose memory we dedicate them both, and every trace and tradition of them all are wholly forgotten, the influence of Henry O. Shepard's unpretentious work for human progress will still live and still serve, a rich inheritance of each generation from the one before, a richer legacy from each to the next. This is what our memorial is to acknowledge, this is what it celebrates—not the dead, but the living.

And Labor Day is appropriate to the purpose, for more than many of us may suppose, more than Mr. Shepard could have anticipated, that undying legacy of his is related, beneficently related, to what most of us now know as "the labor question." In some shape this question is as old as history. Slavery is its crudest form, and was its most disturbing form in our country at the time of Henry O. Shepard's birth. Public opinion had already been deeply stirred by it; a little later public opinion was lashed into fury over it. The immediate cause of that agitation, slavery itself, went down in the crash of the Civil War while Mr. Shepard was still a youth. Its fate had been sealed ninety years before by the Declaration of Independence: slavery could have no permanent abiding place in a Republic rooted in the principle of equal rights. Not for us, however, is it to indulge in denouncing that peculiar institution. The time for this was when it had able and brave defenders to talk back and to strike back. Conscience and courage and intellect were necessary then to denounce slavery; but any empty demagogue, any arrogant plutagogue, may win applause by denouncing it now. In all good feeling, then, let us count slavery as one of the things of the dead past which it is for the dead past to bury. It concerns us only in so far as its barbaric method of labor coercion reflects and therefore exposes the subtler methods of labor coercion that have taken its place. For labor coercion did not die with slavery. The "irrepressible conflict" survives, and we have labor problems now as fundamental in character and as menacing in import as slavery was. In one form or another we shall have labor problems of like character and like ugly import so long as we tolerate labor coercion in any form.

The decree of God, the law of nature—the rule of reason, if you prefer—that man shall eat bread in the sweat of his face means that each must eat bread in the sweat of his own face, that each must live by his own work—at least that no one shall live by the coerced work of somebody else. Would it not seem, then, that labor conflicts ought to be between those who live by their own work and those who live by the compulsory work of others? Unhappily this is not the form that the labor conflict has yet taken on. Its hostile alignments are between one kind of useful labor and another kind of useful labor—between wage workers on one side and working employers on the other. Now, while it is true that some employers do not live at all by their own work; while it is true that some who do live somewhat by their own work, live for the most part by coercion of others; while it may be true that nearly all employers are beneficiaries more or less of labor coercion; nevertheless, employers are as a rule themselves useful workers in some degree. And to the extent that an employer is a useful worker, to that extent does he not live in the sweat of his own face as truly as the wage worker does whom he employs?

The interests of wage workers and the interests of employers are really much more alike than is commonly thought. That they are identical is often said, but this is said lightly. It is one of those half truths which, as Tennyson wrote, are "ever the worst of lies." To make it a whole truth all employers must be doers of useful work and none of them absorbers of unearned dividends. Even then there would be a flaw in the statement. If it were not for that flaw, though, the interests of wage workers and the interests of working employers might indeed be identical. They would be as much alike as the interests of foremen and their subordinates, as much alike as the interests of the skilled and the unskilled, of piece hand and time hand, of man worker and woman worker. For what are wage workers and working employers but co-operative specializers? Is it answered that industry could be so organized as to dispense with employers? That response misses the point. The point is that in industry, not as it possibly could be organized but as it is organized, in industrial relations as we find them now, working employers are industrial specialists with productive functions. Their functions would have to be performed

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by somebody under any conceivable system of industrial organization. The wage worker contributes his labor in a particular specialty—for instance, the making of Mergenthaler slugs; or the operation of a power press; employers contribute their labor in ways to make the various specialties of wage workers effective in general results. Is it not plain thus far that the interests of both classes are identical?

Thus far, I say. For if we go a step farther we shall find the difference I have hinted at. It is a difference that ought not to be. It is a difference that would not be if natural opportunities for self-employment were not unjustly monopolized. But it is a difference in fact, and one which puts wage workers at a disadvantage. The difference is that the employer has many customers and is dependent upon no individual among them, whereas the wage worker can have but one customer at a time. His employer is his only customer, and upon him he is dependent for his daily bread. Loss of this one customer means bankruptcy to the wage worker unless he finds another customer immediately; and fear of not finding another weakens his bargaining power in contracting for wages. And what are wages but the wage worker's share of the wealth which he and his employer produce together? In production wage workers and working employers are specialized partners; but when it comes to distribution, individual wage workers have a hobson's choice which necessitates unions for collective bargaining. This necessity gives to the labor conflict its form of a war between two groups of useful specializers in the field of labor. Nor is that form of the labor conflict wholly illogical—not as a beginning. It is at any rate analogical, for all progress seems to begin with the superficial and proceed toward the fundamental. The first machine hayrake, so I am told, was an indescribably complicated imitation of a farmer raking hay with his hands. But the labor problem will never be solved in wars between wage workers and employers. The fundamental warfare, the right warfare, the only industrial warfare that will count for much, is intelligent warfare by all working interests allied on one side against mere monopoly interests on the other. Such a war would not be one of carnage; it would be a war *of* peace, *in* peace and *for* peace.

Meanwhile, however, we must face the obstrusive fact that the labor conflict in its most disturbing form today is a conflict between wage workers and working employers. It was while that conflict in this form was showing its first faint signs of taking the place of the slavery question in public controversy, that Henry O. Shepard came actively into industrial life as a wage working printer. How well some of us remember that period in the printer's trade! The heart wounds of the Civil War were still raw, its flesh wounds were everywhere in evidence. Many a man at the case had but just laid down a musket or a sword for his old composing stick. The tramp printer, at whose lust for wandering we boys of the country-paper printing offices wondered, and whose ease and skillful craftsmanship we admired, was a romantic feature of the calling we proudly thought of as a "mystic craft." Little did we dream back there in the sixties that tramp printers—so few, so scattered, so unique—would have a legion of imitators in the hobo armies of a day so soon to dawn. And the compositor! At that primitive period he had only begun to be a specialist in the trade. He looked upon himself as an industrial aristocrat. Mere pressmen, what were they but automatic attachments to machinery? Anybody could be a pressman in those days, so thought the compositor; but a compositor, ah! When you got machines that could think, then might you pull down the compositor from his aristocratic elevation, but not before. To set a stickful of type, to justify its lines, to empty it without making pi—this was work which required different thinking for every kind of motion, and not only for every kind of motion but for every repetition of the same motion. The compositor had to think, and thinking needs a thinker, and a thinker has to have brains, and you cannot put brains into a machine. That was the compositor's argument then. Oh, your compositor of that period was no monarch-made aristocrat! He was an aristocrat of the intellect. Yet he was not over vain about it, nor ungenerous to the rest of his craft. He saw that the labor fight was his fight, too, and he took his place on its labor side. Conditions for that struggle were gathering fast while Henry O. Shepard worked his way forward in the printer's trade. When he came to Chicago a full-fledged printer, the industrial storm of 1873 was almost ready to burst. He was still a wage worker here when it did burst, when American highways began to fill with tramps, with tramps drawn from the ranks of the disemployed. *Dis*employed, mind you; for those tramps did not shirk work at the first. They were tramping to find work. They were hunting for another customer to take the place of the one customer which each of them had lost. This industrial storm abated before Mr. Shepard passed from wage worker to working employer, but the modern labor conflict of which it was the first large sign had gained momentum. Whatever may have been his opinions of the essential character of that conflict, whatever his penetration into its causes, Henry O. Shepard must have seen as others saw that its hostile camps were *unnatural* foes. To this much, at the least, the industrial representations at our meeting and in the preparation of this memorial tribute, give eloquent testimony.

For here we find wage workers' organizations and employers' organizations co-operating. It is not as if this were one of those patriotic meetings

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in which all classes participate more or less thoughtlessly. It is not as if we were dedicating a memorial with no labor significance. These organizations are co-operating to honor the memory of this man with reference to the very relations over which wage workers and employers are in conflict. Mr. Shepard must have had a wiser and a lovelier vision than is common on either side in our unbrotherly labor war.

And mark you, the joint tribute of these organizations now is in harmony with their friendly attitude toward the man in his lifetime and with his toward them. On this point it will be sufficient to quote the declaration of the Board of Education of Chicago when officially assigning Mr. Shepard's name to this school building. "In his earlier life," so that dedicatory declaration reads, "he was a working printer in Chicago, and as such, a consistent and respected member of the union of his trade. In later years he became an employing printer at the head of a large Chicago establishment founded by himself, which, while always maintaining fair and cordial relations with the printers' union, commanded the respect and the confidence of the business world to such an extent as to raise it to national distinction."

That same schoolboard resolution recognized another phase of Mr. Shepard's useful work. Here are its words in that particular: "In friendly co-operation with the International Typographical Union, he established a school for the technical education of printers." This school marks Henry O. Shepard as a pioneer in the movement for industrial education which is beginning now to promise so much. Not that automatic kind of industrial education which would train fingers while letting minds run to seed, turning out abjectly dependent wage workers in overwhelming supply. Such systems of industrial education would chain wage workers to machines like galley oarsmen to their benches. Such systems of industrial education contemplate nothing better than mechanisms of blood and sinew to operate mechanisms of wood and metal. There is no heart-throb in them, not a democratic note in the whole chord. Very different from all that was Henry O. Shepard's ideal of industrial education. His ideal was to promote conditions that might lift the makers and users of machines to higher industrial levels than the machines they make and use.

There is nothing essentially new about industrial education. What else but industrial education were the old apprenticeships? What else was education in the professions? Time was when the physician or the lawyer, like the mechanic, served a sort of apprenticeship to a master. It was no doubt a good way in its time to learn the technical side of a calling. But technical skill alone is not industrial education. The professions have found this out; the crafts also are finding it out. What kind of industrial progress, what kind of civic influence could we expect of a nation of technicians? of technicians intensely specialized? of technicians who would know little of their own crafts as a whole, who would know nothing of the co-operative relations of their own crafts to other crafts, and who would know hardly anything of civic policies and obligations except what they might gather at red-fire political meetings?

None the less, however, the technical school for printers which Mr. Shepard fostered was a long stride forward. In educational tendencies emphasis had settled upon education of the classical order. This was natural enough, for distinguished careers lay along the lines of professional service and classical culture was the entrance-way to the professions. Consequently classical culture appealed to the ambitious-minded. So classical culture was regarded as the only education and our public schools took the cue. Technical training in the trades suffered accordingly. There was no systematic technical education except in the three professions—law, medicine, and divinity. But by degrees, as science came more and more into her own, those three were added to until now the professional field has come to be wide and diversified. Cultural training has at the same time and in the same connection begun to offer more of an outlook upon the living world. To consider what education is in the still widening professional field is to grasp the idea of what all technical education ought to be.

That school for the technical training of printers supplied a lacking educational factor of Henry O. Shepard's time. It was designed to supplement such cultural education as youthful artisans in "the art preservative of all arts" might have acquired at the public school—to supplement this with a technical education that would improve their workmanship. The time had not yet ripened for adapting and unifying the technical and the cultural education of craftsmen so as to make industrial education an integral part of a full rounded educational system. But that is what industrial education ought to be. For industry is not apart *from* life; it is part *of* life. The pupil should be so trained from childhood in hand and brain that the two will co-operate—"like fingers, like hands, like the upper and the nether teeth." The graduate should be equipped with skill in his chosen specialty, he should be saturated with general knowledge of the craft to which his specialty belongs, he should have an intelligent understanding of the co-operative relation of his specialty to his craft, of his craft to all other vocations, and of all these to all life. We do not want mere factory hands, we will not have a republic part master and part serf. What we demand of our school systems is a perpetual output of trained and cultured young men and young women who know how to live well in the sweat of their own faces, who expect to do it, and who in fact will do it with skillful hands,

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with quickened minds, with moral purpose, with joyful hearts.

Henry O. Shepard was himself an encouraging product of the democratic principle underlying all this. Schoolboy, apprentice, journeyman, foreman, employer, citizen—he was always a democratic workingman. In the technical school which he fostered, in his personality, in all grades of his vocation, he appears to have been sensitive to democratic impulses and alive to the responsibilities of craftsmanship. Belonging to a ritualistic order descended from an ancient trade union of builders, he seems to have taken the wholesome lessons of its symbols seriously in his everyday life—its rough and its perfect ashlar, its 24-inch gage, its plumb, its level, its compasses, and its square. And he must have perceived the democratic spirit of those ancient symbols in the fraternal purposes of the union of his own modern craft. Inasmuch as he promoted democratic harmony in the printing trade, inasmuch as he fostered democratic methods of industrial education, could it have been for any lighter reason than that democracy was to him a vital moral force?

In the same spirit, a truly American spirit, let us dedicate this memorial. Old-time printers have contributed it; Thomas A. O'Shaughnessy has designed and produced it; the Board of Education has set aside the place for it in this school building already distinguished with Mr. Shepard's name for its own; his daughter has drawn away the veil.

May we not all receive this artistic gift with grateful hearts for the industrial progress it so beautifully symbolizes? A century of invention has translated the hand press of a Franklin into the power presses of a Scott, the composing sticks of the old-time printer into the linotypes of a Mergenthaler. These are among the marvels of typographic inventions. But the printer's trade does not monopolize mechanical progress. The whole mechanical world seems on the verge of realizing some of our visions of life after death. Do we not communicate with one another almost as if there were neither time nor space to interfere? Do we not go up and down the earth with little reference to distance, as our forefathers a century ago understood distance? We may well ask ourselves if mechanical progress has any limitations at all. But what of social progress? Social progress for all is what I mean; for social progress for less than all, for a privileged few or even a privileged many, means in the long run social retrogression for everybody. No one can live unto himself alone. We must all go ahead or we shall go backward. There is no exemption of person or nation or race. The famous New England clergyman was right in his sociology as well as his religion who said, "I thank God that my own lot is bound up with that of the whole human race."

An old-time printer has left us this warning: "With steam and electricity and the new powers born of progress, forces have entered the world that will compel us to a higher plane or overwhelm us as nation after nation, civilization after civilization have been overwhelmed before." Once more the question, then, What of social progress? Our artist has helped us to an answer. If we and the generations to come are satisfied with the kind of progress which in this memorial window he symbolizes with portraits of Mergenthaler and Scott, two great mechanical inventors to whom we are enormously indebted—if we are satisfied to foster *only* that, then indeed may we fear for our civilization. Not so if we likewise foster democratic industrialism as Benjamin Franklin did within the limitations of his century and as Henry O. Shepard did within the limitations of his. For thereby we shall promote fair distribution of wealth as well as magical production of wealth. Then—in still other words of the old-time printer from whom I have just quoted—then, "with want destroyed, with greed changed to noble passions, with the fraternity that is born of equality taking the place of the jealousy and fear that array men against each other, with mental power loosed by conditions that give to the humblest comfort and leisure, and who shall measure the heights to which our civilization may soar?"

There we have the lesson as I see it, of that work of Henry O. Shepard's which lives, and which on this Labor Day we gratefully acknowledge. In his promotion of industrial education he stood for the principle of progress in the production of wealth; in his craft affiliations and business intercourse he stood for the principle of fairness in the distribution of wealth; in both his heart must have throbbed for industrial justice, his spirit must have yearned for industrial democracy.

EMPTINESS OF WAR.

Harriet Monroe.

O battles huge and dire!
Dark games of death's desire!
Proudly your banners wave
Over the deep-dug grave!

When will the cannon rust,
The glitter fade in dust?
The soldier's bloody fame
Turn to a thing of shame?

We've had enough of war!
Weary the nations are!
Of slaughter make an end—
Draw near, as friend to friend!

The way we are going at it, reclaiming swamps and deserts, and blasting out stumps, you might think the earth is getting overpopulated, as proclaimed in the Malthusian doctrine. Something is certainly wrong somewhere!—Harry W. Olney.

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BOOKS

MONOPOLY.

The Policy of the United States Towards Industrial Monopoly. By Oswald Whitman Knauth. Whole number 138. Columbia University Studies. Longmans, Greene & Co., agents, New York. 1914. Price, $2 net.

This study covers a period of a little over twenty years, from the passage of the Sherman law in 1890 to the end of the Taft administration. The situation in 1890 may be gathered from the report of a New York State committee which Dr. Knauth quotes. The combination were charged with the acquisition or destruction of competitive properties, enabling them to fix prices at which they would buy raw material from the producer and prices at which they would sell their products to the consumer.

The Sherman law prohibited contracts in restraint of trade, gave injured parties a legal claim to three-fold damages and provided for the forfeiture of property owned by any combination made illegal by the act. It is possible that this apparently drastic legislation led to some sanguine expectations. The consumer may have anticipated an era of competition and low prices and the producer an era of competition and high prices. It may have been supposed that under the forfeiture clause the government would soon pick up property enough of one kind or another to start the socialistic state. But things did not turn out that way.

"The successful prosecution of one device to evade the law," said Attorney-General Moody in 1905, "immediately develops another device to accomplish the same purpose."

Dr. Knauth shows how Congress has struggled with the monopoly problem with the result that "it has accomplished nothing of note since the passage of the act of 1890;" how President Roosevelt dealt with the question in "novel and energetic language" and succeeded in establishing the Bureau of Corporations; how President Taft, through his Attorney General, prosecuted the Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company and advocated federal incorporation and the supervision of the issue of securities; how the Supreme Court pondered over the meanings of the Sherman law and revised its views on some points of more or less importance.

And it is the general impression that a legislative committee investigating the situation today would find, as the New York committee did in 1888, that competition is suppressed and that prices are fixed for the consumer and for the producer.

WILLIAM E. MC KENNA.

PERIODICALS

Proportional Representation.

Representation for August, 179 St. Stephen's House, Westminster Bridge, London, announces that the agitation in behalf of proportional representation will continue in spite of the war. Particularly will efforts be made to broaden its scope and application in the election of the members to the two houses of the Irish Parliament. This number contains also a summary of the Tasmanian report on the use of proportional representation in the general election, 1913, together with an analysis of the amendments that have been proposed to the Tasmanian law. The notes on the news of the movement throughout the world indicate a rapidly growing interest in electoral reform.

S. C.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Biennial Report of the Coroner of Cook County, Illinois, 1912-13. By Peter M. Hoffman, City of Chicago.

The Advancing Proletariat. By Abner E. Woodruff. Published by the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, Cleveland, O. 1914. Price, 10 cents.

The Anglo-American Agreement of 1817 for Disarmament on the Great Lakes. By Charles H. Levermore. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1914.

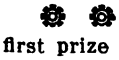
Decisions of Courts and Opinions Affecting Labor, 1913. Whole Number 152, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 1914.

"Monseigneur, a Petition": A Story of "The Reign of Terror" in the U. S. Postal Service. By John Albert Whalen. Published by the Author, Des Moines, Iowa. 1914. Price, 25 cents.

Proyecto De Ley de Impuesto Territorial para el Departamento de Montevideo. Pedro Cosio, Ministro de Hacienda. Imprenta de Juan J. Dornaleche, Calle Cerro Largo, 783, Montevideo, Uruguay. 1914.

Administration of Labor Laws and Factory Inspection in Certain European Countries. Whole Number 142, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 1914.

Standard Oil or the People—The Cause of "Hard Times" in America. By Henry H. Klein. Published by the Author, Tribune Bldg., New York. 1914. Price, half cloth, 50 cents, postage 10 cents; paper, 25 cents.



"My dog took first prize at the cat show."

"How was that?"

"He took the cat."—Columbus University Jester.

"How is the law made?" asked the instructor in United States history.

"Oh," replied the maiden, cheerfully, "the Senate has to ratify it; and then the President has to—has to veto it; and then the House of Representatives has to"— she hesitated for a moment, and knit her pretty forehead.

"Oh, yes! I remember now," she said. "The House

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of Representatives has to adjourn until the next session!"—Youth's Companion.

Housewife (reading in her grandmother's cherished cook-book)—"Poor man's cake.—Take seven eggs—" (Stops suddenly and closes the book.)—New York Evening Post.

The young man had threatened suicide if she rejected him. And although she did, he didn't.

"Why didn't he?" was asked.

"Said he'd given his heart to her."

"What's that got to do with it?"

"Oh, he didn't have the heart to kill himself."—Boston Truth.

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BOOKS ON THE WAR

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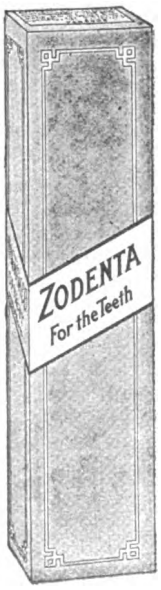

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