The Public

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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL

Significance of Eight Hour Legislation.

The great significance of the speedy passage by Congress of the eight hour law does not lie in what the measure itself may or may not do, but in the fact that a practical demonstration has been given of the power of organized labor to secure promptly desired legislation against the opposition of most powerful financial interests. The same method by which the eight hour law was secured can secure legislation more fundamental; legislation that will free laborers from the need of arbitrary regulation as a means of protection against oppression, and that will make strikes unnecessary. It does not follow that a strike should again be resorted to for such a purpose. That may not be necessary. But it is helpful and encouraging to know that, as a last resort, a lawful weapon is at hand which can be used to overcome those that stand in the way of economic justice. S. D.

Labor and the Eight Hour Day.

It has long been apparent to the observing that the struggle between the railway managers and the trainmen represents but a phase of the eight hour question. It is, indeed, because it is only one phase of a vast question that it is so hard to settle. The indiscretion of the manager who predicted that the President would "hear from organized business of the country" merely confirmed the well grounded suspicion that the business interests whom the managers pretended to represent objected to any yielding to the trainmen, not because of any added expense in railroad operation, but because the granting of an eight hour day to 400,000 rail operatives would mean the early extension of the eight hour day to all other labor.

The struggle of organized labor for an eight hour day has become world wide. But the organization is not sufficiently strong to carry it in all trades at once. For this reason each advance is made through the organization having the power

to win its point. Numerous trades and occupations are now on an eight hour basis, and the popular sentiment in favor of the move is so strong that should 400,000 trainmen succeed in placing their service on an eight hour basis its influence throughout the labor world would be overwhelming. This is why the managers have exhausted every recourse rather than grant the men's demand. They know, and the vast commercial interests back of them know that such a breach in the wall will lead inevitably to the capture of the citadel. S. C.

Giving Credit Where It Is Due.

A tribute to the labor section of the Clayton Act is the statement of Mr. Hale Holden, president of the Burlington, after passage of the eight hour law:

This act today is the result of the Clayton act, which exempted the laborer from the Sherman act.

In other words, but for the Clayton act the Federal courts would have been asked to enjoin the workers, and Federal grand juries to indict them for combining to better their condition. Mr. Holden's statement confirms President Wilson's claim in his acceptance speech of the following achievement of this administration:

The workingmen of America have been given a veritable emancipation, by the legal recognition of a man's labor as a part of his life, and not a mere marketable commodity; by exempting labor organizations from processes of the courts which treated their members like fractional parts of mobs and not like accessible and responsible individuals.

Furthermore Mr. Holden naively assumes that the courts would have construed the Sherman law against the brotherhoods only, although the railroads had combined to resist the eight hour demand to the same extent as the men had combined to get it, and although the railroads' combination implied an intention to violate their obligations. It must be admitted that there is good ground for his assumption. The record of the Federal courts shows much partiality of that kind. But it is something new for a railroad magnate to admit it openly. S. D.

The Inconsistent Press.

One of the humorous features of the railroad controversy is the conduct of certain "great" newspapers. These newspapers were but recently engaged in frantically urging Congress to make big appropriations for the army and navy, and only complained that these demands were not complied with quickly enough or to as great an extent as they wished. Now they bewail the "improper" haste in which an eight hour law was passed. They were hysterical in urging immediate adoption of compulsory military service, a measure that has never before been seriously proposed in the United States, while eight hour legislation has been discussed for many years. They have denounced the administration for not rushing into war with Mexico or Germany, but condemned the railroad brotherhoods for refusing arbitration. Consistency does not seem to be prized very highly by some would-be molders of public opinion.

S. D.

The Real Point at Issue.

It is not a proper function of government to enforce arbitration between private corporations and their employes. It is a proper function to insist on carrying out of a contract which either party has made with it. The railroad corporations have contracted with the government to furnish transportation. They have received some very valuable privileges in the expectation that the contract will be kept. They have threatened to cease fulfilling their contract, while intending to hold on to their privileges. They offered as excuse that their employes have made demands and refused to arbitrate. But that is not the government's affair. Its contract is with the corporations, not their employes. Its duty is to hold the corporations to their contract, to require that there be no break in service, whatever the cost. The penalty of failure should be prompt forfeiture of privileges. The effort to force discussion on the refusal of employes to arbitrate is an effort to befog the issue. It may be admitted that they ought to arbitrate, but that does not release the corporations from their obligations to the public.

S. D.

What Reactionaries Would Have Done.

While the railroad strike seemed impending four courses were open to the Government. One was the one actually taken. Another was to declare forfeited the railroad corporations' lease of public highways upon the first failure to furnish service. The third was to keep hands off and let the public suffer all the consequences of a tieup. The fourth was to repeat the outrageous methods resorted to by President Cleveland during the strike of 1894. It is certain that Charles E. Hughes and Senators and Congressmen who condemn Wilson's course object to the second method. They must hold that either the third or fourth course should have been followed. It is

fortunate for the country that they did not have their way. S. D.

Labor's Battle Not Yet Won.

Now that the railroad men have secured their eight hour law let the fact be remembered that a solution of labor's troubles is not to be found in such legislation. That does not mean that the eight-hour movement is not worth while. For it is. One advantage of more leisure for workers is that it will give time for intelligent consideration of fundamental questions and greater strength to make the fight for complete justice. But what Labor needs is not arbitrary regulation by government of the hours of labor, but freedom to do its own regulating. This is denied, so long as natural opportunities are monopolized. While such monopoly exists there must be more or less unemployed ready to take the places of those who strike for better conditions; and so long as there are unemployed looking for work, the man at work is seldom secure enough in his position to make an effective fight. Even should the men in one industry gain a concession the advantage will be temporary only, since an inducement will be offered to those in search of a vocation to give that industry the preference. In time there will be sufficient pressure for jobs in that line to equalize matters once more. So the railroad men have an equal interest with less fortunate workers in striving to abolish land monopoly and to make Labor entirely free. S. D.

Fame at Any Price.

When Senator Sherman called Samuel Gompers a nuisance, he essayed the role of the Lilliputian deriding Gulliver; when he objected to the eight hour law because it was legislation for the few, he exchanged his toga for the cap and bells. The man who during the past fifty years has seen law after law put through Congress at the demand of a handful of bankers, manufacturers, or railroad managers, and yet objects to the enactment of a law at the behest of four hundred thousand trainmen has little appreciation of the importance of the people; and the man who, occupying his present position by the grace of a political machine and the division among his opponents, attempts to patronize the leader of the American Federation of Labor, exemplifies the sad effect of an exalted position upon a small man. S. C.

Considering America Last.

With an apparent probability of the opening within a few days of a great domestic industrial struggle, Theodore Roosevelt could think of nothing more important to talk about to the voters of Maine than Mexican affairs, diplomatic controversies with Europe and universal military service. In this respect his talk differed but little from the speeches delivered by his candidate, Charles E. Hughes. And yet they claim to stand for "America first"! S. D.

Unkind Fates.

What man has been more cruelly served than Mr. Hughes, who has been tempted from a life position on the Supreme Bench to wage a losing fight for the Presidency? With President Wilson leading the most constructive and progressive administration since the Civil War, his opponent is kept so busy explaining its "mistakes" that he has no time to outline his own policy. The question of the railroad strike has come up, and has been settled since the meeting of the Republican convention. Yet what had Mr. Hughes to say on the eight hour day? Does any one know Mr. Hughes' position on any specific question, aside from his belief that he should be elevated to the Presidency? S. C.

President Wilson's Acceptance.

One sharp, ringing note is heard throughout the President's speech; it is the note of confidence, of aggressiveness, of purpose. From the close of the Civil War to the beginning of the present Administration the Democratic party has been a party of irresolution. Sound principles it had, but it lacked the courage of its convictions. Dominated largely by the southern wing, the despair of defeat crept in and spread throughout its ranks, until it sank into a moribund condition in which brilliant men momentarily raised aloft the torch of democracy, only to see it extinguished for lack of support. It was unable at any point to meet its opponent who, endeared to the country by its conduct of a successful war, and emboldened by the leadership of masterful men who were not afraid to prostitute public office for private gain, had only to say "Boo!" to see it slink from the field. It was merely a party of opposition. It was opposed to everything the Republicans favored, but had no plans of its own. It opposed the protective tariff, but was afraid to declare for free trade. It was made up of such a mixture of liberals and tories that it could not stand four square upon any proposition.

Today the position of the two parties is reversed. The Republicans, confronted with the fruits of

their own mistaken policies, rent with internecine strife of leaders for control, and unable to determine whether to cling to exploded doctrines of the past, or to take up new, they have lost the power of initiative, and now fritter away their energy in carping criticism of their opponents, while unable to advance any constructive plan of their own. The Democrats, on the other hand, thanks to the indomitable will of President Wilson, and his singleness of purpose, have pulled themselves together—or, more strictly speaking, have been pulled together—and have entered upon a constructive program that has astonished the nation. The work accomplished reads, as the President says, more like the promises of a platform than the achievements of a party.

The sins of omission and commission of the Democratic party during the past three years are palpable enough; but when one considers its shortcomings in the past, and reflects upon the nerveless, drifting, purposeless Republican party as an alternative, there can be no hesitation as to choice on the part of real democrats. So great, indeed, has been the change wrought in the Democratic party by the President that divine fitness alone requires his re-election. Given four years more, and it is within the possibilities that the President will succeed in making the Democratic party democratic. For be it repeated, as it has often been said before, there is no use for two tory parties in this country; and since the stand-pat Republicans have swallowed up the reactionary Progressives, a home should be furnished for the progressive Progressives. Small politicians may carp and haggle over the course of the Administration; but until a constructive program is presented, with assurances that it will be carried through, the mass of the people will continue their faith in the man who has done so much in the past, and who promises even more in the future. S. C.

Maintaining American Dignity.

To those who believe the only way for an individual or a nation to maintain its self-respect is by the use of force, the recent act of Germany should furnish food for reflection. When the German government disavowed the attack of its submarine on the Sussex, and said that the submarine commander who had exceeded his instructions had been punished, the American Government inquired as to the nature and extent of the punishment. To this the German Government refuses to answer. Here is an issue. If we had such a military establishment as some of our excitable citizens think we should have, we could force an answer—or kill a million people in the attempt. On the other hand, the world will know within a short time what, if any, punishment has been meted out to the submarine commander. If he has been properly disciplined, nothing more need be said about it; and the refusal of his government to answer at this time can be ascribed to the exigencies of war. If he has not been punished the German Government will stand before the world in a worse plight than it would had it met defeat at our hands. Moral questions not only will settle themselves without the use of force, but they can be settled in no other way. S. C.

Another Tariff Joke.

The Democratic revision of the tariff, according to Republican critics, is a failure because it was immediately followed by an increase in imports. That profound deduction is equalled only by the wiseacre's discovery that the chick came out of the egg. How could a reduction in the tariff be made without increasing imports? To lower import duties means to cheapen goods, and cheaper goods leads to greater consumption. The assumption of the protectionist is that if foreign goods enter the country they must displace domestic goods, thereby closing American mills, and throwing American labor out of employment. This is as far as the Protectionist ever gets. Like the Bushman who can count only seven, all numbers above that are blank.

Let it be remembered that nations do not trade. Neither Germany, France, nor England ever sends goods to this country; nor does this country send goods to them. Individual Germans, however, and Frenchmen and Englishmen send goods to Americans; and Americans send goods to them. Each has had a purpose in sending and receiving goods. That purpose is profit. Unless the person sending the goods believed he was better off for the act he would not do it. The same is true of those who receive goods from abroad: unless they believe themselves better off they will not import them. Hence it comes about that the exchange of goods profits both parties to the deal. As no man surrenders goods of his own free will without receiving an equivalent, so no goods can pass from one country to another without the return of an equivalent; and as the exchange profits both parties to the trade, it necessarily profits both countries in which the traders live.

What the Protectionist thought evil in the Democratic tariff revision was merely a slight re-adjustment of industry, such as accompanies all changes, whether of prices or of processes and inventions. When the linotype machine was introduced the printers fought it on the ground that it would throw printers out of work. A similar objection was made to the cotton gin, the power loom, and all other labor-saving machines. Trade being the greatest of all labor-saving devices, its liberation causes the same readjustment in industry. But it does not throw men out of employment; it increases employment, for, by making goods cheaper more are consumed and, hence, more must be produced. Thus the Protectionist who erects barriers to obstruct trade places himself in line with the English weavers who destroyed the power loom and the spinning-jenny, and with the workmen who destroyed all the other aids to production. Historians have written with compassion of the acts of these deluded men. What will future historians say of the Protectionist who seeks to hamper trade? How will they account for the delusion of men who condemned a tariff because it increased the exchange of goods, and lowered prices? S. C.

The Dyestuff Tariff.

Commendation is due Senator Oscar Underwood of Alabama for his fight in the Democratic caucus and on the floor of the Senate against the iniquitous and undemocratic provision of the revenue bill laying a protective tariff on dyestuffs. Though he failed to prevent its adoption he at least called attention to its true nature. Democratic Senators and Congressmen who voted for it have knowingly voted to rob their constituents for the benefit of a few favored individuals. S. D.

Print Paper and the Tariff.

A correspondent submits the following explanation of the rising cost of print paper as given by The Package Advertiser, a Chicago trade magazine:

The great advance in price of print paper is due to the scarcity and high price of the raw materials that go into its manufacture. Rags and old papers are used in very large quantities in the manufacturing of paper, and, although a part of this material is collected in the United States, the imports previous to the war were about fifty per cent of the amount used each year. In 1913 about 123,000 tons of rags and 380,000 tons of waste paper were imported into this country. The greater amount of these imports was from countries at present at war and who, because old rags and waste paper are used extensively in the manufacture of munitions, placed an embargo on this material, forbidding its export to other countries. Other raw materials that are used in the manufacture of paper, such as sulphate pulp, were obtained by the United States mostly through imports from other countries, and our supply of this material is also cut off in a large degree.

Furthermore, the war brought a greater export demand for paper manufactured in this country. The manufacturers of print paper in the United States could, if they would, sell their entire output abroad. Australia and South American countries and other countries that have been accustomed to buy their paper from Germany and other nations now at war find it impossible to get paper from those countries. Having no facilities for supplying their own requirements they are coming to the United States and asking to be supplied here.

There is another feature that tends to make the paper situation a serious one and for which the United States have only themselves to blame. The United States print paper industry has practically been transferred to Canada through unwise tariff legislation. The big newspaper publishers called for a cheaper paper and argued that if Canada could make such a paper and sell it in this country for less money than the United States could manufacture same, Canada ought to be encouraged to do it. Intimidated Republican and Democratic Congressmen listened to this argument and took the tariff off of print paper. The result is what might have been expected. The United States print paper industry has been killed off and now when emergency arises we find ourselves at the mercy of foreign manufacturers who naturally will take advantage of the situation to get every cent they possibly can from their product. If print paper and its raw materials had been given tariff protection, the sulphite mills and print paper mills in this country would have increased sufficiently to keep pace with the country's demands for paper and when the present pinch came the paper industry of this country would have been prepared to meet it.

As things now are there is no possibility of the industry meeting the pinch. In fact, even at present prices the United States print mills are continuing to go on to other grades of paper which promise better present and future returns on their investment. Now the situation is certainly bad enough at present, but should Canada either on her own initiative or Great Britain's put an embargo on the export of print paper to this country the result will probably be that most of the newspapers and magazines in this country will have to suspend publication.

The first two paragraphs of the Package Advertiser's explanation seem reasonable and but for what follows might easily be accepted as correct. But the last paragraphs throw doubt on the whole thing. How can Australia and South America countries buy their print paper here if it be true that the United States print paper industry has been killed off? But if it is true that the industry has been killed off then the Package Advertiser ought to explain the report of the Department of

Commerce which finds that production of print paper in the United States in 1914 was 1,313,284 tons, or enough to print 10,500,000,000 fourteen page, eight column papers. Its value was $50,000,000. This happened with print paper on the free list. Not a poor achievement for an industry that was "killed off.' Since then with a steadily increasing demand it is certain that the industry is far from dead. Mbreover, the importation of wood pulp from Canada to be used in the paper industry has increased enormously, indicating an increased production of paper. The Protectionist theory does not fit the facts.

S. D.

Christian Socialism and Singletax.

Objecting to the Singletax the Christian Socialist in its issue of September 6 declares that there is not enough good land to carry out the purposes of the theory, and that if the land would be found, penniless people could not be got to it. Since all the land needed to carry out the theory is land that someone wants to use, it does not seem as though there would be need of a long search to find it. Those who want to use it already know where it is. All land that has value is land that someone wants to use. As to the difficulty of penniless people getting to the place where opportunity awaits them there is no need to worry about that. The first thing needful is to open the opportunity. That must be done even if it should seem that access thereto would be difficult. If such difficulty should actually arise it can be met and overcome when the time comes.

Other objections presented are substantially as follows:

1. The great mistake of Singletaxers is in nonrecognition of the fact that all monopolies are natural.

2. There being no provision for systematic organization of laborers under the Singletax, the laborer would have no assurance of a job, nor the business man of a successful business venture.

3. Since the Singletax would be paid in labor products it would be a tax on labor.

Let these be dealt with seriatim.

1. If all monoplies are natural, that will be made clear whenever all privileges shall be abolished. Should no monopoly be affected by such action, the Christian Socialist will be proven right. Unfortunately many monopolies do not share its confidence. They object to abolition of the privileges upon which Singletaxers declare their monopolistic power to be based. Why?

2. If the laborer is capable of producing something that either he or some other person wants, then the demand for his labor already exists. What he lacks is the opportunity to apply it. He lacks the opportunity because all opportunities are on the earth, which is monopolized by a comparatively small number of persons and a large part of it withheld from use. Should the earth be freed, opportunities to laborers, (useful business men included) would be opened. If organization should be necessary to get the best results of such a situation, all could organize who would see fit to do so.

3. The same reasoning would make a tax on labor out of payment for any service, even though it be payment of wages to a laborer. To determine whether the payment is a tax on labor the essential thing is not in what form the payment is made, but whether it is a just return for an equivalent received. If it is, then it is not a tax on labor, though paid in labor products. To withhold it would be an injustice.

The Socialist party is not in accord with The Christian Socialist's position. Its platform declares for "appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation." The framers of this plank must have seen that the rental value of land is not among the "Things, tools, economic processes and functions which are individualistic in character" and declared by them properly subject to private ownership. It cannot therefore be allowed ethically to go elsewhere than into the public treasury. The framers of the Socialist platform must have seen that there is not the same basis for private property in land as for private property in the things "which are individualistic in character." Property rights in these things rest in the right of the producer to his product. Property in land cannot rest on that. They must have seen that land values being socially created belong ethically to society, and consequently the appropriation of rent through taxation cannot be, as the Christian Socialist claims, an unethical tax on labor, but a rightful taking by society of its own. In this case The Christian Socialist seems to have taken a position that is neither Christian nor Socialist.

S. D.

Liberty and monopoly can not live together.—Henry D. Lloyd.

The legitimate power of government extends to such acts only as are injurious to others.—Thomas Jefferson.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE MAINE CAMPAIGN.

Lubec, Me., Aug. 31, 1916.

Maine is now the battle-ground of one of the most memorable contests in the history of the State and nation. Both of the dominant political parties engaged in the struggle for survival of the fit fully realize the importance of the outcome. After a month of strenuous campaigning, both sides are taking stock and preparing for the supreme battle the last week before election day (September 11.)

As predicted by the writer nearly a year ago, this election has but one main object—the defeat of Wilson for the presidency by fair means or by foul. State issues have been utterly lost sight of by the G. O. P. "spell-binders" in spite of the Democratic attempts to thrust them before the people. Go where you will, there is heard but one battle cry which is ever coupled with the name of "Wilson, that's all."

Some features of the campaign are humorous, if not comic, to the democratic Democrats. The spectacle is presented of one Republican candidate for U. S. Senator defending his record against the damning charge of having appeared before Congress in favor of free sugar for the canning industry he represented at that time, while his party associates are pointing out the dire results to Maine flowing from the "Underwood free-trade bill"! The foremost Republican Congressman from Maine predicted, from the stump, in this sardine factory town, the speedy annihilation of the smoked herring industry under this Democratic measure, although prominent packers admit that the past three years have been the best they have ever known in their line of business. But the greater part of this line of campaigning is done secretly, or covertly, with a view of disaffecting Democrats engaged in the herring industry.

Along national lines, the President's Mexican and foreign policies have been assailed with a bitterness and unfairness hardly equaled since the Blaine-Cleveland campaign. The Democrats have rallied to the support of the President heroically, until there is great danger of devoting so much argumentation concerning these matters as to neglect the splendid record of domestic legislation to the credit of the present administration, both in Maine and throughout the nation. Undoubtedly, this is part of the G. O. P. plan of campaigning.

It would be a rash political prophet indeed who would risk a prediction of the final outcome of the battle of the ballots at the polls September 11. For so many conflicting issues have been injected, publicly and privately, into the fight, that many people are completely at sea. Even professional politicians are as much at a loss to foresee the results as the ordinary citizen. One of the most remarkable outstanding features of the campaign thus far is the formidable number of civil war veterans and lifelong Republicans who are openly supporting Senator Johnson and Woodrow Wilson for re-election. This, too, in spite of the fact that the G. O. P. orators have attempted to wave the "bloody shirt" of sectionalism by declaring that the nation today is being ruled by the South!

The writer has found the people everywhere eager to listen to a fair presentation of the record President Wilson has made. They are deeply pondering over the questions affecting the state and nation, and appear inclined to sustain the leader who has "kept the U. S. out of war." But the average Maine citizen is far from being an idealist. High ideals are not particularly in demand among voters who are looking for material investments promising a good return for the money and energy expended. Let the practical citizen in other parts of the U. S. take human nature into consideration, and he will not be misled into believing that the millennium has arriv-in 1916. Money is still powerful in many quarters, and Maine will doubtless be well provisioned during the autumn for the hardest winter. So the outlook for optimistic Democrats and pessimistic Republicans, no matter who wins, is very bright.

ROBERT LEE BUSSABARGER.

ORGANIC EDUCATION.

Batavia, N. Y., August 30, 1916.

At the basis of the social and political philosophy of Henry George lies the doctrine that labor shall not seek through legislation, results which it may accomplish for itself, but that the worker only asks such legislation as shall establish equality of opportunity, and give him a larger freedom, to make of his life what he will.

As I recently heard Mrs. Marietta L. Johnson, at Chautauqua, give an account of the system of "Organic education" which she established nine years ago at the Singletax colony at Fairhope, Alabama, I was impressed with the striking analogy, between what she is doing for the boys and girls in the field of education, and what the Singletax would do in the social and political field for men and women.

Mrs. Johnson insists that teachers should not do for the boys and girls what they can do for themselves, and that the prime need in education is freedom of opportunity for children to work out their native impulses and natural desires, for she holds that these impulses and desires are evil only when perverted. So Mrs. Johnson first told her Chautauqua audience, that the nature of childhood is activity; that school rooms and school grounds are generally too small; that we have too many children in each room, preventing the activity and freedom which children need, and preventing teachers from giving the individual attention to each child which is needed. The Fairhope school, of 165 children, has three buildings, and a lot comprising six acres.

Mrs. Johnson sees another error in current educational systems, in that they use forcing methods, and provide an environment not suitable for the children's age—an environment which does not provide the right and normal reaction of either body or spirit. The children at Fairhope, usually, are not even taught to read until after they pass into what is called the second life class, at eight years of age.

Another error in current educational systems, which Mrs. Johnson aims to correct, is the insincerity stimulated by school examinations, which are made the basis of promotion.

When Mrs. Johnson began her work at Fairhope, nine years ago, she had six scholars. Now she has

165. They are in the kindergarten at from five to six years of age. They enter what she calls the first life class at six, the second life class at eight, and the high school at fourteen. They enter the high school, and take up its studies regardless of what work they have done in the grades below, for Mrs. Johnson contends that high school subjects do not depend upon grammar school subjects. Some of our colleges and universities are recognizing the value of Fairhope school, and admitting its students without examinations.

There is little formality in the Fairhope school, little repression of childhood's impulses, but on the other hand much effort to aid self-activity, and personal initiative. And so we find the manual training room the largest and best equipped in the school.

Mrs. Johnson in her Chautauqua address said:

A sound body, an intelligent, sympathetic mind, and a sweet, reverent nature, these are the immediate ends of education. Our system of education at Fairhope changes the ordinary relation between teacher and child, leads to more initiative, and is based on the idea not that education is a preparation for life, but that it is life itself, and hence all educational processes must be life-giving.

Professor John Dewey of Columbia University, who recently visited the Fairhope school, said:

In my judgment the school has demonstrated that it is possible for children to lead the same natural lives in school that they lead in homes of the right sort outside of school: to progress bodily, mentally and morally in school without facetious pressure, rewards, examinations, grades or promotions; while they acquire sufficient control of the conventional tools of learning and of the study of books—reading, writing and figuring—to be able to use them independently. * * * What has been done is simply to provide the conditions for wholesome natural growth, in small enough groups for the teacher, as a leader rather than as an instructor, to become acquainted with the weaknesses and powers of each child individually, and then to adapt the work to individual needs.

In one respect, as it seems to me, individualism is carried to an extreme at the Fairhope school, for it depends entirely upon voluntary contributions for its support. Why it obtains no assistance either from the Singletax colony, or the state of Alabama, Mrs. Johnson did not explain. I suppose that the colony maintains an autonomy in every way separate from the state, and that the population of the colony is not dense enough to produce land values ample for all its needs.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

KIDDING ONE'S SELF.

Chicago, Sept. 1, 1916.

There is probably no more fascinating amusement than kidding one's self, that is, thinking one's hobby is "there" because he wishes it so.

Last fall Joe Tinker said the Whales were the best ball team in the country; he claimed the world's championship when the Boston Red Sox ignored his challenge to play a series of games. When he fell heir to the Cubs he didn't know how he could use them on his amalgamated team. What the Cubs were going to do to the other clubs this year was a shame. Afterwards they played Pat Moran's Phillies nine games, and lost them all. Then Joe woke up. He had been kidding himself.

The Bull Moosers thought Teddy was a bear. They thought the Republicans would fall for him and that he would be elected President to succeed Wilson. They were kidding themselves.

The second guessers are giving the Wilson administration a fine panning. Everything Wilson has done is wrong. We are developing the niftiest bunch of boilermakers that ever wielded a hammer or wore a collar. Hughes looks like the goods to them. They are kidding themselves.

A writer says he agrees with the late Mark Hanna that the fight is between the Socialists and the Republicans. He is kidding himself.

The labor unions think they can get an increase in wages by striking. They have been striking and getting their wages raised for forty years and today they are worse off than ever. Prices have been advanced with every increase in wages enough to cover the increase, and then some. Result, twenty-five dollars a week doesn't look as big today as fifteen did ten years ago. The unions have been kidding themselves.

Henry George tells of a bull that had wound himself around a stake until he was made a close prisoner, unable even to rid him of the flies that clustered on his shoulders. There he stood suffering want in the midst of plenty. He was held so tight he couldn't reach the grass. "I will go out and drive the bull in the way that will untwist the rope," says George, "but who will drive men into freedom? Till they use the reason with which they have been gifted, nothing can avail. For them there is no special providence."

Moral: Read Progress and Poverty, "use the reason with which you have been gifted," take a slant at the land question, and quitcherkiddin'.

M. J. FOYER.

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 5, 1916.

Railroad Labor Trouble in Congress.

On August 29 President Wilson appeared before Congress and informed the members that a strike on all railroads was in prospect. He told of his efforts to bring about a settlement and the rejection of his suggestion by the railroad presidents. He recommended that Congress take prompt action to prevent a tieup of traffic. On August 30 bills were introduced by Congressman Adamson, chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce. One provided for institution of the eight hour working day at the present pay for ten hours on all railroads engaged in interstate commerce,

another for investigation of all disputes between railroads and employes, pending which no strike or lockout is to be allowed, another authorizing an increase in freight rates, and another empowering the President when in his opinion a military necessity may exist, to declare railway employes subject to draft as a branch of the military forces. The eight hour bill was hastened to a vote on September 1. It passed by a vote of 239 to 56. The affirmative vote was cast by 168 Democrats, 70 Republicans and one Socialist. The negative vote was cast by 68 Republicans and 2 Democrats, Black of Texas and Steele of Pennsylvania. The bill was sent at once to the Senate and rushed to a vote on September 2. All amendments were rejected and the bill, in the form that it passed the House was adopted by 43 to 28. The affirmative consisted of 42 Democrats and 1 Republican, Senator LaFollette. The negative consisted of 26 Republicans and 2 Democrats, Hardwick of Georgia and Clarke of Arkansas. Immediately on announcement of the result the strike scheduled to begin on September 4, was called off. The President signed the bill on September 3, making it a law. [See current volume, page 826.]

On passage of the bill President Hale Holden of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad, made the following statement in behalf of all the roads:

The railroads will accept under protest. Of course we will take no arbitrary or hostile action. The only thing we are looking for at present is the convenience and welfare of the public. What action will be taken cannot be stated until our legal department can look into the constitutionality of the 8-hour law which congress enacted today. This act today is the result of the Clayton act, which exempted the laborer from the Sherman act. Congress today had to pay the price for passing such a law as that which freed the labor unions from the anti-trust act.

Commendation of President Wilson's stand on the eight hour question was voiced in labor day celebrations throughout the country on September 3. At Lewiston, Maine, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, so expressed himself. The Chicago Federation of Labor as representative of 300,000 unionists sent the President a telegram of congratulation. Similar action was taken in other places.

The essential parts of the Adamson law are as follows:

Section 1—That beginning December 1, 1916, eight hours shall, in contracts for labor and service, be deemed a day's work and the measure or standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation for services of all employes who are now or may hereafter be employes of any common carrier by railroad, . . . and who are now or may hereafter be actually engaged in any capacity in the operation of trains used for the transportation of persons or property on railroads from any state or territory of the United States or the District of Columbia to any other state or territory of the United States or the District of Columbia. . . .

Section 2—That the President shall appoint a commission of three which shall observe the operation and effects of the institution of the eight-hour standard workday, as above defined, and the facts and conditions affecting the relations between such common carriers and employes during a period of not less than six months nor more than nine months, in the discretion of the commission, and within thirty days thereafter such commission shall report its findings to the President and Congress; that each member of the commission created under the provisions of this act shall receive such compensation as may be fixed by the President. . . .

Section 3—That pending the report of the commission herein provided for and for a period of thirty days thereafter the compensation of railway employes subject to this act for a standard eight-hour workday shall not be reduced below the present standard day's wage, and for all necessary time in excess of eight hours such employes shall be paid at a rate not less than the pro rata rate for such standard eight-hour workday.

Section 4—That any person violating any provision of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined not less than $100 and not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not to exceed one year, or both.

Congressional Doings.

The Senate eliminated from the House revenue bill on August 29 the clause putting a five per cent tax on materials entering into the manufacture of munitions of war. On September 4, by a vote of 43 to 7, the Senate defeated a proposed amendment offered by Underwood of Alabama to eliminate the dyestuffs schedule. He declared it to be a surrender of fundamental principles to political expediency. The Senators who voted with Underwood were Bankhead of Alabama, Bryan of Florida, Lane of Oregon, Reed of Missouri, Overman of North Carolina, and Vardaman of Mississippi. [See current volume, page 827.]

On August 30 the Senate ratified the migratory bird treaty between the United States and Great Britain. The House passed on Sept. 2 the Webb bill allowing combination of industries to form selling agencies in foreign markets. On September 1 the President signed the child labor bill, making it a law.

Wilson's Acceptance Speech.

President Wilson was officially notified at Long Branch, New Jersey, on September 2, of his renomination. In his acceptance speech he said that the Republican party had been put out of power "because it had served special interests and not the country at large," and because "it had lost touch with the thoughts and needs of the nation

and was living in a past age and under a fixed illusion, the illusion of greatness." He enumerated its shortcomings in part as follows:

It had framed tariff laws based upon a fear of foreign trade, a fundamental doubt as to American skill, enterprise and capacity, and a very tender regard for the profitable privileges of those who had gained control of domestic markets and domestic credits; and yet had enacted anti-trust laws which hampered the very things they meant to foster, which were stiff and inelastic, and in part unintelligible. It had permitted the country throughout the long period of its control to stagger from one financial crisis to another under the operation of a national banking law of its own framing which made stringency and panic certain and the control of the larger business operations of the country by the bankers of a few reserve centers inevitable. . . . It had been oblivious, or indifferent, to the fact that the farmers, upon whom the country depends for its food and in the last analysis for its prosperity, were without standing in the matter of commercial credit, . . . that the laborers of the country were subject to restraint by novel and drastic process in the courts, were without assurance of compensation for industrial accidents, without federal assistance in accommodating labor disputes, and without national aid or advice in finding the places and the industries in which their labor was most needed. . . . The other republics of America distrusted us, because they found that we thought first of the profits of American investors and only as an afterthought of impartial justice and helpful friendship.

He then named as accomplished during his administration by the Democratic party the following: tariff revision, creation of a trade commission, the federal reserve act, the rural credits act, the Clayton law, the seaman's law, the child labor law, the setting up of a board for mediation of industrial disputes, creation of national labor exchanges, and taking of steps for opening of Alaskan resources. In four years the Democratic party, he said, had come near carrying out the platform of the Progressive party, as well as its own. Then taking up foreign relations, he said, that we have been neutral in the European struggle. When the rights of American citizens became involved the Administration's guiding principle has been:

That property rights can be vindicated by claims for damages, and no modern nation can decline to arbitrate such claims; but the fundamental rights of humanity cannot be. The loss of life is irreparable. Neither can direct violations of a nation's sovereignty await vindication in suits for damages. The nation that violates these essential rights must expect to be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance.

In regard to Mexico he said:

We have professed to believe, and we do believe, that the people of small and weak states have the right to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of big and powerful states would be. We have acted upon that principle in dealing with the people of Mexico. Our recent pursuit of bandits into Mexican territory was no violation of that principle. We ventured to enter Mexican territory only because there were no military forces in Mexico that could protect our border from hostile attack and our own people from violence, and we have committed there no single act of hostility or interference even with the sovereign authority of the Republic of Mexico herself. It was a plain case of the violation of our own sovereignty which could not wait to be vindicated by damages and for which there was no other remedy. The authorities of Mexico were powerless to prevent it.

Referring to wrongs done Americans in Mexico he proceeded:

We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience.

For it is their emancipation that they are seeking —blindly, it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will—any principle that an American would publicly avow. The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives and their resources—some of them Americans, pressing for things they could never have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences; and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great government I shall do everything in my power to prevent anyone standing in their way. . . .

Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable, and is right. The unspeakable Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the government of which he was a trusted part, impudently spoke for the very forces that had driven his people to the rebellion with which he had pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent, however imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence. . . . I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever. Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business, but not in purpose or object. . . . Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not and are indeed to be trusted to respect national sovereignty among our weaker neighbors. We have undertaken these many years to play big brother to the republics of this hemisphere. This is the day of our test whether we mean, or have ever meant, to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs. Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not ours), depends every relationship of the

United States with Latin America, whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise. These are great issues and lie at the heart of the gravest tasks of the future, tasks both economic and political and very intimately inwrought with many of the most vital of the new issues of the politics of the world. The republics of America have in the last three years been drawing together in a new spirit of accommodation, mutual understanding and cordial co-operation. Much of the politics of the world in the years to come will depend upon their relationships with one another. It is a barren and provincial statesmanship that loses sight of such things!

Referring to the need of ensuring peace throughout the world, he said:

One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this: We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated in their own lands as we would treat them here, and make the rule of the United States mean the same thing everywhere—the same justice, the same consideration for the essential rights of men.

Speaking of the future he declared:

We ought both to husband and to develop our natural resources, our mines, our forests, our water power. I wish we could have made more progress than we have made in this vital matter; and I call once more, with the deepest earnestness and solicitude, upon the advocates of a careful and provident conservation, on the one hand, and the advocates of a free and inviting field for private capital, on the other, to get together in a spirit of genuine accommodation and agreement and set this great policy forward at once.

"We must hearken and quicken the spirit and efficiency of labor throughout our whole industrial system by everywhere and in all occupations doing justice to the laborer, not only by paying a living wage but also by making all the conditions that surround labor what they ought to be. And we must do more than justice. We must safeguard life and promote health and safety in every occupation in which they are threatened or imperiled. That is more than justice, and better, because it is humanity and economy. We must co-ordinate the railway systems of the country for national use, and must facilitate and promote their development with a view to that co-ordination and to their better adaptation as a whole to the life and trade and defense of the nation. The life and industry of the country can be free and unhampered only if these arteries are open, efficient and complete. Thus shall we stand ready to meet the future as circumstance and international policy effect their unfolding, whether the changes come slowly or come fast and without preface.

In his peroration he said:

We are Americans for Big America, and rejoice to look forward to the days in which America shall strive to stir the world without irritating it or drawing it on to new antagonisms when the nations with which we deal shall at last come to see upon what deep foundations of humanity and justice our passion for peace rests, and when all mankind shall look upon our great people with a new sentiment of admiration, friendly rivalry and real affection, as upon a people who, though keen to succeed, seeks always to be at once generous and just and to whom humanity is dearer than profit or selfish power. Upon this record and in the faith of this purpose we go to the country.

Fairbanks Notified.

Charles W. Fairbanks was notified at Indianapolis on August 31 of his nomination by the Republicans for Vice President. In his speech of acceptance Mr. Fairbanks said in part:

There is no observer who does not know that when the war ceases an unprecedented war of markets will be on. Our standard of wages and living will be matched against the lower wage and living standards of other countries more sharply than ever. The protective tariff when again adopted by the Republican party must prove our safeguard. The Democratic free trade measure was disastrous to our industries and public revenues before the war began. We are resolved to restore economy in government. We believe unqualifiedly in the maintenance of a firm foreign policy—doing justice to others and demanding like justice for ourselves. We stand for preparedness measured by our national needs—a strong army and navy adequate to compel respect for our diplomacy and to insure peace. Hand in hand with our physical preparedness there must go industrial preparedness, which shall insure prosperity.

Quizzing Presidential Candidates.

In behalf of the Committee on Real Preparedness Amos Pinchot has sent letters to President Wilson, to Charles E. Hughes and to the Socialist candidate for President, Allan Benson, quoting the following resolutions adopted at the Conferences on Real Preparedness:

Since the most fundamental measure of preparedness is to break up the monopoly of land and all natural resources therein and thereon, and to give the people of the country the opportunity to produce freely, by restoring to them equal access to all such natural resources, of which they have been deprived by the folly or the corruption of legislative bodies, we strongly urge the voters of this country to repudiate those candidates for any public office who think of preparedness only in terms of armies and armaments and to endeavor to commit every candidate, according to the office he seeks, to support:

The untaxing of improvements and all other products of labor, and heavier taxation of land values to maintain local and state governments;

A rapidly progressive tax on large incomes—especially on unearned incomes—for the Federal Government, and reducing taxes on consumption—such as tariffs on the necessities of life;

A rapidly progressive tax on inheritances for the State and Federal governments;

Federal acquisition of natural monopolies, since privileged monopoly is un-American, the present owners to be paid only the value they have given to these monopolies, plus the present value of improvements therein and thereon made by them;

Termination of perpetual franchises, and municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, the present owners to be paid only the value they have

given such utilities plus the present value of improvements therein and thereon made by them;

Social insurance against sickness and accidents;

The enactment of the Owen-Keating Child Labor bill by Congress and of the uniform Child Labor law by all the states.

In the letter to Mr. Hughes, Mr. Pinchot stated:

Of course, the question of untaxing improvements and other products of labor is chiefly a state and local issue, but it is of great importance that the people should know the position of presidential candidates on this principle—which strikes at the root of Privilege, and will be of the greatest benefit to all workers in the country—since the President has the appointment of the Supreme Court of the United States.

From your speech of acceptance we should be inclined to infer that you are in favor of high protective tariffs. What is your position with reference to tariffs on the necessities of life, and other taxes on consumption; also with reference to the rapidly progressive income tax and inheritance tax, and Federal acquisition of natural monopolies, as noted in the above resolution?

We hope to hear from you very shortly with reference to these matters.

In the letters to President Wilson and Mr. Benson the first paragraph only to Mr. Hughes was repeated. To President Wilson Mr. Pinchot said in addition:

The revenue bill before Congress, providing for a higher tax rate on large incomes, is distinctly a move in the right direction, and we trust that before it is passed the rate will be made much higher.

Your successful effort to secure the enactment of the Owen-Keating Child Labor bill has been most thoroughly appreciated throughout the country.

We shall appreciate hearing from you as to your position with reference to other items noted in the above resolution.

A Protest and Appeal.

The International Workers Defense League with headquarters at 210 Russ building, San Francisco, has issued the following statement:

The fight here was to force labor, against its will, into a "preparedness" parade. Every organized man refused to move, and the parade for military tyranny was cut down to a handful of the unorganized who were bulldozed into line. Organized labor, victorious, was satisfied and completely through with the affair before the day of march. But some individuals, fired by the wild propaganda for military violence, sent hundreds of warnings through the mails, saying that they would blow up the parade with a bomb. Employers and newspapers tried to keep this quiet, but organized labor men discovered it and requested their followers to avoid any chance for such a thing to be laid at their door, by abstaining from all activity and treating the parade with silent contempt. This was done. The ranks of the unorganized marched down Market street behind their employers and society women, unaware of the warnings. A bomb exploded which killed six people outright, three more dying later. Immediately the Chamber of Commerce, through its tools in public office, swooped down on its most hated enemies in organized labor ranks. They took the leader of the recent attempted street car strike, Thomas J. Mooney (as well as his wife, an inoffensive music teacher), ignored his complete alibi and charged him with heading a "conspiracy." The chief of pickets of the recent machinists' strike, Edward D. Nolan, was taken for vengeance's sake, without evidence, and they announce in the papers that they "have the hemp stretched around the necks of all." Israel Weinberg, prominent in the Jitney Bus Operators' Union, which is troubling the United Railways, was jailed and accused of murder. Warren K. Billings, past president of the Shoe Workers, was charged with the actual dynamiting, and an eye-witness who saw an altogether different man place the supposed suit-case bomb, was assaulted in the office of the prosecutor. Five conspicuous enemies of the employers were thus caught and apparently doomed. The warnings in advance that had been received through the mails were thereafter ignored. Direct evidence of eye-witnesses was ignored.

Every newspaper blandly declined to print a word without approval by the "Law and Order Committee." Several newspaper men working on the case came secretly to us to whisper that they knew the men were innocent, but "for God's sake don't mention us." One detective working for the prosecution told a member of the International Workers' Defense League that the men were to be convicted on fake evidence, now being cooked up, but "not to let on who told you." Only by keeping the men from having any defense could they be convicted, so the prosecution had the indecency to try to prevent any prominent lawyer from taking the case. A judge forced upon the principal defendant, fighting for his life, a greenhorn lawyer of one year's experience. By making it clear to a prominent criminal lawyer that the accused are not guilty, we have gotten him, through a sense of justice, to take the cases for a fee much lower than his usual charge. But we have not even that much money. The prisoners are in the hands of men who consider labor unionism in itself a crime. They are now proving this by making peaceful picketing a prison offense. We have demonstrated to many unions the innocence of the men and have gotten them to send delegates to the League. We are not defending bomb throwers, but innocent men. They will be executed practically without trial if we don't get money to defend them. Send money to the International Workers' Defense League, Robert Minor, treasurer, 210 Russ building, 235 Montgomery street, San Francisco.

Tax Conference.

The National Tax Conference which met in annual session at Indianapolis on August 29 was called to order by Allen Ripley Foote. On August 30 the income tax was discussed by J. Frank Zeller, attorney for the General Electric Company of Schenectady. Mr. Zeller said that corporations were beginning to favor this form of taxation. Professor Thomas S. Adams of Yale read a paper arguing for systematic educational work on taxation among farmers.

Rescue of Antarctic Explorers.

Lieutenant Sir Ernest H. Shackleton landed at Punta Arenas, Chili, on the 3d with the remainder of his crew who had been marooned on Elephant Island in the Antarctic since April 16. This successful rescue of the 22 men by means of the small steam trawler Yelcho, was the fourth attempt of Lieutenant Shackleton. The men were well, and still had food, but had abandoned hope of relief, believing their commander had been lost, and that the world was unaware of their plight. [See current volume, page 759.]

Mexico and the United States.

The American and Mexican Commissioners are to begin their conferences at New London, Connecticut, on the 7th, where they will hold two two-hour sessions each day. Personal rights and economic interests of Americans in Mexico, Secretary Lansing said, must be considered in reaching a permanent settlement of the difficulties between the United States and Mexico. The Secretary declared that if "suspicion, doubt and aloofness" marked the coming deliberations the Commission might expect to accomplish little, and would leave the two nations "in the same tangle of misunderstanding and false judgments which I feel have been the chief reasons for our controversies in the past. [See current volume, page 828.]

A decree issued by General Carranza on the 29th revives the law promulgated in 1859 by President Juarez, putting all places of public worship under the direct control of the government. The decree means government regulation of all church property in Mexico. All property nationalized under the Juarez law and left to Catholic institutions, and also all property of other religious institutions, ceded to them after the promulgation of the law are affected by the decree.

Japan and China.

Disturbing reports of conflicting interests of China and Japan are at hand. As a result of the clash between the Chinese and Japanese troops at Cheng Chiatun, in which a number on both sides were killed, Japan has made severe demands upon her neighbor. These demands are said to include the dismissal of Chinese officers in command of the troops at the scene of the trouble, the withdrawal of the Chinese garrison, the indemnification of the families of the Japanese killed, and the extension of Japanese police rights to inner Mongolia. Coincident with these demands is the offer of the Japanese government to lend China $30,000,000. [See current volume, page 637.]

European War.

Another week's hard fighting on the Somme has resulted in small net gains for the Allies. Berlin admits that conditions are serious, but claims to be holding the essential positions. Paris claims the capture of 5,700 prisoners on the 4th. The struggle on the four mile front has extended to twelve and a half miles south of the Somme, and eighteen miles north of the river. At Verdun the French claim small gains east of the Meuse. On the eastern front the Russians continue their advance in Galicia, and are crossing the Carpathians to the Hungarian frontier. From the 31st to the 3d they claim to have taken prisoner 385 officers and 19,020 men, of whom 11 officers and 1,300 men were German. Roumania is pushing her invasion of Transylvania, and is ready to invade Bulgaria. The lack of vigor in the Allied offensive against Bulgaria is taken by some critics to indicate a willingness on the part of that country to sue for peace. Greece is momentarily the center of interest. The pro-Ally faction appears to have won the ascendent. Premier Zaimis is reported to have been given full power, with the popular former Premier Venizelos in full accord. The Allies have taken charge of the mails and telegraph, and the pro-German agents have been expelled from the country. The remobilization of the army is expected, and the entrance of Greece into the war on the side of the Allies. [See current volume, page 829.]

The Italian government has confiscated thirty-five German ships that were interned in Italian ports at the beginning of the war. They aggregate 132,000 tons. Submarine activities continue to increase. During the forty-eight hours of the 3d and 4th nine allied and neutral vessels were reported sunk. Thirteen Zeppelins raided the eastern English counties on the 3d. Only three of them succeeded in reaching the outskirts of London, and one of these was destroyed by the British. The damage and loss of life is reported to be comparatively slight.

Dar-Es-Salaam, the chief town of German East Africa, surrendered to the British on the 4th. The British forces are pushing the Germans southward and back from the coast.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg has been appointed Chief of the German staff, in place of General Erick von Falkenhayn. The new chief of staff has appointed General Friedrich von Bernhardi to the command of the forces defending the Kovel section in Volhynia. General von Bernhardi is one of the best known military writers of Germany.

What I must do is all that concerns me, not what the people think.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The men who set America free will be greater than the men who put her in swaddling clothes. —Woodrow Wilson.

NEWS NOTES

—The New York Tribune of August 28 announced that it will not support Governor Whitman for re-election if renominated.

—John P. St. John, Prohibition presidential candidate in 1884, and formerly governor of Kansas, died at Olathe, Kansas, on August 31, aged 83.

—Judge Samuel Seabury, prospective nominee of Democrats and Progressives for Governor of New York, resigned his seat on the Court of Appeals on August 28.

—Governor Hiram Johnson of California was nominated by the Republicans for United States Senator at the state wide primary on August 30. He defeated Willis W. Booth, the reactionary candidate, by about 20,000.

—The prize was awarded on August 30 by the Delaware Singletax League for the best article on "The Singletax: What It Will Accomplish, and Why." The contest was limited to high school pupils, and the prize offered was a free college course valued at $600. The award was made to Miss Louise A. Nelson of Milford, Delaware. Miss Nelson must still appear before a committee of the league to answer questions testing her understanding of the subject. On making a satisfactory showing she will be declared the winner.

—Ex-Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker of Pennsylvania died at his home at Schwenksville on September 2, aged 73. It was during his administration that a legislature controlled by Boss Quay passed a bill curbing the freedom of the press. Pennypacker signed the bill but was compelled two years later through public indignation to call an extra session of the legislature to repeal this and other obnoxious measures. During his administration there also occurred the Pennsylvania Capitol scandal which resulted in sending several prominent machine politicians to the penitentiary. Governor Pennypacker had been on the committee responsible for the grafting but was held personally blameless.

PRESS OPINIONS

Railroad Rates, Wages and Capitalization.

The Democrat (Dallas, Texas), September 2.—Some of the facts connected with the railroad status of the country make an interesting study at this particular time. The total mileage of all operating character approximates 400,000 miles. The highest estimate yet made from expert investigation, for the National Congress and other interests, within the past ten years, shows less than six billion of dollars, of real money, invested in all character of steam railroad utilities—trackage, cars, buildings, and general properties. The total capitalization of the railway systems of the United States reaches the enormous sum of seventeen billion of dollars! On this vast amount of fictitious values the patrons of the roads have to contribute in freight and passenger and transportation charges enough money to pay for operating expenses and profit enough as if all capitalization were bona fide money investments. Operating expenses must necessarily be kept within as small a compass as possible. The figures above presented will hardly be contradicted by the managing groups of railway men; they are substantially vouched for by one of their own authorities, in a recent publication made by Slason Thompson, of Chicago, director of the Bureau of Railways News and Statistics. More than ten billions of dollars of fictitious values—"wind and water"—is a terrible burden for commerce and labor to bear! The managers of the roads declare that if the eight-hour day law shall be enforced, an increase of freight rates must follow, to meet increased operating expenses. The Brotherhoods point to the immense traffic incident to the European war, and declare the roads are producing large profits. They assert that the payroll never bankrupted a railroad; that exploitation often has.

Unpalatable Truth.

B. L. T. in Chicago Tribune, Sept. 1.: Fear not, little one, there will be no revolution, no Commune. Self-interest and a thousand jealousies provide as many checks as nature applies to the bugs of the field. If organized labor were unselfish, if it really struck for its altars and its fires, it could pitch the government into the Potomac at any hour; and often, dearie, it would find little, unorganized you and me in a mood to help it. But as long as each group is concerned primarily with its own advancement, and the devil takes the hindmost, there will be no debacle.

The Penalty of Social Injustice.

Duluth (Minn.) Herald, August 29: New York's epidemic of infantile paralysis started in the abode of desolate poverty—but it did not stop there. There were fewer cases in the sections where poverty is scarcer; but there were all too many cases even in the richest sections. Thomas J. Riley, general secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, after a painstaking survey of the afflicted sections of the community wrote this for the Survey magazine:

> These little ones come from the same kind of homes, from the same income groups, from the same untutored parents, as do our cases of tuberculosis, our dispensary cases, our district nursing cases, our poverty and our delinquency. Must we forever have these plague spots and these ill-favored folks?

When society adopts a perverted scheme of individualism that means the devil take the hindmost, making skill at money-getting the test of supremacy, there are inevitably many hindmost for the devil to get. And so we have poverty and slums. Having poverty and slums, we get congestion, ignorance, squalor, filth, insanitary living conditions, unwholesome moral environments. Having these, we get vice, crime, disease. Tuberculosis, typhoid fever, prostitution, thievery, corruption in politics, now infantile paralysis—these are the fruits of social neglect. When these festering evils spread over the slum boundaries and attack the "better sections," that is only a just punishment of those who have for their neglect of those who have not. Those who inhabit the plague spots which radiate

crime and corruption, vice and disease, are the victims of social neglect. They retaliate by sharing their socially created diseases with the rest of us.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE CRUX OF THE LABOR QUESTION.

Abstract of Labor Day Address of Louis F. Post, at Topeka, Kansas, Sept. 4, 1916.

We are met for the thirty-fifth celebration of Labor Day. I call it the thirty-fifth because the first celebration of Labor Day anywhere in the world was on the first Monday of September, 1882—thirty-four years ago. It occurred in the city of New York. It grew out of a memorable mass meeting of labor organizations in the famous hall in which Abraham Lincoln made his first speech away from the prairies and down by the sea. This was the Hall of the Union, in Cooper Institute. that hall which old Peter Cooper had dedicated to free speech at a time when it was almost criminal in New York to speak against the enslavement of laboring men of negro blood.

The labor mass meeting to which I refer had assembled to sympathize with the Irish "no rent" manifesto, which had been issued about that time by the great Irish leader Parnell and his associates. The meeting was organized by the various trade unions of New York City, acting in co-operation. At that time these bodies were unrelated to one another, but out of this meeting at Cooper Union came the central labor union of New York, which was a federation of all the unions and which promoted the organization of more. And out of that central labor union came the call for a cessation of work on the first Monday of September, 1882, in honor of that one day in the year as Labor Day. The call was responded to generally and even enthusiastically, and it is one of the gratifications of my life to have been at the Union Square cottage on that day to join in reviewing the thousands of organized working men who marched past us in their several unions for the first time in the history of organized labor, each union carrying its headquarters banner above it. Every year since then the first Monday in September has been celebrated in New York and its celebration has now become universal throughout our republic. In almost every state, if not indeed in every state, it is one of the half dozen or so of our legal holidays.

There is marked significance in the fact that Labor Day is distinctively the holiday of one class of laborers. It is the holiday of wage workers. A wage worker is a laborer who sells his product before he produces it. He is a business man who in the very nature of his business can have but one customer at a time—his employer. If he loses this one customer he goes broke until he can find another. We have come to regard him and he has come to regard himself as the only kind of laborer there is. Other kinds are called farmers or professional men, or producers, or something other than laborers.

Now there are many other kinds of laborers than wage workers. Why, then, do we define the word "laborer" to wage workers. Is it not because some kind of stigma attaches to the world labor? Does it not imply that the laborer is a servant and has a master? And don't we all rather like to be masters instead of servants? Granted that the word is losing its disagreeable significance. Granted that the wage worker is coming to be proud of being a laborer. Granted that the business man often boasts of having once been a laborer. Granted that the politician brags about having been a laborer whenever he wants to get wage workers' votes. Grant all that. Yet isn't there in fact a disposition among wage workers themselves to get out of the class? Why should this be?

Consider labor in its broad sense and everyone ought to be ashamed if he is not a laborer. Turn to your Bible and the first divine injunction it records is a command that man shall eat bread in the sweat of his face. And is that not a natural law? Is it not a scientific fact that mankind has to live from hand to mouth? The expected railroad strike, which has happily been averted, goes to prove that we do live from hand to mouth. At the mere hint of a stoppage of railroading there was consternation. We knew that if that stopped everything would stop. Is it not perfectly clear that if all labor stopped today we should all be dying off tomorrow? We do not live upon the saved-up labor of the past. Man must eat bread in the sweat of his face if he eats it at all.

But all of us would rather eat bread in the sweat of somebody else's than our own. So we have a long history of slavery and serfdom. It was a survival of slavery that made our Civil War. It is a survival of serfdom that makes the trouble in Mexico now. But slavery and serfdom are nearly gone, and what has taken their place? A wage working class. This wage working class is called our labor class, just as slaves and serfs were once called the laboring class. Why? Because they are the class in the sweat of whose faces all classes eat their bread. The wage working class consequently inherits the stigma that attached to the slave class. And for the same reason. They are the servant class. If you don't believe it, look at your law books which deal with the relations of "master and servant." The lash of chattel slavery has gone, but disemployment has taken its place as the lash of the wage working class. Fear of disemployment drives the wage worker to his work no matter how poor the pay.

But don't misunderstand. I have no intention of saying that wage working labor is on the same low level as slavery. It is not. There is a degree of freedom in the wage working class which the slaves never could know. And out of this freedom has developed increasing power. The wage worker may climb out of his class. Far better than that, he can help to raise his class out of servitude. All this he has done and is doing, partly through labor organizations and by economic methods and partly by political means.

Wage workers have resisted the tendencies to wage working servitude. It was long ago seen that the individual wage worker was helpless to protect himself—as helpless as the slave would be. He had to have organization in order to bargain collectively. He had to have organization in order to protect his liberties and to extend them. So labor organizations came in. They were abhorrent to employers' interests. They offended the master sense. It was as if the slaves of an old-time plantation in the South had formed labor organizations. So the master interest opposed the organization of wage workers. It opposed it too in the language of liberty. The liberty that the employing class demanded for wage workers was a liberty that would have resulted in enslaving them. So the first great struggle of organized labor was over the right to organize. It was a long and bitter struggle, for the interests and the courts and the legislatures with them. Organization was regarded as conspiracy—borrowed by the courts from the days of serfdom. Organization of wage workers was contrary to the fourteenth amendment—a constitutional safeguard for Negroes which has never safeguarded the Negroes, but has safeguarded the unjust interests of corporations. But now the right to organize is pretty well established, except in the courts of a few medieval judges. The Clayton law, declaring that labor is not a commodity, has gone a long way to secure the right of organization. The eight-hour law which has just passed Congress has gone a long way further. Yet these two laws have come into operation within the short period of less than four years.

Part of the wage working struggle has been for better wages. What are wages? Something that employers give to wage workers? Not at all. They are the share of wage workers in their own productions. Every wage worker produces his wages before he gets them. You can see this in the case of a street car conductor. It is out of the nickels he collects during a week that his wages are paid at the end of the week. So is it with all other wage workers. Their wages come out of their own products after they are produced. But as wage workers have to bid against one another for jobs and as jobs are scarce, wages came downward rather than upward. So labor organizations have had to struggle to keep up wages and if possible to get an increasing share of their own products. With more wage workers than jobs, wages are bound to fall unless the wage workers organize. And that there are more wage workers than jobs is evident from the fact that strike-breakers can always be found. Where do strike-breakers come from if not from the fringes of labor—from the ranks of the unemployed? We are assured by statisticians that $800 a year is the least than men can support families upon decently. Yet average wages are less than $800. The statisticians also tell us that only one-tenth of wage working men get $20 a week or more—that is $1000 a year or more, even when they have steady work. If this is true with all the splendid labor organization we have, what would it be without labor organization. Labor organization has done this service for all the wage workers of our country whether they are organized or whether they are not.

And, thanks to labor organization, the hours of labor have been reduced. Not very long ago they were from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. It was no boy's play to bring them down to twelve, and then to ten. The struggle to bring them down to eight is now on. It is the same hard struggle as all the earlier struggles were. There are those who sneer at the thought of an eight-hour day, as if it were something new, something unheard of, something absurd. Yet, we have indications in the ritual of the Masonic order that an eight-hour day was regarded as a fair work day as long ago at least as before our Civil War, probably as long ago as two hundred years, possibly as far back as the Middle Ages, or to the construction of Solomon's temple. When free Masons repeat the formula, "Eight hours for the service of God and a distressed brother, eight for our usual vocations, and eight for refreshment and sleep," do they realize that they are advocating an eight-hour day? And in the very language of generations of Masons who have gone before them? Think of it, at this stage of industrial progress, that wage workers must struggle for the same eight-hour day that was considered a full day long before marvelous inventions had enormously increased the productive power of labor!

In those labor struggles violence has often occurred. No one can deny it; no one will defend it. All fair-minded wage workers deprecate violence. But it does not lie in the mouth of lawless employers to denounce lawless wage workers. They should look after their own virtues first. Let them reflect that bank checks may be used as wickedly as brickbats.

And it is to be noted that labor struggles are coming more and more into the field of politics —into the domain of legislation. The Clayton law which declared that labor is not a commodity is one landmark of political action. This law is

to certain court decisions in labor cases what the emancipation proclamation was to the court decision in the Dred Scott case. Another legislative landmark is the seaman's law which frees the sailor from feudal serfdom. Another legislative landmark is the child labor law, which forbids the weaving of little children's lives into the web and woof of factory cloth. The latest of these legislative landmarks is the eight-hour law in railroading which Congress has just passed in response to the demands of the organized railway operatives. I wonder if you understand the circumstances out of which this new law has come? You have been told that the threatened strike was to secure an eight-hour day with ten hours' wages. You have been told and you are still told that this will cost the railroad corporations millions upon millions of dollars for the wages increase. Do you realize that no such condition is involved? That threatened strike was for the purpose of securing better railroad service. At one time the railroad men were kept on duty for thirty, forty, fifty and even sixty hours at a stretch. Their only chance for sleep was in a caboose, or on a locomotive, during all those hours. The reason for it was inefficient management. The reason for it was because the railroads were being controlled not by railroad men, but by financiers—not in the interest of a good transportation service, but in the interest of plundering profits. Senator LaFollette secured a law which limited consecutive service to sixteen hours a day. The same outcry was made against him that is being made now—that the railroads could not afford it. They couldn't afford decent wages because they had to pay dividends on watered stock. And now the railroad operatives through bad management of the financiers—the kind of management that has wrecked the Hartford & New Haven, the Rock Island and the Frisco—are forced to make less than reasonable speed. A fair rate of speed would be 12½ miles an hour. They have been kept down to ten miles an hour or even less. What the men threatened to strike for was 12½ miles an hour, which would cover 100 miles in eight hours, the hundred miles that has been covered in ten hours or more. Now why should it cost the railroads any more in wages to cover 100 miles in eight hours than to cover 100 miles in ten? If they will manage their roads decently they can cover the 100 miles at the same wages cost that they are covering that run now. This would give the men shorter time for the same wages, it would cost the companies no more for the same run, and it would furnish a better service to the public. This is what the threatened strike meant, this is what the new law means. And no one who has not been befuddled by the publicity agents of the railroads—costing an immense amount for no useful purpose—will for one moment stand on the side of the railroad companies in this controversy. It has been and it still is a controversy between the operatives who do our railroading for us and the interests that have been engaged in looting our railroads.

One of the greatest of the legislative landmarks of the recent past is the Department of Labor of the United States. Organized labor asked for it more than fifty years ago. Twelve Presidents and twenty-four Congresses came and went before that appeal was heard. But with the beginning of President Wilson's Administration a Secretary of Labor came into the Cabinet. He is head of the Department of Labor. As such he has promoted mediation in labor disputes with marked success. He has also set on foot a national organization for finding jobs for the jobless. And in this connection he has undertaken to enable wage workers to create their own jobs by going directly to the soil. One great obstacle stands in the way of success here. As fast as men seek the soil, they raise the price of the soil—the price of natural resources. And as this price rises in response to their demands, it has a tendency to rise still further in response to the demands of speculators in land. So the more successful the Department of Labor may be in enabling wage workers to make their own jobs, the more certain its work is to be frustrated by speculative increases in the price of natural resources.

And if we reflect, my friends, we shall find right there the crux of the whole labor question. Our government has given away to corporations millions upon millions of acres of our common lands. What we have not given away has been monopolized by purchase. So that now more than half our people are tenants and there is hardly any more public land left. Of the other half of our people, a very few own nearly all the land of the country. Look at our farming area. About 19 per cent of it is in farms of a thousand acres or more. And these huge farms are owned by less than 1 per cent of the farm owners of the country. Worse still, if anything could be worse, only about one-fifth of all that area is cultivated. Look then at our cities. A few families own a large proportion of all the land values of New York; a few families own a large proportion of all the land of Cleveland; a few families own a large proportion of all the land of Chicago. And so it goes all over the United States, in city and town and village and out upon your boundless prairies. Ask yourselves who owns most of Topeka. Ask yourselves what the ground upon which Topeka stands is worth. Ask yourselves who owns Kansas. You will find that the owners are not the farmers who farm farms. Our whole country is passing rapidly into the hands of the few. The rest are trespassers in the country of their birth. Here is the core of the labor question.

Shall these conditions continue? They need not, if a fair proportion of those who eat bread

in the sweat of their own faces will but give the word. The clew line of the tangled skein of labor conditions is the wonderful social phenomenon that we call land value. You all know what land value is. It is the price that is given to localities by growing populations, by general improvement and by good government in those localities. Land value is the financial measure of social progress. In justice it belongs not to the land owner, but to the community. In justice it should be taken for common use. If that be not done, the common fund will go into private pockets. This will encourage speculation in land, and speculation in land discourages the use of land. Speculation in land narrows opportunities for employment by keeping land out of use. In that way speculation in land—more correctly, I suppose, I should say, speculation in land values—makes wage workers dependent. It forces them into labor organizations and it puts even labor organizations at a disadvantage in the struggle with highly privileged employers. But speculation in land can be stopped. The unused land can be opened up for use. Land values which grow with the growth of the community and with its general progress point the way. These values can be taken for public use by a simple change in our tax methods—a change that would be a good thing merely as a matter of taxation. What is it? Nothing more than that we stop taxing industry. Let us get our public income from increases in land values and we shall have no reason to tax anybody for building houses, keeping store, manufacturing goods, or working on farms. And why not take these common values for common use? No one dare say that it is wrong for the community to take what the community makes. The community has a right to its own wages. Then why not do it? If we do this no one will monopolize land except to use it. If we do this, all who monopolize land will be making increased demands for labor in order to use the land. If we do this, those who use the land, those who work it, and improve it, they will get the benefit of their use of it—every worker, whether he works for wages or whether he works as a leader of those who work for wages. If we did this, labor organization might continue. Let us hope that it would. But strikes and lockouts would be things of the past. There would be no possibility of lockouts when opportunities for labor constantly exceeded the supply of labor. There would be no motive for striking when labor conditions were fair and wages were the full product of the wage earner's work.

In conclusion my friends, let me remind you that all labor is by nature co-operative. Association is part of the law of progress. We see this when we consider specialization and exchange. No individual, no number of individuals could make much progress without association. But association alone is not enough. We have association when we have slavery; we have association when we have serfdom. We have association when we have an exploited wage-working class. The true association must be upon terms of equality—of equal opportunity. This is the law—the law of nature. We cannot escape its penalties if we defy it. We can reap its rewards if we follow it. Shall we follow it? Yes, and in a way and to a degree we always have followed it. We are following it now. Our progress has always been slow, it is slow still, but we do progress. Sometimes we have great reactions, but they should not discourage us. Reactionary excesses are like flashes of electric light in the face of an imperiled sleeper—a sleeper who needs not so much to be told what to do as to be awakened and told where to look. Did you ever watch the movement of a great river? It winds and turns according to the lay of the ground, so that you cannot tell its general direction from mere local or temporary observation. And here you will find an eddy, there a slough, yonder an obstructing rock. All disturb your judgment, as to the direction of the river. Yet it flows steadily on in one general course to the open sea. So is it with social progress. We have reactionary eddies, standpat rocks, a winding of the course of the stream, yet its flow is ever onward toward the great ocean of democracy, of brotherly love, of the reign of the Golden Rule. And the time is coming when this Labor Day instituted by wage earners and celebrated by them, will become a true thanksgiving day for all who participate in the useful work of the world. We need only to do unto all others as we would have all others do to us. To love our neighbors as ourselves, to practice in our laws the doctrine we so proudly quote from our Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal—we need only to wish to do this and to learn how to do it in order to bring about that reign of peace on earth and good will among men which was proclaimed from the skies 2000 years ago.

FREE LAND AND HIGH WAGES.

From Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American People," Vol. IV, p. 22.

So long as land was to be had [in the West] almost for the mere asking, at no cost except that of the journey and of a few farmer's tools and a beast or two for the plow, the active men of New England, whom [the manufacturers] counted on as skilled workmen, must be constantly enticed away by the score and hundred to seek an independent life and livelihood in the West. High wages, very high wages, must be paid to keep them.

Society can overlook murder, adultery or swindling; it never forgives the preaching of a new gospel.—Frederick Harrison.

FORD ON THE LABOR QUESTION.

Interview with Henry Ford on August 31, Reported for The Public by Judge Henry Neil.

Henry Ford told me today that if he controlled the railroads, he would cut the freight rates to one-third the present rate, double the pay of the workers, and by cutting out graft and tyranny in management make more profit for the stockholders than is made under the present system. He said there is an unseen hand controlling the financial affairs of the railroads and other great industries. He further declared that the financial statement issued by his company today shows it to be more profitable to employers to pay workers high wages for an eight-hour day than low wages for longer hours.

The overworked and worried man, he said, is not an efficient worker. Many men now enlist for war, said Mr. Ford, because their wages are so low that they can not live decently in times of peace. He furthermore noted the relation of the labor question to the land question by referring to the many who try to profit through owning land and holding it for a rise, rather than by putting it to some good use.

WHY WILSON IS PREFERRED.

A Published Statement Issued on August 26 at Chicago.

In am for Wilson because he is a real democrat. That means that he is for his fellowman at home and abroad. I am a German, and I do not understand how the Germans of this country can fail to see that Mr. Wilson is their friend, just as he is the friend of his fellowman in all countries. One can always count on his impartiality—that he will not favor any particular one, because he favors all. We can see by his acts that he really does this; they may not always show forth his intent; but if one waits long enough, one finds that the true intent and intelligence of the highest kind were there—an intent consonant with love for humanity. His foreign policy alone would entitle him to re-election. His internal policy, of course, adds so much the more to his desirability. What he has done gives us an earnest of what he will do, if one will only use one's own intelligence to see through the mists engendered by the present world situation.

MARY FELS,
(Mrs. Joseph Fels.)

It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, having capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. . . . Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed. . . . Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed.—Abraham Lincoln.

BOOKS

HEREDITY OR ENVIRONMENT.

American Men of Letters: Their Nature and Nurture. By Professor Edwin Leavitt Clarke. Published by Columbia University, New York. Price, $1.50.

The claim that the "genius" makes his way in the world on the foundation of innate capacity alone, independent of all outward circumstances, has been taken up and defended by Galton, in his classic work "hereditary genius," which is based on the view that ability, irrespective of external conditions, accounts for the rise of individuals and for the superiority of one nation over another. This view comports with the individualism which reigned so long without challenge in the fields of politics, morals and religion.

At the other extreme is the view that individual and race characteristics do not count, but that the differences of genius observable between persons and nations depends entirely upon external conditions relating to physical environment or social organization. This principle is championed by Lester F. Ward in his "Applied Sociology." According to Ward, heredity is a fixed quantity which no human power can change, while the environment, which Galton affected to despise, is not only easily modified, but is in reality the only thing that is modified in the artificial process which is the essence of eugenics. Exclusive emphasis upon conditions outside the individual signifies absolute reaction against individualism and savors of socialism. Ward is, in fact, a socialist.

The work before us is a case-book relating to the discussion whether the appearance of distinguished persons depends upon mysterious biological heredity, or upon a favorable environment. The concrete material used consists of one thousand American authors, dramatists, and orators born before 1850. Facts relating to the hereditary and environmental influences in the lives of these persons were carefully collected from a great many different sources, and recorded on cards. It appears that New England produced more litterateurs in proportion to the population than did any other group of states; that the Middle Atlantic states produced more dramatists than all the other groups combined; and that the South Atlantic States showed their greatest relative strength in the class of orators, where they ranked above the Middle Atlantic, though still far below New England.

The leading conclusion derived from the investigation is that neither the hereditary nor the environmental view is exclusively correct. The truth is found to lie between the extremes. There is no rational ground for contention between them. Each view contains elements of truth. In the words of the author;

The biologist may well continue his study of heredity. The sociologist eagerly awaits reasoned conclusions on the subject of racial improvement through eugenics. Meanwhile, the sociologist is justified in advocating, with all the force at his command, the extension of those fundamental American privileges, economic and social opportunity and education, by means of which all the innate ability which exists may be given the environment necessary for its maximum development.

LOUIS WALLIS.

THE RAILROAD QUESTION.

State Regulation of Railroads in the South. By Maxwell Ferguson. Published by Columbia University, New York. Price, $1.75 net.

This study is part of a larger work designed to treat of the growth of the principal southern railroad systems, the rate problem, State and Federal control and Intercorporate relations. As such, there is no attempt to arrive at any definite conclusion. It is more nearly an array of facts pertinent to the case and its intelligent study. The author, like all intelligent railroad officials, regrets the past sins of the railroads and realizes that in the temporary evils that have arisen in the attempt to eradicate the dark spots we have a friction that the public as well as the railroad administrative heads would be pleased to see disappear. Where the dual regulation of railroads is concerned, State and Federal (and they often conflict), the author favors the latter. This is also the viewpoint of intelligent railroad officials, inasmuch as while Federal regulation has given the roads much concern, it has been both expert and intelligent. That cannot be said with truth of State regulation. The opinion is hazarded by the author that the next step in the history of the regulation of the railroad may very possibly be the Federal incorporation of all railroads transacting an interstate business, and the consequent subjection of all State supervision by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST LABOR TROUBLES.

Law and Order in Industry. By Julius Henry Cohen. Published by Macmillan & Co., New York. Price, $1.50 net.

The value and need of just such a study as this, is shown by the conditions existing between the trainmen and the railroads in the present dispute in which no one seems to get anywhere, and any agreement is temporary. When by means of the Protocol, an earnest endeavor was made to secure peace between the employers and employes in the garment-making industry, something was attempted that had never been tried before. Mr. Cohen was in close touch with the conditions that led to the forming of the Protocol, which, commencing in September, 1910, and ending in May, 1915, yet resulted in the industry being lifted to a higher plane of sanitary and health protection and regulation, with marked material advantage to the workers.

When a more just system of taxation and land tenure shall have been established, strikes and lock-outs, threats and recriminations will be things of the past, but pending that, when friction occurs, as in the present railroad crisis, some such honest endeavor to reach a basis of settlement as was done in the case of the garment workers is desirable. Reading this book, it seems as though with a little mutual consideration, the trouble existing between the trainmen and the railroads could be averted on pretty much the same lines.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

Father, why do people applaud when a man finishes his speech? Don't you know, my son? Why, it's to wake up those who fell asleep.—Jewish Daily News.

Crawford—I suppose Rockefeller, as usual, was the largest contributor to charity last year.

Cramshaw—It looks so, the way gasoline is going up.—Life.

Three-year-old Keith had told his mother a deliberate lie and she had put him to bed as a punishment. Sitting by the bedside, she asked him what he would do if he had a little boy who did such a thing. After a moment's thoughtful silence the child replied, "I fink I'd give him anover chance."—The Christian Herald.

Mrs. Youngbride—I'm getting our ice from a new man now, dear.

Youngbride—What's wrong with the other man?

Mrs. Youngbride—The new dealer says he'll give us colder ice for the same money.—Boston Transcript.

Commercial Candor at the Regun Theater: "An Interesting Story—Something Unusual—A Kind of Drama You Seldom See Here."—New York Tribune.

"Senator, you promised me a job."

"But there are no jobs."

"I need a job, Senator."

"Well, I'll ask for a commission to investigate as to why there are no jobs and you can get a job on that."—Louisville Courier-Journal.