THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

August 2, 1919

Dilemma of German-Americans

William E. Dodd

Some Foreign Points of View

Labor's Responsibilities

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What the President Did

By JOHN F. MOORS

Member of Boston Finance Commission and Member of Harvard Corporation

THE President could not in six months transform human nature throughout the world. Only the ages can do that, and until human nature changes the task which he set himself will not be fully accomplished. But he has taken the lead in transforming the old diplomatic standards of the world. It was he and not Clemenceau or Lloyd George who stood alone against what seemed to him unjust Italian ambitions and appealed to the world over the heads of the Italian Peace Delegation. Neither Clemenceau nor Lloyd George faced the world even in company with him against Italy, yet he did not lose their good will and coöperation. . . . It was clearly he who took the lead in denying to France her cherished protection in the Rhine frontier. Somehow England was denied the German Colonies in Africa, mandataries being substituted. He insisted successfully that every salient fact about the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations should be published monthly. . . .

The President has laid at our feet a priceless opportunity. Shall we pass it by and prefer the mess of pottage that the Senate has been holding before us while he has been gone?"

* From "The President at the Peace Conference," in THE PUBLIC of July 26.

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THAT China is wronged by the Japanese franchise in Shantung is plain. But there is too much hypocrisy in America about it. In particular there is too much hypocrisy in the United States Senate, where the same men who helped to fasten the Japanese talons upon China are today weeping crocodile tears. The three Republican Senators who wail the loudest are Messrs. Lodge, Penrose, and Warren. They were all members of the Senate and their own party was in power when a Republican Secretary of State approved the treaty and congratulated Germany upon her liberality in seizing Shantung. Their tears at this stage of the game fool no one. The Shantung concession is no whit worse than any of the other foreign concessions in China. It is bad, however, and there must be a way out. That way out lies in an appeal to the League. China has announced that she will enter the League and make that appeal. Now let the Senate get down to business.

ONE of the recent benefits to be derived from Government activities is the mobilizing of the capital of persons of small means. Granted the need of issuing bonds to carry on the war, it was to the credit of Secretary McAdoo that he put them out in popular form and organized a campaign to educate the small investor. There is an enormous amount of capital lying idle in the hands of the people who have from one hundred to a few hundred dollars. But after getting people who never before had seen a bond to buy those of the United States complaints were made that these small holders had no place to keep coupon bonds. This was met by offering free registration of bonds. Now appears a new difficulty. Interest checks do not come to some of the holders, and when they write to the Treasury Department their complaint may be from a week to three months in drawing an answer. If there has been too much willingness to trade Government bonds for others it may be that this inability on the part of the Treasury Department to function properly is partly to blame. It would be a pity to sacrifice the confidence of the small investor because of this seeming neglect and business incompetency.

EARLY in 1918 the German Professor, Hermann Fernau, a lifelong and consistent opponent of German imperialism, published a volume entitled "Das Königtum ist der Krieg" (Kingship Is War). He held as responsible for the war not the armament-makers, nor high finance, nor the manufacturers, nor the intellectuals, but solely the class of aristocrats, the "East Elbe Junkers," at the head of which group stood the Kaiser and his family. According to Fernau, the German nobility contained only 150,000 barons, but in their power were 66,000,000 citizens. In the hands of these barons were all matters of importance. Germany and with her all Europe were placed between the alternative of eliminating the supreme power of this class or of being crushed by it. The freedom of Germany could be obtained only by the abdication of the Hohenzollerns. The political problem was not, "How to convert the Hohenzollerns to democracy," but how to get rid of them. "Events have shown," said Fernau some months before the war ended, "that the German people can regain their liberties only by forming a republic."

IT is encouraging to note among the topics presented by a questionnaire sent out by the National Economic League some that have real meat on their bones. "Instead of taxing the income or rent of real estate," says the questionnaire, "ought all land, irrespective of improvements or use, be taxed by our Government for the payment of war debts, so as not to discriminate in favor of vacant real estate and thereby penalize the use of property?" Another question reads: "Should natural wealth, i. e., coal, iron, copper, silver and other mines, petroleum, gas wells, etc., the unearned increment on ground values, resulting from the growth of population and social activities—be taxed and thus, at least in a measure, relieve commerce and industry from burdensome income taxation?" When a society, having as its president William H. Taft and as vice-presidents Charles E. Hughes, Frank A. Vanderlip, and other men of like prominence in conservative thought, asks such questions it shows that the leaven is working.

ONE of the things that Germany now has to contend against is her "fool friends." During the war they were silenced by force, but now that the restrictions have been removed they are likely to boom forth with all the offensiveness of their leathern lungs. A few days ago at a meeting of German-Americans in New York to devise ways to help the stricken people of Germany there were men and women who protested their fealty to this country and who had given their sons to its defense. But there were a few who, in spite of the protests of their friends, persisted in railing at Americans and denouncing the English language press. The forces that make for kindliness and neighborliness are already at work, and this will be accelerated when commerce again assumes full sway. But much delay will be caused by the indiscretions of hotheads. This is a poor time to boast of German culture. By and by it may be discussed dispassionately, but at the present time exemplification will be more in order than declamation. Armistices and treaties may be set up at will, but public opinion cannot be forced.

"TREASURE from the sea" is a fitting term to apply to the accomplishment of President Saxe of the New York State Tax Commission, who conceived the idea of taxing cable companies for the use of the ocean bed. The United States territory extends three miles beyond the shore line, hence the bottom of the ocean, argued Mr. Saxe, is land just as much as though there were no water on it. And as private ownership stops at the water line, he assumed and acted upon the assumption that cables were laid on public land in the same sense as street railway rails. The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York sustains Mr. Saxe in his contention, and New York revenue is enriched by perhaps one million dollars in taxes. Now if Mr. Saxe would only have the good fortune to discover the vacant lots and acres that have been growing in value while surrounding lands were in use he could get a much larger treasure from the land.

PERSONS interested in the tariff schedules should put in their claims without delay. This is the advice of the American Protective Tariff League; and it knows. "The majority of the members of the Congress," says Circular No. 804, put out by the League, "and especially the members of the Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees, are friends of American industry and American development. Some people think they will be taken care of by others. If you are in that class, don't think it. Please go to Washington and stay there until tariff legislation is accomplished." This is clear and explicit. All persons interested in the high cost of living who do not wish to see it go still higher should be guided by this advice and take up their abode in Washington, and "stay there until tariff legislation is accomplished." Any one who does not do this will have only himself to blame.

IN deciding upon the repeal of the Canadian Reciprocity Act the Ways and Means Committee of the House is running true to form. The tariff is in the hands of its friends and they propose to leave no holes in the wall through which anything our people want can come. If food gets so high we cannot afford to eat what we need we must keep out Canadian food; if lumber gets so high that we cannot afford to build, so much the worse for the houseless. If our forests disappear under the woodsmen's axe we must not resort to Canada's forests for re-

lief. Notice also is given by those in charge of tariff legislation that wood pulp, which was put on the free list by the Underwood bill, will be repealed by other measures. These measures will apply also to wheat flour, potatoes, and potato products which are on the free list. Much ado was made by the Germans and their friends because the Allies blockaded their ports and kept goods from going into the country; our tariff friends propose to blockade our own ports so that nothing can get in. Peace hath her horrors as well as war.

WHATEVER else Coxey's army may have done, it set the style. Ever since its day the descent upon Washington has been the fashion. But surely not since the day of the General himself has so hungry a brigade camped upon the Capitol steps as that attracted by Mr. Mondell's land-for-soldiers bill. Nor was General Coxey blessed with such a band. Rarely before has there been such beating of tomtoms or such swarming of orators as gathered to welcome this legislative child fathered by Mr. Mondell and god-fathered by Mr. Lane. For six weeks and more the land boomers have been booming overtime. There should be an eight-hour day for boomers. They have all been there with wares of every description—arid lands, desert lands, under-water lands, mountaintop lands, cut-over lands, swamp lands. Anything that cannot be unloaded upon any one else seems to be a proper object for sale to the Government. The aggregation of statesmen, near statesmen, and real estate peddlers that descended upon Congress is reminiscent of the days when Legislatures were granting franchises to all comers. Never was there such a collection of ex-'s. Ex-Governors, ex-Congressmen, lame ducks, land sharks, and a Mormon bishop made up a delegation with the same interest in the soldier that the cat has in the mouse. Two things more than anything else seem to attract human beings—getting work and getting out of work. And the Mondell bill offers an unparalleled opportunity for the land-sharks to get out of work.

SCIENTIFIC charity we have long been acquainted with, but calculated generosity is something new. It is one thing to have the need of mendicancy investigated to determine its reality. It seems quite a different thing to have one's liberality mechanically proportioned. Among the dislocations of human affairs the waiters complain that abandoning the use of alcohol as a beverage has caused a drying up of the fountain of tips. It has been discovered that the non-drinker is less generous than the drinker; hence, waiters at high-class restaurants and hotels are asking the proprietors to add ten per cent. to the guest's check as a tip. Reports have it that experimental trials have proved unsatisfactory. Guests flatter their own vanity by throwing largesses to menials, but feel themselves imposed upon when the would-be recipients of their bounty reach into their purse to help themselves. But why should waiters be signaled out for this ignominy? Why do they not demand that their employers pay them like other self-respecting persons?

Political Blundering

CRITICS of American politics will recall the time when they predicted with confidence that no matter how much the Republicans might blunder the Democrats were sure to surpass them. But it would seem that the practice has been reversed. Not a few have noted the fact that for the past eight years there have been times when the mistakes of the Democrats—colossal as they have been—have been offset by greater tactical errors of the Republicans.

President Wilson holds the center of the stage at this most dramatic moment. He has fired the imagination of the common man as it has never been quickened before. We have already felt the political whirlpool of 1920, and the Republicans feel the necessity of regaining their hold upon popular affection. They have made the unpardonable mistake, however, of merely opposing the Wilson policies instead of setting up a policy of their own.

This blunder was inevitable, because the party was at the moment without any great principle, and, what was worse, it was without any great leader. Senator Lodge long ago demonstrated his lack of great qualities. The mere fact that he as the representative of the State of Massachusetts should have opposed woman suffrage all these years showed that he not only lacked perception of fundamentals,

but that he could not read the signs of the times. Borah, Knox, Penrose, and Johnson have been so befuddled by the buzzing of Presidential bees that their sense of proportion has been destroyed. They have been so obsessed with the idea of securing the Republican nomination next year that they have utterly overlooked the fact that in striking at Wilson they have hit the very thing the people cherish most in their hearts. Never has there been a clearer case of political demoralization. Blunder has succeeded blunder until panic has seized the leaders and robbed them of whatever reason they originally had. Mr. Root came to the rescue, but the Senators were unable to follow him. Now Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes have rushed into the breach. But though they have heartened the League opponents, it appears to be of little avail in liberating the entangled Senators.

The Republican Senators have been afraid to avail themselves of the President's offer to take counsel with their committee for fear he would tell them things they did not wish to know. Now he is talking to them individually, and they find it harder and harder to maintain their absurd position. Clearly the President is showing clever judgment in permitting his opponents to talk their case out of court. When they have reached the last stage of foolishness—if such a point be possible—the President will go upon the stump and tell the people in his plain and simple way what he has done and what he expects them to do.

Had the President gone upon the stump at once upon his return, or had he made a detailed statement to the Senate, it would have been obscured under a cloud of carping criticism. The Senators do not want to know about the treaty; they are looking only for political capital for next year. It is scarcely possible that the President should make any proposal that Lodge and his little coterie would not oppose simply because made by the President. These men are so embittered with passion that they have been deaf to the pleas of their own party men. Their chairman is berating them for their stupidity, and the great financial supporters of the party are hinting at slender contributions for the next campaign. The situation would be highly amusing were it not that the subject of discussion is the fate of nations.

Confusing the Issue

FEAR of democracy appears to be as intense among some Americans as it is with the tories and junkers abroad. They are willing to accept the rule of the majority as long as it approaches reasonably near to their own ideas; but just to the extent that it departs from their conception they lose faith in it. Yet the whole history of America is a tale of political, economic, and social experiments, some of which have been attended by foreign and civil war. Our form of government is such that each of the forty-eight States can conduct experiments differing from each other.

Nevertheless, there are those who are continually fretting over the ventures of the different States, and instead of rejoicing because of this marvelous opportunity for testing out political theories, they live in constant fear lest some terrible calamity befall the country. The chief cause of apprehension at present is North Dakota, where the Nonpartisan League is trying to work out some economic problems, and where the center of all unrighteousness appears to be one A. C. Townley, who a writer in the *Review* says "is a political force without an equal in the history of the United States." Every member of the State Government, we are assured, from the Governor down, takes orders from this boss. More than two-thirds of the members of both houses of the Legislature have been elected by the Townley machine, and take orders directly or indirectly from him.

One is somewhat puzzled to know how this "unscrupulous man" has gathered into his own hands "almost absolute power over the political and property rights of one of the sovereign States of the American Union." Not only that, but he is reaching for like control over other States. He has been several times compared with Lenin, and is spoken of as having the purpose to take "property from one set of people to give to another." He is "not yet a Bolshevik, perhaps, but is moving rapidly in that direction."

The mischief attributed to Townley, economic, political, and social, would make one look for some sort of red-handed disciple of the torch and bomb; but so far as the records go, the only direct-actionists who have appeared on the scene are certain hot-tempered oppo-

nents of the League who have mobbed its members and representatives. This would seem to indicate that the rioters either think the farmers of the Northwest have too little sense to know right from wrong, or knowing, have too little integrity to be trusted with authority.

After all, the explanation of this situation is not far to seek. Democracy is a living force that has crept into the consciousness of man. When it permeated the upper class as a means of protecting it from absolutism it was a divine thing; but when it began to spread among the lower classes and was seized upon by them as a means of protecting them from the privileged class, it became an agency of evil and a thing to be limited and restricted.

Whatever may be Mr. Townley's personal worth, his power lies in the fact that those who have hitherto managed affairs have failed to establish justice and equality of opportunity. It is not that North Dakota farmers fail to distinguish between *meum* and *tuum*, but because their opponents have failed to make this distinction. It is not that they wish to confiscate the property of others, but they hope to stop others from confiscating theirs. It is no answer to their plea to jail or mob their leaders.

Free Cuba

ANNOUNCEMENT is made of the forming of a new political party in Cuba, having as its primary principle "non-interference of other nations in Cuba's affairs." This is the natural result of the long smoldering restiveness under the restrictions laid upon them by the United States. It recalls how narrowly this country missed doing a great thing when it compelled Spain to withdraw from the island. Our people are fond of referring to the fact that we freed Cuba. What we really did was to compel Spain to relinquish her hold upon Cuba, and then impose a qualified sovereignty of our own. The act recognizing Cuba's independence was modified by the Platt amendment, by which the Cubans recognized the suzerainty of the United States. What Cuba really won in her war for independence was an escape from an absolute and cruel master to a qualified and kindly master.

Congress declared "that the people of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent." But after the war was over the Cuban constitutional convention was obliged to accept the so-called Platt amendment, which provided among other things "that the United States may intervene to preserve Cuban independence, and to protect life, property, and individual liberty." The Cubans who had fought Spain for a generation struggled long and hard to avoid this limitation of their independence, but they were as helpless as Germany at Paris and they accepted the conditions for the same reason that Germany accepted hers. But they have not forgotten their humiliation, and in spite of their appreciation of what the United States has done for them they keenly feel the situation, and they appreciate the danger in which they are. They know that we have done much for them, but the future is big with possibilities. One does not like to be bound even if he has a kind master, for that master may be succeeded by one who does not know the ways of rectitude.

When it is recalled that in spite of our specific declaration in behalf of Cuban liberty at the beginning of the war with Spain our reactionary Senators and Representatives struggled to retain possession of the island after the war, and that they could be induced to forego their design only upon Cuba's acceptance of the Platt amendment, which gives us the power to intervene at our discretion, it will be seen how easy it will be for some future President to "take Cuba," as Mr. Roosevelt boasted he "took Panama."

All that will be necessary to set the wheel going rests in the hands of some American investor who by stirring up trouble in the island can bring the United States Government to his rescue. Nay, worse than that. The Platt amendment places Cuba at the mercy of any political adventurer in the island who wishes to hold the threat of American intervention over his opponents. If they do not yield to political blackmail he has but to stir up trouble that will bring the American troops.

A hue and cry has been raised about Japan's hold upon China, and with good reason. But before this country joins in that cry we should set our own house in order by freeing Cuba. The people of that island have enough to do with their internal affairs without having to gauge every act with a view to placating the United

States; and we in our turn have plenty to do to manage our own affairs without meddling in Cuba's. Those Senators who are so bent upon amending treaties might amend the convention between this country and Cuba.

Flouting the Law

RACE riots in Washington and in Chicago, with a background of lynchings in various parts of the country, while men are still haggling over peace terms of a war for democracy, is a sad commentary on our intelligence, to say nothing of our spirit of toleration. These occurrences are too frequent and too widely scattered to be dismissed as local manifestations.

But depreciation is not enough. We must recognize the fact of our shortcomings and set about mending our ways. If the feeling between the American and French soldiers, and between the American and British, was sufficient to cause friction and outbreaks it would almost inevitably appear that clashes would occur between white and black citizens in this country, where race antagonism has so long held sway.

There is no blinking the fact that the race question in this country has become one of the gravest of evils. It demands instant attention of public officials and law-abiding citizens; for whatever may be the final solution of the problem the one indispensable requirement is observance of law. If men may with impunity take the law into their own hands, no matter how great the provocation, they prove themselves to be the worst enemies of justice. By violence they destroy the very cause they would defend.

In spite of all pacifist teaching, and notwithstanding the behests of religion and philosophy, victims of injustice will resort to violence when pressed beyond human endurance. Industrial workers smarting from injustice have protested to the press, and they have appealed to the authorities. But the public is indifferent, and the Government concerns itself with other matters. Yet, when conditions become intolerable, and the victims start rioting, then the statesmen give ear.

Is this to be the course of the Negro? Must he too advertise his wrongs by shooting up his tormentors? It is indeed a heavy price to pay for justice; but paid it will be unless justice be had in other ways.

Continued lynching of Negroes was certain to meet resistance sooner or later. The war has brought it sooner. Two things are indispensable to the settlement of the race question. One is to distinguish between the race and the individual. Because one Negro commits a crime the offense should not be charged against the race. And above all, the offender, whatever his race or condition, must have the fullest protection of the law. When the rights of the humblest man are invaded, the liberty of all men is put in jeopardy. Lynching has long been our shame. If it be not speedily stopped we shall not only stand disgraced in the eyes of the world, but we shall pay heavily in the loss of innocent lives.

Lloyd George's Dilemma

THE British situation is grave. Many signs point to a general election. Most of the predictions, it is true, come from radicals who want a general election. But there are confirmatory evidences from coalition sources. All has not been going well in Britain. Mr. Lloyd George swept the country immediately after the armistice, but his mandate is already dead. The temporary issue of making Germany pay for the war served to hold the coalition forces together for a space. Since then a dozen vexing questions have arisen. Nationalization of the mines has thrust itself into prominence and conservative opinion is divided. There is nothing that a duke clings to so tenaciously as land. Public ownership of railways demands attention. The Russian policy is unpopular. Labor is restive. Conscription continues in peace time and an outraged public opinion demands its abolition. The army has had no less than thirty mutinies in six months. Ireland, India, and Egypt are in rebellion, or on the verge of it. Can these currents be confined within the frail walls of the coalition? Assuredly not. As well confine the turbulent North Sea in a bucket.

Mr. Lloyd George's specialty, of course, is riding the storm. Here, however, are tempests, some of which may carry him to victory and some to oblivion. Eventually Britain must

divide into two camps—labor and the dukes, or in economic terms, labor and land. That division is not yet at hand, but it approaches. Meanwhile, Mr. Asquith engages in a vain attempt to revive the Liberal Party by whispering to it of free trade. Mr. Asquith might as well save his breath. Has he forgotten the land song? Too many people have learned the meaning of real free trade to be deeply stirred over the custom-house variety. Mr. Churchill also is ambitious and has organized a center party, a newer and more up-to-date conservative party with business men instead of landed gentry, and steel masters in place of dukes. These are but the beginnings, however. The leaders scent the new alignments and each puts out his bait. Lloyd George is still master of the situation, although he is the chief victim. His Government will be smashed. But by seizing some dynamic issue like nationalization of the mines he may yet ride victoriously back to Parliament at the head of a radical majority. But has he the vision? And is the radical majority there?

The Jingo Soul Goes Marching On

NOTHING is commoner among psychic phenomena than the impulsive elevation of intellectual ideals to a plane where the voluntary aims and habits of life refuse to follow. The experience is common to the individual and to the nation. For two years while we were in the throes of a problematic struggle it looked as if the American people were largely under the influence of an altruistic and beneficent purpose and effort. We really seemed to enjoy the thought that we were palpably serving the best welfare of the world. It appeared as if we actually saw a light and felt a joy not of the peddler's ken. No nation ever had greater leadership, and for a time it seemed that we were responding greatly.

But even before the armistice was safely signed the mean and carping spirit of the self-seeker became voluble and vociferous, the elections expressed the middle-class horror of taxes and interference with private profits, partisan politics grew blatant in Congress and out of it, and every kind of lust for loot became rampant and rampageous. As the weeks go by the unsocial vices of avarice and cruelty become more open and insistent, showing that our fine display of other-regarding feeling in war time was mostly an excursion of emotion rather than a just expression of settled character.

Today the inner quality of a mischievous part of the population is exposed in a vicious attitude toward Mexico. The revealing test of genuine patriotism belongs not to war time but to peace time. Many a man is physically courageous who is morally a coward. Many an eloquent patriot in the hour of public danger is a pernicious enemy of the public good in the more tranquil days when private profit is less in public view. The patriotism that connotes true love of country finds pleasure in bearing a just share of the public burden, abhors a selfish profit at the expense of the common good, and repudiates every way of gain that threatens popular security or peace.

Mexico's affairs have been turbulent for many decades. Its quietest days for the United States were not the best days for Mexico. The jails of Diaz were poor schools for democracy, and the age is democratic. Sooner or later, in one way or another, Mexico must become truly democratic and self-governing. The wisest minds in the United States recognize this, and our settled policy toward that turbulent neighbor must be one of helpfulness in behalf of a genuine Mexican autonomy. Carranza is jealous of the sovereignty of Mexico as an independent State, while Mexico's chief need is competent and honest government within its own borders. Our unspeakable newspapers of the jingo type, our atrocious Senators of the gang that will learn nothing from the horrors of war, are clamoring for Mexican scalps and Mexican mines. If our very enlightened Administration, in coöperation with the A B C republics or some other American association, could induce Carranza to establish either the singletax or devise some other mode of control that would take the natural resources of the troubled sections of Northern Mexico out of the reach of speculation or foreign exploitation, there would be a speedy end of the schemes of trouble makers in the United States, a marked diminution of the outbreaks in Mexico, and a cessation of all demands for war. The clamors against Mexico have their obvious taproot in the covetous greed of gain.

Some Foreign Points of View

Translated by Alice Thacher Post

A Swiss Comment on the Economics of the Peace Treaty

The *Journal de Genève* (Geneva, Switzerland), of May 15th, said editorially:

"It is as impossible for Germany to make full reparation for the harm she has wrought as it is for the Allies, especially Belgium and France, not to resent as injustice a lack of reimbursement. . . . What may be done in this desperate situation? Many competent minds in France estimate that the financial association of nations might offer an adequate remedy. What is of importance to the French is, not that Germany should pay, but that they should receive. To arrange, by an international guarantee of the German debt, or by an international loan to Germany, or further, by the issue of an international money validated by the Society of Nations, that France should be in the way of receiving more without Germany's being destroyed, such would be the solution of the problem.

"This idea encounters two objections. On one hand the financiers do not believe that a money can be conceived of that has not behind it a gold reserve, even under the common guarantee of all the governments. The second objection, which is more political in its nature, and is entirely insurmountable, comes from the United States, where they fear they would lose more than they would gain in an association of this kind.

"Therefore the framers of the treaty have been obliged to have recourse to the processes of direct reimbursement, in which everyone sees the contradictions involved. To require of Germany enormous payments, and to take from her at the same time, under form of restitution in kind, the greater part of her means of production, is to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs."

German Praise for Belgium

Who would expect to find in a German paper words of praise for the determined resistance of Belgium to the German invasion? Yet *l'Humanité*, the Socialist daily of Paris, in its issue of May 28, quoted passages from an article written by the editor of *Vorwaerts*, Friedrich Stampfer, who had just been to Versailles, which appeared in *Vorwaerts* of May 10, and in which are to be found these words in regard to what Germany must face if she should refuse to sign the treaty and have to submit to foreign occupation:

"We have the heroic example of little Belgium before our eyes. She bore her fate in similar conditions for years. That which Belgium could do, we ought equally to be able to do."

A German Effort to Get the Foreign Point of View

From *l'Humanité* (Paris) of May 28:

"Already before the text of the treaty was known in detail, the *Leipsiger Volkszeitung*, one of the principal organs of the Independent Party, had published in its issue of April 29 an article which showed what pains the Independents were taking to enlighten the people, and to do nothing to contribute to national jingoism. This article related to the question of the financial indemnity, placed at a hundred milliards.

" 'We do not wish now to look into the question,' said the *Volkszeitung*, 'as to whether Germany will be able during the coming years to pay such a sum. But it is important that we should understand how it happened that in the countries of the Entente they have arrived at the amounts of the claims that seem to us so exaggerated.'

"And then," continues *l'Humanité*, "the *Leipsiger Volkszeitung* gives the figures in regard to what has been destroyed in the north of France, not only by the war itself, but also by the transportation of all the machinery and raw materials to the interior of Germany.

" 'It is not sufficiently well known among our people that Germany has carried off immense values from the occupied territories,' says the *Volkszeitung*, adding, 'It must not be forgotten that the economic-industrial perspectives after this war, without indemnity, would be much worse for France than for Germany. France finds herself, like Germany, but for other reasons, face to face with an economic catastrophe. She has not even forty millions of inhabitants. Germany will have at the conclusion of the peace perhaps even twice as many. All French industry was concentrated before the war in the north; this region is completely destroyed, ruined in all that relates to capital, technical equipment and commercial relations. German industry finds capital at its full strength, her technical equipment has remained at full height, she does not lack workers, and what she has lost in commercial relations she will quickly recover as soon as raw materials can be imported. It is thus that the French see the situation, and it is necessary to be just in face of these facts. We will doubtless be obliged to carry a fabulous indemnity. ***But these milliards should not be loaded upon the shoulders of the great masses; let them be paid by those who precipitated us into this situation.***' "*

* Italics put in by the translator into English.

Italy Draws Near to German Austria and Hungary, and Opposes the Jugo-Slavs

The *Journal de Genève* (Geneva, Switzerland), of May 21, quoted the following words as addressed "the other day" by General Segré, chief of the Italian mission to Vienna, to an Austrian journalist:

"Cordial sentiments of sympathy have always united the Austrians to Italy; the great Austrian-German minds have gained strength from Italy and from Italian art, and Italy knows how much she could learn from the wise tenacity of the peoples of the north. Better days are coming. Italy is the friend of the young German Austria. We shall yet have occasion to demonstrate by deeds our friendship to the young state, and these deeds will speak our sentiments."

The *Journal de Genève* further points out that "if Fiume should become Italian, Italy would be mistress of the only maritime outlet for Hungary, and that just as the Italian occupancy of Trieste creates between Italians and Tchecho-Slovaks a community of interests, so Fiume would be a close bond between Hungary and Italy."

"This picture of Italian politics is not complete," the *Journal* continues; "to make it so it would be necessary to study further Italian activities at Sofia, in Macedonia, and in Albania; for it will be possible, a little at a time, to separate the Balkans from Austria-Hungary. And the farther one goes into the details the better one sees the sole idea and the constructive function of this political scheme: to isolate the Jugo-Slavs, and to make the Croatians bear all the odium and all the burdens of the war that Francis Joseph let loose and that his dynasty lost."

Lane and Mondell—Real Estate

By a Special Correspondent

SECRETARY LANE'S land scheme is dead. Liberals need shed no tears. Mr. Lane may weep, but blushes would become him better at this juncture. He, more than any other, is responsible for the wreck of government plans for soldier settlement.

A year and a half ago Mr. Lane had never heard of land for soldiers. His relations with land problems had brought him no glory. He was somewhat in eclipse. As the official guardian of the Osage Indians he had given six oil concerns access to a billion dollars' worth of oil lands and had permitted them to exploit the Indians of five-sixths of the product. Another reason for his eclipse was his insistence upon turning over the administration of coal prices to a crowd of coal profiteers. The prices fixed by Mr. Lane's friends brought vigorous protests from Secretary Baker and Secretary Daniels. They were so outrageous that the President himself interfered and superseded Mr. Lane's schedule of prices with one of his own. It was a most humiliating experience for Mr. Lane, and one which called for rehabilitation. He needed glory and needed it badly. This explains much later on.

Now, as already noted, Mr. Lane had at this time no idea with regard to land for soldiers. The idea of colonization of land had been well worked out before Mr. Lane had ever heard of it, or before we had any returning soldiers to worry over. As early as 1914 the Secretary of Labor had pointed out the necessity for a sound land policy. It was not enough, he said, merely to open employment offices for bringing together jobless men and manless jobs. The primary trouble was that there were more men than jobs in the United States, and it was the plain duty of the Government to equalize them.

So important did this phase of the labor question seem, that in 1915 Secretary Wilson publicly outlined a plan "to make opportunities for workers greater than demands for work and to keep them so." This does not mean that the plan was a new one in the Department of Labor in 1915, but that it had by that time reached such a point of completion that it could be discussed publicly. It had received close and continuous attention from many officers of the Department, and in particular from Assistant Secretary Louis F. Post. The subject was discussed at various times with other Departments which were involved in the technical details of the plan. Under a coöperative arrangement with the Forest Service, an expert, Mr. Benton MacKaye, was transferred to the Department of Labor to assist in perfecting the plan in detail. The subject even received a certain amount of attention from the Reclamation Service in Mr. Lane's own Department. It will thus be seen that Mr. Lane was in no sense the originator of the colonization idea as applied to public lands.

At that time it was recognized that it would be difficult to get Congress to take advanced ground with respect to the land problem. Consequently, the Department of Labor set out to conduct a careful and painstaking campaign of education. A bill was introduced into Congress by Robert Crosser, at that time representing an Ohio constituency. While the Crosser bill did not represent the ideas of Secretary Wilson in detail, it reflected them fairly accurately in principle, and conformed to the main points laid down by Mr. Wilson in 1915. These points were substantially as follows:

Land was to be provided from two sources,—the public domain, and such privately owned areas as it might be found desirable to purchase. Such lands were not to be considered as necessarily restricted to farm lands, for food production is only one of the many aspects of labor involved in wringing a subsistence from nature. Secretary Wilson's vision involved water power, mines, and forests as well. Upon these lands settlers were to be placed under the jurisdiction of a board consisting of the Secretaries of Labor, Agriculture, and Interior. In so doing, the principles of group colonization were to be applied. The reason for this departure was obvious. Under the old homesteading system men had burrowed under hillsides, lived in sod huts, and endured innumerable hardships in order to secure a competence. Mr. Wilson insisted that they should from the beginning have all the facilities for coöperation such as were necessary to protect them from the monopolistic interests that prey upon the isolated farmer. He proposed to lay out a rural community as modern town planners build cities, and to provide in advance those social conveniences that make life livable. By planning communities instead of isolated farms, roads, schools, and markets could be provided in advance.

A second essential was that colonists must be given access, not to the bare soil, but to fully equipped agricultural plants ready to operate. Mr. Wilson was not fooled by the current belief that a farm consists of land. He knew very well that land is merely a site upon which the settler builds a farm.

A third point—and the most important one—was that all possibility of commercialized speculation in titles should be guarded against. In four successive Annual Reports of the Department of Labor reference was made to the dangers which lay in the inflation of land values. It was pointed out that the liberal grants of earlier years had only resulted in speculation and inflation which had exploited the living generation and retarded the development of the country as a whole. To avoid a repetition of our earlier catastrophe it was provided that the nation should retain title to all lands, although the improvements were to be sold. Freehold tenure was to be abolished and the perpetual leasehold substituted, the Government to collect annually from each settler a rental based upon the productive value of the land. The purpose of this provision was to free the settler from the curse and the temptation of land speculation.

It is well to note the nature of the board which was to have jurisdiction. Three Cabinet officers were to make it up. The reason for the inclusion of the Secretary of Labor is, of course, apparent. The problem involved was one not of land but of employment. To quote Secretary Wilson's own words, "the primary principle involved is not the use of men for the development of land but the development of land for the use of men." The Department of Agriculture was involved not only because of the necessity for its technical advice in farming matters, but because the national forests are in its jurisdiction. The reason for including the Department of the Interior will become apparent when we recall that some of its subordinate bureaus were equipped to give technical advice in projects involving reclamation or mining.

The outbreak of the war came just at a time when the whole plan was emerging from the academic to the expedient. What Congress would not undertake to do for wage-earners in general it would undertake on behalf of soldiers. The general scheme from that time, therefore, took on a dual aspect, having for its immediate aim land settlement for soldiers only, but for its ultimate aim land settlement for all workers.

Early in 1918, the scheme as a legislative project took on an inter-departmental aspect through a conference between representatives of the Department of Labor, the Forest Service, and the Reclamation Service, together with

a few interested outsiders such as William Kent and Professor Elwood Mead of California. There was no dissent at this conference from the plan for coöperation, nor did any participant then or thereafter indicate the desire or intention to withdraw from the agreement there made.

At this point enters Mr. Lane. Among those present at the conference was Mr. Harry Slattery, Secretary of the National Conservation Association, then acting as a special assistant to Mr. Lane and in charge of certain reconstruction activities. Shortly before the conference, Mr. Slattery had directed Mr. Lane's attention to a broad and liberal project of land for soldiers. Mr. Lane, it must be recalled, was still probably smarting under the sting of his humiliating experiences earlier in the war, and had politically speaking "gone out in the garden to eat worms." He needed glory as an antidote to disgrace. Material prepared by Mr. Slattery gave Mr. Lane an inkling of the way to gain glory. Within a month thereafter he broke into print, urging action upon Congress and indicating that the plan was entirely a creature of his own fertile brain. He did not even have the grace to write his own letter to the President. The language itself was that of Mr. Slattery's memorandum—denuded of course of certain liberal ideas. From first to last it was plagiarized down to the very language. What Secretary Wilson may have thought privately of Mr. Lane's prima-donna-like striving for the limelight, may never be known, but publicly at least he acted like the conscientious, self-effacing public servant that he is. He stated that the problem of jurisdiction was a small matter to him. It did not matter who did it so long as it was done and done right.

Whether or not Mr. Lane did his job right or did it at all may be judged by his subsequent actions. He proceeded to wreck the entire plan. The community aspect he accepted piecemeal. The provisions for dealing with land speculation he refused to countenance at all, alleging that they struck at the root of an ancient Anglo-Saxon institution. The theory that all Anglo-Saxon institutions are laudable was naïve. One wonders if Mr. Lane would have defended with equal vigor the ancient Anglo-Saxon custom of wife-beating. Among those in Mr. Lane's Department who stood out vigorously for the leasehold principle were Mr. Slattery and Professor Elwood Mead, of California, who had been called in as an expert upon colonization. The situation, however, grew so hopeless that Mr. Slattery, despairing of results, finally resigned his post. Professor Mead carried on the fight somewhat longer, but finally resigned also, ostensibly because of his duties in California.

With these two men out of the way, Mr. Lane then aligned himself with the most reactionary interests in America. Mr. Mondell, the new chairman of the Committee on Public Lands in the Republican Congress, is probably the last man in the United States to interest himself in anything progressive with respect to the land question. He is serving his twelfth term in Congress and is a member of the old Cannon-Dalzell machine. For more than twenty years he has staunchly supported every land and water power grab that has been presented to Congress. As a standpatter he is so stationary that Senator Penrose seems to be exceeding the speed limit. To this man Secretary Lane went for coöperation. And Mr. Mondell drafted the bill, which Mr. Lane indorsed.

From that point on Mr. Lane was merely engaged in a gigantic piece of real estate speculation. He was apparently trying to do on a national scale what the average real estate boomer does when he opens up a subdivision. Every speculator in desert, swamp, or cut-over lands immediately climbed into Mr. Lane's bandwagon. The whole scheme had ceased to be a plan for the exploitation of land to feed men. It had become a scheme for the exploitation of men to feed landlords.

That such a scheme should have failed is not remarkable. Both soldiers and farmers opposed it before the committee. It is, however, a matter of regret that Mr. Lane should have lent himself to the whole sordid business. His motive was apparently glory. If so, it was indeed shortsighted. Mr. Lane, not having been born in the United States, is not eligible to the Presidency. He can rise no higher in public office than he has already risen. Hence he will be remembered, not by the office he holds, but by his record of public service. His earlier career gave promise of great service to the nation. But his record of the past three years would indicate that his period of usefulness has ended.

Labor's Responsibilities in Industrial Reconstruction

By Thaddeus S. Dayton
Of Guaranty Trust Company of New York

AT the dawn of civilization's greatest reconstruction era America—one of the two leading creditor nations of the world—is entering a period of business expansion destined to demand her utmost in industrial efficiency and production for many years to come. We have emerged from the war economically unscathed, to be precipitated into the markets of the entire world, whose trade demands must be met without stoppage until such time as crippled Europe shall cease to be wholly dependent upon American production.

Continuous production, obviously vital to the success of American business in these vastly enlarged foreign fields, calls for strict adherence to those principles of business which make for the maximum degree of harmony between the forces of capital and labor. Labor must be educated to a full realization of the dangers which may arise from production stoppages. It must be shown that such destruction of wealth can result only in poverty, invariably most keenly felt by the forces responsible for strikes, boycotts, or other labor disorders.

American industry has shared heroically in the burdens imposed by the war, and yet has been able to recover from its strained position without being thrown into any such industrial chaos as now pervades Europe. The patriotic coöperation between capital and labor during the war emergency, to which this recovery can in a measure be attributed, cannot be expected to serve as a permanent bolster for our labor situation. The coöperation must continue, but its foundation must be something more tangible than the national emergency, which is now past.

Various conditions have brought European industry into its present position of almost complete dependence upon American production. Although lack of sufficient credit for the purchase of supplies and raw materials stands out as the principal drag on industrial reorganization, nevertheless, a demoralized labor condition looms up in the background of each nation's problem as a strong contributing factor.

England has lost her preëminence in world trade. Before the war she successfully maintained this differential in the face of world competition; but now, with her credit gone, she faces the revolutionary demands of labor for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions. Until these demands are granted, through the inauguration of a program of closer coöperation between capital and labor, Great Britain cannot hope to rebuild her disorganized industrial system, and even then she will find competition keener than ever before on account of the increased production costs she is being forced to meet.

France, also at a grave disadvantage because of insufficient credit for carrying on maximum production, must likewise solve a labor problem before her industry can regain its pre-war status. Idleness and dissatisfaction among the laboring classes have increased with the demobilization of the armies, and strikes have curtailed production to a considerable extent.

America cannot solve Europe's labor problems. She can, however, render a distinct service to humanity—and at the same time maintain her strong position as leader of world trade—by exerting every possible effort toward the betterment of conditions at home, toward bringing about a closer coöperation between capital and labor, and toward educating labor in a knowledge of the widespread economic advantages which can result only from continuous and efficient production.

The world program for labor set forth in the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant suggests conditions which, at the present time, are nearer attainment in America than in any other nation affected by the Peace Treaty. The eight-hour day, with a weekly 24-hour rest period; the abolition of child labor; equal pay to men and women for work of equal value; consideration of labor as a vital part of production

rather than as a commodity,—in the attempt to fulfill all these proposals America leads the world. And America's profits from future world trade will be measured by the degree in which she fulfills her obligations to labor.

Given an opportunity to share the responsibilities and profits of industry, American labor has no ear for Bolshevistic preachings. Time and again it has expressed itself as unconditionally opposed to radicalism of the sort that has wrecked the economic structures of some nations and is now menacing the welfare of many others. Radicalism stands ever ready to disorganize both foreign and domestic trade through interference with production, and it can be kept from the doors of American industry only when opposed by the combined forces of capital and labor.

Government control exercised over certain industries during the war emergency has left capital to deal with added labor problems in the return to private operation and normal peace-time production. Complete reversion to pre-war standards is not only unnecessary, but would be unpractical, on account of greatly changed industrial conditions, and would result in many cases in unfairness to labor. However, in order to avert possible interference with production arising from inability to meet foreign competition, certain readjustments of rates and wages must necessarily be made. Here again capital and labor must ally themselves in close partnership, that wages and hours may be fair to both partners and the world's production demands be fairly and profitably met.

Much effort has been expended and creditable progress made in America toward hastening the day of complete understanding between capital and labor. Capital has graduated from the antiquated belief that production efficiency has its basis in getting the maximum number of hours' work out of labor at the minimum wage, and, likewise, labor is realizing that making unfair demands on capital at every opportunity does not make for better working conditions or higher wages. The socialistic attitude that all wealth is the product of labor, and therefore the rightful property of labor, has been discredited, and with it the despotic, autocratic old-school doctrines of business which have invariably failed to produce anything but economic antagonism and general dissatisfaction.

Unhindered production—the keynote of America's future success in world trade—must be brought about with the help and coöperation of labor, rather than in spite of labor. The American laboring man is ready to assist. He is not a machine or a commodity, but has a mind and can reason for himself, and requires only to be shown the need of or advantages to be derived from the economic task confronting American industry today. Once acquainted with the world's dire need of American goods and with America's combined opportunity for service and gain in supplying them, labor will stand ready to add continuous and efficient production to the efforts constantly being made by capital toward bringing about a permanent, harmonious reconstruction of world trade.

The Dilemma of the German-Americans

By William E. Dodd

Professor of American History, University of Chicago; Editor and Joint Author of the "Riverside History of the United States."

A VERY large element of the American population is composed of people of German blood. Mr. A. B. Faust, I believe, estimates in his history of the German element in the United States that something like thirty million Americans have German blood in their veins. It will not do to attach too much importance to such estimates, for we shall never know the exact truth of the matter. It is enough to know that many millions of our people trace their descent to Germany or are of pure German blood. Nor must these Germans forget for a moment that the predominant element both in blood and in culture is now and always has been English and Scotch.

The point of great significance now is that we have this large German element, that surely a million of them, perhaps a million voters, are

sore or actually regretful over the outcome of the great war. They contributed their share of young men to the army that gave the final blow to German imperialism. Any reading of the list of soldiers or of casualties makes this plain. But they contributed their young men in thousands, probably hundreds of thousands, of cases with great distress and anxiety. They were fighting kinsfolk across the Atlantic and helping England and France against that Fatherland which they did not regard, as did the rest of America, as wholly in the wrong.

At present these people are in a dilemma, and the natural trend of social conduct in such situations is to make that dilemma worse instead of better. The purpose of this article is to suggest the wrong and even cruelty of positive or negative persecution. Men are much like animals: they go in herds and they are sometimes driven instinctively into the worst of situations, into attitudes and conduct that would never be thought of if men acted upon reason and mature judgment.

How did the Germans in this country come to their present position? They or their ancestors came to America from the same general and mixed motives as the rest. Carl Schurz and many thousands came seeking freedom; they were expelled from Germany or escaped from German prisons because Prussia was steadily gaining the upper hand; they dreaded and hated Prussian and German princes in general even more cordially than Englishmen or Scotchmen who emigrated to America hated their princes. But most came simply to better their economic situation. There was no thought of renewing loyalty to that old society they deserted. They expected to cast their lots once and for all with those other nationalities that were coalescing to make a new country and a new culture.

Thus when the Civil War came they had their share of honors and losses. Some fought for the Union and its ideas; a smaller number, but none the less earnest and honorable, fought for the Confederacy. Some voted for Douglas in 1860; perhaps twice as many voted for Lincoln; very few voted in the North for Breckinridge. In general they were small farmer and artisan in social character; and this led them to a sort of idealism, a sort of democracy, not badly represented by both Lincoln and Douglas.

But when the war was over the whole swing of American life was toward a feverish development of big-scale industrialism. Men made fortunes overnight. The farmer life, both Southern and Western, to which older Americans were attached, was ruthlessly exploited till 1918. The story of this exploitation and the social reaction that followed the death of Lincoln will one day make a marvelous volume of American history. It is enough here to say that the ideals of Lincoln, of democracy in the older sense, were abandoned and flouted. This was done by the native stocks. It was done through tariffs, through banking laws, railway overlordship, and all the other devices known to men who have social advantage in society. Cities were built upon vast hordes of foreigners, wages were determined by the incoming cheap workers, and profits upon legitimate business, but more especially upon illegitimate business, were unparalleled in world history. When Wilson came to office the greatest thing in the world was American industry, with its attachments of banks, railways, and public utilities. The United States was in most ways utterly different from that simple democracy which Jefferson thought men were setting up when the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

If Americans of native and British ancestry were caught in this drift, so were the Germans. It became fashionable to poohpooh democracy. The constitutions and the laws intended to secure popular control of States and cities were systematically and purposely undermined and thwarted. In speeches and newspaper articles men lauded the name of Lincoln; but in their deeds there was little thought of the great war President. I have often felt that Lincoln's death in the height of his fame was the only thing that could have saved him as a great character.

In this state of things, could Germans be blamed for losing their faith in democracy? At the same time the new German Empire rose supreme in middle Europe. It smote down France in 1870. Americans like Generals Sheridan and Sherman declared in public and private that Germany was right and France wrong; they even told Bismarck that his rule

of war was the right one, that a war must be ruthless in order to hasten its end. It was saying that German efficiency and German honesty in city government made their European business easy and safe. If there were strikes in Germany, there was not, they said, that destruction of property so common to American strikes.

At dinners in our large cities German consuls and German business men sat down at table with American business men, and all agreed in one thing—the uselessness and utter failure of democracy. The best eulogies of the German Government I ever heard were delivered at dinners of this sort. The Germans of our cities fell victims. They first grew rich, which is a risky thing for a democrat; and then they learned to admire that new imperialism in Berlin which was so successful. It was a better aid to industrial development than the loose-knit American system, which after all might permit some crazy Bryan to come to power.

Nearly all of that old idealism so widely heralded by the Germans of 1848 had disappeared in 1914. Men who had hated the Prussia of 1848 now admired the greater Prussia which had enveloped Germany. They had learned reactionary politics in America. They went back to Germany in increasing numbers flaunting their riches and engaging cheap servants for the return trip. They were sometimes received at court, just as other successful Americans were and they lost their hearts to imperialism and military efficiency and above all to social stratification. And they were in all this but exemplars of successful Americans of every class.

Suddenly the great war fell upon the world. The American Germans felt keenly for the German cause. They remained true to their second love, or at least they preferred the Berlin system to that of London and Paris. If it came to war in the United States, their choice would be a hard one inclining in the end to Germany.

To their surprise, those Americans who had basked oftenest in the sunlight of the Hohenzollern favor were quickest to denounce the Kaiser. Those great financiers of America who had bowed the knee at Potsdam and handed necklaces to the Empress or who had dropped gold coins into itching hands about Berlin were bitter in their hostility toward the German system. The historian may understand this, but the great mass of Americans of German ancestry were not historians. They knew that wealthy financiers did not love democracy. They could not understand why they in 1914-'16 became so anxious about the safety of democracy.

Not understanding, they fell more and more under the charm of imperialism, the more as the German armies mowed down all opposition and drove Russians, Rumanians, and the rest before them. It was a case of success. They had learned to worship success and power in America; they had then learned to admire success and power in Germany; and the fearful German military machine gave them still greater examples of success.

But Mr. Wilson was an old American, a man of the type of Carl Schurz in his earlier days; Wilson was another Jefferson or Lincoln who would restore America to her old love; he preached equality, Golden Rule diplomacy, the rights of the poor and the weak. Here was something they could not understand. Was he not a mere hypocrite? They decided that he was; and in general the great industrial leaders of the country held the same view of him. It was a severe wrench to all who had abandoned the ideals of Lincoln. And one must not blame Germans in the United States, particularly those who were wealthy, if they failed to sense the new-old ideals heralded from Washington.

Now the war is over the German-Americans who had felt so tenderly toward the embattled Fatherland, even when it was trying to smite down all other nationalities that came into its way, are in a dilemma. They must learn again at the feet of Lincoln; they must study the ideals of the young, not the old, Carl Schurz. It is not easy when they still see so much that is undemocratic about them, when they somehow still think the professions of men are insincere. Nor does the attitude of the rest of us help them learn the new-old lesson. We see certain signs that they are in distress. They are at once pronounced unfriendly. They then think themselves a class apart. And if men feel themselves isolated they are isolated. And isolated men catch at straws. Germans voted generally for Mr. Hughes in 1916. Roosevelt voted for

Hughes too. It was a curious combination of men who favored the Kaiser and of men who hated him as the symbol of all that was bad in the world!

German votes now tend to unite with Irish votes in all our cities to support the worst kind of politics. Two isolated groups tend to combine against Wilson in national and world affairs at a time when Wilson is really the best friend both the Germans and the Irish have anywhere. To get Germans out of this feeling of isolation, this dilemma, is the business of democracy, of real leaders of men. It can not be done through intimidation or through the assertion of superiority. Perhaps it cannot be done at all. The wealthy German, like the wealthy Southerner after the close of the Civil War, can not easily be influenced. He does not believe in democracy, although he pretends sometimes to believe in bolshevism. To him the old order will ever appear as a sort of sacred lost cause. With the younger generation and especially the poor, and as yet unsuccessful, the case is different. Social wisdom and political sense may in their cases bear good fruit.

The Armed Peace

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus of Leland Stanford, Jr., University

THE ideal of "the nation in arms" runs parallel with the theory of militarism that "preparedness is the best insurance against war." Readiness to assert by force one's rights in any difference is held to discourage disputes and to abate trouble. This point of view leads to an "armed peace," which is the beginning of actual war.

Absolute preparedness is never attainable. Indeed, if possible it would be a source of instant and tremendous danger, as the recent history of Germany has shown. Moreover, there can be no consensus as to what involves the maximum of safety from outer aggression and the minimum of danger from inner oppression. Obviously the limits vary with different nations and with different stages of the armed peace.

In popular discussions of international relation preparedness is compared to insurance, to fire equipment, and, as Krehbiel notes, to quarantine, to vaccination, even to window screens. It is pictured as a minor sacrifice devised to avert a greater one. "War costs more than war ships," "Bullets are cheaper than battles," are common expressions. But experience has shown that this type of costly insurance fails absolutely to insure. If armaments actually insured, the armed "balance of power" would provide international security. It is the claim of each nation that its armament is solely for defense, for the protection of its commerce, its colonies, or its coasts. This claim is clearly not true in every case; perhaps never in any.

The more highly developed the national defense, the more interests clamor for protection. Again, national defense by force of arms forms the nucleus of offense. All armament looks forward to action. Purely defensive armament may make for peace. But it is intolerant of a waiting policy. It would be "prepared to meet the enemy in the middle of the sea." In other words, it would be available for offense as well as defense. War involves both. Moreover, idle armament is in itself a potent incentive to irritating diplomatic activity, and the fundamental of diplomacy is that to be irritating furnishes its chief reason for being.

CURRENT THOUGHT

The Ninety and Nine

THERE are ninety and nine that work and die
In want and hunger and cold
That one may revel in luxury
And be lapped in the silken fold!
And ninety and nine in their hovels bare
And one in a palace of riches rare.

From the sweat of their brow the desert blooms,
And the forest before them falls;
Their labor has builded humble homes,
And cities with lofty halls;
And the one owns cities and houses and lands,
And the ninety and nine have empty hands.

But the night so dreary and dark and long
At last shall the morning bring;
And over the land the victors' song
Of the ninety and nine shall ring,
And echo afar, from zone to zone,
"Rejoice! for Labor shall have its own!"

—*Charlotte Perkins Gilman.*

Who Should Own the Railroads?

WHEN we realize that the railroads represent one-seventh of the world's "wealth," we have no difficulty in appreciating the financial, commercial, political, and economic power they possess. When we realize that the value they possess

is largely social, socially created, put upon them and into them by the public that uses them and without which they would have no value, we can appreciate the right to those creations and their control by the public.—*Evening News, Peekskill.*

Co-operation

CO-OPERATION supplements political economy by organising distribution of wealth. It touches no man's fortune; it seeks no plunder; it causes no disturbance in society, it gives no trouble to statesmen; it enters into no secret associations; it contemplates no violence; it subverts no order; it envies no dignity; it asks no favors; it keeps no terms with the idle and it will break no faith with the industries; it means self-help, self-dependence, and such shares of the common competence as labor shall earn or thought can win, and this it intends to have.—*G. J. Holyoake, Recognised Historian of Co-Operative Movement.*

Unemployment and Production

LET us suppose there are 50,000 idle men in New York City and 500,000 acres of idle land in, say, Illinois, Ohio, Kansas and Nebraska, held by a few individuals. If this idle land were heavily taxed, the owners would either have to make it produce something in order to pay the taxes or sell it. In either event, the logical outcome would be the use of the 50,000 otherwise idle men to develop it. This would cause increased production to the extent of what the energy of 50,000 men applied to 500,000 acres of land would produce. There would be just that much more wealth to go around—just that much more of the good things of life to be distributed among all of us.—*Scientific Selling and Advertising.*

Their Business

"ARE you still fighting Single Tax," our reporter asked of Professor Sap Spradlin. "Yes-siree!" was the professor's emphatic reply. "The richest people in my district are those that bought land at $10 per acre and held on to it for a rise in value. Other people moved in around their land until finally it became worth $100 per acre. That showed they were smart. And they are the most religious people in the Wild Onion District." "But," rejoined the Pitchfork reporter, "the profit of $90 per acre was earned by the people who moved into the community and settled it up. Shouldn't they get that profit?" "That's their business," Professor Spradlin replied.—*The Pitchfork.*

The Last of the Barons

THE Duke of Northumberland before the Coal Commission said it would be a bad thing to give a million miners control of the coal of Britain, and so it would—for the Duke, and others similarly situated. He thought it an excellent thing that he should own 24,450 acres of mineral rights, and he is right—so far as the Duke is concerned, of course. But what about the million miners and the forty millions in the old country? Really, we fancy that these would be much better off if the Duke were to lose his "rights" in the matter of minerals. The royalties paid to such as the Duke are one of the chief factors in keeping the price of coal so high in Britain, but then this only means that the poor have to go cold, and they don't matter anyhow—to the coal barons. But somehow we have an idea the people of the old land will endeavor to cut out such cancerous luxuries ere long.—*The Maoriland Worker (Wellington, New Zealand).*

Build More

THE United States now has more wealth than any other two nations combined. Every house built, every road constructed, every public building and improvement, is adding to that great accumulation of permanent wealth, making the nation stronger. A general, country-wide campaign of building, assuming reasonable intelligence is exercised, would do more than any other one thing to increase the permanent wealth, making the nation stronger. A general, country-wide campaign of building, assuming reasonable intelligence is exercised, would do more than any other one thing to increase the permanent wealth of the nation and the individual. While its permanent wealth is piling up—especially when it is in the nature of homes owned by individuals—a nation may have its perplexing problems, but there is nothing serious or dangerous in its industrial status. The permanent wealth of the country as represented in homes, buildings, private and public construction work, is the nation's reserve fund. As long as the reserve fund is growing the nation is a going concern and in sound condition.—*Chicago Labor News.*

An Awesome Vision

SENATOR LAWRENCE SHERMAN of Illinois called attention last week in the Senate to the fact that twenty-four of the forty-five nations to be federated in the League of Nations were Catholic nations. Senator Sherman began his political life as a county judge, then went to the Illinois Legislature, where he was once chosen speaker, and subsequently served on the State charity board of Illinois. About 1915 he was chosen United States Senator to succeed William Lorimer, who was disqualified by the Senate. Sherman prides himself on his physical resemblance to Abraham Lincoln. Nobody has ever discovered any intellectual resemblance. His election to the United States Senate seems to prove that a small bore mediocrity may, at times, dodge some distance in advance of the procession under favorable circumstances. He claims to be of no

church. He has lost his faith, but he retains his fear,—the ghostly fear of a backwoods sectarian, and the power to conjure up, at will, the vision of a raw-head and bloody bones surmounted by a tiara. Instead of reading modern history this Senator reads Jack the Giant Killer, and is still thrilled and hopes to thrill others with those fearsome lines

Fee, faw, fum,
I smell the blood of a Protestun.—*The Catholic Citizen.*

In Alien Lands

I WALK about
In foreign fields,
The sun is bright,
Yet no warmth yields.
The song that from my heart would spring
Is dead for want of echoing.
The world about me
Is not free;
The fields I tread
Bloom not for me.
I pluck a rose in early morn—
A stranger's rose is but a thorn!

—*From the Yiddish of I. L. Peretz, by Leah W. Leonard in The Maccabaean.*

BOOKS

International Fellowship

A Society of States: Sovereignty, Independence, and Equality in a League of Nations. By W. T. S. Stallybrass, M.A. Pp., xvi, 248. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. 1919.

AFTER all the sophomoric declamation and partisan heckling over the League idea during the last few months the most urgent need still is a fair and serious understanding of the conditions implied in a successful organization of peace. About this League of Nations there had been "much muddled thinking and confused writing," and Professor Stallybrass wrote his book as an attempt to show "how far it was true that a state which joined a League of Nations would surrender its sovereignty or its independence, and to what extent all members of the League would be equal." As a result of his study it becomes apparent that the modern doctrine (the simon pure German doctrine) of the absolute sovereignty and independence of states is measurably eclipsed by the philosophy of a League, and while the League implies a rupture with this cherished theory, it does not involve a very radical departure from the growing practice of recent times.

Professor Stallybrass moves with a precision among the facts of international relations and the principles of international law, and with him the reader easily sees how immense have been the strides toward civilization, outside of the realms of the Central Powers, that have been taken within the last half century. The actual efforts at organized peace of the Hague Conventions, the A B C conferences, and the American Peace Commission treaties are foremost among modern agencies that have exerted a very notable influence outside of German and Turkish mental horizons. The concurrent forces working under the head of private international law—in the post, the telegraph, transportation, banking, commercial exchange, for example—have created situations of a real civilization acting quite unconsciously if not independently of the acute sovereignty of states. "For England and America at any rate it would be no great stride to advance from a position in which the rights of sovereignty are implicitly waived in favor of a usage which England may have had no part in creating to an express waiver in favor of laws made by a body on which England had her proper representation."

The Social Contract of Rousseau, while palpably false as a theory of origins, would become strictly true as a mode of procedure if the League of Nations was established. It would be a rational agreement between grown-up states to respect one another's autonomous national and international activities. "We shall do well, then, not to lay stress upon the independence of states but upon their interdependence, not upon their external but upon their internal sovereignty. We shall speak not of the sovereign independent state but of the free self-governing state." Even so conservative and cautious a student as Professor Stallybrass observes that the key to the rights and duties alike of a free self-governing state is the Golden Rule. Whatever limitations may be imposed by a true League of Nations will be the limitations imposed by freedom and in the interest of freedom. Moreover, the Professor recognizes that the League is but the beginning of a new international order, and that in time the judiciary of international precepts may be supported by a fully equipped international executive.

A Pioneer in Internationalism

Richard Cobden the International Man. By J. A. Hobson. New York. Henry Holt & Co. 1919.

RICHARD COBDEN, generally renowned as the greatest apostle of free trade, was primarily a large-hearted, far-seeing internationalist. The central principle of his philosophy was nonintervention and mutual aid among the political members of a world that had become organic. His penetrating eye pierced the artificial barriers and suspicions that separate men from their fellows and saw that their true interests are the same. Like his American contemporary, Elihu Burritt, to whom we owe cheap ocean postage, Cobden perceived that nature, having supplied each nation with only a part of the commodities of life, had predestined man to interchange these varied products and that any artificial barrier that interposed defeated nature's purpose. Free trade was

to him as much a moral as an economic question. It was inextricably bound up with the world's peace and stood for liberation and spiritual progress.

Cobden never confined his thought to liberty of commerce. He saw the spirit of human solidarity transcending the limits of a patriotism of the Senator Borah type. Though a loyal Englishman he counted himself first of all a human being and a citizen of the world. His thought was primarily centered on internationalism and free trade as its vehicle. Unlike many statesmen, he had much practical commercial experience upon the Continent and in America, and had studied the Eastern question upon the spot where the perennial war-cloud threatened the peace of Europe. Few men of thirty-seven were better fitted to deal with great world questions than was Cobden when at that age he entered Parliament.

He foresaw that non-militaristic America would become England's true economic rival, and not Russia. He looked with more than equanimity upon the Russian replacing the polygamous Turk at Constantinople. He scoffed at British outcries against Russian territorial greed, when for every square mile put under the paw of the Russian bear the British lion had taken three.

Cobden was an influential figure at the notable Peace Congress in Paris in 1849, opened with a memorable address by its president, Victor Hugo. Charles Sumner headed the large American delegation. This Congress urged a Congress of the Nations, universal disarmament, and a high tribunal to settle all disputes. But for the wholly unnecessary Crimean war, for which Cobden blamed England, the movements then on foot toward arbitration might have turned the course of history and averted the world war two generations later. Cobden's hostility to the whole Palmerston policy of sending battle ships to right individual wrongs was especially aroused in the case of a naturalized Englishman who, having been attacked for his villany by a mob in Athens, called upon the British Government for redress. Palmerston's acquiescence in this memorable instance proved a dangerous precedent upon which later financial imperialism has been based.

Cobden's scathing indictment of his own beloved land did not mean less love and loyalty than that of more conspicuous Britishers when he said: "We shall do no good until we can bring home to the convictions and consciences of men the fact that, as in the slave trade we had surpassed in guilt the whole world, so in foreign wars we have been the most aggressive, quarrelsome, warlike, and bloody nation under the sun." In regard to Burmah, he declared,—"I blush for my country and the very blood in my veins tingles with indignation at the wanton disregard of all justice and decency which our proceedings toward that weak country exhibited." Ireland he looked upon as "an appalling monument of British neglect and misgovernment."

Cobden's political sympathies were with the masses, in his day largely illiterate and under the hoof of feudalism. This feudalism has hardly passed. Visiting his daughter in Cobden's old home in Sussex a few years ago, I saw the enormous ducal estate and the little village owned by the absentee Duke, unwilling to add a new building, taking scant interest in his tenants and compelling new married couples to leave their native town to find a home. The pathetic records of the "Hungry Forties," when British peasants ate bread made partly of sawdust, were compiled from the recollections of these starving peasants who looked upon Cobden as their savior when the repeal of the corn laws meant the same reprieve that the lifting of the blockade now means to other hungry millions.

Cobden's correspondence with Charles Sumner during the difficult days of the Civil War and the serious suffering in Europe owing to the blockade forms a valuable contribution to this book, not before available in sequence to the public. The original letters are in Harvard University.

No man in Europe is better fitted sympathetically and critically to analyze the lifework of Richard Cobden than the distinguished economist and liberal—John A. Hobson, author of "Imperialism," "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," and a long list of fearless, trenchant books on social and international problems. He perceives what Cobden, sharing the current individualism of his day, was slow to recognize, that governments may make positive contributions to the liberty and happiness of individuals and may coöperate for the benefit of the society of nations. Peace on earth is not to be achieved by mere non-intervention and free trade.

Certain new economic conditions neither Cobden nor his contemporaries could foresee. In his day mechanical invention, producing "surplus" which demanded markets among the backward peoples, had not yet driven the textile and metal industries to bring pressure on their governments to increase tariffs and to use diplomacy in winning foreign markets. Cobden did not foresee the new conditions in which great aggregates of capital controlled by powerful companies would claim that their government's foreign policy should be subject to their direction.

A League of Nations would probably not have commended itself to Cobden, in spite of his broad spirit of internationalism. But the prime social and economic measures which he advocated are to be specially commended to the august assembly of forty-five nations that will probably be convened in the autumn of 1919 to initiate the organization of the world. Well will it be if in the Council of the Nations there shall be statesmen who have the spirit of Richard Cobden and the political sagacity of John A. Hobson.

Lucia Ames Mead.

A Forgotten Art

The Dry Rot of Society and Other Essays. By Marian Cox. New York: Brentano's. 1919.

MARIAN COX disports herself as fancifully as ever in this latest collection of her essays, in which she gives her thoughts on various topics of contemporaneous interest such as prohibition, the war, Germany, and—as always—women. Always stimulating and thought-provoking, her work is yet characterized by that species of untrustworthy logic utilized by any one who manipulates facts to synchronize with preconceived theories. Some time ago, it will be remembered, Mrs. Cox tried to prove that musical culture in a race or people was always accompanied by materialism and degeneration—and got along tolerably. Today, in that same capricious mood but not quite as successfully, the author attempts to prove that you can't expect people to be good unless you give them a chance for a fling, an exhaust for surplus naughtiness, a saturnalia (that being why prohibition will be a failure); also, that woman's preoccupation with love, her "living in the subjective world of the erotic make-believe," accounts for her preposterousness (which Mrs. Cox graciously assumes).

Such theses as these, however unsubstantiated Mrs. Cox is willing to leave them, are written nevertheless with such literary excellence and pungency of style as are rarely glimpsed in our contemporary literature. Her pugnacious and complacency-exploding words recall the best there was in Elbert Hubbard. Many of the ingredients of a Bernard Shaw go to make up this author's art—his fascination for the unique, his love for the grotesque, his resentment of false idealizations, in addition to that chauvinism which is sometimes at the very bottom of Shavianism, that getting so dreadfully excited about really unimportant matters. But if these qualities have their counterparts in the work of Marian Cox, there are others distinctly lacking. She has not half of Shaw's ability to prove a thing satisfactorily, little (one suspects) of his sincerity, and absolutely none of his healthy sympathy for the German nation and people, on both of which she is downright hard.

However, the book is awfully good sport and must not be taken too seriously. Altogether, it is a unique and stimulating reminder of the forgotten art of essay writing. LEO H. JOACHIM.

A Jaundiced Ex-Diplomat

Present Problems in Foreign Policy. By David Jayne Hill. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1919.

A MORE correct title for this assemblage of occasional explosions would be, "A denunciation of President Wilson and all his works, done in the interest of the Republican Senators." The publisher describes it as "unprejudiced," but obviously the first two letters are a typographical error. The observant reader will note with dismay that the book includes articles written against the first draft of the League of Nations, without intimation that the statements made are not applicable to that document as revised. It is apparent also that as the author loses faith in his own contentions, he tends more and more to rely on fury of utterance.

Mr. Wilson, it would appear, has defied the Senate (265), and has committed the crime of putting this august body in the wrong. This is an "autocratic usurpation of authority." If the President should compel the Republican Senators "to yield to a superior will," "it would mark the extinction of representative and even of constitutional government in the United States" (266). If the people of the United States should, "for any reason whatever," agree with the President as against the Senate "it would mark the end of the Republic" (272).

All this, of course, is curious rather than informing. The value of the collection lies in adding another title to the list of the author's writings, but Harveyized propaganda, prepared for immediate consumption, does not appear at its best in stiff covers.

Nevertheless, the book is not devoid of interest. The reader will mark for future use the statement that "a nation is no longer a merely juristic entity, having for its only object the maintenance of order and justice among its own inhabitants. It has become an economic entity, a business corporation, looking for markets for its commodities, and for raw materials from which to manufacture them" (28).

Mr. Hill is forceful in expressing his admiration for the law. This is explained, possibly, by the statement that "even in the more liberal-minded States the development of law is under the restraint of the class of interests that have acquired power, whatever they may be, and proceeds with little control by interests that are just as real but less influential" (75). After all, it is perhaps as well that the champion of the Senate should have expressed himself freely.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

Work and Personality

Instincts in Industry. By Ordway Tead. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1919.

THIS study of working-class psychology is unusual in its method of approach. The instincts that the author conceives of as functioning in industry are the following: the parental instinct, the sex instinct, the instinct of workmanship, the instinct of acquisitiveness, the instinct of self-assertion, the instinct of self-abasement, the herd instinct, the instinct of pugnacity, the play impulse, the instinct of curiosity. The book is mainly a study of each of these separately considered in its bearing on industrial labor, and is buttressed with

a mass of material that is obviously first-hand. The study of the functioning of the parental instinct, for example, sheds light on the motive of the "scab" in deserting the cause of the group; his conflict is a conflict of instincts, the parental leading him to the putting of the immediate needs of his family above those of his group. The main interest of the treatise, however, is put on the side of the workingman's relation that bears on crucial industrial problems. Take, for instance, the study of the instinct of possession, where the author correctly says that at its base is the tendency to identify property in things, people, or ideas with one's self. Workers so often feel a sense of possession in the particular machine or tool they habitually use, or the horse they drive, that to make sweeping changes often starts labor troubles. The strikers feel their jobs really belong to them, and therefore their passionate hatred of those who have stolen them while they were temporarily absent. In a similar manner the suppression of the instinct of self-assertion, as in stamping out the union, is poor psychology, hence poor business.

From a perusal of this interesting and enlightening book one comes to feel that there is a vital need of viewing workers as human beings rather than as "hands," and that much of the latent danger due to the suppression of personalities in an utter disregard of their instinctive heritage will best be relieved by a democratization of industry. The author well says in his preface: "Efforts towards 'social justice' or 'industrial democracy' are doomed to be fumbling and inept if there is no attempt to envisage and reckon with a point of view among workers which is the inevitable by-product of the treatment of any human being under similar circumstances." HERBERT W. HINES.

NEWS

Education

—An institute for the rich to interest them in settlement, social, and religious work among the poor is planned by the Church of the Incarnation, of New York.

—A budget of $70,000,000 for New York's public schools for next year will soon be submitted to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. It will represent a third of the total budget of the city.

—The University of Virginia has received from an alumnus, Mr. Paul G. McIntire, of Charlottesville and New York, the gift of $155,000 to establish a school of fine arts, embracing art, architecture, and music.

—High school teachers in Germany issued a proclamation which in part reads as follows: "If we are compelled to fulfill these peace demands we turn away with contempt from nations which lacked the moral force to suppress this criminal jugglery, and will work with all our might to make our children and grandchildren inherit this sentiment and keep it permanently alive in the German nation."

—Miss Margaret Haley, member of the Chicago Teachers' Association, voiced a protest at the National Education Association's annual convention against the Carnegie Foundation's preparing the report of the Association's pension committee. "The foundation," she said, "is seeking to influence legislation in the different States concerning teachers' pensions. The foundation wants a system of teachers' pensions which will give the least possible compensation for the great industrial plants that must sooner or later establish pension systems for their employes."

—At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Forum Association, Inc., held on the 25th, it was announced that Francis H. Sisson, a Vice President of the Guaranty Trust Company, had been chosen to be Treasurer of the organization. It was announced also that a campaign would be begun immediately to obtain funds to promote the establishment of forums in Chambers of Commerce, churches, community centers, etc. It was also decided to ask the Governors of the States to indorse Gifford Pinchot's plan, which provides for a State Forum Committee made up of the representatives of the State Chambers of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, the State Grange, and other organizations.

—The Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii recently enacted a measure whereby the College of Hawaii will in 1920 become the University of Hawaii. The institution, in its present organization, is a land-grant college of agriculture and mechanic arts, granting degrees only in science. There will be two colleges in the new university. The college of applied science will continue most of the present curriculum of the College of Hawaii, while the college of arts and sciences will offer courses with more so-called cultural studies and leading toward the bachelor of arts degree. According to the present plans for the future, there will be organized before long a college of commerce to train men and women for the international trade of the Pacific.

Public Order

—The United States will release soon all interned civilian enemy aliens, except those guilty of advocating anarchistic doctrines and those who desire to be repatriated.

—More than 500 aliens considered undesirable by the Department of Justice will be deported if legislation reported to the House on the 22d by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization is enacted.

—Lieut.-Col. Samuel T. Ansell, former Acting Judge Advocate General of the Army, whose resignation was accepted on the 22d, has been retained as counsel for a special House War Investigating

Committee in its inquiry into War Department expenditures abroad.

—The verdict of guilty of disloyalty against Victor Berger, member-elect from the Fifth Wisconsin District, will not govern the House committee investigating his eligibility. Representative Eagle, Democrat, Texas, explained, "that this committee will give Mr. Berger a full, new trial."

—Because the cables are inadequate to handle the heavy trade, Secretary Daniels sent to Speaker Gillett of the House of Representatives a bill for the commercialization of the naval radio facilities of the Government. The cable censorship exercised by the Navy Department during the war ceased on the 23d.

—Members of the House have determined on the 24th upon two more investigations in addition to the eleven already now being conducted. The House, by a vote of 287 to 0, ordered an inquiry into the Shipping Board. The Standing Committee on Expenditures also announced an exhaustive search into the conduct of the Post Office Department.

—A $100,000 campaign for the defense of socialist institutions whose work is being interfered with by such organizations as the Lusk Committee, has been launched at the People's House, 7 East Fifteenth Street. All propaganda will be conducted through the publication of literature and pamphlets on various issues of the day. The committee is preparing to print and distribute at least 50,000,000 pamphlets.

—In response to a resolution demanding more information, Mr. John B. Densmore, special agent of the Department of Labor, to investigate the Mooney case, submitted his report to the House on the 23d. It expresses the opinion "that there is nothing about the case to produce a feeling of confidence that the dignity and majesty of the law have been upheld. There is nowhere anything resembling consistency, the effect being a patchwork of incongruous makeshift and often of desperate expediency."

—Notwithstanding the decision of Judge Boyd, of North Carolina, that the 10 per cent. tax on net profits of mills and workshops employing children for more than eight hours a day is unconstitutional, J. Hagerman, deputy commissioner of internal revenue at Washington, has sent out notices that the law is in operation, the Treasury Department having taken no cognizance of Judge Boyd's decision. The case probably will be carried to the United States Supreme Court, and pending decision there the act is to be enforced. The tax became operative June 25. It was signed by the President on April 24.

Legislation

—The Senate on the 23d passed the $34,000,000 Agricultural Appropriation bill without restoring the rider for repeal of the Daylight Saving Law.

—Congress was asked on the 23d by Secretary Lane for a special appropriation of $500,000 to fight forest fires in Montana, Idaho, and Washington, where vast areas of valuable timber land have been burned over.

—Immediate repeal of the Canadian Reciprocity Act, approved by President Taft on July 26, 1911, has been decided upon by the Ways and Means Committee. This is the first tariff revision definitely agreed to by the Republicans since regaining control of Congress and is a step toward throwing a high protective wall about American products.

—Colombia has agreed to Senate amendments to the treaty between that country and the United States by which suggestions of regret by this country for the partition of Panama were eliminated, and an early ratification of the treaty is expected. Under the treaty the United States will pay Colombia $25,000,000 for the partition of Panama.

Public Health

—Poison ivy is effectually cured by the green leaves of common catnip rubbed on the affected parts until the juice runs, according to Mrs. Evelyn S. Trenbath.

—The Prohibition Enforcement bill was finally passed on the 22d by the House. The vote on the passage of the bill was 287 to 100, with three members voting present.

—The abnormal number of children in Poland born blind the past three years, although their parents were not diseased, is due mainly to the malnutrition of mothers, according to a report issued by the American Red Cross.

—The American Relief Administration, 42 Broadway, has announced that the authorities of the Czecho-Slovak Government have sent to Herbert Hoover, Director General of the American Relief Administration, a request that Miss Julia Lathrop, Director of the Federal Bureau of Children's Relief in Washington, be asked to visit the European countries during the coming winter to give advice on child relief work.

Color Line

—The Butcher Workmen's Local 651 of Chicago is launching the first coöperative store in America whose officers are all Negroes and whose constitution and by-laws are patterned after the Rochdale experiment of England.

—At Harrisburg, Pa., the Geary Equal Rights Bill, according to Negroes equal rights in hotels, restaurants, and theatres, was defeated in the House by an 89 to 45 vote. In Michigan the Governor signed the Condon Bill carrying similar provisions.

—In Chicago on the 27th a race riot in which two were killed and fifty injured grew out of a swimming incident, where a colored boy on a raft passed the line marking off the reserved beach of

the whites, when white boys stoned him off the raft, drowning him.

—Secretary Lane, in his latest annual report, urges national appropriations for education, which he considers as vital to national welfare as the construction of Highways or the government inspection of foods. He wants Federal coöperation with the States in wiping out native white illiteracy, in Americanizing the foreign-born, and in bettering Negro education. "For the Negro and his condition," says the Secretary, "we are responsible as for no one else. He came here without exercising his own will. He was made a citizen without discrimination." He "is a charge upon the American conscience, and his education, I believe, should long ago, in part, at least, have been a charge upon the American pocket."

—The *Survey* reports that in Cincinnati, under the leadership of the Board of Health, a symposium was held recently in the City Hall by Negroes and white men, doctors and social workers, State and local officials, to discuss methods of improving health conditions of the Negro in that city. Facts were brought out showing how excessive are deaths and disease among the colored population; that in Cincinnati their general death-rate is about double that of the whites, their pneumonia rate more than three times, their syphilis rate more than five times as high; that in proportion to the population, three times as many colored children die before birth, and three times as many of the babies born alive die before their first birthday anniversary; that the excess in the colored deaths from preventable causes alone is so great that it accounts for more than one point in the general death-rate of the city. A colored physician, Dr. F. W. Johnson, vouched for the concern of the intelligent Negro population in regard to the matter of health, and for the capacity of the Negro physicians and nurses to take the place they ought to occupy in a scheme for improving the health of their people. Dr. William H. Peters, the city health officer, outlined a practical program providing for a "community health center," located if possible near the center of the colored population, over half of which lives in three congested down-town wards, and including under one roof a tuberculosis clinic, an obstetric clinic, a dental clinic, general surgical and medical clinics, a division of child hygiene, a bureau of venereal diseases, a narcotic relief station, a bureau of public health nursing, and a social service department.

Co-operation

—The St. Paul, Minn., Coöperative Store, with a charter and capitalization of $50,000, has been formed and is doing an active business. Ninety per cent. of the membership of the company are trade unionists.

—The fruit growers in Wayne County, New York, are to organize a coöperative packing house for handling apples and peaches principally. Tentative arrangements have been made to organize at Red Creek, Marion, and Alton. The plan is being fostered by the County Farm Bureau.

—A group of influential members of the Chinese Delegation to the Paris Conference, while on a visit to Manchester, England, made an inspection of the Coöperative Wholesale Society's headquarters. They were obviously impressed when a gathering of 400 managers greeted them with applause as they entered the salesroom. They toured the vast drapery, furniture and grocery stores and spent a long time in the bank. It was a revelation to them to hear from the manager of the coöperative system of trade carried on through its own bank, and to learn something of the way organized workers conduct their finances through the C. W. S. Bank.

Cost of Living

—Weldon Harrison, New York shoe manufacturer, says that by July, 1920, many Americans will be wearing wooden shoes and predicts the price of an ordinary pair of shoes then will be $20.

—Dealers in job lots of shoes are making large shipments of "dead" stocks to the Balkans and Turkey. These shoes are selling at a comparatively low price, being unsuitable for domestic consumption because they lack style.

—One of the first points to which the newly appointed British Parliamentary Select Committee on Profiteering will direct its investigations will be the question of what influence the American beef trust has upon prices.

—The Department of Agriculture, in an estimate based on July 1 sugar crop, predicts a crop of 2,216,000,000 pounds, an excess of 147,000,000 pounds over the average of the preceding six years. The sugar beet acreage this year is a record one.

—At a meeting of the Union of Technical Men held on the 24th an appeal was issued to various city, borough and county officials, asking that suitable salary increases be provided for members of the union, in order that they can keep up with the high cost of living.

—Complete plans are to be made at a conference in Columbus, Ohio, of prosecutors from eighty-eight counties to prosecute and jail every person engaged in illegal price manipulation in Ohio. Governor Cox hopes that the Ohio investigation of storage and food prices will be taken up in other States and become nation-wide.

—The Queensland (Australia) Labor Government has put forward a scheme of cheap houses for the workers. The only security asked is 5 per cent. of the cost of the building and land. Thus a $8,000 house will be built on a deposit of $150—to be paid off in low weekly rentals. The scheme is confined to workers receiving less than $2,000 per annum.

—Instances have been reported in Paris, France, of the public taking their own measures against profiteering by retailers. A grocer in the poor quarter of Montmartre, seeing the rush of purchasers for chicken and rabbit at 3 francs 75 centimes a pound, marked up the price in front of customers to 4 francs. The crowd resented this action and sacked the shop.

—"From 75 to 90 per cent of the bumper wheat and rye crops of New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania which were not yet under cover will be a total loss due to mold caused by the long rain," said Professor L. A. Clinton, acting director of the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station of New Brunswick. The loss to the farmers of the State will amount to more than $50,000,000.

—Evidence that the "Big Five" packers are responsible for the flood of telegrams protesting against Federal control of the packing industry that has been sweeping in upon Congress was laid before the Senate by Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, on the 23d. Hundreds of telegrams, many of them identical in language, and scores of letters, many of them written on the same size and kind of paper, were read into the record by the Iowa Senator.

—The United States Equalization Board has purchased from the War Department 37,000,000 pounds of sugar, it was announced on the 25th by George A. Zabriskie, President of the Equalization Board, at 111 Wall Street. Mr. Zabriskie declared that there is "an abundance of raw sugar in the country, that retail prices should not exceed 11 cents a pound, and that there is no need of hoarding." This is in accord with similar expressions from Government sources in the last few weeks.

—A minimum increase of 1,000 per cent. in the price of foodstuffs in Turkey is shown in the Foreign Markets Reports of the Department of Agriculture. The following comparison shows pre-war prices of foreign commodities and prices ruling at the end of February, 1919:

	Pre-war	1919
Bread per pound	$ .02	$ .77
Meat " "	.12	2.49
Sugar " "	.04	3.10
Eggs " "	.26	3.16

—Housewives in Chicago threaten a strike against grocers. The Anti-Profiteering League, representing every woman's organization, has decided to send a questionnaire to every grocer in the city, calling upon him to state the wholesale prices he pays for his merchandise and the retail prices he charges. "If this fails to bring prices down," said Mrs. L. L. Funk, Chairman of the committee, "we will declare a strike. We will refuse to buy from profiteers. This movement is not confined to food prices alone, but will cover eventually the whole field of retail trade."

—Eleven Monroe County (Ind.) boys, members of a boys and girls' club organized by the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Agricultural College at Purdue, raised in 1918, 1,008.9 bushels of corn on eleven measured acres. The average yield was 91.8 bushels. Great difficulty was experienced last year in obtaining good seed corn in that locality as elsewhere, but by the aid of a former county agent and the local bank each boy who was a member of the corn club secured one dozen ears of high quality seed—enough to plant one acre. This spring there will be no worrying on the boys' part over seed-corn—for before frost last fall they had selected from their own plots enough ears of the best seed type to plant over 100 acres this season.

—A National Marketing Committee has been formed in Washington, D. C., with headquarters in the Bliss Building. Hon. William Kent, who has accepted the presidency of the new committee, says that the immediate purpose is to secure the enactment of the Kenyon-Anderson Bill. It also aims to create an enlightened public opinion concerning the waste and unnecessary expense in handling and distributing farm products; to promote marketing organizations and methods; to encourage the standardization of agricultural products; to secure proper warehouse systems; to promote expert marketing services in the several states; to secure uniformity in methods by States in inaugurating investigation and demonstration work in marketing; and to secure changes in Federal and State Laws to these ends.

Land Reform

—The Lower Yorkville Community Council voted to send the following resolutions to Governor Smith: That vacant land in the city suitable for housing be withdrawn from speculation; that the money in banks, etc., be made available on long-term mortgages for building homes; that vacant tenements unfit for use be bought by State or city and made into suitable dwellings; that landlords who have not improved their property and whose taxes have not been raised be prevented from unfairly raising rents.

—W. P. Crozier, in the Dearborn *Independent*, says in showing how the English Lords have circumvented Lloyd George: "The landowners have gained this great victory over the author of the 1909 budget at a moment most opportune for themselves. Much land is now to be bought for the twin purposes of housing and land settlement. But it is to be bought not on the basis of the Lloyd George valuation but on that of the present inflated war values. The state will not obtain that share of the value produced by the war and the activity of the community to which, under Mr. George's scheme, it was entitled, and an immense sum which the landlords have done nothing, and the community everything, to create will disappear into the landlords' pockets."

Public Ownership

—The city water department of Galveston, Texas, announces a net profit for the year just closed of $15,000.

—Despite wage increases made early in the month the San Francisco municipal railway reports an excess of receipts over expenditures of $65,037.54 for the month of April, with the customary fare of five cents still unchanged.

—Before the Federal Electric Railways Commission in Washington, D. C., on the 22d, Samuel R. Bertrom, of New York, who said his banking firm had financed about fifty street railway properties, including those in Buffalo, New Orleans, Memphis, and Birmingham, declared his belief that traction properties owned by a muncipality would be operated efficiently and not be subject to the political and other evils ordinarily ascribed to that form of management.

—Eugene M. Foss, former Governor of Massachusetts, advocating Government ownership of all public utilities, declared before the Federal Electric Railways Commission that " private ownership has fallen down. There is left only public ownership with private operation, or public ownership and operation. This primarily means a better democracy. We have got to democratize our transportation; then we have got to democratize our industries; otherwise they will be in the condition they are in abroad."

—At the election of June 3d, the city of Los Angeles, by a vote of 1300 more than the necessary two-thirds majority, passed the proposed bond issue of $18,500,000 for the purchase by the municipality of the electric distributing system of the Southern California Edison Company. By owning its distributing system, the city is able to market its own power from the municipally owned and operated electric power plant over municipally owned lines, according to press reports issued by the Public Ownership League of America.

Suffrage

—Seven Lynn County (N. Y.) women have places on the Government list of postmasters.

—For the first time in the history of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, a woman has been elected a member of the executive committee.

—On the 24th the Federal suffrage amendment was defeated overwhelmingly in both houses of the Georgia General Assembly. The Legislature acted in opposition to President Wilson, who sent a telegram urging ratification of the amendment.

—Governor Olcott refused on the 24th to call a session of the Oregon Legislature to ratify the National Woman Suffrage amendment, except on condition that a majority of the members of both Houses voluntarily requested such a session, and agreed to bear their own expenses.

Labor

—Twelve dollars and a half was established as the minimum weekly wage for women workers in candy factories by the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission.

—The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in its convention at Appleton adopted a resolution urging the workers of the State to make a study of the Soviet form of government in Russia.

—At the semi-annual elections of the Toronto District Labor Council, which have just taken place, the Red element gained a sweeping victory over the moderates and captured all the offices.

—The Boston Newspaper Publishers' Association agreed on the 22d to grant the demands of the News Writers' Union for a minimum wage scale of $45 per week for rewrite men and copy readers, $38 for reporters and staff photographers, and $30 for district men.

—By a vote of 368 to 47 the House on the 22d passed the bill providing a minimum wage of $3 for all Government employes except those in the Postal Service. The wage is exclusive of the war-time bonus of $240 a year allowed employes. The measure now goes to the Senate.

—The French Federation of Labor, which ordered a general strike only to call it off, is leading the fight against the Cabinet of Premier Clemenceau, and hopes to be able to dictate the appointment of a new Premier if the present Government is overthrown.

—The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, in convention at Denver, passed a resolution favoring a national Labor Party and also favored starting daily papers in four or five big cities. They also indorsed formally the Plumb plan of government ownership and operation of railroads.

—Representatives of the Triple Alliance of British labor bodies decided on the 23d to take a referendum vote among members on the political demands of British labor, these including conscription, Russian intervention, the release of conscientious objectors, and the use of the military in labor disputes. The vote in favor of taking the ballot was 217 to 11.

—A dispatch from Berlin reports that one of the most serious strikes in the history of Upper Silesia has broken out at Chorzow and Sarborz, near Kattowitz, where the electric light workers walked out, ostensibly owing to Spartacan influence. The artificial lighting of the entire province has been cut off, coal mines are not operating and every industry that depends on electricity for light and power is threatened.

—Experiments of large employers in giving employes a voice in the management of their enterprises during the last three months have produced in one case a strike, in others avalanches of de-

mands for increased wages, and in some substantial benefits to the concerns adopting it, according to a survey of coöperative industrial plans by the National Association of Corporation Schools, in which 133 large industrial corporations have membership.

—According to the annual report of the operations division of the United States Employment Service for the fiscal year ended June 30, the outstanding features of the national employment situation at present are a shortage of agricultural labor and common labor in the West and South, an increasing demand for mechanics in the building trades, stable conditions in most of the mechanical industries and a considerable surplus of office help and technical and professional men.

—That the operation of this country's railroads under government control saved the war for America and the Allies, because a failure to meet the food situation of the Allies in the first few months of last year would have been an irretrievable disaster, is one of the statements made by former Director General of Railroads McAdoo in a speech in New York City which is now being circulated by the A. F. of L. railway employes' department.

—The organizing committee of the International Labor Conference to be held in Washington in October has prepared a questionnaire in regard to the topics to be discussed at the coming meeting. They ask a couple of scores of questions in respect to these five points: Application of the principle of the eight hours' day or forty-eight hours' week; questions of preventing or providing against unemployment; women's employment; employment of children; extension and application of the international convention adopted at Berne in 1906 for the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

Labor Strikes

—Cleveland enjoyed normal telephone service on the 25th for the first time in more than three weeks as a result of the termination of the strike of operators and electrical workers on the 24th. The agreement concedes the right to organize.

—The strike of seamen, firemen and other ship hands (excepting engineers), against the trans-Atlantic and coastwise shipping under the American flag came to an end on the 25th when the New York local unions ratified the agreement between their leaders and representatives of the Shipping Board and steamship owners.

—Twenty-five hundred military prisoners in the disciplinary barracks at the Leavenworth Federal Prison went on strike on the 22d. Colonel Frederick Rice, in command of the barracks, received a committee of twelve prisoners, who asked that the men be given shorter hours and more to eat.

—The proposed international demonstrative strike called for Monday, July 21, was not put into effect on any considerable scale either in Italy or France, according to reports from the principal cities. George Renwick in a special cable to the New York *Times* reports that in Berlin the workers obeyed the general strike order *en masse,* and according to the Correspondence Bureau the strike in Vienna was almost complete.

—According to a bulletin issued by the New York State Industrial Commission on the 23d, the average wage of 550,000 workers employed in 1,648 firms now reaches $22.51 a week, compared with $12.70 in 1914 for the same industries. The per cent. of increase is 77 while the cost of living has gone up 90 to 100 per cent. in the State during the same period. The increases within the past year, according to the Industrial Commission, were gained largely by strikes.

—Twenty-five mail airplane pilots on the 24th went on the first air strike the country has known, declaring that the arbitrary rules of the Postoffice Department imperiled their lives, and in particular that no mail should take the air until the two pilots who were discharged because of their refusal to fly in the fog were reinstated. However, they agreed on the following day to resume their flight on the promise that a reconsideration would take place in Washington of their demand to reinstate the discharged pilots. It was also stated that since July 15, when the recent bad weather began, and up to July 22 there were no fewer than fifteen accidents.

Transportation

—The first air passenger-carrying service in this country to operate on daily schedule was inaugurated on the 26th between New York and Atlantic City.

—A company has been formed in Iceland to establish regular aeroplane traffic between different Icelandic towns and the outer world. The main base for air traffic will be Reygjavik.

—Private ownership and operation of railroads merged into twenty or thirty great competing systems under the supervision of a Federal transportation board, with a statutory rule of rate making assuring to the roads a net return of 6 per cent., was offered to the House Committee on the 23d as the plans of the National Transportation Conference.

—The recent collapse of the great Grand Trunk Pacific railway system has resulted in the addition of these lines to the railways already under operation by the Canadian Government. Under the provisions of the war measures act the Federal Government has appointed Hon. J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways, to be receiver for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company.

—William P. Burr, Corporation Counsel, applied to Lewis Nixon, Public Service Commissioner, on the 24th for a stay to prevent the execution of the Commission's order of last week permitting the New York Railways Company to charge two cents for transfers at 99 out of 113 transfer points for a rehearing of the proceedings and for a reversal or modification of the order.

League of Nations

—German scientists will be excluded from the conferences of research workers until Germany is taken into the League of Nations, announces the International Research Convention, in session at Brussels.

—The Minnesota State Federation of Labor at its convention on the 23d postponed action for one year on a resolution to indorse the League of Nations. The Soviet Government of Russia received the Federation's indorsement.

—In the 290 votes cast on the 23d at Columbia University on the League of Nations, 124 were for the adoption of the League unqualifiedly, 146 favored reservations, and 20 for outright rejection.

—A straw ballot on the League of Nations in which 821 out of the 2,000 members of the Commonwealth Club, one of the most representative civic organizations in the West, participated, has resulted in a vote of 2 to 1 in favor of the League.

—"Objection to the Treaty of Peace, based on the Shantung provision, is a bugbear founded on insufficient popular knowledge of the facts," A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard, said at a meeting of the executive committee of the League to Enforce Peace.

—Ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes, in a letter to Senator Frederick Hale of Maine, has declared in favor of a League of Nations, but maintained that certain reservations and interpretations to the present Covenant, in sections affecting withdrawal, Monroe Doctrine, immigration, and Article X, were necessary to protect American interests.

—General Jan Christian Smuts, in his farewell address to the British people, sounded the note which Liberalism is expected to follow. He urged that the League of Nations be used to solve the problems not settled by the Peace Treaty, and this course, rather than by reservations in the treaty itself, is the one the British will follow.

—The reservations to the League of Nations set forth by William H. Taft were deplored by Oscar S. Straus in his address before the meeting of the Council of Foreign Relations in the Metropolitan Club. Mr. Straus asserted the League to Enforce Peace, in which Mr. Taft played a leading part, is behind the entire peace treaty as it stands.

—A great international trade conference is to be held in Atlantic City during the week of October 5 to 12 under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, with the Government coöperating in the reception of foreign delegates. Invitations have been extended by the Chamber of Commerce to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium to send a joint mission, and these nations have accepted.

—Modifications of the League of Nations Covenant, suggested by ex-President Taft, which would exclude Canada and the other British dominions from the League Council by giving a vote only to the mother country, have been vigorously opposed by C. J. Doherty, Minister of Justice. "It would absolutely exclude Canada from distinctive representation on the council for all time," he said, "since the British Empire as a whole is at all times represented.

Foreign

—Eight hundred natives were killed and 1,600 wounded during the recent demonstration of Egyptian Nationalists, according to dispatches from General E. H. H. Allenby.

—The Western Union Telegraph Company announces that private cablegrams of all classes may now be accepted for places in Germany if written in plain English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish.

—The first results of the raising of the blockade, says the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, is the flooding of Cologne with foreign goods. The sources of shipments consisting mainly of provisions are France, England, Japan, and America.

—The *Vossiche Zeitung* correspondent reports that Roland Morris, the United States Minister to Tokio, arrived at Omsk. The purpose is to report to the United States Government as to actual conditions and prospects preliminary to recognition of Kolchak's All-Russian Government.

—A modified United States of Ireland plan was the solution offered by the London *Times*. The paper proposed two state legislatures, one for Ulster and one for South Ireland, each with extensive local powers. An all-Irish Parliament, to sit at Dublin, was embodied in the plan, each section to be represented equally and both to be represented in the Imperial Parliament at London on the basis of population.

—President Wilson informed the Senate on the 25th in response to a resolution by Senator Johnson, Republican, of California, that the presence of American troops in Siberia was a "vital element" in the restoration and maintenance of traffic on the Siberian Railroad, and that under the agreement with Japan they could be withdrawn only when the American railway experts operating the road were withdrawn.

—Dr. Chien Hsu, Minister of Justice of the Constitutional Government of Canton, speaking on the 24th at a meeting of the China Society, held in the Hotel Biltmore, declared that this war had not proved one of right over might as he had first felt it to be, but that might was still in the saddle, for while Germany in the West had been crushed, there had arisen a new Germany in the Far East which would probably be the occasion for another war.