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A Journal of Democracy

June 7, 1919

Women's Congress at Zurich

The British Labor Movement

Boy Scouts as a National Asset

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The Land and the Soldier

By

FREDERIC C. HOWE

Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York

Mr. Howe believes that the experience of the government in financing and organizing war industries and communities could be applied most effectively to the problem of establishing the returned soldier on the farm.

His suggested plan is based on the organization of farm colonies somewhat after the Danish models, not on reclaimed or distant land but upon land never properly cultivated, often near the large cities, and he aims to connect with the communities thus formed the social advantages of, for instance, the garden villages of England. He advances a broad and thoughtful programme looking toward an extensive agricultural and social organization.

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The Public

A Journal of Democracy

June 7, 1919

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THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

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LABOR, as the President says truly in his message to Congress, is the supreme question of the hour. The President is careful to make clear that he regards the labor question in the same light that labor itself does. He lays special emphasis, not on the merely economic factors of efficiency, distribution, and organization, but upon the distinctly human character of labor. He senses to the full the spirit that now speaks so boldly in Britain and that is beginning to be heard in every industrial center of America. Labor is no longer interested in mere short hours or good wages. It is intolerant of those who would be kind to the worker. It is done with the uplifter. It asks neither benevolence nor charity. Labor also wants self-determination and is bound to have it. "The object of all reform in this essential matter," says Mr. Wilson, "must be the general democratization of industry based upon a full recognition of the rights of those who work in whatever rank to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare." That is plain language, and it is a plain issue.

THE curtain rises on the last act of the Suffrage comedy. The House has passed the resolution as everybody knew it would. The Senate will pass it also—as everybody has known ever since it became apparent last session that the Republican leaders and the Suffragettes were only awaiting the proper setting to withdraw their opposition. The significant thing about the resolution is not the passage itself, but its manner of passage. The *Congressional Record* has been burdened with undelivered speeches that will be circulated next fall to prove that the Republican Party should get the credit. That eminently progressive statesman, Mr. Longworth, let the cat out of the bag when he explained that his past votes against suffrage were based not upon opposition to its justice, but upon the fact that the time was inopportune. A Republican Congress now being in power and able to make political capital out of a favorable vote, the time is of course "opportune." Hence Miss Alice Paul adds her pæan of praise of the Republican Party to Mr. Longworth's. The shameful thing of it all is that, thanks to the asinine leadership of Mr. Kitchin and his Southern colleagues, it is half true.

CREDIT for the passage of the Suffrage resolution really belongs to no one party, no matter what claims politicians may put forth. Certainly the lion's share of the credit, if it is to be apportioned, goes to the President, for without the full weight of his influence it could not have passed the House and it would still be defeated in the Senate. An analysis of the vote shows that credit for the action of the House resolution belongs to a section rather than to any party. No Democrat west of the Mississippi, and only one Republican, voted against it. Southern Democrats, New England Republicans, and Congressmen of both parties in New York and Pennsylvania made up practically all of the opposition. There were only two Democratic exceptions to this classification —Gard of Ohio and Doremus of Michigan. A few scattering Republicans from Ohio, Wisconsin, and Iowa made up the balance. Like the tariff, suffrage seems to have been a local issue.

ONE of the things to which Congress might give attention, and one that it will assuredly ignore, is the reform of the Census. We are about to gather some twenty thick volumes

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of statistics. They are gathered every ten years upon the apparent assumption that nothing worth noticing ever happens during the other nine. Professor Charles Zueblin of Boston, who has been a constant advocate of Census reform, has pointed out the possibility of providing for a permanent Census. The ease with which the draft boards gathered information with regard to twelve million persons gives us a hint of the way to gather continuous information with regard to 110 millions. By combining the postal machinery with that of the draft boards, statistical information could be collected continuously and kept up to date every year if necessary. The only sound objection lies in the fact that such an arrangement would do away with the army of Census employes who are now considered Congressional patronage. That in itself probably constitutes an insuperable bar to this much needed reform. Congress is fond of patronage.

MR. REED is the star acrobat of the Senate. Other statesmen may excel in this or that particular, but his equal in point of agility does not exist within the boundaries of the United States. Three months ago he was propounding the doctrine that the League of Nations would be "dominated by the kings and monarchs of Europe and Asia." When after patient advertising this theory failed to gather any serious number of adherents, the Senator propounded another—the League was dominated by Great Britain. Great Britain had six votes and it was a British conspiracy. Unkind critics have suggested that Senator Reed never intended this theory for anything but home consumption. He lives in Kansas City where the Irish vote is of some importance. But whether this harsh suspicion be unjust or not, further discussion of it has become academic, for Mr. Reed has already abandoned it. The League is now dominated by the darker races. It has become an anti-Caucasian conspiracy. Liberia, Siam, and Haiti are in the saddle. It is truly an astounding revelation and an atrocious state of affairs. The public need not be alarmed, however, for the revelation will undoubtedly be superseded inside of a fortnight. Mr. Reed will by that time have discovered that the League is dominated by Samuel Gompers or George Creel. An interesting bit of give and take occurred in the Senate on the 26th. It was as follows: Senator Reed: "I condemn any League—" Senator Hitchcock: "I guess that's right." That bit of repartee seems to sum up not only Senator Reed but Senator Borah, and for that matter Messrs. Knox, Lodge, and Penrose as well.

REASONS for the appointment of Senator Penrose as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee are multiplying rapidly. One of the latest and best is that given by Senator Borah when he defined the issue between Penrose and himself on taxation as "the tendency to relieve wealth and great incomes from taxation, and to pass out taxes in different ways to the average citizen; in other words, to impose the taxes which should fall on wealth on the average citizen." Senator Borah's position was further defined by one of his colleagues as favoring the retention of the present income and excess profits taxes on incomes of $500,000 or more, and a considerable rate of taxes on incomes below that amount, down to the point where it did not become a burden on the average citizen. The Progressive Senator is careful to add, however, that "nothing will be done which will turn over the Senate organization to the Democrats." What does the "average citizen" think of this? Take the taxes from luxuries, says Penrose. What do the voters say?

AMONG the proposals put forth by the Northern Baptists' twelfth annual convention at Denver, in its reconstruction program, is one "to secure a survey of natural resources and the adoption of an adequate system of conservation and restoration." And in its effort to solve the problem of labor and capital the convention affirms its conviction "that all parties in industry—investors, managers, workers, and the community—are partners," who should have "a voice in its direction and an equitable sharing in the proceeds." This would indicate that there were persons in the convention who really knew beans when the bag was open. But when it is realized that John D. Rockefeller contributed two million dollars—said to be the largest sum ever given to missions—one wonders how many of the members will be disposed to press that inquiry into natural resources, or urge the adoption of a policy of conservation and restoration.

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ACTION of the Socialists' National Executive Committee at Chicago in reading out of the party 25,000 of what Victor Berger calls the "impossibilists," followed by similar action along the same lines in New York will aid in clarifying the issues. If only it will lead to similar action on the part of the Republican and Democratic Parties a great good will have been accomplished. Chairman Will S. Hays of the Republican National Committee promises to break up the solid South, and there is every prospect that the Progressives will disrupt the Republican Party. Each of these in turn will help. But to break up the solid South would be the greatest benefit of all. If the Socialist Party is to wield any influence in American politics it must eschew Bolshevism, while the Republicans must move forward, and the Democrats must throw over the solid South. No party not immortal could have survived thus long such a handicap. All real democrats will hail with delight the passing of the solid South, which has deprived them of their best support in the North.

WHEN the war was on and America was straining every nerve to throw her whole might into the scale against Germany, Secretary Daniels called for the greatest navy on the seas. Last January the secretary pleaded for a building program of $600,000,000, and it was granted. But the Administration bill was drawn with a provision for suspending the building program if other nations took similar action. We now have the first fruits of the League of Nations Covenant. The $600,000,000 that would have gone into the navy can now be put to useful purposes—or even be left in the people's pockets. It could have been wished that the Paris Peace Conference had adopted Secretary Daniels' proposal to sink the German fleet. The ships are of no use to the world as it disarms, and their upkeep will be a heavy burden at the very moment every dollar is needed for constructive purposes. But if the nations will simply stop building new warships the old ones will rapidly disappear.

IT is strangely typical of the chaotic conditions in Eastern Europe that the United States should be protesting against Polish pogroms, while the Polish Americans declare the protest meetings to be for the purpose of creating prejudice against the Poles. The unnatural conditions under which both Poles and Jews have lived for a hundred years have led to suspicion, distrust, and misunderstanding. And now that the outside pressure has been removed, it will take them some time to reach an adjustment of relations where decent mutual forbearance is possible. Premier Paderewski announces that he will ask President Wilson to appoint a commission to investigate the situation in Poland and report to the world. Such an investigation, competent and impartial, should be made and quickly. Not only should pogroms be suppressed, but the very suspicion of them should be allayed. So far as pogroms are concerned Poland is on trial.

THE impossibility of equal justice for officers and enlisted men in the army under the present court-martial system is shown in two court-martial sentences selected at random from the public records. The two cases are taken from the records of Base Section Number Two, Service of Supply, and are numbered 78 and 79. The first case is that of an officer charged with imposing upon two enlisted men to the amounts of $100 and $182 respectively, and with being absent without leave for five days. The only punishment that the courts seem to have considered necessary was a reprimand and "confinement to the limits of his organization area" for thirty days. The succeeding case is that of a private who is charged with purloining a fountain pen, "value about $2." This offense was considered to justify a sentence of six months at hard labor and dishonorable discharge from the army. The cases do not offer an unusual contrast. They are typical. It is such episodes as these that are building up such a powerful sentiment among returning soldiers against the arbitrary court-martial. Militarism always carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

PUBLIC operation and control of railways, say critics flippantly, is a failure. How they discovered that we have had government operation is not known to THE PUBLIC. For we have been unaware that we have had any such system in practice. What we have had is distinctly private operation under a highly

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drastic form of government regulation. We cannot agree that our experiment has been "a sorry failure" so far, and the glibness with which critics arrive at this conclusion leads us to infer that their conclusions are not based upon a careful analysis of facts and figures, but upon a deep-seated belief that nothing having the remotest connection with the present administration can possibly be right. How much of the present deficit could be eliminated under actual government ownership through saving of rentals has been pointed out repeatedly in our columns. We are beginning to suspect that a great deal more could be saved if it were possible to eliminate sabotage. It is worth noting that one-third of the deficit occurred on a single railway system whose former owners it has been impossible to replace under the present limited control.

THERE is no need to be downcast over the possible or probable return of the railroads to private ownership. It has not occurred as yet, but even if it should occur there would still be no cause for alarm. The financial condition of the railroads at the present time is not of such nature as to render their operation an alluring prospect for any one. The Government has borne the onus of increasing rates. No group of private owners has shown any willingness to reduce them. No matter what political jockeyings may occur the economic situation will remain the dominant one. Private ownership broke down in a crisis and it will break down again. The return of the railroads at this time can only delay the final settlement. Mr. Hines stated the question in Chicago in a single sentence: "In the event the railroads are returned to private control and make a failure, the result will be government ownership."

PITTSBURGH seems determined to keep itself on the map. In 1913 the Pennsylvania Legislature enacted a law classifying real estate for purposes of taxation in second-class cities, which meant Pittsburgh and Scranton. The law permits the reduction of ten per cent. in the value of buildings every three years, until the reduction amounts to fifty per cent. Opponents secured the repeal of this law in 1915, but the Governor vetoed the repeal on the ground that the law had not been sufficiently tried. In 1917 there was little opposition in the Legislature; but the objectors are now making another campaign. It is most encouraging to know, therefore, that the Pittsburgh City Council has unanimously protested against the repeal of the law. This is one of the very best laws in this country, and it would be a mistake from every point of view to repeal it at this time. It makes a gradual application of a sound principle of taxation so that there will be no financial disturbance from the change.

The Boy Scouts

NOT since the beginning of the war has a more deserving appeal for public support been made than that of the Boy Scouts. For, tion, and does not this movement create the purpose of preserving the manhood of the nation, and does not this movement create the manhood? Although but a few years old, the Boy Scouts of America already number more than 375,000 members. There are, however, ten million American boys who are eligible for membership, and it is with a view of gathering in as many as possible of this great number that this organization, having as its honorary president Woodrow Wilson and its honorary vice-president William H. Taft, makes the present public appeal.

The Boy Scout organization should have a double appeal for the liberal minded people because it is of itself a fine training for the boys, and it can be made to take the place of compulsory military service. Notwithstanding the almost universal condemnation of war, there are yet a large number of people who look upon universal military service as necessary to the safety of the nation, and the most subtle appeal yet made in its behalf is the physical training that has been given the soldiers in the present war. And this appeal can be understood when the rugged boys from the camps are contrasted with the sallow, anæmic boys at home.

But desirable as are these health-glowing young men, to get them in this way is not unlike Charles Lamb's version of the way the Chinese first got roast pig. The scout movement lays the foundation of a young manhood as sound as that of the military training camp,

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and does it in response to the desires of the child instead of in opposition to his natural impulses. Few young men would submit voluntarily to the rigors of the training camp, yet practically all boys respond to the lure of woods, streams, and open fields.

The boy scout movement has the additional advantage of applying to girls as well as to boys. Every demand in the way of healthy body building is as necessary for young women as for young men. Now, while military training does this in a way for young men, it does nothing for young women; but the scout movement applies to both, and already the Girl Scouts number more than 58,000 and the Camp Fire Girls more than 150,000, while other organizations of lesser membership add to the number of both boys and girls who are developing into healthy young men and women.

This idea of developing the character and the bodies of boys and girls along natural lines is comparatively new, but its rapid growth proves its popularity, and the results call for public encouragement. The Boy Scouts need money and they need men to act as scout masters. They should have the most liberal possible support, and at the earliest possible moment there should be a drive made for the girl organizations.

The one possible objection to the Boy Scout movement is the possibility of its being made into an adjunct of militarism, but this need not be; and it will not be if the anti-military friends of the children rally to the support of the movement to see that the work is kept within the legitimate lines of building young men not for war but for life.

How to Build Subways

CHICAGO may or may not be wise in wanting a subway. There are many public spirited citizens with expert information upon traction problems who believe that subways are neither necessary nor desirable. It is still an open question as to whether such a form of transportation would relieve or increase congestion. Doubtless both æsthetic and engineering objections will persist, and they must be threshed out upon their merits. To Chicago, however, must go the credit of eliminating one of the most serious objections urged in the past against this form of transit. Whatever economies in operation may result, a very serious initial handicap has been the tremendous cost of construction. Two million dollars per mile is no small item for a municipality to invest. The alternative is a similar investment upon the part of private capital. If the latter course is pursued the invested sums reach such staggering totals that recapture of transportation by the municipalities becomes a financial impossibility, either through the mere size of the purchase price or through constitutional or statutory limitations upon the debts of cities.

This latter dilemma Chicago seems to be in a fair way to avoid. The president of Chicago's Bureau of Local Improvement has suggested a plan by which the city can acquire title to a subway without adding to the public debt and without creating a tremendous overhead charge against transportation. He proposes to build a subway just as a street is built—by collecting from the owners of the property that is increased in value. For many years streets, sidewalks, and sewers have been built by assessing the adjacent property, upon the theory that their land values would be increased by more than the cost of the improvement. The application of the principle to the subway is merely an extension of an old method. On one point Chicago should insist upon modification of the present plan. Only half the value is proposed to be taken by the special assessment method. The balance is to be obtained by using the city's past share of the profits of the street car lines. That fund should be regarded as sacred. The construction of a subway will add several times its cost to the adjacent land values and there is no good reason for not collecting every cent from those values. Whatever the result of the present agitation, the people of Chicago are beginning to have an inkling that land values absorb the benefits of more than mere streets and sidewalks. If the citizens of Chicago have learned that they can construct a subway by this method it is only a matter of time before they will find that they can also build schools.

Class Rule

CERTAIN friends of labor are laying up trouble for themselves and for those whom they would serve by talking about laboring

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class rule. Organized labor has reached a point where its power attracts attention. Its demand for the right of collective bargaining and representation in industry is receiving thoughtful consideration, and the net result is likely to be a great advance in the industrial world.

But when to the claim that labor should have the right to administer its own affairs is added the demand that it should dictate the affairs of society as a whole, a grave mistake is made. The world has passed the class rule stage. The rule of the laboring class will be no more acceptable than the rule of the employing class. And if organized labor should obtain the power, and should so far forget the teaching of history as to set up its rule, it will meet the same opposition, though greatly intensified, that the rule of privilege has met.

Democracy is still man's best venture. It has not worked to the satisfaction of all, but that is because the rule of the people cannot be much better than the people. And the people are not sufficiently well informed to make the most of their opportunities. The rule of the majority has its limitations, but it must in the long run be better than the rule of the minority.

Persons of the ultra-radical type who talk of laboring class rule take little heed of human nature. Laboring men and women are no more class conscious than employers. Employers, merchants, lawyers, educators have the interest of their class, but they have also their interest as citizens. So organized labor has its interest as laborers, but it also has its interest as citizens.

Labor is entitled to and must have its rights. It must have its full rights. But it must not encroach upon the equal rights of citizens who may not come under the narrow definition of the term labor. That way lie tyranny, strife, and disappointment.

It must be evident that the readjustment will not be easy, and there will be many mistakes. But mistakes can be corrected where the will to justice prevails. Organized labor never before had so many friends. Nor has it ever had such opportunities. It has the sympathy of the world, and its cause is just. It must not lose these advantages through the mistaken policy of headstrong men.

Criticising the Treaty

IN sharp contrast to the Senatorial opposition to the Covenant, and the criticism of certain quibbling editors, is the stand taken by the League of Free Nations Association in its cablegram to President Wilson under date of May 28. Recognizing the imperfections of the treaty, the League of Free Nations says: "The one promise of remedy lies in the League Covenant." As the treaty becomes operative when signed by the representatives of three nations its rejection by the United States Senate, says the League, would "exclude us from any part in the immediate interpretation of the Covenant in its important formative period, and from the execution of the treaty. It is the duty of Americans to work for the ratification of the treaty as finally signed."

The specific points made by the League of Free Nations in its cablegram to the President are, first, that upper Silesia should not be transferred to Poland without a plebiscite; second, that while France may justly claim the produce of the Saar coal mines for some time, there is no warrant for raising the question of sovereignty in connection with that district; third, that the permanent transfer of Shantung to Japan would be indefensible, and that if the transfer be only nominal and temporary, this should be made known speedily and authoritatively; fourth, that the most dangerous feature of the treaty is the indefiniteness of its economic provisions, which makes it possible to use these for the prevention of legitimate German efforts at commercial and industrial recovery; fifth, that no assurance is given that Germany will be presently made a member of the Council of the League.

Most of the mistakes of the Peace Conference have been due to confusing militarism with industrialism. It is perfectly proper to deprive Germany, who has abused her might, of her arms. It is just also that she repair to the utmost of her ability the damage caused to the other nations. But to take permanently from her territory that is rightfully German, or to attempt to cripple her economically in addition to making reparations would be an inexcusable blunder, and would result only in future mischief.

The failure of the Peace Conference is due

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to what Buckle calls the protective spirit. As long as producers look upon other producers as rivals instead of coöperators they can be made to imagine that any prosperity to others must mean injury to themselves. But when producers realize that production as a whole is aided when any part increases, they will be able to act intelligently toward their fellows.

Just to the extent that a benighted political economy makes statesmen look upon the prosperity of other nations as an injury to their own, and to the degree that nervous apprehension prompts them to see danger in every move of their opponents, just to that degree is the adoption of the Covenant necessary in order that adjustments may be made from time to time as enlightenment proceeds and fear is allayed.

Government by Prejudice

IN certain political quarters a malign influence is at work to corrupt the processes of thinking with the purpose of swinging elections by mass formations of unreason in favor of vested interests of militarism and industrial exploitation. A favorite form of this propaganda is to get speakers who have been in Russia to dole out small doses of information of the Soviet principles of organization in large potations of vituperation of the Bolsheviki. Easily this slides into patriotically sounding condemnation, explicitly of the I. W. W. and implicitly of all labor that is articulate. Slyly the current veers over into laudations of army and navy and marines, and a very defiant expression of the determination of these men of the various branches of the military service that they propose to "run this country during the next twenty years—and don't you forget it." At one of the meetings of this character a United States officer described the organization of the American Legion in St. Louis by saying a thousand soldiers had assembled there for certain purposes—and they all had teeth. He did not explain just why they had teeth rather than some other equally human characterization—for instance, brains, or experience, or political insight, or sympathy with the needy, or downright devotion to America. What specific thing they were to do with the teeth did not appear—whether they were going to chew the rag, or bite the ankles of pacifists, or consume the fruits of the workingman's toil, or masticate the plums of patronage. The only apparent certainty was in the quality of the boast—the implied threat. Somebody would better look out. Perhaps it was the people in general—and the honest enlisted man in particular.

The point is that in this critical hour blind prejudice is the most fatal of inimical forces; a rational political education is the boon of boons. At this particular orgy of anti-Bolshevism we have been describing a lawyer holding an official position leaped to his feet impromptu and read a carefully prepared resolution condemning out of hand the alleged principles of Sovietism and the still more alleged practices of the Bolsheviki. This in itself might pass. But the respectable sequaciousness with which the crowd acclaimed the resolution, without caution of examination, without weight of evidence, without critical scrutiny, without any sense of the partisan bias of the speakers—this is something that should be punctured in the interest of intellectual decency.

The love of country is one love that cannot afford to be blind. Civilization itself is at the crossroads. In America we need above all things a clear understanding of our issues. The Republican Party is almost insane with anxiety to gain control of the Federal Administration and to formulate a protective policy that will make the whole world the hunting ground for the stalling schemes of American exploiters. It can find no solid issues that appeal to a manly and mature understanding. Had the war been won under a Republican administration heaven and earth would be moved to corral every soldier and sailor in a partisan combine to silence all individual political action, as was done after the Civil War. But as that cannot be hoped for the ignorant and the inflammable are being worked with the gag that the Republican Party was the war party; and every conceivable chance is used to preach an underhanded opposition to Mr. Wilson and the Government. Where the open methods of the I. W. W. sow the wind these secret political methods of plutocratic and partisan schemers are sowing the whirlwind of sedition and practical Bolshevism. The human understanding was created for the purpose of comprehending

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the subjects of thought. It is too late for any self-respecting party to attempt to stampede American voters with any modern slogan on a par with the "bloody shirt" and "full dinner pail" fakes of Republican "statesmen" of other days.

The Sanity and Virility of Pacifism

SOON after the Germans had violated the peace of Europe numerous writers, among whom were the venerable Dr. Eliot and the late Mr. Roosevelt, published statements of what seemed to them cogent reasons why the sympathy of Americans would and should be with England and France rather than with Germany. There was a certain degree of easily proved truth in these contentions; but they were quite inadequate as an explanation of the popular instinct in condemning the Teuton eruption. From end to end of the United States the best elements of our people were immediately shocked and indignant, not because of specific reasons for or against the war, but because there was any war at all.

How true this was may be understood by any one who tries to appraise the forces that had counted in the formation of our cherished standards of social and political feeling. We had gone through a long period of training in pacifistic thinking. Our historians, our poets, our philosophers, our lecturers, our preachers had never wearied of showing how American institutions were great and how America was influential, not because of the prestige of our army and navy, but because we wanted to be at peace with all the world and to preserve conditions at home in which our own people might have the prosperity belonging to peace. Our colleges devoted their energies to emphasizing the fact that the fruits of a true political economy and a true social policy were the fruits of peace. Our women's clubs throughout the land urged an active campaign of progress in new methods of peace. Our great World's Fairs in Philadelphia, in Chicago, in St. Louis, and the lesser ones like that of Seattle, all commemorated the growth and achievements of a triumphant peace. The more American we were the more pacifist we were.

Precisely as it was pacifism that consolidated our initial condemnation of Germany, so it was pacifism that inspired our invincible mobilization for victory. We should never have gone to war at all if we had not become convinced that only thus could we secure a broader and sounder pacifism; when we buckled on the armor it was with the determination that war should be no more. In this conviction lay the secret of our unity insuring success.

Of course with the letting loose of the more respectable dogs of war, many sinister curs took to barking. In hours of crisis all sorts of forces combine to produce the momentum that spells success. The meanest political chicane locks hands with the loftiest idealism, the sordid lust of profiteering stands shoulder to shoulder with the divinest self-sacrifice, rancorous vindictiveness is associated with inspiring patriotism. The despotism of war obliterates the usual ethical discriminations, and the only virtue is devotion to a cause. Peace at any price is denounced as a weakness; victory at any cost, moral or physical, is acclaimed as the highest good. While the passions of war are in the swing and swirl of combat all sorts of frenzy and foolishness and misjudgment and misapprehension are tolerated even by the wise. The denunciations of pacifism that were so common during the conflict in papers and pulpits whose editors and preachers were not wholly imbecilic sound strangely flat and atrocious when read today. And as a matter of fact the recovery of common sense in these things must be a preliminary condition of sane reconstruction.

It is for this reason that there is a certain pathos in the implied indictment of America in the reply made by Jane Addams the other day after the desire had been expressed by British friends of the League of Nations that the American delegates at the Peace Conference should secure her appointment as a member of the Council of the League. "Such a scheme," Miss Addams declared, "cannot be realized, for in America at the present day none is more detested than the pacifist." We trust she is mistaken. We sincerely hope she may find her place in the Council. Whether she does or not, the welfare of America in the future turnings of destiny will depend as in the past on the genuine pacifism of a virile people.

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Boy Scout Movement and Human Brotherhood

By P. W. Wilson

Formerly Member of the House of Commons and Parliamentary Correspondent of the London Daily News; he is now American Correspondent for the News.

WHEN General Baden-Powell returned to England after the defense of Mafeking he was the unchallenged hero of every boy and girl in the British Empire. For this reason, possibly, he was regarded by the War Office in London with scarcely concealed suspicion and it was clear that he would not receive promotion to any real responsibility. He therefore capitalized the magic of his name in the Boy Scout and later in the Girl Guide movement, and it is admitted that these organizations have done much to change the face of youth in the cities of the United Kingdom. The idea of camping out, observing nature, tracking down runaway horses, and playing the Red Indian was irresistible; while the elaborate system of decorations, the simple yet effective standards of fair play, the resolute discouragement of evil communications, and above all the real self-sacrifice of the officers, who gave evenings and half-holidays freely to the youngsters, have won a deserved appreciation. In days when a most imperfect system of education left young people to run wild the Boy Scouts filled up a disastrous gap. It embodied the fascinations of Ballantyne, W. S. Hart, Hiawatha, and Robert Louis Stevenson. But its philosophy was as elementary as theirs.

Sir Robert and Lady Baden-Powell are visiting the United States, and it is in no ungracious spirit that I utter a friendly warning about the trend of their life work. War is no longer the romantic adventure suggested by the siege and relief of Mafeking. It is a fearful process whereby millions of men, women, and children are systematically slaughtered by methods utterly devoid of chivalrous restraint—by mustard gas, submarine, blockade, bombardment. For this reason the Allies are limiting the German Army to 100,000 long-service troops, and are prohibiting in mid-Europe the continuance of quasi-military clubs among young men. Negotiations of peace have shown us that Germany is not the only peril to human security. Even between comrade nations there are rivalries. And life will be threatened unless and until general demobilization and disarmament are imposed on mankind. The danger of the Boy Scout movement has been its association with imperialism. It was patronized for their own purposes by conscriptionists in Britain and was regarded by Earl Roberts as a valuable ally. On every domestic issue Earl Roberts was a narrow-minded Tory. He and Lord Milner did all they could to inflame Lords against Commons over Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, and universal military service has been to them quite as much a method of disciplining labor as defending one's native land.

Education is supposed to be compulsory for all, but for the rich it is not so. They can choose their school and, if they wish, they can avoid school altogether. Often the poor must attend one particular school, or submit to penalties. If then the school becomes an engine of propaganda, the poor man's child cannot escape. Everybody believes that education should include physical training and the habit of observing nature. But the question is whether the pursuits ought to be associated with a completely illusory idea of soldiering. If the militarist can capture the Boy Scouts, who control playtime, and the schools, which control worktime, we shall see the democratic peoples effectively Prussianized at the very moment when Prussia is demilitarized. It is not as if the youngsters would receive a real idea of what war is. The picture presented to them will be far other than the pictures painted by Mr. Nevinson. They will be taught to look upon this grim business as a kind of field day for first aid, a fascinating introduction to stars and trees and the songs of birds, a fine companionship with big brothers from the nearest parochial institute. The young will learn too late that, what was to them a bloodless game of chivalry, is in fact an ugly and sordid device of cunning statesmen at which generals like Wellington himself have wept for sorrow in the hour of victory.

A far-reaching choice lies, therefore, ahead of the Chief Scouts who direct this movement.

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They know, as we all know, that a revolutionary breeze is sweeping over the world. Men and women are everywhere rebelling, not against Governments, but against War. British labor, for instance, is not out for anarchy. On the contrary, it wants peace, which is the exact opposite of anarchy. If, then, the Boy Scouts are to do the utmost of good with the least of harm, they must act on the principle that, in future, men will wrestle not with flesh and blood,—not with bombs and bullets,—but with spiritual weapons, fighting not with one another but fighting those degradations and injustices which injure all nations alike.

The use of military terms and etiquette as a symbol has long been the custom of the Salvation Army. It was St. Paul who described the armor of the Christian soldier and it was Bunyan who put the Christian into that armor. Most of us have played at soldiers in the nursery, and in some of our school cadet corps in England boys confess that they get enough drilling to last them for the rest of their life. There is a sense, therefore, in which juvenile militarism acts as a kind of inoculation against the real disease, but I do not think that so comfortable a theory is a complete answer to the fears reasonably entertained about the Boy Scout movement. In Germany, the real thing began with inoculation. The schools were simply anterooms to the barracks. Boys were permitted no other outlook. The parade ground was their only notion of a playing field. And, incidentally, the individual was crushed. It is individuality alone that can maintain freedom. And it is individuality alone that makes freedom worth while.

If, then, the Boy Scout movement is to win universal approval, there must be a complete severance of its policy from conscription, or any other form of military compulsion. It must be, frankly, an expression of the brotherhood of mankind. It must correct the tendency of history books that select battles as the high points of human heroism and national glory. It must discourage the cheap sneers at idealism. Otherwise, the movement must inevitably come into violent collision with labor as organized in Europe, and with Christianity itself. British labor, at any rate, will strongly oppose any machinery that is suspected, whether justly or unjustly, of preparing for another war.

Boy Scouts as a National Asset

By W. A. Perry
Editor of Scouting

IS the Boy Scout a soldier in the making? Now and then the question is asked still, though the principles and program of the Boy Scouts have become known through their practical application in every American town and city in peace and in war.

The answer is yes, and no.

The United States Army which our transports are now returning, victorious, to our home shores, was composed principally not of soldiers but of citizens. Only the regulars and the militiamen had had military training. They were but a handful as compared with the National Army whose men were plain citizens with no military training at all.

In this National Army and among the voluntary recruits in other branches of the military and naval service were many young men who had been Boy Scouts. Army officers said that they were among the very best soldiers. The scout-trained men said that their Boy Scout training helped them. But so far as technical military training was concerned, the Boy Scout who joined the army had as much to learn as any other rookie. His only advantage was that he could learn it quicker.

The Boy Scout had been instructed in simple marching formations—single file, double file, column right, and the rest; but so had all the other boys. Every boy knows that by the time he reaches the fifth grade in school.

Boy Scout equipment includes no firearms. It is not because the Boy Scout Movement objects to firearms. If the Boy Scout's daddy buys him a gun and teaches him to use it, his scoutmaster will encourage him to do his best as a marksman. For first-class scouts the scoutmaster will conduct tests in marksmanship, on a qualified range and under the supervision of a qualified range officer. If the scout

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attains a certain standard of efficiency as a marksman he will receive a merit badge, just as he receives his merit badges for life saving, athletics, and more than fifty other subjects. The tenderfoot and second-class scout must be taught by their parents or wait to become first-class scouts, because marksmanship instruction is a specialty which requires much time. The scoutmaster must first prepare his scouts for more fundamental tests. It should be noted, in this connection, that shooting accidents are far less frequent among the Boy Scouts than among the sportsmen of the Maine woods.

The reason why the Boy Scout learns more quickly than other boys the rudiments of military drill, when his country calls him into the army with his fellow citizens, is not due to technical training in drills or marksmanship, but to the thorough preparation of body and mind and spirit for duty as a citizen, for any duty which our country may require.

Dan Beard, in writing the books and articles which inspired Sir Robert S. S. Baden-Powell in starting the British Boy Scout Movement, had no militaristic ideal. He thought only of the woods and open country as a corrective for the evil tendencies of city herding. And Sir Baden-Powell, in developing the Boy Scout program among the disappointing city-bred soldiers in his army in Africa, thought only of individual initiative and brain developing work in the open as a corrective for the deadly dull monotony of military drill which had failed as a character builder.

The Boy Scout in the army and the Boy Scout too young for the army worked in different ways for the success of our cause during the dark days of the world war, but whatever his task was his scout training helped him. In the army he could cook, mend his clothes, find his way by the stars, or send a radio message as occasion demanded. Here at home he could sell a Liberty Bond where others failed, develop a W. S. S. prospect, deliver a government information circular where it would do the most good, find a black walnut tree or a bushel of peach pits, or grow "grub" to feed a soldier. All this because he is trained to be a citizen, whatever citizenship may require; to use his five senses and his common sense.

Those who are opposed to militarism sometimes express the fear that Boy Scouts are in training to be soldiers. Militarists sometimes complain because the Boy Scout Movement does not train boys to be soldiers. President Wilson, the members of his Cabinet, the Governors of States, labor leaders, and hundreds of other thoughtful citizens have repeatedly expressed their approval of Boy Scout principles and practices as they are. The President said recently: "Maintain the Scouts' fine efficiency." Hon. W. G. McAdoo is now engineering a campaign for 1,000,000 associate members.

As far back as 1912 the American Federation of Labor, at its annual meeting, officially expressed hearty approval of the program and work of the Boy Scouts of America. The Illinois Federation of Labor adopted, at its thirty-fifth annual convention, in 1917, a report of its Committee on Schools which indorsed the Boy Scout Movement and pointed out the unfortunate misunderstandings that had arisen because other organizations for boys had wrongfully used the name "Boy Scouts" in connection with militaristic activities. Such organizations have had their little day in spite of the Federal charter that protects the name and insignia of the Boy Scouts of America.

The United Mine Workers of America, under a misapprehension of what Scouting meant, prohibited its members from permitting their sons to become scouts, but removed the prohibition in 1917 because of the war-time activities of the Boy Scouts of America.

The "Handbook for Boys," which is the constant companion of nearly 400,000 Boy Scouts of America, contains 400 pages of instruction and is too long to be reviewed here. It should be read by all who want to understand the Boy Scout Movement. Before he becomes a scout a boy must promise:

On my honor I will do my best:

1. To do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout Law;
2. To help other people at all times;
3. To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight.

A study of the fundamental law of the organization explains why the Boy Scout is not in training to be a soldier, why he makes such an admirable soldier when his country needs him in the army, and why the Boy Scout of America has been approved as a powerful asset, in times of war or of peace, by the national leaders of our generation.

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If Woodrow Wilson Were a Woman

A Woman's View

By Cecilia Hoerr de Packh

Polish Writer; Author of "The Call to Poland"

THROUGH the fact that woman has not heeded the call of the age to her for the fulfillment of her most important part in the world's remolding, History goes a-begging for its greater Joan of Arc and Drama misses its greatest opportunity since ancient days.

If Woodrow Wilson were a woman the League of Nations Covenant need not have been diplomatized and practicalized into the instrument we now know it will become. But, it could have been the thing Woodrow Wilson desired it to be, a piece of writing that would almost have put the Bible in second place in the literature of the world. Moreover, it would assuredly have been recognized as the Bible's ultimate triumph over the earth-bound hearts and minds of men.

While a Congresswoman weakly wails, "I am for humanity, but I cannot fight for it;" while women picket the White House during the days when war sees the noblest bodies of America's sons bleeding in Freedom's holy cause in foreign fields; while women in New York burn Wilson's speeches, as though their grotesque performance could serve to choke out the brightest light shining in an awful moment of world darkness; in short, while the mass of women allow their mental vision to become more inverted than it ever has been before, they compel a man to try to perform the task that was their own.

Only a woman can undertake to do something utterly revolutionary; apparently utterly impractical, visionary, fit only for cloud-dwellers —and make a success of it. If Joan had been Jean the history of France would be different. Where, in man, intellect and intelligence never merge under the alchemy of imagination, woman scores, sometimes sublimely. Take this rare gift in a woman spiritualized to the last degree, thrilling to the highest human emotion, and you will not only have a study in soul kinetics, but you will also understand why Gabriel d'Annunzio could not extend his own impassioned oratory in a nobler endeavor than to make his countrymen almost lose the love of the world for a bit of land men call Fiume.

The underlying urge of all Woodrow Wilson's high thoughts and utterances is religious in its widest aspect. That they could be made workable in affairs of nations to eyes accustomed to the newer light, therein lies the secret of their far-reaching, dazzling splendor. What though men "played politics on the brink of hell," and compelled Woodrow Wilson to play politics on the brink of heaven—millions caught the gleam before the light was turned out.

A saint or a circus man might have got away with almost anything immediately after the armistice was signed. But the person who could have compelled the world to accept Woodrow Wilson's ideas in all their absolutism would have had to be one called by destiny to a spiritual and actual celibacy. He or she would have had to move in an atmosphere of remoteness, aloofness, exaltation, spreading mysticism by the aura of some shining banner borne aloft. The hour required a great dramatic symbol. The laggard world, alas, is not ready to accept as a messenger from God a mere man in everyday attire.

Imagination electrified Joan of Arc into spreading awe about her; by this she obtained the unheard of thing she desired. When the peasants of Italy found their southern imaginations taking sparks from the flame that was a dream of Woodrow Wilson they burned candles before his portraits. But when their diplomats had touched his garments, had sat at table with him, had tried in vain to persuade him to find more allurement in adjusting the map of Italy according to the ideas of the candle-burning peasants than in meeting the geographic requirements of a new world, Italy wailed that she had been betrayed. And so the little candles that had thrown their friendly light far beyond Mr. Wilson's painted outline have been extinguished. Can it be on this account that it is a bit darker now in Italy?

Is the fault Woodrow Wilson's that even in this day though men "have eyes, they see not;" though "they have ears, they hear not"?

Nor any more is he responsible for the fact

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that women are more reckless gamblers than men, be the stakes low or high. A woman yearning to create something so new that its possibilities outdistance the farthest reaches of modern thought would scorn to use old tools for the work. What handicapped Mr. Wilson more than his sex was his affiliation with politics. Freedom from this ugly incumbrance would have enabled woman to soar above the little groups of men who think in circles. Inspired by the divine fire of her holy cause, she would have defied her Destiny to betray her, and pitted her Ideal against the statecraft of the world.

To return to Joan, the virgin. She was too wise to put in writing the plan by which she was to free France. She must amaze the king into rendering her the authority required, and by sheer audacity, ere the great moment of "believing" in her could pass, her country would be saved. "Do it now; dramatically!" was her slogan. To accomplish feats like Joan's, approaching the miraculous, requires fundamentally hyper-psychic development, and a certain exalted madness of imagination to which no statesman in history could ever lay claim. And nothing short of a miracle could have induced the people of our day to pledge themselves body and soul to Woodrow Wilson's support in his fight for a real brotherhood of man.

Anything so involved as the principle underlying the real League of Nations idea (that is to say, from a political standpoint) was doomed beforehand when its white fabric had to be trailed through dusty halls of political "Justice." This new thing seeking to make man see that it "pays" ethically and practically to love his neighbor, be he a man or a nation, as himself, required the much advertised lack of logic possessed of women for proper "expounding"; which is to say the very souls of men would have had to be set afire and kept burning till they were committed to the grandeur of the thing, before the lips of man had framed one syllable of explanation. Only woman is constituted to do these things that must be, in a sense, mystic. In that she has failed her generation in this crisis woman stands, at least for the present, powerfully indicted. Inasmuch, however, as this results from no conscious evil motivation, our chance has not forever passed. We are taking our new enfranchisement a bit too seriously, regarding it as an event instead of an incident in our development. May history take her lead from the men of our generation and incline toward indulgence when recording our suffrage preoccupation. The politics of men, more than the perseverance of women, thrust this upon us in such untimely wise. Let that be remembered. On the far horizon dawns the hope that woman may yet reach that place in the world for which, in His higher purpose, her Creator has intended her.

In the mean time let us thank God that the burden we temporarily shifted to the shoulders of a man fell upon Woodrow Wilson. The things he has accomplished despite monster hindrances require no further mention here. If he had done no more than make men doubt that war must be his generation would stand deeply in his debt. Out of such doubt properly managed springs the faith that moves mountains. And when the mountain begins to move there shall come woman's greatest opportunity. An she be wise enough to make the most of it, more can yet be gained than has been lost through the under-doneness of certain minds at Versailles and elsewhere.

When we determined to win the war we concentrated on it—and won. When, with the same holy zeal, we concentrate upon having peace, we shall have peace which none may dare to take from us. When the trumpet call for that service to mankind shall sound it will lead us as it did the Maid of Orleans—*inside the Church.* But the woman who will thus lead the white crusade for peace must not carry a sword.

This noblest rôle in the pageant that should usher in the Greater Serenity, whose child is *Peace Eternal,* is bespoken for woman since it is her province now to succeed in the Church where men have failed to accomplish the outer utmost. This work requires an exalted vision that only woman's eyes can see,—a spirituality and devotion of body and soul to which nature never actually calls a man. Till such a one appear among us the wisest of our advanced age stands outdone by La Pucelle.

And while we pray, and while we wait, concentrate on Woodrow Wilson, as to whom,

> It matters not each trick of fate
> That dims the star that marks his goal.
> God knows the truth within his heart;
> He knows the purpose of his soul!

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International Congress of Women at Zurich

By Lucia Ames Mead

National Secretary of Woman's Peace Party; Lecturer on International Arbitration, Economic, and Social Questions; Author of "Patriotism and the New Internationalism," "Swords and Plowshares," Etc.

THE International Congress of Women was a rich and rewarding human experience from the solemn opening moments in which women from fifteen different countries rose and stood in silence with bowed heads in memory of the dead, until the close of the final banquet when Jane Addams summed up the deep meaning of the experience. As Miss Addams said, it has proved to be "not sentimental nor superficial," but it had been a spiritual intercourse which gave promise that what a few could do now the whole world might do later.

The moments when Fräulein Heymann and Mlle. Mehlin hand in hand each in her own tongue eloquently expressed the feeling which stirred us all, and the moments when all with uplifted hand pledged themselves to devote their lives to the bringing of permanent peace and good will on earth were supreme moments, the full significance of which those present can never convey in mere words to the public which looked with skepticism upon this meeting as being premature to say the least. No one was self-seeking; every one was painfully intent upon the great world issues and thrilled with the wisdom, courage, and splendid idealism shown in the revelation of lives that had faced great tragedy. It was the warm human experience that gave chief value to the Congress at the moment when imperialistic claims, diplomatic wrangling, and general bitterness pervaded the atmosphere which for two weeks our Americans had breathed in Paris.

Miss Addams, Miss Lillian D. Wald, and other delegates had taken a five-day automobile trip through the devastated districts amidst the snow and sleet of a dismal belated May. Those of us who had seen Rheims and Soissons and the battlefields had them vividly in mind as we approached our meeting with those from whom we had had no word since America entered the war. The second Congress arranged at the Hague at the first Congress in April, 1915, was automatically summoned by the pledges there made; these pledges were fulfilled despite much effort and individual sacrifice. The Australians were two months *en route*, being carried to England instead of landing in Italy as they expected. The Fiume question was acute, so only one Italian delegate —Mme. Gignoni—could reach Zurich. The Dutch delegation carried their own food and were five days *en route* owing to strikes. Every one was delayed and tormented with the constant fuss about passports and viséing: all this, however, was expected and the members were grateful that neither strikes, revolutions, nor any obstacles prevented a very successful carrying out of their original plan.

Each country was limited to twenty-five delegates; only the British, American, German, and Swiss sections had their full complement. The German delegation included very able women from Hamburg, Berlin, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Frankfort, and Munich; among those from Munich were Dr. Augsburg, whose sonorous voice, classic German, and face of the Goethe type gave her great dignity. Fräulein Heymann, an orator of warmth and power, carried her hearers to the heights with her fervid report of the repudiation of the Belgian invasion, of annexation and deportation, which she and her staunch little group had ventured in face of the German Government. One German Doctor of Philosophy told in private of her imprisonment because she cried out against the cheers which followed the sinking of the Lusitania.

According to the rules of order agreed on, discussion of the causes of the war and the respective responsibility of the nations was prohibited at the Congress proper, but in private there was much frank talk. The German women were picked women and doubtless by no means typical, as they had been opposed to the war from the start and recognized the heinousness of militarism and that Germany must make good for wanton damage. It was apparent, however, that much of the duplicity of their government and many facts which we Americans had in mind they had never heard of. They acclaimed President Wilson and recognized the almost insuperable difficulties that he had had

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to meet. I asked Dr. Augsburg as to the signing of the treaty and she replied: "It makes no difference whether Germany signs or not; in either case Germany is ruined."

In the tense discussion on the drastic terms of the treaty the Germans took no part, but left it to the English, French, and Americans to formulate the protest sent to the Peace Conference. The universal feeling was that expressed, as we learned later, by the British nonconformists that the terms were "punishment without hope of redemption." They reflect the insane fear and the very natural vindictiveness of France, in which she is over-reaching herself and preparing for future trouble.

A strong protest was telegraphed to the Peace Conference with appeal "to bring the peace into harmony with those principles first announced by President Wilson." Another telegram preceded this regarding the "tragic situation of widespread unemployment, famine, and pestilence" aggravated by the blockade since the armistice, with an appeal for it to be lifted. To this President Wilson at once wired: "Your message appeals to both my head and my heart." He then expressed his fears that practical difficulties might prevent desired action. When Paderewski's vain promise to have fighting cease if food could be admitted to Poland was presently published, the President's reference became clear.

Miss Addams presided over all the sessions with rare good sense and skill and was enthusiastically reëlected as president of the "International Committee of Women for Peace and Freedom." The central bureau will be removed from Amsterdam to the seat of the League—Geneva.

The British Labor Movement

By Frank Dilnot

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

CHANGING with the times and developing its program and functions with the necessities of after-war conditions, the British Labor Movement remains fundamentally in the same form that has done such good work in the past. The Labor Movement in Britain is essentially democratic in that it affords scope for development along various lines. Its composition gives it elasticity, which is above all things necessary where effective action is required under complicated and far reaching circumstances.

The Labor Movement is the comprehensive term which in Britain includes Socialists, Trade Unionists, Coöperators (although the latter are not all members of the movement). The entire Labor Movement probably comprises between four and five million active members representing at least twenty millions of the forty-five millions of population. It is divided into different spheres of activity, although these spheres overlap, sometimes to a considerable extent. First of all there is the "Trades Union Congress," which is the name for the combined trade unions of the country—the vast bulk of them—united under that specific title. They maintain headquarters in London and every year hold a week's conference which is a veritable Parliament of Labor. Each union has its various lodges scattered throughout the industry, and at the local headquarters the officials are drawn from these local lodges. The union as a whole selects delegates to attend the annual conference. At this conference a long schedule is discussed,—new problems for legislation, new proposals for industrial action, suggestions for meeting immediate contingencies, questions of administration in a score or more of industries. Practical action is decided on in many things. Theoretical resolutions give an opportunity for debate and discussion on principles. All together it is one of the most practical and active Parliaments that the world knows. Hours of labor, wages, conditions are of course the bedrock of all work, and law making in England during the last twenty years has been enormously influenced by the proceedings of the "Trades Union Congress."

Another section of the Labor Movement is what is known as the Labor Party, which is concerned with political action even as the Trades Union Congress is concerned with industrial action. The Labor Party has also its headquarters in London and has local branches throughout the length and breadth of the land. These

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local branches, concerned largely with local laws and local conditions, provide also the moving spirit with regard to national affairs so far as political action is concerned. Sometimes when a local party is very strong and there is a chance of success, a candidate for Parliament, indorsed and largely financed from London headquarters, is put forward when a vacancy occurs. That is how it comes about that the labor members have their seats in the House of Commons. The Socialists as well as the Trade Unionists are members of the Labor Party, and indeed some of the extremists like Mr. Philip Snowden and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald have been among its most potent driving forces. The embodied Socialists, however, as distinct from Trade Unionists, probably do not number more than about forty thousand. These include the members of the Independent Labor Party, which is a distinctly Socialistic body of very advanced views. There are other Socialists of course of an intellectual type and less forceful in their methods and actions, such as the literary thinkers and others who are members of the Fabian Society. There are about four million members of the Trades Union Congress and of the three million members of the Labor Party most are also members of the Trade Unions. That is what I mean when I say they are overlapping. There are, however, some, as for example the Socialists, who are not members of the Trades Union Congress, and there are also some unions, namely the Engineers, who until recently were not for some special reason affiliated to the Trades Union Congress.

Of course in practice the chief men like Mr. Arthur Henderson are leaders on both sides of the movement, for Arthur Henderson, while Secretary to the Labor Party, is also probably the most influential Trade Unionist in the country. The labor members also are nearly all of them Trade Unionists.

All the various sections get together in any big emergency affecting labor as a whole. For instance, there was a national conference of the Labor Movement on the question of conscription. Each body is definitely represented in proportion to its membership, and the four or five hundred individuals who assemble represent a collective body of about five millions. It can easily be seen how such a gathering must sway the course of public policy in Britain. Everybody—most of all the Government—realizes its potency. Of course, it is only in the case of national emergency that the whole movement comes together in this way. Generally the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party and the Socialists have their discussions and form their policies and actions separately, because they differ in a good many things although their general trend of thought is along the same lines. There is, however, loyalty to the will of the majority, whether in separate sections or in the Labor Movement as a whole. For instance, during the war there has been diversity of opinion as to whether labor men should accept seats in the Cabinet.

The Trades Union Congress is more conservative and more practical than the Labor Party with its political objects. The Labor Party of course includes the strong Socialistic element that is overshadowed in the Trade Unions by the purely industrial side, although I dare say a very large part of the Trade Unionists would class themselves theoretically as Socialists. But this is such a broad term that it means little unless translated into specific action. The moneyed class of Britain only a few years ago was denouncing Mr. Lloyd George's schemes as wildly socialistic, although as a matter of fact he is far from being a Socialist. The advantage of the composition of the Labor Movement, which like the British Constitution has been made piecemeal with a view to adjustment for immediate necessities, is that each section can push its aims and objects, presenting what it believes to be most important, thus giving an opportunity for examination among all members of the movement, an examination which leads to approval or criticism and makes for a general coördination of aims. In the upshot there comes a crystallization of certain big ideas, as for instance at present on the nationalization of the railways. It cannot be doubted that with the war at an end a thorough reform of the land system will be in for forefront of the program of the united movement, a reform which will comprise provision of proper housing accommodation at equitable rents, the provision of land on the countryside for those who desire it and the consequent opening up not only of a healthier but a more prosperous material life.

Various developments such as the shop

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steward organization are now going forward. They will not revolutionize the Labor Movement; they may stimulate it. The Labor Movement in Britain gains some of its essential strength from its fluidity, its readiness to rearrange its various parties for the needs of the moment, and a desire and determination to grow in any direction that will make for its strength.

Monopolies of Natural Resources

By Louis F. Post

Assistant Secretary of Labor; Founder and First Editor of The Public; Author of "The Taxation of Land Values," "The Ethics of Democracy," "Social Service," Etc.

SOME six or seven years ago the facts about the privately monopolized natural resources known as "standing timber" tracts were officially obtained. Even at that time there was, as the official report phrased it, "a dominating control of our standing timber in a comparatively few enormous holdings, steadily tending toward control of the lumber industry." Let us emphasize that quotation. Within the lumber industry—as part of the lumber business itself—there was then, as there doubtless still is, a steady tendency toward concentrated control of the industry.

The eminent official under whose authority that investigation and report were made offered the following comment: "Whatever power over prices may arise from combinations in manufacture and distribution as distinguished from timber-owning, such power is insignificant and transitory compared with the control of the standing timber itself or a dominating part of it." Wise words those, and true ones. Nor do they apply to the lumber business and its natural resources alone. They present a striking illustration of the effect of monopolization of its appropriate natural resources upon any business.

In so far as a business is dependent, directly or indirectly, upon natural resources—and what business is not?—monopolization of those resources, even within the business itself, tends toward domination of that business by that monopoly.

Such domination operates in business ways through prices of material in its original state before the hand of man has touched it. For instance, the value of standing timber when those significant facts were officially obtained had increased more than ten-fold, twenty-fold and even fifty-fold within a few years—the value, that is, of the privilege of controlling the use of timber in industry.

In the southern pine region prices had risen from a dollar or two an acre to $60. For other regions one of three specific tracts had risen from $24,000 to $153,000, another from $10,000 to $124,000, and the third from $23,000 to $5,200,000.

The commercial value of the privately owned standing timber in the United States at that time was estimated by the official report referred to as at least $6,000,000,000—about $60 for every inhabitant. But this burden of $60 per capita, as a penalty upon the people for the use of our natural resources and an unearned profit to the monopolists, is not all. "Ultimately," as the report went on to say, "the consuming public will have to pay such prices for lumber as will give this timber a far greater value."

Will that be beneficial to the lumber business? Will it not tend rather to check demand for lumber and so to put brakes upon lumber production and its subsidiary industries?

"Such concentration in standing timber if permitted to continue and increase"—to quote further from that official report—"makes probable a final central control of the whole lumber industry;" and at this point the report quotes the then manager of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association as saying that "the day of cheap lumber is passing and soon will be gone, but the men who make the money will be those who own timber and can hold it until the supply in other parts of the country is gone."

What difference can it make to the productive lumber business of this country and its subsidiary industries whether that standing timber be owned by some of those interests or by feudal barons? The interests that own it are to that extent non-productive. They thrive by starving business interests of the productive sort. And the same principle applies to every produc-

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tive business interest and its parasites, as well as to productive lumber interests and their parasites.

Now notice the amazing degree of monopolistic concentration which that official investigation of a few years ago showed.

Ten monopoly groups, aggregating only 1,802 holders, monopolized 1,208,800,000,000 board feet of standing timber—each unit a foot square and an inch thick. These figures are so stupendous that they are meaningless without a hackneyed device to bring their meaning home. Those 1,802 timber business monopolists held enough standing timber, an indispensable natural resource, to yield the planks necessary (over and above manufacturing wastage) to make a floating bridge more than two feet thick and more than five miles wide from New York to Liverpool. It would supply one-inch planks for a roof over all France, Germany, and Italy. It would be enough to build a fence eleven miles high along our entire coast line. All monopolized by 1,802 holders or interests more or less interlinked. One of those interests—a group of only three holders—monopolized at that time 237,500,000,000 feet, which would make a column one foot square and 8,000,000 miles high.

Although controlled by only three holders, that interest comprised over eight per cent. of all the standing timber in the United States at that time.

But those timber figures relate to only one phase of this particular form of natural resource monopoly. "When the timber has been cut the land remains," says that official report. The report then continues: "There has been created, therefore, not only the framework of an enormous timber monopoly, but also an equally sinister land concentration in extensive sections"—a land concentration, as the report adds, which "involves also a great wealth in minerals," another highly important item of our natural resources. In Florida, for instance, as stated in the same report, three holders had 4,200,000 acres and the largest timber holders of Florida appeared to hold "over 16,990,000 acres—about one-eighth of the land area of the State."*

This is an object lesson that cannot be successfully assailed as to its facts and that is universal in its application. As a natural-resource monopoly, the timber monopoly is typical. Similar vampire interests are sucking the life blood out of productive business interests of every kind. Coal deposits, iron deposits, copper deposits, water power, mineral oil, agricultural soil in the country, building sites in towns and cities,—in a word, every natural resource upon which business depends for its productive activities offers a strategic base for interests that do not produce wealth but only absorb it.

To be sure, there are parasitical interests besides such as flourish on monopoly of natural resources, but those cited illustrate all the rest.

They are also fundamental and all-powerful. How powerful they are is impressively stated by the Immigration and Housing Commission of California in a recent report on unemployment. After stating that investments in natural resources are unfortunate for the unemployed, and explaining that such investments "do not need the assistance of labor or require the payment of wages," nor "compel owners of wealth to bid against each other for labor," the California Commission adds: "Wealth may thus be invested and large gains realized from it by merely waiting, without its owners paying out one dollar in wages or contributing in the slightest degree to the success of any wealth producing enterprise, while every improvement in the arts, in sciences, and in social relations, as well as increase of population, adds to its value. By this means we foster unemployment."

The California Commission might truly have added that the same parasitical cause of unemployment is the parasitical cause also of business stagnation. Wage workers and business workers, in so far as they are producers and not mere absorbers of wealth, rise and fall together.

It must be so, for, as producers, they are merely two subdivisions of labor in its comprehensive industrial sense. While either subdivision may impose upon the other, it cannot do so long or in great degree. There is a natural law of equilibrium to prevent that. But no producing interests can hold out against the encroachments of interests that monopolize natural resources.

* The report in question was transmitted to President Taft by the then Commissioner of Corporations, the Hon. Herbert Knox Smith. It may be found in the published documents of the United States Department of Commerce (Bureau of Corporations), under the title of "The Lumber Industry—Part I, Standing Timber."

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CURRENT THOUGHT

Gypsy Love

HERE in the heart of the town,
Hurry and noise and glare—
Ah! give me the open down,
And the full free air!

Warm is home's glowing fire,
Closing each tiring day;
But give me my heart's desire—
The wind on its way!

Farewell to tumult and strife,
Smoke in a sullen sky—
I'll find me a sweeter life,
Where the swallows fly!

—*J. M. Stuart-Young, in Chambers's Journal.*

Chinese Pacificists

FOUR thousand years ago we had a terrific civil war, after which we realized the foolishness, the uselessness of warfare. We became pacifists because we understood that war was really useless. We became pacifists through philosophy. For several centuries China was a land of harmonious families. The men perfected themselves in literature, in art, and in philosophy. The women were content to lead a voluntarily retired life. This was the period of the intellectual development of China.—*Miss E. Tcheng, in Interview in Christian Science Monitor.*

Lynching Punishes the Community

WHENEVER I hear the claim made that we are unfit for self-government in this country, I feel that it is somewhat justified by our supine attitude toward lynching. A community controlled by a mob is not a civilized community, and should be placed under the control of a more civilized part of the country. One great objection to lynching is its effect upon the community itself, particularly upon the young, and the lawlessness and disregard for order which underlies lynching, when nine times out of ten it is not because of abhorrence of the crime committed, but a desire on the part of a mob to vent barbarous natures in some form or another upon those who are weak and incapable of retaliation. I am decidedly opposed to lynching and have an utter contempt for those taking part in it.—*Anna Howard Shaw.*

Books Beat Guns

RATTLESNAKES and panthers and Indians know the fightin' game and weapons for the purpose, but this sort of fightin' will never make the world a better place to live in. If the world ever gets to be the kind of a place you ask God for when you pray, "Thy kingdom come," it's comin' by brains and hearts instead of by claws and fangs. You can't shoot sense nor religion into a man any more than you can beat daylight into the cellar with a club. Take a candle in, and the thick darkness disappears; just so, give the people knowledge and their ignorance and intolerance and other devilment will disappear. I haven't lived so powerful long yet, but I have lived long enough to make up my mind that for the good of all mankind books beat guns, Sonny.—*Ascribed to Abraham Lincoln, in Mrs. Babcock's "The Soul of Ann Rutledge."*

War Not the Spring of Virility

SOME persons do not really desire peace as a permanent condition. They think that it softens and deteriorates a people, but the magnificent response of our American youth to the call of this war, and their conduct in it, should silence those who declare periodic wars necessary to keep a nation strong, courageous, and alert. Surely, Peace has equally searching tests for these qualities. The great struggles in Peace will be intellectual and moral, but not less tense than the physical struggles of war. Think of the immemorial evils that still await their conqueror! Poverty, crime, social vice, class injustice, disease,—when the imagination shall perceive the tremendous labor that will be required to abolish any of these, the men and women who devote themselves to such a task will be rightly held in equal honor with the heroes of war.—*William Roscoe Thayer, in "Democracy: Discipline: Peace."*

Social Revolution Without Violence

THERE is no Bolshevism in England, that is, Bolshevism as understood by those who so glibly use the word these days; but there is a very decided and emphatic movement for a complete social and industrial revolution. When I said all people were willing to use the existing machinery I intended to convey the idea that our people would use Parliament, County Councils, coöperative societies, trade unions—all for the one end, to transform our society from a competitive society into a coöperative one; that I believe we would be the first nation to lead the way for this and that we should do so without the anarchy and violence which are destroying central Europe; that we had the greatest chance of this because of our traditions and our growth in political methods. In this sense England would remain untouched by the thing that is called Bolshevism today, but this must not be taken as meaning that people like myself are out of sympathy with our friends on the Continent who, faced with imperialism, with none of the ordinary means for effective change that we have at our disposal, use other means. Our need is the same:

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we want what is called socialism, that is, industrial organization for the purpose of bringing to the service of the whole of the community all the things which are individually and collectively owned.—*G. Lansbury, in the New York Evening Post.*

What Do *You* Think?

EIGHT years ago my house was a brand-new one, in the middle of many unimproved and weed-grown lots. The tax assessor came around and placed a valuation on it which seemed fair. I had no kick. I expected to pay taxes. I thought I could afford to improve my property. I leveled off the ground and built a fence, and put on screens, and made a glass porch, and painted and decorated. The tax assessor came around and smiled and raised the valuation—and tax. I bought a four-wheeled piece of junk that some one told me was an automobile. I needed a garage and built it, and the tax assessor came around and smiled and raised the valuation—and tax. I made a war garden, a grape arbor, raised currants and onions and cabbages—and the water inspector came around and raised my water tax. Were my taxes and improvements only benefiting me? How were they affecting the weed-grown lots around me? The owner of these lots tells me my improvements doubled the price of his holdings. Did it increase his taxes? Not yet! Now I understand we "bulwarks of the nation" will have to make good the deficit that is caused by the prohibition of rum—$50,000,000 in this State. I'm for a State income tax—or booze and tobacco tax.—*W. W. K., in the New York Sun.*

BOOKS

Democracy Needs Rational Democrats

Democracy: Discipline: Peace. By William Roscoe Thayer. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919.

A FUND donated by Charles K. Colver, of the class of 1842, of Brown University, provides for an annual course of lectures that are to be "distinctive and valuable contributions to human knowledge." William Roscoe Thayer presents to us in this volume three lectures as the 1919 attempt to carry out that bequest. The addresses, excellent in themselves, may be characterized more as exhortations on vital, timely questions, than as complete and profound analyses or logical statements of the issues discussed.

In the first lecture, which is entitled "Democracy," we have a very forceful presentation of democracy as growing out of the impulse toward freedom and with a vision of perfection. Our democracy at its very worst was never so bad as monarchism or imperialism, if not at its best, at least at its average standard. Senator Platt dickering with Tammany Hall, for example, was no worse than Bismarck dickering with the Catholics or Jews to carry imperialistic measures in the Reichstag. Its faults have been the faults of human nature. "In being worked out a theoretical system cannot escape the defects of humanity." In its ordinary working democracy has been more successful in conserving things really worth while than any other form of political organization. In studying it under present conditions one needs to remember that it has little in common with the abnormal dream of Rousseau or with the simplicity or the insularity of the republics of Greece or mediæval Italy, or any other attempt to realize the democratic idea. The faults of democracy can be cured and the victories yet to be achieved can be won only by a frank recognition of the difficulties and a rational determination not to be fooled in the attempts at solution. "The demagogue's plea, 'Our country, right or wrong,' would never be heard if statesmen directed the policy of nations, and citizens were too intelligent and too righteous to be seduced by demagogues into supporting an unjust quarrel. Unreasoning patriotism, by reducing citizens to the level of machines, which work or stop at the operative's will, is to be abolished. Any patriotism which does not rise above the instinct which makes cats and dogs enemies at sight is a dangerous possession, liable to explode at any moment and in any direction."

The second lecture is on "Discipline." The essence of this address might be stated in the words of a wise philosopher, who taught that, while compulsion by others militates against freedom, self-compulsion establishes and furthers freedom. "Democracy and freedom are inseparable—two aspects of the same soul." Moreover, "freedom, and hence genuine democracy, lies in the sacredness of the individual." Consequently, the great problem of a working democratic organization of society and the state is "to safeguard the individual and at the same time maintain the rights of the collective individuals who form the state." The way in which this can be done the author finds in discipline, in education. He points out how inadequate what we have called education in this country has been to accomplish this end. But the German method in the state, the Jesuit method in the church can never be the American educational method. The secret of success in the practical working out of democracy is the mutual submission of democrats to the laws that they themselves make. "In obeying we become better democrats and therefore freer men. We shall give a willing service. The voluntary acceptance of the restraint of laws, the merging of our individual will in the larger will, solves the dilemma."

In the final lecture, on "Peace," the writer naturally notes the heterogeneity of elements in the twenty-three million foreigners that had set-

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tled in America during the last half of the nineteenth century. If one wishes to contrast the influence of liberty with that of despotism let him imagine twenty-three million foreigners settling in Prussia, for example, in the same period. He reminds us that after one hundred and forty years in the German Empire Poles remain Poles, after nearly a half-century the people of Alsace-Lorraine remain French. The dangers involved in European nationals' endeavoring to retain their particular brands of nationalism in America are pointed out, with the immigrant's contempt for American law, believing its purport to be the same as that of the despotic laws from which he fled in Europe. Not only must we have an American language, but we should eliminate all sorts of influences that would deprive the citizen, whether native born or foreign born, of his share in American ideals. Church schools, for example, that put sectarianism before Americanism must be abolished. If we are to have peace, that peace must be thought about, must be reasoned toward, must be worked for. "The career of mankind is a progressive escape out of the material, out of the animal, out of the mechanical stages into the moral and spiritual. . . . Despotism and half-despotism of all kinds inevitably plot to destroy it. On our action depends whether the next stage shall be despotic or democratic."

The Fundamental Guardians of Peace

The Covenant of Peace, an Essay on the League of Nations. By H. N. Brailsford. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1919.

THIS little pamphlet contains the essay which won first prize in a competition conducted by the *English Review* last year for the best paper on the League of Nations. The judges included General Hamilton, H. G. Wells, John Galsworthy, and others. The winner, Mr. Brailsford, is admittedly a radical, as his connection with the London *Nation* shows; but he is also a highly skilled political writer and an advocate of an international League from the days before the war.

The main merit of this paper on a subject possibly too generally written of is the clarity with which it shows the real issue of today, which is not whether or not we are to have a League of Nations, but rather whether our League is to be merely "an organization which will stereotype the *status quo* and repress the disturber of the established order," or one which "can insure that timely changes shall be effected in the world before any people is driven by an intolerable grievance, or even by a reasonable ambition, to force change by arms." Are we to have a static league or a dynamic league? That is the real question, and the author insists that we face it.

Incidentally we find another insistence, that a League to be effective must be an economic as well as a political agency. In the control of the flow of raw materials, including food, lies either the cause of future wars, if such control remain nationalistic, or the insurance of peace, if it become internationalistic. Protective tariffs the author defines as "prosaic hymns of hate."

The author does not believe that it should be required that governments should be politically democratic before being admitted to the League, for, says he, political democracies are not of necessity more really democratic than nations of less advanced political structure. "Political democracy," he goes on to say, "is, in isolation, an impossible ideal so long as wealth means power and low levels of education permit the interested organization of opinion. . . . The masses nowhere in normal times give any attention to foreign affairs at all. They will not clamor for war unless an assiduous and interested campaign directed from above them has first aroused them. But neither, while this apathy and ignorance continue, are they an effective bulwark of peace. No mere political constitution could insure that the vague pacific tendencies of the masses would, in their present condition of apathy, be translated into foreign policy." BERNARD IDDINGS BELL.

The Progressiveness of Religion

The New Orthodoxy. By Edward Scribner Ames. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1918.

THIS book is a constructive statement of religion for the new order, but of necessity there runs through its pages a vein of destructive criticism of the old order. Professor Ames gives us, in a simple and dignified style, a precise exposition of the problems of the religious sentiments, ideals, ceremonials, personalities, and literatures in the light of the reaction of a functional psychologist to the new world of thought into which our twentieth century of new developments, inventions, and revolutionary achievements has led us. The new order is social; the religion for it will be a religion of democracy, a social Christianity. Religion, like life itself, will no more be considered static, but moving, growing, developing, creating its ideals, building its own new Jerusalem as it goes along. Its goal will change as life's ends vary, and its Bible, likewise, will undergo reinterpretation and development to meet new needs of the human heart.

This movement of religion to meet the varied needs of life in our new world Professor Ames develops in his "New Orthodoxy" in five chapters: "Its Attitudes," "Its Dramatis Personæ," "Its Growing Bible," "Its Changing Goal," "Its New Drama." The attitudes appropriate for the dawning day of our larger mental and moral life are those toward life as it unfolds naturally in simple human relations, those involved in our social complexes and those which relate to our efforts to

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contribute to the fullness and beauty of the life of the world, namely, attitudes of reverence, love, and faith. These attitudes are larger social attitudes toward those about us, for we are closely bound together. Our very self grows through the interplay with the selves around it. God is the Ideal Socius, the Soul of the world in which all other selves live and move and have their being.

"God cannot be known outside of history and living experience. All attempts to discover him as a fact among the facts of nature have failed. No abstract arguments can demonstrate his being; but wherever you plunge into the red stream of history and enter the pulsing life of actual human beings bound together in great societies, there you find the name and will and power of God."

In the opinion of the reviewer, this little volume by Dr. Ames is the clearest and simplest available statement of the position of present day religious liberalism. HERBERT W. HINES.

War Speeches by Samuel Gompers

American Labor and the War. By Samuel Gompers. New York: Doran and Co. 1919.

SAMUEL GOMPERS and his beliefs have been praised to the sky and denounced as hoary, moss-covered relics of the days of the ox team. The I. W. W. laughs at him, Socialists proclaim him a willing tool of the capitalists, and Single-taxers believe that he can see, but refuses to see, the root of the labor trouble as it exists in the land question. Economists do not treat him seriously and politicians have no use for him; but one and all agree that he is something as an organizer. Perhaps William Marion Reedy said the best thing of him when he wrote that Gompers had no program—except the strike and a " divy " with capital. The dozen words say all.

His recent activities in matters connected with the war gave his waning fame a new lease of life, and his twenty-four speeches on the war and allied subjects are in this volume presented to posterity. They show him to be a first-class impromptu speaker, somewhat hortatory, with a bent to the panegyric, but without constructiveness. Yet, withal, there is a dominating note of earnestness and simplicity sounded, and certain turns and expressions are dimly reminiscent of Gladstone.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

Classified Economic Knowledge

Readings in Industrial Society. By Leon Carroll Marshall. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1919.

MR. MARSHALL has accomplished a wonderful task, and one which few would attempt, though several have thought of doing so, and the result is a work of reference with which no one interested in the study of economics can afford to dispense. He has gathered together the acres and acres of written pages, the essays and special articles and pamphlets, and the tons of books on the wage question, property rights, and kindred subjects, and with infinite care and patience has classified the material under separate heads. Nothing of the same magnitude has been attempted in any field since Franklin Taylor dredged the ocean of pianoforte studies and classified everything from Bach to Chopin.

In his work Mr. Marshall is nothing if not catholic. Economists, statisticians, writers of every shade of political belief, English, French, German, American, all are represented in so far as they have said anything that was not said before upon the subject under discussion. A student wishing to read up on the rights of property, for example, would find succint essays by such well-known men as Geodart, Gide, Mill, Seligman, and a score more, and then under the head of indictment of property would find extracts from Gore, Hobhouse, Lindsay, and Davenport. Then, too, there is statistical information presented. Meanwhile, the compiler sits apart in strict judicial impartiality. The whole forms a highly valuable study in the structure and functioning of modern economic organization. CHAS. J. FINGER.

Books Received

Opportunities in Farming. By Edward Owen Dean. New York: Harper & Brothers.
Contains practical and guiding information for the one who is a total stranger in this field.

The Great Alternative. By Leonard J. Reid, M.A., New York: Longmans, Green and Co.
Calls attention to the necessity of building up a "middle force" between the labor elements and the forces of privilege as the only alternative to social chaos. The Whitley Report is set forth in the Appendix.

The League of Nations. Edited by L. Oppenheim, M.A., LL.D. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.
A collection of three essays on the obstacles in the way of forming a league of nations and schemes by which they may be overcome.

League of Nations: An Alliance or a Nation of Nations? By Alfred Owen Crosier. New York: Lecouver Press Co.

Victory! A collection of verse by thirty-eight American poets inspired by the signing of the armistice. Compiled by William Stanley Braithwaite. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

War Borrowing. By Jacob H. Hollander, Professor of Political Economy in the Johns Hopkins University. New York: The Macmillan Company.
An analysis of the effects Treasury Certificates of Indebtedness of the United States have had upon the business world and social well-being.

War Finance. By Clarence W. Barron. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
A study based upon investigation made during a recent trip to Europe.

The Redemption of the Disabled. By Garrard Harris, Research Division, Federal Board for Vocational Education. New York: D. Appleton and Company.
An account of the Government's program for the economic rehabilitation of the soldiers and sailors disabled in the war.

The Vocational Re-Education of Maimed Soldiers. By Leon De Paeuw. New York: Princeton University Press.
An account of a Belgian specialist who has opened a school for carrying on the work.

The Great Issue. By John Farwell Moors. Boston: Marshall Jones Company.
A short essay on President Wilson's leadership.

Twelve Men. By Theodore Dreiser. New York: Boni and Liveright.
Studies of typical American characters.

The Erotic Motive in Literature. By Albert Mordell. New York: Boni and Liveright.
This work is an endeavor to apply some of the methods of psychoanalysis to literature.

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NEWS

Labor

—The eight-hour day has been established on all Italian railroads by ministerial decree.

—The latest returns of unemployed men and women in Great Britain are: For Birmingham, 70,000; for Lancashire, 285,111; for Glasgow, 49,411.

—June 25, 26, and 27 have been determined upon as the date for the next convention of the Labor Party, and Southport has been selected as the meeting place.

—The acting commission of the Socialist International, in session in Amsterdam recently, assumed virtually the importance of an international conference on the peace situation.

—The three locals of brewery workers, beer bottlers, and beer drivers, of San Antonio, Tex., have merged into one organization that will be known as Cereal, Beverage, and Soft Drink Workers' Union No. 12.

—A total of seventy-two unions in Chicago representing about 80,000 members had voted up to and including the returns of May 17 in favor of the Fourth of July general strike for the release of Thomas Mooney.

—Virtually every man, woman, and child in London, Canada, now works eight hours a day or less and receives as much if not more wages than when the longer period was worked. This change has all come about within a year.

—While a ministerial committee was still considering the question of the legal adoption of the eight-hour day, Danish employers and employes concluded an agreement providing for the eight-hour working day before January 1, 1920.

—Members of the Victoria, (British Columbia) branch of the provincial Civil Servants' Association have voted overwhelmingly in favor of becoming affiliated with organized labor, by applying for a charter to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

—The United Mine Workers announce that the verdict of the United States Court penalizing the Union $600,000 for conspiracy to ruin the business of the Coronado Coal Company as a result of the strike, will be appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

—Investigation of differences between the Southern Bell Telephone Company and its employes at Atlanta, Ga., which led to the threat of a nation-wide strike of telegraph and telephone workers, was ordered on June 1 by Postmaster General Burleson.

—The publication of virtually all newspapers in Buenos Aires was suspended on the 29th, pending the settlement of the dispute between the printers and publishers which arose when the printers refused to set advertisements of a boycotted department store.

—The Department of Labor announced on the 28d that official investigations of Chinese deportation cases indicate that many of the arrests have been the result of animus on the part of employers, and that the underlying motive for these arrests was membership in the union.

—More than 100,000 British farm workers are unionized. Their organization is known as the National Agricultural Laborers' Union. They have more than 2,000 locals. They are urging now a minimum wage of $12 a week for a six-day working week of 44 hours the year around. They would work unavoidable overtime at time and a half for week days and double time for Sunday.

—The Marine Transport Workers' Union has been organized in Buenos Aires by sailors of all nationalities in an attempt to abolish forced payments to ship chandlers and other employment agents for obtaining jobs for sailors on vessels at Buenos Aires. The working results adopted are based on the rules of similar organizations in the United States and wages are scheduled in American currency.

—Believing that the Central Labor Council of Seattle is devoting too much time to oratory, debate, reading of communications, and speeches by labor leaders, some 55 local unions have started an organization called the "Federated Unions of Seattle." This body, it is claimed by the promoters, is not to interfere with the work of the Central Labor Council, but is to assume authority on economic and industrial questions.

League of Nations

—With the Democrats of the Senate almost a unit in favor of the League of Nations and at least four Republican Senators counted upon as willing to vote for the Covenant without change, advocates of the League predict that the Covenant will be ratified as a part of the Treaty of Peace as adopted by the Paris Conference.

—Former President Taft told the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in an address in Boston on the 20th that he had information from an authoritative source that religious discrimination in Poland and Rumania would not be tolerated under the terms of peace and that there would be adopted provisions which would "prevent the heartbreaking occurrences of the past."

—According to an Oulahan dispatch in the New York *Times*, information has reached Paris from Berlin through official intelligence sources that Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German peace delegation at Versailles, is insisting that his resignation from the Peace Commission be accepted. He takes the ground that he cannot subject himself to the humiliation of signing the allied peace terms.

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—Frank P. Walsh and Edward F. Dunne, representing American Irish societies, directed a letter to President Wilson on the 31st, saying that their instructions provide that, if an opportunity were not given to regularly chosen representatives of Ireland to present Ireland's case to the Peace Conference they should do so. "We therefore petition you," the letter said, "to use your good offices to secure for us a hearing before the four great powers, so that we may discharge the duty imposed on us by the Philadelphia Convention."

—The conditions of peace were handed by the Allied Powers to the Austrian representatives on the 2d. Austria as left by the treaty will be a state of from six million to seven million persons, inhabiting a territory of between fifty thousand and sixty thousand square miles. She is required to recognize the complete independence of Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and the Serbo-Croat-Slovene state, and to cede other territories which previously in union with her composed the Empire of Austria-Hungary, with its population of over fifty million persons.

—The French representatives have informed the other peace delegations that it will be impossible for the French to ratify the German peace treaty before August 24. This is important in its bearing on the provision in the treaty that it shall become effective when ratified by three of the great signatory powers. Under the French system the treaty must be considered by the delegates and by both Houses of Parliament, and the time allowed each of these several bodies for the purpose makes it certain, according to a French statement, that August 24 is the earliest date on which ratification can be accomplished.

Color Line

—More than 140 Negro soldiers, most of whom served under Colonel William Hayward in France, have obtained places in the last two weeks through the Hayward Unit of the War Camp Community Service. These jobs have ranged from actor to Pullman porter.—*Times.*

—The first town to be constructed by the Housing Corporation of the Department of Labor exclusively for members of the Negro race was dedicated on Sunday at Truxton within the corporate limits of Portsmouth, Virgina. The opening ceremonies were participated in by Government officials.

—William Trotter, "delegate to Paris and secretary of race petitioners to the Peace Conference," has written to President Wilson asking him in the name of the National Equal Rights League, in view of recent lynchings in the South, and for the sake of American Negroes who gave their lives in the war, to send a message to Congress recommending that lynching be made a crime against the Federal Government.

—John R. Phillips, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is distributing a circular reprint of an editorial in *The Advocate of Peace* of April, 1919, in which the editor, who has just returned from several months' sojourn in Paris, writes of the Pan-African Congress held in Paris on February 19 to 20, in which there were African representatives from many countries representing 200,000,000 Negroes and Negroids. In a very interesting way the editor discusses the right of the African to justice and a share in the affairs of the world and the right of self-determination. In 1921 another Pan-African Congress for the protection of the natives of Africa and of peoples of African origin is to be held in Paris.

Public Order

—Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Polish Premier, made it known on the 1st that he had decided to ask President Wilson to name a commission of Americans to go to Poland and investigate the charges regarding the treatment of the Jewish population there.

—Increased telephone and telegraph rates put into effect January 21 last, under an order of Postmaster-General Burleson, were upheld on the 2d by the Supreme Court.

The American Socialist Society brought suit on May 29 in the United States Court to restrain the Post Office Department from interfering with the circulation of a pamphlet on "The Soviets at Work," written by Nicolai Lenine and published in English by the Rand School of Social Science. Its circulation was suppressed by the Post Office in November, 1918.

—Enraged by insults said to have been hurled at them as they passed on parade by the Yale campus during the "welcome home" celebration in New Haven on the 24th, several hundred returned soldiers of the 102d Regiment of the 26th Division gathered in the centre of that city on the 27th and, supported by a mob of sympathizers conservatively estimated at 3,000 persons, marched to the Yale campus, manhandling several students whom they met on the way and painfully injuring Harvey Childs, a Yale junior from Pittsburgh. The mob stopped before the huge iron gate which opens into the court yard at Vanderbilt Dormitory. Several hundred Yale men were massed behind these gates and also at the other entrances to the campus, under orders said to have been given by Dean Frederick S. Jones to resist any attempt of any unauthorized person to enter the campus, but to offer no violence to any invader.

Public Health

—Eighteen States are now devoting official attention to the necessities for children through the creation of special administrative agencies or divisions to look after their interests.

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—Soldiers and sailors to the number of 4,522,724 have been insured during the war by the War Risk Bureau. The total insurance amounts to $39,561,994,500. The average policy is $8,747.

—The Department of Labor announced on the 22d that a committee of experts is now investigating the mortality from tuberculosis in those trades where there are processes involving a great deal of dust.

Cost of Living

—The official Government figures upon the cost of living show a decline of 3 per cent. since December.

—The War Department announces that a market is to be found in the United States for food supplies still held by it. These include 250,000,000 pounds of canned meats and 100,000,000 cans of vegetables.

—The Statistical Division of the War Department estimates that there will be on hand September 1st 7,599,000 pairs of shoes and 8,812,000 pairs of leather gloves and mittens. A sufficient supply of the former on the basis of an army of 500,000 would last for over five years, and enough of the latter to last for over seventeen years.

Political

—Final and immediate solution of the Philippine question was asked of Congress in a memorial presented by the Philippine mission at a joint session of the Senate Committee on the Philippines and the House Committee on Insular Affairs on the 2d. The mission is officially representing the Philippine Legislature and people.

—Following the news from Chicago that the Socialist National Executive Committee, in session there, had voted to expel from the party councils five of the fourteen so-called "national" federations which are integral parts of the Socialist national organization, it was stated in Socialist circles in New York that the party in this State and in the city would purge itself before long of unruly or undesirable elements and already four organizations with headquarters in Brooklyn have fallen under the party ban.

Education

—By vote of the Yale corporation, Sheffield Scientific School will arrange for reserve officer training corps courses in ordnance, engineering, and military aeronautics next year.

—Silent reading experiments for children are being made by the bureau of educational research at the University of Illinois and have been tried with interesting results in several cities in Illinois. The old method of standing and reading aloud is displaced in the experiment by silent reading.

Land Reform

—The State Legislature has approved a law by which the State may purchase lands, develop them by construction of irrigation projects, and sell them under long-term contracts to actual owners.

—The Department of Labor will shortly issue a comprehensive report on employment and natural resources, which goes into the possibilities of making new opportunities of employment through the systematic settlement and development of agricultural and forest lands and other natural resources.

—The number of farm tenants has increased 40 per cent. in Kansas in the last eighteen years. The number of acres farmed by tenants in that State has increased 80 per cent. in the same period. Governor Allen has begun a campaign to eliminate the farm tenant as far as possible by providing State aid for those who wish to buy farms and who will farm them. The last Legislature voted to submit to the people at the next election a constitutional amendment which will authorize the State to invest money in lands and sell them to farmers on easy terms and at low rates of interest.

—A scheme in making cities really "cities of homes" is being worked out at Wellington, Kan., by the business men of that city, who are encouraging home ownership. They have founded the Wellington Home Foundation. The foundation plans to hunt up worthy workingmen of the city who now live in rented homes, provide them with a vacant lot and erect a home on it, to allow the workingman to pay for it in regular installments like rent. He need not have a dollar to start with. The foundation has checked over all of the run-down, dilapidated old residences in the city, and is buying them. It plans to tear them down, or rebuild them into modern small homes and sell them to workingmen upon the same terms as if it built a home on a vacant lot.

Public Ownership

—Almost the first announcement made by the superintendent after the city of Seattle purchased stock of the car properties, was the loss of 4,000,000 fares during 1918 to city employes. It must not happen again, said he, any more than to allow them to have free water and lighting and no taxes while all other employes must pay the whole cost.

—Commissioner of Light W. E. Davis, of Cleveland, Ohio, has not only promised service to a great number of domestic users this year, but has guaranteed that the rate will remain at 8 cents. This is the answer to predictions that Cleveland's municipal electric-light plant would have to raise its rate on account of increased cost of coal, labor and materials used in extending its lines. Two

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million five hundred thousand dollars is to be spent in extensions of the plant, $500,000 of which will go to the construction of line extensions to domestic consumers.

Co-operation

—The close relationship between Organized Labor and the Coöperative Movement is clearly brought out in a paper on "Labor Coöperation and Reconstruction," by Mr. John F. McNamee, editor of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers' magazine. In conclusion, Mr. McNamee says, "Labor and Coöperation must go hand in hand to victory for an emancipated people." This paper is one of a series on cognate themes printed in the Report of the Proceedings of the First American Coöperative Convention, held at Springfield, Ill., in September, 1918, which has just been published by the Coöperative League of America, New York City.

—The National Coöperative Association, organized at the last National Coöperative Convention, held in Springfield, Ill., last fall, and whose Board of Directors is composed of the presidents of the regional coöperative wholesale societies in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Washington and California, has just been granted a charter and will open a main office in Chicago. Dalton T. Clarke, of Pittsburgh, until recently the president of the Tri-State Coöperative Society, which operates a chain of over two dozen coöperative stores in the western part of Pennsylvania, is president of the National Association, which is incorporated for $1,000,000.

—In Hamburg, Copenhagen, Vienna, Paris, and a number of other large European cities local coöperative societies have whole blocks of apartment houses. Sometimes societies lease houses for their members, but while this reduces some of the profits, it does not eliminate the profit of the landlord himself, which is after all the main item. The Coöperative League of America, 2 West 13th Street, New York City, is at present devoting much effort to making plans for solving the housing problem known to members of the many committees appointed in communities throughout the country. A pamphlet covering the subject thoroughly and presenting practical methods is now being prepared and will soon be issued by the League.

—Out in Eureka, Cal., there is a hospital which receives all its patients free of charges, yet does not have to appeal to charity for support. It was established some years ago by a number of labor unions of lumbermen, scattered through Humboldt County. One of the union lumbermen had been injured, and not knowing of a better way to care for him, the unions hired a doctor and a nurse and gave the injured man into their charge. Before he was cured another patient claimed their attention, and he was passed over to the doctor and the nurse. Such was the beginning of the labor union hospital in Eureka. Then came a long, bitter fight with the employers, which resulted in the dissolution of the unions. The hospital survived, however. It was put on a coöperative basis; yearly membership tickets were sold at twelve dollars apiece, the holder being entitled to surgical or medical aid in the hospital in case of need. On this simple basis the hospital has continued to develop, until now it is the best institution of its kind in the county. No stock has ever been sold, no appeal to charity has ever been made, and money that was once borrowed was repaid out of the returns from the sale of membership tickets.

—The only source of reliable news from Russia seems to be the circulars of the Coöperative Societies. Two hundred and forty-four coöperative unions, numbering 8,876,268 members of local societies, and therefore embracing fully 36,000,000 individuals, form the body of the Russian Consumers' Coöperative Movement, officially represented by the Central Union of Russian Consumers' Coöperative Societies, with main headquarters in Moscow, but with branch offices in forty-one different provinces. In addition to the membership just mentioned, which represents just 48 per cent. of the total population of Great Russia, another 15,000,000 persons are served by the Central Union's machinery for the distribution of goods, making altogether 51,000,000 people out of the total population of 76,000,000 who have been drawn into the movement. Private enterprise in the distribution of all the necessities of life has been completely abolished in Soviet Russia. In the beginning it was the intention of the Soviet Government to carry this on through local and district committees. This plan did not altogether work, so gradually the Soviets turned this business over to the coöperatives, who were already doing it, anyway. In some communities, however, especially in those sections where coöperation was not so strongly organized, the Soviets continued maintaining the distributing committees. As an illustration of the method of working, last July the Soviet had on hand 2,000,000 pounds of tea for distribution during that month. Of this 1,400,000 was handed over to the Central Coöperative Union, as its share of the total stock in the general distribution. The Soviets distributes 150 carloads of matches a month. Last summer the Central Union received 80 carloads as its share. More recently it was handling from 100 to 120 carloads.

Transportation

—A record-breaking one-stop transcontinental flight from Mineola Field, N. Y., to San Francisco is to be attempted by the Army Air Service. The new Wright bombing plane will be used. The schedule allows fifty-one hours and twenty-eight minutes.

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—Secretary Baker has just asked Congress for legislative authority and an appropriation of $10,000,000 for the immediate purchase of the Cape Cod Canal. Action by Congress was necessary, he said, so the canal might be acquired without waiting the result of pending condemnation proceedings.

—"At the present rate with which the navy is bringing the army home from France we will have all the Expeditionary Forces except 400,000 men back in the United States by July 1," said Secretary of the Navy Daniels on the 19th. "If necessary, we could bring back 800,000 of the men remaining in France during the month of July."

—Railroad, freight and passenger rate increases, made by the Railroad Administration last June, were upheld by the Supreme Court on the 2d. North Dakota Supreme Court decrees enjoining the Northern Pacific Railroad and Director General Hines from enforcing an order of the Railroad Administration increasing rates in that State were reversed.

—Early completion of the Alaskan Railroad to the navigable waters of the interior is necessary for the success of the entire rail construction programme in the territory undertaken by the government, according to J. L. McPherson, engineer of the Alaskan Engineering Commission. In order that construction work may not be interrupted, the House approved an appropriation of $1,964,850 for the work in the general deficiency bill sent on the 30th to the Senate. The present force of 1,500 men will be doubled this month.

—The Navy Department says that the transatlantic flight has cost the nation $1,000,000. The Secretary claims that it was as good an investment as the $50,000 spent by the United States Government on Professor Langley's airplane, the $40,000 spent by the army on the first Wright machine, and the first Baldwin dirigible bought by the army eleven years ago for $20,000. The N-C seaplanes represent a great advance in aeronautic engineering, and this advance gives America a distinction which cannot be estimated in dollars and cents.

—The honor of having first crossed the Atlantic through the air belongs to the United States Navy. Specifically, the honor rests on the shoulders of Lieut. Commander A. C. Read and the daring crew of the seaplane NC-4, which swept into the harbor of Plymouth, England, at 2:26 p. m. on May 31. The NC-4, since it started from Rockaway Point at 10.04 a. m., May 8, has covered approximately 3,150 miles. The actual flying time for the entire distance to Lisbon was a little more than forty-three hours, or an average of seventy-four and a fraction knots an hour.

—Five 7,800-ton cargo ships launched in less than fifty minutes was the new world's record established at Hog Island on the 30th. Secretary Daniels had just declared that the Government would not stop building ships. He said: "One of the chief compensations of the burden of the great struggle is the restoration of the American merchant marine, or rather its rebirth, for we are building upon a scale that was not dreamed of even in the early days when the American flag and American commerce were seen in all parts of the world."

Foreign

—Photographs of Japanese execution of Korean revolutionists are being issued by the American headquarters of the Korean Republic. The pictures show the victims tied to rudely constructed crosses.

—That Japan fully intends to return Kiao-Chau to China when peace is assured, was the assurance given last night by Baron Shimpei Goto, guest of honor at a dinner given in the Hotel Plaza by C. Yada, Japanese Consul General in New York.

—The National Congress of the French Socialist party held in Paris the week of April 26 adopted an electoral program, declaring that a revolution is necessary for ushering in the new economic order, and that its first stage would probably be a temporary "dictatorship of the proletariat." This program was supported by the old "Majoritaires," including M. Albert Thomas and M. Renaudel.

—Avowal of friendship between Soviet Russia and the liberal-minded people of America, repeated resolutions to aid the agitation for the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, and pleas for an alliance between this country and the Russian Socialist Republic marked the dinner given recently by the *Dial* in honor of Professor George Lomonossoff, Soviet Director of Rails in this country, and L. C. A. K. Martens, representative of the Federated Soviet Republic of Russia.

—Commenting on the conscription question, the Tokyo *Kokumin* asks its countrymen how they intend to shape their course in case the abolition of conscription is decided upon at the Peace Congress. Mr. Ozaki provoked hostile criticism among some Japanese by advocating abolition of conscription. The *Kokumin* favors the system of conscription, in view of national conditions, but thinks it unjust to denounce Mr. Ozaki as unpatriotic, simply because he advocates abolition of the system.

—The war, which has revealed so many economic facts to so many nations, has made more than ever clear to Australia, reports the *Christian Science Monitor*, the importance of conserving her forests in every sense of that term. "Western Australia," declared Mr. R. T. Robinson, State Minister of Woods and Forests, in the Western Australian Parliament, recently, "has striven, regardless of the future, to get as much as she possibly could out of the timber country within her borders, and the

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object of each successive government has been to exploit as much timber as possible in the shortest period possible." In all the states increased attention is being given to afforestation, and the Commonwealth is particularly fortunate in having for its Governor-General a man like Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, who is himself a practical forester.

General

—The Department of State reports that the Union of South Africa will hold a national exposition at Pretoria in March and April, 1920.

—New York Stock Exchange seats have reached the highest price in nearly a decade. Two exchange seats the other day sold at $85,000, the highest since 1910.

—Speaking of the Piedras Negras consular district in Mexico, Vice-Consul W. P. Blocker declares: "It can be stated with emphasis that conditions have improved very remarkably during the past twelve months and that each day adds to the security and safety of the country."

—The milling plant for a new Zululand papyrus-pulp enterprise has been purchased in America. The mill has a capacity of 6,000 to 8,000 tons per year, but the material available is equal to an annual output of 100,000 tons. Motor boats equipped with mowing machines are used for harvesting the papyrus.

—Removal from office of Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, has been demanded by Senator King of Utah, on the ground that Commissioner Howe presided at the Pro-Soviet meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York last week.

—Joaquin Estevan, of Barcelona, Spain, has invented a straw compound as a substitute for coal. This combustible is said to have great advantages over coal for locomotives and agricultural tractors, as it develops sufficient heat in thirty minutes to give the machinery the necessary pressure. Besides, the ashes make an excellent fertilizer.

—Figures on the cost of building brick issued by the Department of Labor show that prices in New York, Philadelphia, and other Eastern cities are approximately 50 per cent. greater than elsewhere in the United States. In Chicago the rate is $12 per thousand, and Los Angeles and San Francisco $12.50, as compared with $17.85 in New York and $19.50 in Philadelphia.

—The George Washington Memorial Association of Washington announces that on June 28 a drive for $9,000,000 will be begun in behalf of a National Victory Memorial Building to be erected at the national capital. Land for the structure has been granted by Congress. One million has already been raised by popular subscription. The main floor is to be 58,500 square feet in dimension and the gallery 10,000 square feet, and its dome will be three times the size of that of St. Peter's.

—Great Britain must raise $7,500,000,000 to meet estimated expenditures for the current financial year ending March 31, 1920. Taxation on the present basis (including the excess profit tax) can be depended on for $4,680,000,000. For the balance new taxation is necessary. The expectation is that an attempt will be made to raise $5,000,000,000 by taxation and the remainder by loans. In a statement to the House of Commons Chancellor of the Exchequer Chamberlain said that the national debt on March 31, 1919, was $37,175,000,000.

—The anniversary of the first flight of the Washington-Philadelphia-New York air mail service was celebrated at College Park, Mo., and at Belmont Park, N. Y., on the 15th. The Post Office Department in a statement declared that the service inaugurated as an experiment had proved a success in every way. Of the 1,268 trips scheduled for the year, 1,136 were successfully completed, and the total distance flown was 128,255 miles. The revenue on 7,720,840 letters carried amounted to $159,700 as against $137,900, the cost of the service. The two planes used in the trips on the day of the celebration, one starting from Belmont Park, N. Y., and the other from College Park, are the same machines that made the first trips a year ago.

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