SOCIALISM AND ITS MISTAKES

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

June 28, 1919

Appreciation of A. B. duPont

Reading and Revolution

The Treaty, or What?

Published Weekly in New York, N. Y.
Ten Cents a Copy, Three Dollars a Year

The Public

A Journal of Democracy

June 28, 1919

Contents

Founded and Edited, 1898-1913, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE THACHER POST

EDITOR: STOUGHTON COOLEY

LITERARY AND NEWS EDITOR: S. C. EBY

PUBLISHER AND MANAGING EDITOR: STANLEY BOWMAR

Published Weekly by

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,

122 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York City

Single Copy, Ten Cents — Yearly Subscription, $3.00

Canadian, $3.50 — Foreign, $4.00

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

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXII | New York, N. Y., June 28, 1919 | Number 1108

THAT the Republicans have blundered in making an issue of the League of Nations becomes daily more apparent. The speaking campaign that was to carry the question to the people was speedily abandoned when the speakers found no response. And now that it is announced that the President will go before the country in defense of the League of Nations, a new aspect has come over the Senate opposition. Chairman Hays, of the Republican National Committee, had already protested that the action of all but one of the Republican Senators was not a partisan move, and Senator Knox now says his resolution is not in opposition to the treaty or the League of Nations, but merely for the purpose of gaining time in which to study its provisions. The New York *Tribune* has already given up; it admits there is little prospect of securing any change in the treaty terms, and centers its attention on the reservations that the Senate may write into the ratification. Was there ever such pitiful political blundering?

THE fates are not showing a proper degree of consideration for Mr. Fordney and his Ways and Means Committee. For six years the protectionists have been gloating over the advantage that would be theirs when they again had the opportunity to rescue labor from the traitorous free traders and their slightly reduced tariff rates. But things have not turned out as the protectionists expected or as they would have them. Throughout the war they told us that the Germans would overwhelm us at the dawn of peace by dumping goods upon our market. German factories, they said, were storing up goods they could not export, which, because of the criminal carelessness and neglect of the Democrats in not raising the tariff, would be sent to this country in overwhelming quantities. But with shameful disregard of tariff prophecies, Germany has not only no goods for dumping purposes, but none for herself. And when the Fordney committee started taking testimony it began to appear that because of the wreck and ruin of war American goods, with the exception possibly of a few things like dyes, were likely to sell in Europe cheaper than the European goods. This is nothing less than unkind.

WE do not speak of Spain ordinarily as a progressive country. Yet the report of the permanent Spanish Electric Commission is one that is worthy of American study and emulation. A genuine national system for the distribution of electricity is proposed. The country is moderately well supplied with water power, and this is to be the main source of reliance. It is also proposed, however, to conserve the supply of high-grade fuel by using the lower grade coals that cannot be economically shipped. These are to be consumed at the mine mouth for producing energy, and the current so produced is to be used when droughts lower the amount of available water power. A commission of the ablest scientific and technical men in Spain is to direct the enterprise. But it is not with respect to calling her ablest men to serve the state that Spain contrasts so strongly with the United States. It is this: While the United States Senate is quarreling over which particular group of private capitalists shall be permitted to monopolize our water power, Spain is proposing to construct her own

plants and distribute her current as a national service without the intervention of any benevolent franchise grabber.

THE request of the American Federation of Labor for Mr. Burleson's resignation gives that gentleman an opportunity to prove his loyalty to the President. The latter is doubtless in an embarrassing position. He has frequently disagreed with his Cabinet officers, but he has never yet deserted one while under fire. There is no doubt that Mr. Burleson is wholly at variance with the Wilson policies. Nevertheless, the President may feel that the niceties of the situation prevent him from severing Mr. Burleson's connection with the Administration. With the Postmaster-General, however, the shoe is on the other foot. Politeness may prevent one from ordering a guest out of the house, but it need never prevent the guest from leaving if he perceives that his presence is embarrassing. When Secretary Garrison felt himself at variance with the President, he promptly resigned. We commend his example to Mr. Burleson.

AN injustice is done THE PUBLIC by the *Christian Science Monitor*, whose New York correspondent quotes W. J. Ghent of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy as saying: "Even the Singletax organ, THE PUBLIC, has lately been discovering the identity of Sovietism with democracy, and it seems to regard with equanimity if not with downright approval, the proposed substitution of Soviets for ballot boxes and legislatures." If Mr. Ghent is as careless about other things as he has been in regard to THE PUBLIC his usefulness as a propagandist will not last. Nor has the *Monitor's* correspondent shown much discrimination in making the quotation. THE PUBLIC is not a Singletax organ, nor does it believe in the Soviet form of government. It does believe in self-determination; and as it treasures the right to have in this country its own government so it grants to other countries the same right. THE PUBLIC is a journal of democracy, believing that all men have an inalienable right to the products of their own toil, and holding that this right is wholly conserved only when each citizen is required to pay the government for the benefits conferred upon him by the government.

WITCH hunting has ever been the delight of bigots. Men and women with an abnormal development of egotism are not content to square their own consciences with what they think is right; they must needs insist that every one else shall square his conscience by their rule. Certain citizens have taken it upon themselves to define patriotism, loyalty, and good citizenship, and are presuming to exclude beyond the pale all who do not come within the definition. But the worst manifestation of this madness is to be seen among the school authorities of New York City. At first the witch hunting was confined to the teachers. Men and women who had been a little indiscreet in their language have been grilled as to their conceptions of life, duty, and obligation to government. But not satisfied with that, they have taken to catechising children of the high school and primary grades, including children of less than thirteen years of age, to see if they hold Bolshevist ideas, and if so, where they got them.

THIS is utter folly. In a few years we shall look back upon this passing madness with feelings not unlike those of the good people of Salem after the witch hunting there had come to an end. Do these modern witch hunters really think the welfare of this country is at stake from a few indiscreet remarks of a teacher or from the feeble notions of a little child? Are the democratic institutions of three centuries to be shaken by the breath of error? And even if there be erroneous ideas about what Americanism is, they should be removed not by force, but by reason. Force never changes ideas. Witch hunters make witches, and disloyalty hunters make disloyalty. There is no greater inducement that can be offered for belief in error than to tell a man or a child that he must not believe it. Must, when uttered by authority, ever makes rebels. Fewer commands and more appeals to reason will be found by the school authorities to produce better results.

SENATOR POMERENE of Ohio is alarmed because the executives upon the staff of the Director-General of Railroads are receiving

salaries of from $10,000 to $50,000 per annum. It appears that the average salary of the seventy-two executives is $19,418. Senator Pomerene considers it outrageous that any of them should receive salaries greater than a United States Senator or the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. It does not occur to him that possibly they may be worth more than Senators or Chief Justices. Senator Pomerene has evidently forgotten the heyday of private ownership when it was customary to pay such salaries to directors who performed only nominal services. There is a well authenticated case of a man who used his position as director to secure a contract for personal services so lucrative that the railroad was glad to give him a half million dollars to cancel it. Yet this man had only nominal duties. The Railroad Administration is paying for work. That is probably the point a United States Senator is unable to comprehend. A large income for merely owning would be understandable to him, but to receive a substantial salary for mere work is, of course, scandalous.

EXPERTS on anarchy, like those on other subjects, offer strange examples of mental processes when called as court witnesses. Jesse N. Reeves, professor of political economy at the university of Michigan, was called as an expert on anarchy in the case of Henry Ford against the Chicago *Tribune*. He was asked if he found the principles of well-known and recognized anarchists in the utterance of Mr. Ford, and was called upon to interpret his alleged statement that "there is no such thing as independence; there is only interdependence. We want to talk about the world. World patriotism is what we want to glorify." "That," said Reeves, "is an anarchistic idea, the world brotherhood instead of national patriotism." What short shrift Jesus would have had if he had been confronted with the modern court expert!

PUBLICATION of the mailing list of the Bolshevist publicity bureau in New York by the investigating committee of the Legislature reminds us that espionage laws mean spies, and spies mean sneaks, and sneaks mean character assassination. This same man Stevenson who published the Overman Senate committee list of names of alleged German sympathizers—among whom were such names as David Starr Jordan, Jane Addams, and others of the country's first citizens—now publishes a list of alleged Bolshevist sympathizers among whom are such men as Colonel William Boyce Thompson, Dr. George W. Krichwey, Paul Kellogg, and W. B. Huebsch. Mr. Martens, the Russian representative, in order to establish friendly relations between the two peoples, maintained a press bureau service. It was natural that he should send the press matter to any one likely to read it. Even supposing the man to be dishonest, that would not imply that the people whose names were on his list were a party to the dishonesty. Is this the kind of Americanism we are to teach the aliens who come to our shores?

CONGRESS may well give a little effort to enacting legislation asked by the Patent Office. Owing to antiquated laws the present capacity of the office is insufficient properly to care for the work. Yet although the work suffers for lack of means, eight and one quarter million dollars in fees have been allowed to pile up in the treasury. And while Congress is giving the Patent Office adequate revenue, it might also amend the laws in a way to give greater security to the inventor, and at the same time protect the public. As long as patents are granted at all, they should be given only upon freedom of use by the public. Numerous instances have occurred where a patent has been issued to one inventor when others were almost if not quite as much entitled to it. Yet those others were barred from the use of their own devices, and even the public itself has been shut out by monopolists who have bought patents and withdrawn them from use in order to protect a particular monopoly. If the public is to give the inventor the right to collect a fee for the use of his idea, he should be required to give the public access to the idea.

ANDREW FURUSETH, president of the International Seamen's Union, was victimized by the sportive type in last week's PUBLIC as he probably never was before by wind or tide, or by digestion-destroying cook. But what does it matter? Every one knows him

for the grand old sailor that he is. Having himself followed the sea and learned the hapless lot of the seaman, he consecrated his life to obtaining his rights. He brought to his task vision, philosophy, patience. By his singular self-denial and disinterestedness—he accepts only the seaman's fare for his work ashore—he has brought hope and inspiration to a body of men almost beyond hope. Not only has he brought relief to the despairing American sailor, once the pride of the country, but his plan of regeneration is so broad that it takes in the whole sea-faring world. There is not a sailor whose lot has not been bettered because of the Seamen's Act. THE PUBLIC takes pride in the fact that it had a part, along with McArthur and Scharrenberg of San Francisco, Victor Olander of Chicago, and Senator LaFollette, in furthering the work begun by Andrew Furuseth.

The Treaty, or What?

OPPOSITION to the ratification of the treaty in the United States is confined to two distinct groups: Standpat Republicans who are seeking political advantage, and irreconcilable radicals whose pacifism is so abnormally developed that they must ever be fighting somebody, and who never under any circumstances can agree among themselves upon any material point. The Republican Senate, with leading members of the party and a large part of the rank and file in opposition, are in sore straits to find a point of attack. The ultra radicals who see life as an abstraction, and never are able to converge on a concrete application, are dwindling in number, but are increasing their clamor as they dwindle.

But the world cannot forever spend its time in theoretical disputation. Necessity compels action. The obligation fell first upon the peace delegates at Paris. They failed to agree as to ideals. This was most unfortunate. It was, indeed, a sore disappointment to those who had been stirred by visions of the new order. But conditions compelled an agreement to save the world from utter confusion.

The treaty now comes to us, and we must reach an agreement in order to avoid chaos. We have the alternative of rejecting the agreement, as President Wilson had at Paris. But what is that alternative? "Let Congress," cry the radicals, "declare the war at an end." But would the war be at an end merely because Congress had made such a declaration? What of the small nations that have come into being through the inspiration and direct encouragement of America, as voiced by Mr. Wilson? Are they to be abandoned at the very hour of their birth to be devoured by the political monsters about them? What of our own future? Are we for the sake of an idealism, for the moment unattainable, to seek refuge in our pre-war isolation and leave Europe to return to the balance of power basis?

Normal-minded men and women will think long and well before accepting this alternative. Such a choice should repel every sane radical, every real idealist, every true pacifist, and every honest lover of his kind who opposes war and preparations for war. If America returns to her policy of isolation and Europe redivides itself into balanced halves, it means the perpetuation of militarism. It means the building up of an enormous military establishment in constant readiness for the next world war. It means more bonds, more taxes, more munition plants. It means conscription in time of peace. It means precautionary laws against free speech and free press. It means a world cowed under the eye of the spy.

As against this we have the choice of a peace which, though couched in severe terms, is yet the basis of a new order, a peace based upon a covenant that has within itself the means of correcting its own defects. It was not possible for participants in the war to be absolutely just to each other. It is for us to accept the best peace now obtainable, and by the aid of the covenant work for the ideal peace of the future.

Can any sane man or woman hesitate in choosing between these alternatives?

Making Amends to Colombia

FAVORABLE action by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding the treaty with Colombia—which includes a payment of $25,000,000 in settlement of the Panama incident—has peculiar interest at this time. The whole matter was a case for a league of nations.

When Colombia tried to take advantage of

this country by making unreasonable demands for the privilege of digging the canal the case should have been submitted to the nations of the world, and when we interfered in Colombia to prevent her from subduing rebellious Panama she should have appealed to a world court.

Though Colombia owned the isthmus as a part of her territory, the world had a right of passage, for the land that was a part of the country was also an obstruction to navigation. It was in every sense an international obligation to overcome the obstruction by building a canal. But failing that, it was the world's duty to see that the country willing to build it—whether France or the United States—should have had the opportunity. The matter could have been presented to an international body and all interests conserved.

The very fact that such a means of redress as a league of nations was available would have been sufficient to deter Colombia from attempting to make unreasonable demands, and the same international organization would have kept this country from embarking upon the course taken, to the very serious impairment of our foreign prestige, and particularly of our standing in Central and South America.

As there are ill-advised men and newspapers in this country that talk of "cleaning up Mexico" and of "carrying the flag to Panama," so there are men and newspapers in Central and South America that make political capital of it by representing this froth of yellow journalism as the real sentiment of the United States.

When President Roosevelt recognized the independence of Panama seventy-two hours after that State rebelled, before any proof had been given that she was entitled to independence, and before Colombia had had an opportunity to reclaim her rebellious state, simply because it was to our pecuniary advantage to do so, our credit throughout the Latin nations was impaired. It was of little avail to profess friendliness for American countries while an ex-President was going about boasting, "I took Panama."

If we could "take" Panama because it served our purpose, we could "take" Mexico, Costa Rica, or Venezuela, or any other country whose possession might serve our ends. That was what undermined our prestige in Central and South America. And it was not until President Wilson invoked aid of the A B C countries during the Mexican trouble that confidence in us began to return. The feeling even now is never absent in Mexico that there may any day come another Roosevelt who will "take" Mexico.

Colombia had no right to mulct the United States for building the canal; rather should she have contributed to the cost, for it would add materially to the wealth of that country to have the commerce of the world flow through her territory, and there is little doubt that a league of nations would have made this plain. The same is true of all the lesser countries that have come out of the present disrupted empires. The mass effect of public opinion as crystallized in a league of nations is the only effective thing to establish justice and maintain order.

The Common Sense Way

BRUCE BLIVEN of the New York *Globe*, appears to be one of those rare individuals who, lacking proper regard for the vacant land profiteers, rushes in where statesmen fear to tread. Mr. Bliven is making a campaign to transform some of the talking on the housing situation in New York into concrete action. He says that on the lowest estimate New York by the first of next May will be in need of seventy thousand new homes, and there appears to be little prospect of getting them.

While Mr. Bliven's plan does not compass within itself the whole and unadulterated fourteen points of righteousness on the land and housing question, it does step in the right direction, and a good start is half the journey. He wants new improvements on property to be "exempt from taxation for a definite period of years, provided the property is of a residential character, and that it is completed within a definite time limit."

Attorney General Charles D. Newton of the State of New York assures him that the State Legislature has ample authority to enact such legislation. The idea back of the program is that, though the astounding ability of society to survive wrong governmental methods is wondrous to behold, in times of crisis there is a limit, and in New York that limit seems at hand, so far at all events as housing is concerned.

Some of the ultras will doubtless raise a shout of protest that Mr. Bliven is proposing the Singletax. He denies it, and naïvely reiterates

that all he has in mind is "the common sense principle that a man ought not to be penalized for helping his community by building a house," especially when thousands of people in the community are homeless in the midst of a wealth of vacant lots.

Some dangerous fallacy may be lurking behind this principle to catch unwary statesmen, but we fail to see it. As a matter of fact it seems to us a pity—though it is not surprising—that the New York Legislature, which was called in extra session to pass the Suffrage Amendment and to consider the housing question, could not have been brought to Mr. Bliven's point of view.

New Lines of Cleavage

OLD lines of cleavage in the war for freedom are disappearing. What the new ones will be we are able to perceive only dimly as yet. If the past is any guide to the present, there is much significance in the recent budget quarrel in Canada. Great battles for popular rights have generally been waged around the issue of taxation. The history of popular liberty among English speaking peoples is almost the history of the taxing power.

For the first time in many years all signs point to a clear division upon similar lines in the entire English speaking world. The taxation of land values has been a prominent question in British politics for nearly a generation, although in the United States it has been mainly an academic reform. How rapidly it is getting out of the academic stage is shown by the many farmers' organizations that have already declared for it. The North Dakota Legislature has already established a preferential rate that virtually exempts many improvements. The American Federation of Labor, representing more than three million organized workers, has given it a prominent place in its reconstruction program. Students of housing, of city planning, and of every phase of community development who see its necessity are no longer the exception but the rule. Even in the United States the taxation of site values has ceased to be academic.

With such a world situation in view, Mr. Crerar's resignation in Canada is doubly significant. His resignation because he was out of agreement with the Coalition Government's policy of raising revenue through protective tariffs was no snap disagreement, for Mr. Crerar was a leader in promoting the Coalition. He is not the man to dissolve a likely combination upon merely academic or Utopian grounds. He, more than any other man in the Dominion, speaks for the farmers of the great Canadian West. His arguments will appeal not only to the agricultural interests, but to all who are interested in the development of the natural resources of the Dominion. For even in the maritime provinces there is a consciousness that the poorest way to develop resources is to tax the machinery for such development. The new liabilities growing out of the war have more than doubled the budget in Canada. We must anticipate a similar increase in this country, and a source of revenue so easily tapped, and one the use of which will free rather than enslave industry, cannot be much longer ignored.

Chicago Schools

THE Chicago school situation has undergone another unexpected transformation. The public schools have always been in politics in Chicago and will always be in politics while special privilege remains in that city. Education is one of the principal things for which money is spent. And until municipalities learn to raise their revenues from community created values rather than through the taxation of private property, there will always be a large party interested in keeping expenditures, however necessary, down to a minimum. Chicago, for many years, has had a spectacular fight over the public schools between the Teachers' Federation and a few great corporations who have the dual interest of economy and a desire to possess the very important power that comes from control of education. This quarrel has been complicated from time to time by the injection of various racial, religious, and political issues, but the fundamental line-up has remained the same.

When the present mayor of Chicago went into office his influence was immediately thrown toward big business. The mayor himself, however, proving an unwelcome asset, his school board chairman and appointee broke with him, with the result that, at the proper time, the

mayor nominated a group of trustees pledged to make a clean sweep of the forces of Mr. Loeb, his erstwhile friend. These nominations, a hostile council refused to confirm, and the struggle settled down to a deadlock. Suddenly, out of a clear sky, the mayor again brought up his nominations and his bitterest enemies united in confirming them.

The motive is a mystery to many Chicagoans. The press dispatches of the last month or so, however, indicate that there is traction politics involved. The traction bills that were recently before the Illinois Legislature were introduced by two legislators who are also Mayor Thompson's appointees in the city administration. Street car support seems to have been traded for school board support. How far the bargain goes is not apparent. It may have ended with the Legislature. In any event, Chicago will do well to watch her mayor.

A Fourth Road to Freedom

IN a sense it may be said that when men chase change of any kind they are seeking freedom, since to change they must destroy certain binding, limiting restrictions. Even the warring Germans were seeking freedom, because they wanted a broader way of life under the Kaiser's expanding imperialism. In Bertrand Russell's study of socialism, anarchism, and syndicalism, he styles these phases of agitation toward reform "Proposed Roads to Freedom." But these three great movements cover much besides aims at freedom; for freedom is only one of the main things for which men are aspiring and agitating. Freedom, opportunity, cooperation are the three heads under which can be well classified all our reform desires and activities. They connote exactly the three movements Mr. Russell analyzes. The anarchist has in mind freedom as the *summum bonum*—freedom of movement and expression in every department of life. Whether the brand is philosophical or bomb-throwing, to live in obedience to self-derived sanctions is the be-all of human life. The syndicalist, on the other hand, aims at the acquisition of opportunity. Whether it is the professed Syndicalists in France, the I. W. W. in America, the rank and file of the Bolshevists in Russia, the whole contention is that the opportunities are, or have been, in the hands of the few. Reformers of this kind are in favor of some sort of effective action that would take over needed opportunities. They are quite willing to produce, but they themselves want the fruits of production. And, finally, socialism is specifically a movement toward coöperation. Socialism *per se* implies no sort of alliance with violence. Anarchism may or may not be violent; syndicalism confessedly believes in the right to take the things of opportunity. But socialism could fulfill all its legitimate or socialistic aims not only without violence, but without any temptation to violence. Every constructive achievement dreamed of by the most fanciful of radicals lies within reach of an intelligent public using democratic methods.

This we conceive to be the first element in the successful pursuit of social freedom—the hopeful effort toward the persistent betterment of men and their conditions. Optimism and pessimism are alike unwarranted in a rational survey of society and its motions. Progress has come through a wholesome meliorism, the determination that, while things cannot be made perfect, they can and shall be improved. This is the breath of life of democracy. Radicals have been fond of living and writing in foreign lands, railing against the institutions of their native country, and dreaming impossible dreams of future perfection known only to theory.

But in real life, for states as for individuals, the problems all deal with human entities and their conditions and activities. Any reform that does not grow out of these domestic situations, and aim to construct on static needs, is in theory but a foreign dream, and in practice will prove an alien tyranny. Hence, a reformer's work has value only when it fits in with the coöperative efforts of his own people and becomes a matter of growth, linking the remnant of good of the past with a budding good of the future.

This is the way freedom exhibits itself when it comes to the birth—it is a democratic effort at coöperative efficiency with the common good as an end. But the soul of freedom is a different thing. Bertrand Russell speaks of anarchism, syndicalism, socialism as the roads modern men and women have traveled toward freedom. But the most palpable of all facts to

the spiritually discerning is that no kind of outward social or political achievement brings human freedom. Men might achieve all real or imaginary reforms, such as proportional representation, a just distribution of the fruits of the earth, insurance of all classes against poverty and the consequences of sickness, accident, and incompetence, and still not have freedom. Real freedom comes from an inward culture in right attitudes toward the fellow man and the world. We have little enough sympathy with the ideas in Cowper's mind when he coined the phrase, but it expresses fitly a paramount principle:

> He is a freeman whom the truth makes free,
> And all are slaves beside.

And it is because democracy provides the atmosphere in which a man can speculate and experiment on what is truth for himself that it is approving itself as the great political law of world order and universal government. It often seems that ultra-radicalism is the worst possible enemy of human freedom, and what justifies the suspicion is the materialism alike of its critical standards and objective aims. In every sort of freedom that comes merely by the throwing off of old superstitions of Church or State or Science, a new order of superstition arises in just the degree that men lack a rational perception of the truths of the spirit of which the abandoned superstitions were the shadows.

Socialism Recognizing Its Mistakes

By Victor S. Yarros

THERE are new and healthy tendencies in Socialism which radicals of the individualist or libertarian type should be the first to identify and welcome. No doubt some of the narrow-minded Socialists will seek to belittle the tendencies in question and to deny that a change has come over the spirit of the speculations and plans of their school, but the scientific and unprejudiced student of social reform is not likely to be impressed by such denials. What is taking place in the Socialist camp is of the utmost significance.

There was a time when socialism was frankly, if not cynically, bureaucratic. It sneered at personal liberty. It saw nothing in individualism save the mask of a discredited group of special pleaders who defended the iniquitous privileges and flagrant abuses of the present social order. If you were not a Socialist, if you expressed fear of the all-powerful State and the ubiquitous official regulator and inspector, you were a plutocrat. Socialism was the euphemism for State ownership and operation of all industry, State control of the means of production, and State control of all the channels of communication and publicity. The individual had no rights which the majority was bound to respect. Of course, the Socialists always assured us, in general terms, that the individual would be infinitely freer under their *régime* than he was or ever could be under capitalism and free competition; but specifications and proofs were never furnished. There was scorn for the "pseudo-radical" who demanded guaranties for the individual—for the spirit, the personality, the dignity, and the independence of the human unit.

This attitude on the part of the so-called Scientific Socialists, the Marxians and semi-Marxians, could not fail to arouse formidable opposition even in circles that, on the whole, were disposed to accept the cardinal doctrines and main proposals of socialism. Fabian Socialism in England, the revisionist movement in Germany, Syndicalism in France and Italy, Guild Socialism, Communistic Anarchism, Individualist Anarchism have all grown up largely as a result of deep dissatisfaction with orthodox socialism and the artificiality, rigidity, and tyranny it appeared to involve. The destructive criticism of orthodox socialism from so many quarters—all radical—slowly and almost imperceptibly caused little groups of the faithful here and there to modify their creed and shift their ground. A veritable landmark was the late Edmond Kelly's "Twentieth Century Socialism" (1910), in which State Socialism was repudiated and the reader assured that the socialization of industry would "practically consist of a transfer of the same

from the hands of the capitalist to the hands of those actually engaged therein"; that fair compensation would be paid to the capitalists; that only the idle, parasitic stockholder would be eliminated, and that gently; and, finally, that in each industry a certain amount of private enterprise and competition might or would be preserved in order to keep the socialized factories or mills or refineries on their good behavior. Mr. Kelly pictured a coöperative commonwealth in which the State had little more power than that enjoyed by the British Government today, under a so-called individualist system. And he added that the kind of socialism he contemplated "need not be introduced by any sudden transfer of political power whatever."

In these remarkable views Mr. Kelly was supported by other American and "naturalized" Socialists who, under Anglo-Saxon influences and by reason of economic changes that had exposed some of the fallacies of dogmatic Marxism, emphasized their disbelief in violence, on the one hand, and in State despotism or bureaucratic stagnation and uniformity, on the other.

However, these utterances, though significant, produced little impression on the opponents of socialism. Syndicalism continued to flourish. Guild Socialism gained new converts and individualist radicals remained hostile to the whole Socialist movement.

The great war came. State socialism, under the spur of military necessity, advanced by leaps and bounds. Industries were taken over, or regulated, and managed by bureaucrats. Neither the employers nor the employes relished the methods of the bureaucrats. The armistice brought with it loud demands for the "freeing of industry." The movement for nationalization and municipalization of these or those utilities or industries suffered a severe setback. Reactionaries with limited capacity for thought are jubilant. But the Socialists, too, have abundant food for reflection. There is evidence that they are not neglecting their duty or opportunity—that they are searching their intellectual consciences and recognizing the necessity of purging their movement even more rigorously than before the war of the offensive elements of coercion, Statism, bureaucracy.

Emile Vandervelde, the eminent Belgian Socialist leader, has just published a little book entitled "Socialism versus the State." The author's intention is to remind us of the Spencerian attacks on the State, Socialist or other, in the name of the individual, and on absolute majority rule in the name of minority and personal rights. The thesis of the little volume is that socialism is diametrically opposed to Statism; that modern Socialists do not worship the State and do not contemplate the undue, unnecessary subjection of the minority to the majority, or the individual to the whole, and that, far from seeking to place an omnipotent bureaucracy in control of industry, socialism spells the overthrow of the existing bureaucracy and proposes "the organization of social labor by the workers grouped in public associations."

Vandervelde quotes with entire approval the following plank from the platform of the French Parti Ouvrier: "Operation of State factories to be intrusted to the laborers who work in them."

It is not necessary to stop to analyze these affirmations, contentions, and disclaimers. The purpose of this article is merely to direct attention to certain symptomatic and gratifying tendencies in modern socialism. They are tendencies, to repeat, that cannot fail to interest progressives and radicals of every school. They are tendencies that should be encouraged and welcomed, for at the end of the road there may be the promise of a reconciliation between evolutionary, rational socialism and consistent, sincere, philosophical individualism.

The great mistake of the orthodox Socialists consisted in exaggerating the importance of mere machinery, institutionalism, artificial arrangements and contrivances. They constantly attacked the wrong side. They blamed freedom for the fruits of privilege, competition for the results of monopoly. They stressed coöperation, and voluntary coöperation is an excellent thing that can hardly be carried too far in production, distribution, exchange of services. To get rid of the State, in the proper sense of the phrase, is to get rid of the artificial and unjust inequalities and privileges supported by the State. Abolish these, recover or open up opportunities, prevent exploitation and economic slavery, and little will be left in the State to condemn.

Coöperation on a wide scale will be practiced without legal compulsion—from self-interest and natural human sociability.

Is it too much to ask the broader and more liberal Socialists to put aside for a time their vague plans for the future coöperative commonwealth and aid the non-Socialist and the individualist radicals in the active campaign against privilege, land and trade monopolies, and other violations of the basic democratic principle of equality of opportunity and of liberty?

A. B. duPont—An Appreciation

By Elizabeth J. Hauser

Author of "Tom L. Johnson"

WHEN A. B. duPont passed from this life at his home in Cleveland, Ohio, in April, a free man left the earth. He cared the least for non-essentials of any person I have ever known. He loved music and the great outdoors. Carpets and lace curtains and elaborate house furnishings were rubbish to him. He drove a Ford car from choice and it never would have occurred to him to explain it or to apologize for it.

He was not impatient of the ordinary conventions and restraints,—he was unconscious of them, and his family did not impose them upon him. They understood.

He was peculiarly tender of old people and children. Tenderness, sweetness, and courage were the distinguishing qualities of his character. His courage every one recognized. His sweetness was known to those who *knew him*—those who gave only normal importance to his rough and ready repartee, his brilliant invective, his genius for controversy. They knew he was incapable of mean thoughts, that he never bore a grudge.

There will be plenty of historians for the duPont family. It is a deservedly illustrious family, founded in this country at Wilmington, Delaware, in the year 1800. On January 1 of that year Pierre Samuel duPont, then eighty years of age, with his wife, his two sons and their families, landed in America. The journey took so much longer than they had anticipated that their food supply was exhausted long before it ended. They were forced to eat the rats on the ship and they boiled the staves from the barrels which had held sugar to extract what sustenance they might contain. Pierre Samuel had been a councilor in the Court of Louis XVI., a member of the National Assembly, "proprietaire et cultivateur," and he was slated for the guillotine. It was to avoid keeping this appointment that he left the Bastille surreptitiously, clad as a peasant woman (his own clever wife, or perhaps it was a daughter-in-law, having smuggled the disguise in to him), and somewhat later departed for America.

In 1802 the duPont de Nemours Powder Company was established on the Brandywine and speedily became an institution of note. It was able, during the Civil War, to obtain credit abroad for the benefit of the United States which this Government itself could not command. In the fields of politics, science, and industry, especially in industry, have the duPonts distinguished themselves. No fear that such a family will lack historians, but the historian who records their exploits in these lines and forgets the democrats the family has produced will be a failure.

Pierre Samuel was one of these democrats. It was he who was in Henry George's mind, when, upon having A. B. duPont presented to him by Tom L. Johnson, he said: "I shall refuse to instruct this young man in the Single-tax. His ancestor had the philosophy before I was born." And Antoine Bidermann (Ermann) was another. And he was a democrat, not because he lacked the family aptitude for invention and its bold initiative in industry, but because he had them *plus*.

A volume might well be devoted to his inventions. He made the first car truck capable of carrying long street railway cars. The system of distributing heat and ventilation by means of an electric fan in the top of the stove, in use in street cars all over this country, was his invention though he was not its patentee. With characteristic generosity he gave the idea to the stove manufacturer who applied it and patented it. The Louisville, Kentucky, street

railway was among the first to be electrified and this was done by duPont, then in his twenties. Some years later, when Tom L. Johnson and his associates acquired control of the street railways of Detroit and expended six million dollars in cash in making the system the very best in the country, Mr. duPont was the engineer and, Mr. Johnson says, largely responsible for the excellence of the job. More than once I have heard Mr. Johnson say that Ermann duPont was the best engineer in the United States.

Whether he gave Mr. Ford the idea for the farm tractor I do not know. I do know that he explained to his sister, Zara, some years ago, just how the tractor could be made and used, and when she said: "That's a fine idea. Why don't you develop it?" he replied, "Oh, that's a job for an automobile man, and I'm not an automobile man. Henry Ford ought to do it."

Some day the duPont subway car will be in use in Cleveland and elsewhere. It would be now except for the difficulty its promoters have had in financing it because of the war. It is a better car than any subway car in use for several reasons. First, it is not as high as other cars and will save a tremendous cost in excavating. Then it can be loaded and unloaded quickly and requires only one man to operate it. The doors at the side of the car, one door for each seat, are all opened and closed by a device at the front of the car. A model was constructed for demonstration purposes on a half mile of track near Luna Park, Cleveland, several years ago, and a visit to "duPont's subway" was one of the regular features of entertainment to all friends who stopped off in Cleveland to see Mr. Johnson in the last year of his life.

Mr. duPont just naturally made improvements on everything mechanical in which he became interested. However, once the thing was perfected it retained little interest for him. By that time his active mind was reaching out for something else. A combination poet and engineer might do justice to his achievements in these fields. Certainly no ordinary person can. No estimate of his character would be complete without much emphasis upon his ability as an engineer, but his *plus* traits are the ones that mean the most to me.

Whether Mr. duPont was already a Singletaxer when he made Mr. George's acquaintance I do not know. A speedy personal sympathy must have been established between them, because Mr. George made the duPont home in Detroit his headquarters when he visited that city. I have heard Mrs. duPont tell how her children would play with Mr. George, pinning flowers on his coat, sticking them through his hat band and buttonholes, and how presently, forgetting all about them, he would ride away on his bicycle, deep in thought, utterly unconscious of his fantastic appearance. It is precisely such an incident as this which might be related of Mr. duPont himself as "a true story." There is a tradition to the effect that one of his intimates in Detroit once won a considerable wager on the proposition that he could give a dinner in duPont's honor and serve him mashed potatoes, and mashed potatoes only, for every course, and that at the end of the meal he would not know what he had had to eat, providing the conversation interested him.

When his mind got to working on one of his original ideas he excluded everything else from his thoughts, and everybody who came his way had to hear about it. It mattered not at all whether they had the brains to comprehend what he was talking about. Three or four women, frequent visitors in the duPont household, have confided to me on several occasions and I to them that we didn't in the least understand "what Ermann was driving at." This always made me a bit uncomfortable as if we were guilty of some kind of disloyalty to him until the quickest-witted, keenest man I know (after Tom L. Johnson and duPont himself) confided exactly the same thing to me one day. After that I felt comforted.

Mr. duPont was known throughout the United States and I suppose in Canada as one of the ablest exponents of the Singletax doctrine. Certainly as he apprehended it, the philosophy ramified in more diverse directions and to more remote conclusions than the average so-called Singletaxer could dream of. He would be internationally known as an unusually generous contributor, and a solicitor of contributions, had he not been so peculiarly one of those persons who let not their left hand know what their right doeth. His natural tendency to modesty was augmented, after his residence in

Cleveland, by his fear that his known connection with a movement might injure it, and so when he gave to various enterprises it was usually with a warning to the recipient not to say anything about it. Next to Mr. Johnson himself, duPont was the most misunderstood man connected with the nine years' war against privilege in Cleveland. Many people who misunderstood Tom Johnson liked him. His personality won its way even with his enemies. But Mr. duPont was a new comer. He came to Cleveland expressly "to help Tom's fight." He was not only willing, but eager, to assume the responsibility for all unpopular acts which seemed necessary in the course of the struggle. He did not mind being the goat, and he loved a fight. There can be no doubt about that.

People did not understand him. That a duPont should make war upon the established order of his own class was reason enough why the unenlightened rich should hate him. Not in his coal mining or street railway operations in Kentucky, in St. Louis, or Detroit had he had any labor troubles. His men (he would object to the expression) knew him. When he left Detroit the conductors and motormen gave him a farewell banquet at two o'clock in the morning. The working men in Cleveland never knew him. If they had, his life there would have been a different story. But why go over it? He harbored no resentments. He knew they didn't know.

In politics he was independent, though nominally affiliated with the Democratic Party. As a party man he was useless. He was not regular. Not a Socialist, he still held society rather than the individual responsible for misdemeanors and crime. One of the Cuyahoga County prosecutors told me that he once had duPont on the jury and "that he was not a good juryman." "He dominated the jury and we got very few convictions the two weeks he was on." And yet he did hold the individual accountable too. "A man can't help the looks he's born with," said he to me once, "but after he has lived with his face for forty years he is responsible for it. By that time he has made it and it shows what he is."

Whether he desired an economic revolution in America I do not know, but he expected it and he expected it the sooner because of the war. Suppression of free speech and a free press, conscription of life and service without corresponding conscription of property, profits from war,—these things he regarded with horror. That a government should decree some of them and tolerate others meant revolution inevitably to a man of his disposition. He never understood that other men, especially working men, were not as free in spirit as he, not as quick in thought, not as decisive in action. He was always expecting them to do radical things ahead of their own development.

He often said that in a democracy there could be no freedom in time of war, that the President of the United States must of necessity become an autocrat, more powerful than an absolute monarch in any other country, and once that since we must have a king he was glad the king was Woodrow Wilson. It is quite needless to add that he permitted no strong arm methods in his manufacturing plant to boost Liberty Loan subscriptions.

One year when the Joseph Fels Fund (of which he was then treasurer) was holding its annual conference—I have forgotten where—and the hotel refused to serve the Negro delegates at the banquet, he was one of the first to insist that the conference leave the hotel and go to a restaurant where *all* could be served. Southern born and bred, he had been waited upon by Negro servants most of his life, yet anybody who knew him would have known that he would be the very first to resent this dictum of the hotel management. When I tried to commend him for it the first time I saw him afterward, he came back with one of his lightning-like shafts: "But I did that on my own account. I won't let any hotel clerk tell me with whom I may or may not eat. My freedom was involved as much as that of the colored fellows." (If more men could see that.)

In the beginning I said he was a free man. I think he must have been born free.

He was not quite fifty-four years old when he died. His family life was extraordinarily congenial; he took the keenest delight in his relations with his friends. His interests seemed as wide as the universe. He was so much alive, so full of the joy of living in body and mind, and the end came so quickly, less than a week's illness,—that it seems impossible, quite, that he is not still alive and busy somewhere.

Reading and Revolution

By Owen Merryhue

A NEW YORK CITY official has uttered the dictum: "Libraries are good things, but people go there now and sit all day reading and then come out and try to upset our government." At first hearing, this sounds as though he were jealous of Ole Hanson, who has so completely cowed the stuffed lion that threatened to swallow his fellow townsmen that he can devote all his time to going up and down the land strafing Bolshevists. A little more reflection shows that President Dowling belongs to "the governing class." His distrust of libraries and their readers qualifies him for a high place among the leaders of the nation. Rulers in all ages have distrusted men who think too much. Inscribed on the ceiling of the Chicago Public Library is a sentence in archaic Greek, "The things which the friends of the King do not wish to have spoken are written in books." It is to be feared that the trouble is of long standing.

Shaw tells a story of a worthy Bulgarian alderman who made a somewhat similar protest on a different matter. A committee of Bulgarian educators had been sent on a trip through Europe, seeking new wrinkles in school construction. Among other innovations, they advised the installation of baths as conducive to the health and well-being of the children. Whereupon the indignant alderman rose in wrath and protested on behalf of the local real estate owners. "Look at me," said he, "I am nearly eighty years of age, and I never had a bath in my life." This story excited indignation when originally told, but was verified. It is safe to tell it again now, because Bulgaria was not an ally.

The New York official might say with equal frankness: "Look at me! I never read a book in a library in my life—and few anywhere—and yet I am a potent factor in the management of the greatest city in the world. Nature blessed me with an eye for the main chance and a determined will. What else matters?" Of course, it might be pointed out that the Father of Libraries is far from being an anarchist, and that if reading makes men enemies of society there may be something the matter with society, or with the peculiar institution of society known as government. This is doubtless a difficult conception to introduce into the mind of an office holder. By its selection of him has not society shown in the most efficient manner its capacity for self-government?

But now that this library peril has been pointed out, it may be anticipated that the National Security League will propose a law providing for the segregation of all books of a radical character. Of what use is it to suppress free speech when the same diabolical ideas may be imbibed under a reading lamp and out of books actually furnished by benevolent but short-sighted millionaires who seem not to have heard the warning, "After us the deluge"? Could not a statement be required from each reader, before he was permitted to read in a public library, that he was a conservative by instinct and tradition, that he was not in search of any new political or economic ideas, and that if he found any such concealed about the library he would report same to the nearest police station, where we may be confident that ideas of any sort will be sternly dealt with?

Some years ago a promoter amused the public with an exhibition of the wonderful possibilities of liquid air. Eggs immersed in it became hard as stones and bounded from the floor like balls. Meat plunged in it became hard enough to turn the edge of an axe. It was all very interesting and harmless, but liquid air had one element of unavailability—it could not be confined. Free, it was docile—confined it became a high explosive. Knowledge and liquid air have much in common. Each is a condensation of an ordinary factor of human existence. Government may be modified to conform with knowledge, but any attempt to reverse the process provokes catastrophe.

CURRENT THOUGHT

In the Train

WE sit here in the train and watch
The far-off, setting sun;
The red, the purple and the gold
Are blending into one.

The rhythmic tracks are spinning out
Like some fantastic chart,
While we are speeding on and on
Into the sunset's heart!

—*Samuel Heller, in the Stratford Journal.*

What, Even Then?

"LET a convention be called tomorrow; let them meet twenty times, nay, twenty thousand times; they will have the same difficulties to encounter, the same clashing interests to reconcile."—*Alexander Hamilton, in the New York State Convention called to ratify the Federal Constitution.*

The United States and the World

THE United States cannot stay aloof from world necessities. We are part of the world system, which has meanwhile become fluid, each part accessible to every other. In every possible relation the capitals of Europe are nearer to Washington today than the capitals of the thirteen colonies were in the slow-moving days of American Independence.—*David Starr Jordan.*

Nationalization of Women

"ONE or two small Soviets proclaimed some such foolishness; but nobody would obey. It was never proposed for all Russia, and it was never carried out anywhere. . . . Women have more freedom in Russia than they ever had before.—CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY." (Not published in "Struggling Russia," or the N. Y. *Times, Sun* or *Tribune,* so far as we know).—*The Arbitrator.*

Had a Mind to Change

"I CONFESS that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise."—*Benjamin Franklin, at the Constitutional Convention, 1787.*

Protecting Coal

"PROTECTION" for coal might prove more of a boomerang than a blessing for the coal man. An American tariff wall would be likely to cheapen oil in countries now dependent upon coal and in which there are possibilities today of developing an export coal trade. The tariff is supposed to be for the nourishing of infant industries. The coal trade is rather too large to be put in that class. Coal men are likely to find more relief through an intelligent attempt to lower their production costs than through appeal to Washington for aid.—*Richard Spillane, in Commerce and Finance.*

Now Is the Day of Salvation

IF we do not try to make an end of war, war will make an end of us. In every free country the best minds must now address themselves to the means of deterring aggressive Governments from war and enthroning Public Right as the supreme Power in international affairs. With good will, with an unselfish devotion to the highest and most permanent interests of humanity, nothing is impossible. If we let slip this opportunity for the provisions of machinery by which the risk of future wars may be averted or reduced, another such opportunity may never present itself. If things are not made better after this war the prospect will be darker than ever. Darker because the condition of the world will have grown so much that the recurrence of like calamities will have been recognized as a thing to be expected and the causes of those calamities as beyond all human cure. Rather, let us strive that all the suffering this war has brought, and all the sacrifices of heroic lives it has witnessed, shall not have been in vain.—*James Bryce, "Essays and Addresses in Wartime."*

Free Speech

I have always been among those who believe that the greatest freedom of speech was the greatest safety, because, if a man is a fool, the best thing to do is to encourage him to advertise the fact by speaking. It cannot be so easily discovered if you allow him to remain silent and look wise, but if you let him speak, the secret is out and the world knows that he is a fool. So it is by the exposure of folly that it is defeated, not by the seclusion of folly, and in this free air of free speech men get into that sort of communication with one another which constitutes the basis of all common achievement. — *President Wilson, in a Speech before the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.*

For Example

Colonel House foreshadowed the destruction of constitutional government in the United States in his work of fiction published in 1912. This novel exhibits his disregard of law and his belief in revolution. George D. Herron, lately the President's envoy to the Bolshevist government in Russia, says of the President in 1917: 'He is a revolutionary beyond anything his words reveal.' Five members of the President's cabinet are tainted with Socialism. A vast swarm of his appointees are known to be open and avowed Socialists. The administration of Woodrow Wilson even under constitutional forms of government is a hybrid between a French revolution and an oriental despotism. History would forget the reign of Caligula in the excesses and follies of the American government operated under the league of nations interpreted by President Wilson and Colonel House. — *Senator Sherman, in a Speech in the United States Senate.*

BOOKS

National Freedom in World Order

The Society of Free States. By Dwight W. Morrow. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1919.

THIS book brings home the regretful conviction that the best newspaper is an insufficient medium for thoughtful and extensive treatment of even current themes of transcendent import. Many readers of the New York *Evening Post* last February and March must have been impressed with one or other of Mr. Morrow's contributions on the League of Nations and made a resolve to cut them all out and save them for future study—and then failed to do it. The Harpers have done

a real service in sending out this compact reprint of the whole series, which makes a very acceptable and effective "tract for the times."

Mr. Morrow's treatment of the theme is readable, sane, and suggestive. He has an adequate sense of the multiform forces that make for war or peace, a just comprehension of the fact that nations must have universal peace for an ideal, a realization that what each age does is but a step toward a cosmic goal, and a practical appreciation of both the acute and the chronic difficulties in the way of every statesman who would work for a genuine advance toward the organization of peace.

The first quarter of his book contains an admirable survey of the world's previous attempts to establish a secure peace, in which he makes abundant use of Professor Phillips's "Confederation of Europe." He also gives just praise to the known and unknown statesmen and jurists and diplomats who toiled through three centuries to build up an international conscience and public opinion in favor of law between nations, maintaining that these sanctions are very real in the absence of international courts. But perhaps his best contribution to our understanding of the need of the League of Nations is found in his treatment of the international agencies that have been forced on the world by the modern growth of science and commerce. He illustrates his argument not only by numerous interrelationships of religion, commerce, law, medicine, and education, but by real governmental alliances like commissions on international rivers, the international post, the international customs and bounties, and maritime regulations. In all these respects we have actual institutions foreshadowing the conduct of international affairs on a broad and intimate basis under a coming League of Nations. Still more dramatic, perhaps, are all those commissions and experiments in coöperation forced on America and the Allies by the war. Combinations that were serviceable in war can at least suggest coöperations that may be of paramount service in peace. In all these collusions for use no nation sacrificed its rights or even its control over its own contributions to war service.

We commend Mr. Morrow's judicious treatment of the difficulties in the way of any superficial organization of peace, which arise from the growing sense of nationality in every quarter. The problem is how to preserve the national freedom and secure the international order. His discussion ends with the inclusion of the constitution of the Covenant submitted to the Peace Conference on February 14th, and with a balanced weighing of the criticisms directed at that document. Mr. Morrow believes that the courteous and intelligent discussion of the Covenant can lead only to good. He would like naturally to see his own amendments incorporated; but he loyally indorses the Covenant and the League as marking a great forward stride in mankind's long journey toward peace and order.

Roads and Bonds

Proposed Roads to Freedom. By Bertrand Russell. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1919.

WHY is it that when Bertrand Russell speaks all the world listens? Is it not mainly because he presents the unusual spectacle of a man who has burst the fetters of environment, broken the prison bars of class feeling and opinion, and achieved his intellectual and spiritual freedom? The average man only too well knows himself to be but "a linnet born within the cage, a captive void of noble rage," a creature of circumstances, a victim of limitations, a prisoner of the abject sort in whom the energy necessary for escape has evaporated and the desire for liberty almost vanished? But fortunately, though the heroic qualities do not long survive such a capitulation to conditions, the capacity to admire heroism in others persistently remains. Mr. Russell bears nature's hall-mark as a philosopher, a thinker, a speculator. He might conceivably have captured what men call "happiness" in the contemplation of the Eternal Verities. He might have attained to the vision of the mystic or the ecstasy of the seer, and enjoyed to the full the prison life of separateness. He could, without incurring the reproach of his compeers, have remained in the safe shelter of privilege and wealth in which "it had pleased Providence to place him." But he chose to break through to the larger life of human fellowship and to identify himself with the surging masses of mankind in their struggle for political, economic, and spiritual liberty, and for that all men honor him.

The "Proposed Roads to Freedom" should be of much value to students in sociology as an analysis and critique of the underlying principles respectively of socialism, anarchism, and syndicalism. The opening chapter contains an exposition of the teaching of Karl Marx and the body of doctrine built upon it by his followers. Mr. Russell pays tribute to the sincerity of Marx and to the value of "Das Kapital" as a disturber of ignoble slumbers and a stimulant to altruistic thought, while uncovering the weakness of his "materialistic interpretation of history" and the subsequent falsification of the prophecies based upon it. There follows on this a much needed explication and interpretation of what is vaguely known as anarchism, with interesting references to the life of its Russian founder, Bakunin, and his disciple, Kropotkin. As to syndicalism, the still greater need for information as to what the word really means, is fully met in the third chapter. We gather that, while Mr. Russell conceives of anarchism, or the ultimate negation of government, as the ideal to be aimed at in a perfected society, he rejects it entirely as a present possibility. Out of the two remaining political theories, though they are diametrically opposed, he favors a kind of coalition or compromise. The principle of syndicalism, or direct control of industry, is to be reduced to a sys-

tem of industrial guilds regulating the interests of producers in their respective trades, while government, instead of being the universal employer as the Marxian socialist desires, will represent the interests of consumers.

A fine spirit of optimism pervades the book throughout. In the chapters on "Science and Art" and "The World As It Could Be Made," the illimitable possibilities contingent upon society's learning how to govern itself intelligently are set forth luminously. The "human nature" which pessimists regard as the chief obstacle to reform is conceived of as being much more plastic than is commonly supposed, and as much more likely under conditions of freedom to throw off than to retain the evil habits it has acquired under the pressure of injustice. And what captivates the imagination of the faithful is that the author keeps one end in view—the liberation of the human spirit. Mere economic liberty, in his opinion, would be dearly purchased at the cost of struggle and bloodshed, if it were to end in graceful or graceless sloth. But it means for him liberty for self-expression, freedom to follow the gleam of the ideal, a chance to bring out of us all that is in us, and perhaps something more that may come to us from the hidden source of all inspiration.

But in dealing with a man or a book one is justified in giving one's self over in complete abandonment of appreciation, only if this can be done without prejudice to that awakening of the critical faculties which comes when the impulse to weigh, measure, and assess values asserts itself. Where have the "proposed roads" led us to? Have they brought us within sight of anything that is conceivable as a *continuum* of, or an evolution from, the present structure of society? Or do they appear to swing in a vacuum as so many social reform proposals have done, with no apparent point of contact with the world we know of? These are questions that will worry many readers and not without the sympathy of the present reviewer. It may be even questioned whether the use of the word "roads" is not misleading, as though freedom were a place to go to rather than a condition to be striven for. The difference between a state of bondage and one of freedom is—bonds. To break these bonds is obviously the means by which freedom may be achieved. The bonds of chattel slavery have been broken and no man can now call another his property. But a more insidious form of slavery remains. A new abolition movement is called for. The means by which men live, the natural bounty of the earth, remain under the clutch of privilege and the effect is the same as though men's lives were not their own. A method of breaking these bonds stares us in the face in the sovereign power of taxation. Hitherto the privileged owners of the earth's surface have charged the community a rental for the opportunity to work and live, or have kept such opportunities closed at will. What is to prevent a reversal of this relationship? Why should not the community in its assertion of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness charge all owners of land and natural resources a rent determined by market value for the privilege of fencing in a portion of God's earth? It is along this line we conceive the real "road" to freedom will be found, and it is disappointing that Mr. Russell gives no indication of having even contemplated it.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

A Soldier on the Non-Fighter

The Conscientious Objector. By Major Walter Guest Kellogg, J. A. With an Introduction by Hon. Newton D. Baker. New York: Boni & Liveright. 1919.

READING this book, one comes to the conclusion that the author's distinguishing characteristics are fairness, culture, and good sense; and of them all fairness seems to predominate. Real patriotism and a true comprehension of the philosophy of democracy might also be added. Commencing with a prejudice against the conscientious objector, he came to the conclusion that they were as a rule sincere, their sincerity, however, making them no less a national problem. With the court-martialing of objectors, the Major had nothing to do. His experience began and ended with their examination.

The result of his experience is a belief that to avoid much unnecessary trouble in the event of another war, a statute should be enacted which should solve all doubts as to the status of the objector. He suggests that it should be understood that the objectors who are unwilling to take either noncombatant service on farm or industrial furloughs should be deported from the United States. But if deportation is not possible because of the refusal of other countries to receive them then they should be disfranchised.

The force and dignity of the soldier author's work contrasts oddly with the vapid, hysterical mouthings of many who obtruded themselves on the public, calling for the prompt extermination by fire and sword of all C. O.'s as traitors and cowards.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

NEWS

Education

—The Governor of Texas has signed a bill providing for an appropriation of $4,000,000 for the support and aid of rural schools in the State.

—A bill providing for a minimum salary of $900 for grade and common school teachers of Milwaukee has been passed in the Wisconsin Legislature.

—A schoolroom, 1,400 feet underground in the Morning mine at Mullan, Idaho, in which re-

turned soldiers are being taught the art and practice of mining lead-zinc ore, is one of the latest educational innovations of the University of Idaho.

—Plans to place the schools of the State of Virginia on a full twelve months' working basis were adopted at a recent convention of the superintendents of Virginia, held at Newport News. The year would be divided into four terms of twelve weeks each and every pupil would be required to complete three terms.

—The American Trade Commissioner in London, reports that technical education campaigns have been started particularly in the milling industry, which are being taken advantage of by large numbers of workers on account of the additional leisure gained by the establishment of the shorter working day.

—"Tildsley's Follies of 1919" was the phrase applied by a member of the Teachers' Union at its meeting in New York on the 19th, denouncing the recent examination held in the high schools to determine what the students knew about Bolshevism. By an overwhelming vote the union supported the report of a special committee protesting against the examination.

—The sixteenth annual meeting of the Catholic Educational Association was held at St. Louis on June 23 to June 26. A large number of the bishops of the country sent official delegates, and every important educational interest in the church was represented. Special meetings were held for representatives of the various sisterhoods.

—During its summer session, June 30 to August 23, the College of the City of New York will offer a course of evening instruction in proofreading and preparation of copy to advertising and editorial workers, printers in all branches, proofreaders, salesmen, clerks, office workers, and all other men and women who wish to prepare for higher grades of work.

—Opportunity School, one of the public schools of Denver, Colorado, is all that its name implies. Unlike other schools, no fixed courses are prescribed, but the school adjusts itself to the needs of those who come to be taught. It is open day and night. There is no age limit, no entrance examinations required, no references needed. The only question the prospective student need answer is, "What can we do for you?"

—The practical value of industrial education in manufacturing plants finds abundant evidence in a bulletin entitled, "How Training Departments Have Bettered Production," which has just been issued by the U. S. Training Service. This publication contains a symposium of experiences in seventeen American factory training departments, together with valuable suggestions as to how to carry on instruction.

—At the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends held in Philadelphia a resolution was adopted stating that it would "view with great regret the introduction of military training into the public schools of the city of Philadelphia or of the State at large. It would be a profound tragedy to implant the spirit of militarism in the youth of the community at a time like the present when the masses of the people throughout the whole world are longing, as perhaps never before, to establish international permanent peace."

—A request that the Chicago City Council include in its 1919 budget an increased appropriation for doctors, nurses and dentists in the public schools, is the answer of the city board of education to a published statement that the council intended to decrease its appropriation for this purpose for the current fiscal year. It is claimed by the board of education that such decrease would destroy the work done by these professional employes. The letter of the board further declares "that necessity demands an increase and not a decrease in this appropriation." The finance committee of the city council had raised the point that the board of education ought to bear the expense of medical inspection.

Public Health

—One of the largest brewing companies in Chicago will begin making candy instead of intoxicating liquor at its plant on July 1.

—A resolution rescinding their action of the 16th, when they voted unanimously in favor of 2.75 per cent. beer as necessary for the treatment of their patients, was adopted on the 18th by the Allied Medical Associations, in convention in New York. The resolution to rescind was introduced by Dr. Dinshan P. Ghadiali, head of the Police Reserve Aviation School in this city. Dr. Ghadiali, who is warmly in favor of Prohibition, was not present at the former session.

Cost of Living

—The American Council at Brest, France, reports that the first municipal restaurant opened by the municipality, to serve a thousand persons daily, has been such an unqualified success that a number of other restaurants are to be opened in other parts of the city.

—On the last day of its annual convention at Philadelphia, the National Women's Trade Union League adopted a resolution urging Congress to enact remedial legislation with regard to the meat packing industry. The control exercised at present by the packers over a large portion of the nation's foodstuffs, the resolution says, constitutes a great danger to the future welfare of the country.

—Parliamentary Secretary McCurdy of the Ministry of Food, speaking a few days ago at a conference of local food committees, said the ques-

tion of retaining, and in some cases reimposing, control upon foodstuffs, in view of a possible rise of prices during the coming Winter, was receiving the Government's close attention. There was no doubt, he said, that in oils and fats the alarming rise which had taken place in prices since the removal of control was largely due to the interference of speculators having no legitimate interest in the trade, who saw in the rising market an opportunity of making "easy profits." This kind of profiteering at the expense of the public, he said, ought to be drastically dealt with.

Public Order

—To the utter astonishment of his friends, Eugene Victor Debs was removed from Moundsville State Prison, where on April 13 he began serving a sentence of 10 years for violating the Espionage law. He is now at the Atlanta Federal Prison.

—Harry A. Anderson a keeper in the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island, was indicted by the grand jury on charges of having attempted to extort money from prisoners in his care by promising them extra marks for good behavior in return.

—Alleging fraudulent schemes, devices and practices and false representations in the interstate sale of talking machines and records known as "Masterphone" machines and records, the Federal Trade Commission has served formal complaint of unfair competition against the Boston Piano and Music Company, Iowa City, Iowa.

—Pitched battles occurred at Waterbury, Conn., on the 19th, lasting for nearly an hour, between the police and the strikers of several brass factories. The city guards, deputy sheriffs, and all police and reserves, reinforced by World War veterans who volunteered, patrolled the streets of the Brooklyn district, where most of the strikers reside.

—"Prison management and superintendents of reformatories are doing things which would not have been possible fifteen or twenty years ago," Colonel C. B. Adams of St. Charles, Illinois, told an audience in Atlantic City. "The old contract system has been done away with in every State but two, and instead, the State account plan has been adopted. In Mississippi more than 20,000 acres and in Louisiana 27,000 acres are being worked on the State account plan.

—The United States Department of Justice made public testimony in Washington on the 18th showing that Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, in asking for a $2,000,000 appropriation to fight Anarchy and Bolshevism, had advised the House Appropriations Committee information had been received that at no distant day there would be a revolutionary attempt to rise up and destroy the Government. The plan, he said, extended to the entire country. Shortly before this statement was made public evidence had been obtained from letters seized at the Russian Soviet Bureau in New York, that at least one regularly organized branch of the Socialist Party and other Socialist organizations were engaged in a movement to set up a Soviet Republic in the United States.

Suffrage

—On July 1st an eight-hour day for women workers will become effective in North Dakota. A Welfare Commission to fix the minimum wages will also become operative on that day.

—According to the press reports, soldiers' widows in Australia are better cared for than almost anywhere else. They receive government grants for furniture, loans for engaging in business, rental allowances and help in handling mortgage obligations, vocational training and support while under training, and allowances for care and education of children.

—That they may live up to their motto, "Every Woman An Intelligent Voter by 1920," the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, according to the *Woman Citizen,* has outlined a complete year's work in citizenship. Booklets with charts and questionnaires are being prepared by Miss Martha Block of Terre Haute, which will be used as text books for this course.

—There are now twenty-eight women on the New York city police force, according to *The Suffragist.* The women do not wear uniforms like the women policemen in London. They will act in the capacity of guardians of juvenile morals at dance halls, picnics, moving picture shows and, as the report says, "in all places where there is danger to the young." The women may use the same equipment as policemen.

—The League of Women Voters is making the cost and quality of the food supply of the country one of the first objectives of their organization. A committee has been appointed to study the food situation, and Mrs. Edward P. Costigan has been made the chairman. The league has already pledged itself to stand back of the Federal Trade Commission in its efforts to secure remedial legislation in the meat packing industry.

—More than 80,000 women office workers have joined trade union organizations during the past year, according to reports received by the National Women's Trade Union League at its Washington office. These are for the most part stenographers, clerks, accountants, etc., in the railroad offices throughout the country, and in various branches of the federal civil service.

Color Line

—Thousands of the colored residents of New York celebrated their emancipation day on the 19th, the anniversary of President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, fifty-six years ago.

—The Spingarn medal presented every year to the American of African descent who has made the highest achievement in any field of elevated human endeavor, has been awarded to Archibald H. Grimke, of Washington, lawyer, author, and ex-United States Consul in Santo Domingo.

—Through a coöperative arrangement of the State Department of Education and the school authorities in Louisville and Jefferson County a summer school for training Negro men and women for work as teachers, playground supervisors and home makers will be held during the period from June 28 to July 25.

—Two colored city councilmen have taken their seats in the Baltimore City Council, and the Negro vote was largely responsible for the election of a Republican mayor. Colored people in the city yielded over sixteen thousand votes, while the mayor-elect won by less than 9,000 majority. Besides a colored member on the Board of Education, the colored people are prepared to request and put through demands for a new high school, swimming pool, better streets and playgrounds in colored sections.

Political

—Notices to the effect that "Bolshevists, Anarchists and Socialists" are not to hold meetings in Kenton County, Kentucky, have been posted throughout the county by members of the Citizens' Patriotic League of Covington.

—At a recent meeting of women suffragists in the District of Columbia, Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, who made a talk, said, among other things, in effect, this: "The blackest spot in the United States today is the Congress of the United States."

—Disclosures before the House Public Land Committee that a small group of Eastern Senators had been backing a sort of propaganda in opposition to the soldiers' land settlement bill, followed by inquiries on the 19th, indicate that the bill is not to have an easy passage through Congress.

—Wisconsin business interests rushed representatives to Madison to help slaughter the Arnold Income Tax Increase bill, passed by the Senate, when it shows up in the Assembly. The bill provides a large sliding scale increase in the rate of taxation for persons and corporations until those whose net incomes are more than $20,000 a year would be taxed to the extent of 25 per cent. on amounts in excess of that sum.

—Right of Ohio voters to approve or disapprope the action of the State Legislature in ratifying Federal constitutional amendments was upheld on the 19th by Judge E. B. Dillon, of the Franklin County Common Pleas Court of that State. The decision, unless reversed by higher courts, will permit a referendum to be held on both the Federal prohibition and woman suffrage amendments which the Legislature has ratified.

Land Reform

—The Oregon Singletax League is circulating an initiative petition for a Singletax constitutional amendment. The Secretary of the League is Mrs. Christina H. Mock, 151 Seventeenth Street, Portland, Ore.

—The Washington State Grange has adopted a resolution calling upon Congress to enact legislation taxing land values as well as incomes, inheritances, and excess profits. Labor organizations are called upon to coöperate.

—Increased food production in the federated Malay States is being effected by the Government setting aside lands suitable for the raising of rice and other foodstuffs, and compelling the owner to cultivate the portion set aside at least once each year. If the owner refuses, the Government may authorize some other person to do so on such terms as may be agreed upon.

—One of the burning questions in Bohemia is that of the settlement of the land problem. The greater part of the land is in the hands of large land owners. One of the earliest acts of the new Government of Bohemia was the appointment of a special commission to draw up recommendations for land reform. This commission has now presented its report in favor of the compulsory expropriation of land owners. The report recommends that no land owners shall be allowed to retain possession of more than 250 hectares, and that all his land property over and above this limit shall be bought by the State at a price fixed by the Government.

Transportation

—The Parcels Post rates have again been reduced by the Government of India. A rate of approximately eight cents per pound has been established regardless of distance between any point in India, Burma, Portuguese India, Ceylon, and Aden.

—The first Atlantic air mail was delivered in London on the 17th, three days from the time it was placed in charge of Captain Alcock, in St. John's. Delivery was delayed for two days because the Vickers-Vimy airplane stuck in an Irish bog.

—Beginning June 20 an eight-hour service of the daily westbound mail between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes was established by the Post Office. An airplane is to leave New York City at 5 A. M. and arrive at Chicago by 1 P. M.. The fastest railroad mail train now running from New York to Chicago consumes nineteen hours.

—Ex-President William Howard Taft, appearing as a voluntary witness on the 19th before the Federal Electric Railways Commission, stated that in his opinion the electric street and suburban railways of the United States were in a precarious financial condition because of lack of funds. Mr. Taft stated that the $5,000,000,000 invested in

public utilities securities were threatened with partial or complete loss under present conditions. The solution is the raising of fares to six or seven cents or even higher, according to Mr. Taft, or better still, the general introduction of the zone fare system, which has not as yet been given a fair trial. He is firmly opposed to Government ownership or management because of the accompanying extravagance.

Labor

—On the 24th martial law still prevailed in Winnipeg. The strike had lasted over forty days.

—Restriction of immigration during the reconstruction period was demanded by the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City on the 19th, over the bitter opposition of the radical delegates.

—The American Federation of Labor has declared against organization of a distinctive labor party, a battle on this issue being avoided by the chairman's putting the question to a vote immediately after the committee's report was read.

—"About four men in the mining industry of Great Britain are killed every twenty-four hours. The casualties are like those of a battlefield, but there is never an armistice for the miner," said Vernon Hartshorn at the Coal Commission.

—The actors and singers of Paris have formed a union and affiliated with the recognized French trade union movement. The new union will endeavor to establish a minimum of $4 per day, with extra pay for rehearsals.

—Attack on Basil Manley by the Manufacturers' Council of New Jersey, which seeks his removal as joint chairman of the War Labor Board, was condemned in resolution passed unanimously by the American Federation of Labor at the convention in Atlantic City.

—Wage boards to recommend adjustments of pay of the thousands of classified civil service employes of the United States navy yards and stations throughout the country are to be set up immediately by Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt, as the result of negotiations just concluded between the Navy Department head and the National Federation of Federal Employes.

—The tabulation of the voting strength of the American Federation of Labor shows an increase from 28,875 votes in 1918 to 33,849 in 1919, representing a total membership of 3,260,068. Last year the membership of the American Federation of Labor was 2,726,478. Of the different affiliated unions, the United Mine Workers has the largest number of votes, 3,988.

—Manuel Malbran, Argentine Ambassador to Mexico, who was recently in New Orleans, is responsible for the assertion that the strikes which for a long period tied up shipping at Buenos Aires and along the great river front of the Argentine port, were not caused by any question of wages, but by demands of the laboring element which, if granted, would have given that element virtual control of the industries for which they were working.

—The Scientific and Technical Union No. 1, composed of Government experts in the Bureau of Standards, Bureau of Plant Industry, Department of Agriculture, and the Geological Survey, submitted a set of resolutions to the American Federation of Labor Convention with the introduction that "a broad program of scientific research should be a part of the reconstruction policy of the A. F. L. Active Government participation and support are urged in the resolutions, for as much as possible of the results of research should belong to the people as a whole instead of being capitalized by corporations."

—A joint resolution authorizing the President to call a conference of industrial heads and labor leaders to study problems affecting capital and labor and suggest remedial legislation was introduced in the House on the 17th by Representative Kelly of Pennsylvania. The resolution names twenty nationally known men—each representing labor and capital—who would be asked to work out a definite policy. The proposal was originated by Chairman Basil M. Manly of the National War Labor Board. The act has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Miles Poindexter of Washington. The resolution was referred to the respective committees on labor of the two houses, and it is expected that it will be reported out favorably within a short time.

League of Nations

—The initial project for the limitation of the armaments of the great naval and military powers will be ready to be presented at the first meeting of the League of Nations in Washington in October.

—The American Peace Delegation has accepted the resignation of Dr. S. E. Morrison, member of the section of Russian experts, who represented the United States on the Baltic Commission. Dr. Morrison resigned because he did not approve of the exchange of notes between the Allies and Admiral Kolchak, head of the All-Russian Government at Omsk, believing that Russia cannot be restored through Allied coöperation with the Omsk Government.

—The envoys of the Irish Republic have laid before the Peace Conference their first formal presentation of Ireland's plea for independence. Printed on parchment in French, English and Gaelic, and bearing the signatures of Sean J. O'Ceallaigh (O'Kelly), the "Irish Ambassador" to France, and of George Gavan Duffy, his associate, the document was handed to M. Mandel, Premier Clemenceau's chief secretary, at the Ministry of War on the 22d.

Reconstruction

—Without a record vote, the House on the 18th passed and sent to the Senate the 1920 Army Appropriation Bill, carrying a total of $718,000,000 and providing for a temporary army of 800,000 men. The original measure recommended by the War Department carried $1,250,000,000.

—Both Houses of Congress voted on the 18th to repeal the Daylight Saving Law at 2 o'clock Sunday morning, October 26, the date fixed by the law for setting the clocks back one hour. The Senate's action was on a "rider" to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill, which had been refused in the House. The latter body acted on an independent measure.

—An "Own Your Own Home" campaign in Alabama, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Kentucky, composing the mid-Southern division of the United States Department of Labor, has been carried on by the regional director, L. R. Putnam, who concluded a series of meetings, held to form State-wide organizations, at Louisville, Ky., on June 17.

Announcement was made on the 17th at the Russian Embassy in Washington that the new Russian Government, under Admiral Kolchak, at Omsk, had decided to place in American markets the greater part of orders for military supplies, which are estimated at $164,000,000 for the next ten months. A cablegram to the Embassy from Omsk said the Kolchak Government had set about the task of getting rid of the mass of different money that has flooded Russia, arranging for control of international exchange and inaugurating a new policy for Russian finances and business. Exchange is to be stabilized through a committee for foreign trade.

General

—A new pictorial daily, the *Illustrated Daily News*, is to appear on Thursday, the 26th, and thereafter every day except Sunday. It will sell for two cents. The publishers are the News Syndicate Company, Inc., a subsidiary corporation of the Chicago *Tribune*.

—The day of the horse in New York has passed. Figures just made public by the Sanitary Bureau of the Department of Health show that from March, 1917, to March, 1919, there was a decrease of 2,664 occupied stables, with a decrease of 32,296 in the number of horses in the city.

—Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, President-elect of Brazil, paid tribute on the 22d, to George Washington as "first in the hearts of all those who love liberty and democracy." In a touching ceremony before the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon, Dr. Pessoa acknowledged the debt of his country and the world to the first President of the United States.

—The Nonpartisan League gained a signal victory June 14, when the suit brought against the league by forty-two taxpayers was dismissed by Judge C. F. Amidon of the United States District Court. The suit assailed the constitutionality of the industrial program of legislation put through by the league.

—Mr. Robert D. Towne of Philadelphia (503 Bulletin Building) has organized the American Newspaper Corporation, the object of which is to "acquire newspapers in cities where the opportunity is inviting until it has a chain of progressive newspapers strategically located in the various cities of the country."