

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

March 15, 1919

A Citizen of the World

Bohemia—A Democracy

“Ashes to Ashes”

Published Weekly at New York, N. Y.
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THE PUBLIC

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THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

Volume XXII

New York, N. Y., March 15, 1919

Number 1093

SOME one who has the ear of the people of Irish extraction in this country should whisper a word of caution as to their method of presenting their cause to the American people. A Paris report quotes Sean O'Ceallaigh (John O'Kelly), the delegate of the provisional Irish Republic to the Peace Conference, as saying that if the Irish question is not settled by the Peace Conference, friends of Ireland will stop ratification of the League of Nations in the American Congress. A remark of this kind would be unfortunate at any time. To come so soon after the abortive attempt of the people of German extraction to control affairs in this country is nothing less than a grave political blunder. If there is one thing that is evident, to all who will see it is that the people of this country are in no mood to accept dictation from citizens of foreign birth or extraction. Irishmen may fight England to their heart's content, and many Americans will applaud; but to take advantage of their rights of citizenship here to thwart the will of the people of this country would be the worst of all things for the cause of Ireland.

THE election returns in the Twenty-second Pennsylvania District should be an eye opener to the thirty-eight Republican Senators who are against the League, as well as to Democrats like Senator Reed. The district is Republican. It has not sent a Democrat to Congress in fifty years. Last fall the Republican margin was 7,281. A special election was called for the 4th to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Congressman Robbins. The League of Nations was the issue. Other issues were lost sight of, and the battle raged around the question of indorsing or repudiating the

President. John H. Wilson, the Democratic candidate was elected. This unqualified endorsement, in spite of a serious handicap, gives added strength to the President's words in his New York speech, and points out the fatal weakness of all Tories. They are not in tune with the great masses of the people. The President's words stand out all the clearer for this flash of light from Pennsylvania: "I am amazed—not alarmed, but amazed—that there should be in some quarters such a comprehensive ignorance of the state of the world. These gentlemen do not know what the mind of man is just now. Every one else does. I do not know where they have been closeted. I do not know by what influence they have been blinded."

REPUBLICAN anger might serve the country a good turn if the members who were so indignant at the President's refusal to call Congress in extra session were to direct their efforts toward securing a constitutional amendment permitting the members to take their seats the first of January following the election. No rule of the dead has less claim upon the living than the constitutional provision that permits Congressmen to legislate four months after they have been repudiated at the polls, and keeps the new members waiting thirteen months before they can enter upon their task. This provision, rational enough in the days of ox teams and canal boats, has become ridiculous in an age of electricity and airplanes. Other amendments also are needed, covering taxation, the suffrage, and the initiative and referendum. To make these changes possible the Gateway Amendment, championed so long and so forcibly by Herbert Quick, should again be brought before the country.

Unless the Constitution is brought up to date it may receive some severe jolts in these days of readjustment.

THE sudden collapse of the Senatorial campaign against the next Liberty Loan was spectacular, to say the least. One day the standpat Senate Republicans were in firm agreement to defeat the loan in the House and force the President to call an extra session, the next day they had withdrawn their opposition. As mysteriously as it had arisen, their animosity vanished, and profanity gave way to compliments. This sudden access of virtue was a mystery to many. No explanation appeared in the newspapers. In the Senate cloak room, however, a story is told that adequately explains the whole situation. Three or four New York financiers are said not to have been pleased with the way the Lodge-Penrose crowd were putting their heads in the Presidential noose. These financiers had no love for the President, but did not care to have their political protegés lose prestige through silly opposition. They came to Washington, according to the cloak room stories, and told the fire-eaters quite plainly not to make asses of themselves. The advice came too late to prevent the Senators from doing just that, but they seem to have made a right about face on the loan. They will do the same thing on the League of Nations, and in that case as well, the advice not to make asses of themselves will have come too late.

THE junior Senator from Illinois gave the reading public a shock by his wanton attack upon the president of the Chicago City Club who had ventured a protest against the Senator's stand on the League of Nations. Better things had been expected of the young Solon. Flattering remarks had been made of his political prospects. Some persons had predicted a brilliant career, and many had wondered if the curse that attaches to wealth would be lifted in his case. But the frankness of manner and democratic ways that had won approval will avail little if he allies himself with the standpatters who expect to return the country to conditions prevailing before the war. One would have thought that the example of the senior Senator from Illinois would have

been sufficient to deter any one from imitating his course. But it seems to be the nature of the village mind that it cannot profit by the foolishness of others.

THOUSANDS of men from France are arriving daily at American ports. By the first of next month a rate of ten thousand a day will have been attained. They have done their duty by America; they ask no special praise for saving western civilization. Most of them are ordinary Americans who are not particularly enamored of either medals or parades. The war is over, and all they ask is a chance to get back to work. A job is a small reward for risking one's life, yet strange as it may seem there are people in the United States who appear to care little whether the returned soldier starves, walks the streets, or has a job. If a mere handful of citizens felt that way it would not matter; but that handful happens to be a collection of Congressmen. Congress has just adjourned after refusing to appropriate enough money to run the public employment exchanges till the end of the fiscal year. Discharged men are piling up in the great cities by the thousands. The public employment exchanges are the only agencies capable of distributing them where there are opportunities for employment.

AT bottom the fear of France and the other countries is due to the dread of German economic competition. If every ship be destroyed or taken from her, if her whole army be disbanded and every gun be melted down, there will still remain those formidable factories and the elaborate industrial organization. One item of agricultural statistics will indicate what that means. From 1885 to 1910 the increase in grain production was 45 per cent., in potatoes 55 per cent.; in 1918 Germany was the leading potato producing country in the world with 54,000,000 tons. This was fourteen times as much as Russia produced on three times as much land. This does not, however, call for the destruction of German factories nor the laying waste of German land, but it does call for organization and efficiency in other countries. The conditions that Germany set up arbitrarily for the benefit of autocracy, the rest of the world must bring about freely for the benefit of the people.

EQUALITY of treatment to all countries that reciprocate in the same spirit, is the policy recommended for the United States by the Tariff Commission in its recent report to the President. The United States should exercise its powers, the commission says, and should impose its penalties, not for the purpose of securing discrimination in its favor, but to prevent discrimination to its disadvantage. This is the spirit underlying the most favored nation clause, for which this country has stood, in spite of its tariff restrictions on trade. It is the spirit that will be broadened and extended by the formation of a League of Nations; and it will be indispensable in healing the wounds of the war. If one could imagine a fiscal policy among our States in which New York should admit the corn of Illinois at a lower tariff rate than the corn from Nebraska, and the cotton from Texas on more favorable terms than the cotton from Alabama, it would be seen what diplomatic commerce means to the world at large. The Tariff Commission does well, in recommending that the President be empowered to impose retaliatory duties, to couple that power with the spirit of universal equality.

ROGER N. BALDWIN has given a dramatic turn to the pacifists' case by notifying friends who were seeking executive clemency in his behalf that he would not accept a pardon that did not include all other conscientious objectors. This is a challenge hard to meet. The objector who goes to jail rather than do military service may or may not have a high moral purpose; but the man in jail who will not come out unless his fellow objectors can come also has added the seal of sincerity beyond a doubt. The principle underlying conscription was not determined by jailing objectors; nor will it be settled by keeping them in jail. It is not a question that can be settled by force; reason alone will determine it. As imprisonment did not alter the principle, neither will a pardon; and the deep moral conviction of these men and women is too precious a thing to be wasted within prison walls. Should every man and woman remain in prison to the limit of the longest sentence, the fact would not have the slightest effect upon future objectors. If jailing them during the war aided in its prosecution it might

be excused, but now that the war is over there is no excuse for keeping them in jail.

LACK of playgrounds in the city of London is given by the chairman of the Home Office Juvenile Organization Committee as the reason for the great increase of juvenile delinquency, and declares it a matter of national concern to provide playing fields where "lessons of honor, courage, unselfishness of the highest moral and spiritual value are learned as in no other way." *Land Values* inquires why there should be no playfields, and calls attention to the fact that there are 8,102 acres of land within the city of London taxed as agricultural, upon which the local taxes every year amount to \$12,970, or \$1.60 per acre. "As long as the iniquity is tolerated," the editor declares, "that the law actually gives a premium to every speculative owner to extort monopoly prices for land, playfields will be scarce."

PROFESSOR JAMES E. RICE, of Cornell has come to the rescue of mill and factory owners in Massachusetts and elsewhere who oppose the eight-hour day. As reported in the *New York Times*, Professor Rice has proved by forty-eight weeks of experimentation that chickens lay better on the plan of the open shop and long hours. Put an electric light in the coop until nine o'clock at night and keep the pullets busying about as if it were day, and one hundred of them will lay as many eggs as one hundred and thirty-five and three-tenths pullets would produce under the go-to-bed-at-sunset principle. Raise the white flag, ye labor organizations. And note the word "pullet." As a matter of plain fact we hesitate to mention the matter at all, lest some of the Southern Senators take advantage of it as an argument for child labor!

AN ungrateful public turns a deaf ear to the wail of the real estate speculator. The *Times* of the 9th says: "It is extremely doubtful whether, at the prevailing prices of vacant land, the selling value of lots is anywhere near high enough to offset the payment of taxes, assessments, and interest over the long term of years most of these estates have been

held by their owners." We acclaim the boys who held the line at Château-Thierry, but we forget the self-sacrificing men who "held" vacant lots in New York. But not all ears are deaf. State Senator Davenport, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Taxation, declared at the conference with the Executive Committee of the Real Estate Association of the City of New York that the members of his committee had constantly in mind the fact that real estate was bearing the burden of taxation, and that they were seeking ways and means that would result in relief to owners. The Real Estate Association advised the Senator that the organization was in favor of an income tax, in which the State would levy a percentage tax on the basis of the returns made to the Federal Government. This would lighten somewhat the burden borne by the heroes who "held" the vacant lots.

ONE touch of landlordism makes the whole world kin. In Australia the Government has had trouble in getting land for the use of soldiers because the owners of vacant tracts ask exorbitant prices. In Scotland the same difficulty is found. The City Assessor of Glasgow relates how many desirable improvements have been prevented by the high price of lands and the low rate of assessment. In one case the tax was \$150, while the price of the land was \$150,000; in another the tax was \$10 and the price \$80,000. The Glasgow assessor suggests that the local government be authorized to purchase such land at a price not to exceed twenty years, purchase of the annual value as it appears on the local tax books. Neither the Australian nor the Scot need feel homesick on coming to America. They will find vacant lands held at a low valuation for taxation and at a high valuation for building. Some day even Americans will see it.

GRADUALLY the idea is beginning to dawn upon people's minds that this war means something more to humanity than the mere overthrow of Prussian militarism. Unless one keeps this fact in mind it will be impossible to understand current events. Persons who have supposed that the war meant merely an interruption in a fixed course, and that its conclusion would be followed by a resumption of

that course, have been surprised at the present confusion. The fact is that the course we were pursuing was not fixed, conditions were not satisfactory, people were determined upon a change; they were waiting only to know how best to proceed. Had the war not occurred more thought would have been given to pending questions, and readjustments would have been more gradual. But the war having interrupted its course, and the great mass of the workers, men and women, having been shifted from their accustomed employment, they are not disposed to return to the old conditions. It is not alone a question of efficient demobilization plans, or of employment offices, but of the fundamental basis upon which industry is to be founded.

IT is a mistake to suppose that there is no alternative but to accept Bolshevism or industrialism as it was practiced before the war. Just as the league of nations idea has persisted and will lead to disarmament and a closer fellowship of nations, so the new idea of freeing industry from the tolls of privilege and monopoly will lead to the desired equitable distribution of wealth. The people who carry on the work of the world may choose a coöperative form of effort or an individual form, as best meets their requirements. But they must in any event eliminate the deadheads. The matter now stands thus: The deadheads—those who take toll of industry without rendering service in return—do not wish to be eliminated; and the workers of the world, not only those who are returning from the front, but those who remained at home, are not satisfied with what is left after this toll has been taken. Consequently, there can be no permanent industrial peace until legal privilege that preys upon industry has been destroyed.

"Ashes to Ashes"

THE Sixty-fifth Congress is gone but not forgotten. Some years ago a romancer wrote a short story called "The New Minister's Opportunity." The pastor had just come, and during the first few days the people were praising his personal and clerical qualities, when an old resident of the town and attaché of the congregation passed on. The deceased had been wealthy, and belonged to one of the

most influential families among the minister's supporters. Unfortunately he was burdened with an unenviable reputation; he had been an unsocial member of society, avaricious, and in many ways deficient in the qualities that are lauded in funeral orations. The people were in a tension of conjecture as to whether the clergyman would crash against Scylla or wreck himself on Charybdis. It was impossible to tell the truth about the late lamented's character; it was impolitic to leave the funeral oration barren of personal praise. In either case prominent and influential feelings would be lacerated. Happily the minister fixed on one innocent fact—a fact indisputable in its veraciousness. The recently demised was old. He had been born about the time that Queen Victoria fell heir to the crown of her uncle. Here was the means not only for the cleric's extrication, but a chance for round, rhetorical periods. The virtues and vices of the dead paled into insignificance in the broad day of achievement of the Victorian era. All the glories of the world's most splendid period of progress passed before the vision of the congregation, and they disbanded with a delighted satisfaction in the suggested sense of the greatness and goodness of a man who could have lived through all that.

Whoever would pronounce a eulogy upon the defunct Sixty-fifth must needs follow a line of similar tactfulness and indirection. He might lay emphasis upon the achievements in statesmanship and domestic advancement which are the evident fruitage of the present Administration. He might dilate upon the manifest glories attaching to the performances of the army and navy. He might describe in glowing terms the scientific triumphs of the period. He might picture the astounding results of mobilization of commerce, manufactures, and labor that defied the possibility of military defeat. The time marks an epoch—an apogee of greatness. But as regards the inward quality, the mastering character, and the self-initiated performance of the Congress the less said the better. Judged in the high light of a great period, the Congress convened as a medley of backboneless and unilluminated nondescripts. It came to its end in the sorriest state of inefficiency and irresponsibility. The House passed out of existence in a mood of jolly unconcern, but the Senate died recalcitrant and unrepent-

ant, defiant of all just and humane criticism or expostulation, obstinately refusing to pass the necessary legislation to make effective the nation's vast labors and sacrifices to end the war in a permanent and established world peace.

Never have statesmen had greater opportunity to show their mettle than in this illustrious and historic period. If Congress proved a rubber stamp it was because it was born that way, with the qualities of the rubber stamp ingrained in the constitutional fiber. The wonderful part enacted by the United States in the war and the noble quality and signal ability of the Administration supplied the opportunity and the inspiration for high thinking and great achieving. Any man of real ability in either House might have stretched his powers to the limit of his merit and efficiency. A young member, by simply studying the President's position and policy and defining and defending his plans, could have laid the foundation for a career of great and world-wide usefulness; if after profound study of the President's motives and policy he honestly dissented from them, he could have established a reputation for himself as a sound critic, and by suggesting a better way in any of the emergencies which the Administration had to face, he would have laid his country under obligation and shown himself a man of destiny heading for a great career of constructive statesmanship. But the *Congressional Record* furnishes melancholy evidence that there was no such man. All these opportunities were thrown aside by this Congress, and the time was passed in purely verbal criticism and subsequent compliance, or by verbal compliance and subsequent burking of responsibility for the support of the Administration when that support was not a matter of party but of patriotism.

Labor the Employer

CUTTING down the hours of labor beyond the point of increased efficiency, as has been proposed by some, will not solve the problem of unemployment. It is the consumer that gives employment, and as labor is itself the chief consumer, it necessarily is the greatest employer. To limit its power of consumption would be to decrease rather than increase employment. But if, instead of decreasing

hours beyond the point of greater production, wages were to be raised without raising prices, labor could consume more, and consuming more would give more employment.

How can wages be raised without raising prices? Greater wages can be got by stopping the toll that monopoly or privilege takes from industry. The monopolist has power to take more for his service than could be got in a free market. If a laborer were to say, "I will not work for less than ten dollars a day," the employer could answer, "Go to, there are others willing to work for five." If the banker should say, "I will not lend my money for less than ten per cent.," the borrower would retort that he could borrow elsewhere for six. Should the owner of a five-thousand-dollar house demand ten thousand as the price, builders would offer to erect a similar house for half the price asked. But if the owner of the lot at 26 Broadway should say, "I will not sell for less than a million dollars," labor and capital would be helpless; no one can make another lot at 26 Broadway.

The vacant lot in front of the Grand Central depot is to be sold at auction at not less than \$2,800,000. The land is as vacant as when the Murrays had a farm on the Hill, and would be worth no more but for the fact that millions of people have gathered about it in a city built by labor and capital. Yet, though the value of this vacant lot is due to what labor and capital have done on the rest of the land of the island, they cannot put up a building or engage in any sort of industry on it without first paying to the owners \$2,800,000 for the privilege. Since this sum must be paid by capital for the use of this absolutely vacant land, it manifestly cannot be paid to labor as wages. Hence, wages are lower by that amount; labor must consume that much less; and employment is curtailed to that extent.

What is true of the lot in front of the Grand Central Station is true in greater or less degree of every other lot on Manhattan Island or elsewhere. Whatever the amount, large or small, that the owner of vacant land takes from labor and capital for the privilege of using the land is deducted from wages and interest without any compensating return. There is no way of permanently solving the problem of unemployment and low wages without stopping this enormous drain upon industry.

Paying for the War

SPECULATION on the possibility of paying the war debt of the world, which is now estimated at \$180,000,000,000, has led many persons to doubt whether it can ever be paid. This doubt is due to a tendency to overestimate the waste of war. A similar mistake was made at the beginning of the war in supposing that the cost of the conflict would be so great that it could last only a few months. Just as some had predicted there would be no more great wars on account of their enormous cost, so they expected that the stupendous outlay would actually consume all the available capital. This has been disproved by the four years of war.

These mistaken estimates are due to the fact that the waste of wealth during a war is not so very much greater than in time of peace. It is now apparent that, aside from the territory actually invaded and subjected to the physical ravaging of armies, there is little to show for the conflict. In this country there is practically nothing, in England not very much; even in Germany it is far less than people had imagined.

The fact is that the war was carried on by the world's surplus labor. There was some increase in labor power due to women and to the speeding up of all, but the greatest gain lay in the diversion of the wealth produced. Useless expenditures for luxuries were turned into war materials; money that had gone into autos, yachts, polo ponies, banquets, costly raiment, rare food, and all that goes to make up the life of the rich and their imitators was diverted into equipment and munitions, which meant that all the labor formerly employed in making these luxuries was put to maintaining armies and navies. Had the transfer of the cost been made at the same time, that is, had the persons who supported this labor in peace time been required to support it in war time, there need have been no war debt at all. It may indeed be said with confidence that, excepting for the casualties involved, a war of this magnitude might be carried on indefinitely without depriving any human being of the necessaries of life.

Statesmen lack the imagination to see this truth. Had they the vision to see that the war was fought and the world supported by wealth already in existence or created during the war,

it would simplify the discharge of the nations' obligations. If the surplus labor power of the world were to be devoted to restoring the ravished lands of Europe, and replacing the lost ships, instead of making unnecessary luxuries, the economic ravages of war would soon disappear. It will be found possible for Germany to pay what at first seem incredible amounts without any hardships on the part of the working class. Our own war debt can easily be repaid by devoting part of our surplus to the payment of the war bonds.

The Psychology of Demobilization

MUCH has been said about the general discomforts and delays over there at Brest. Senators have made observations, and their wives have wept tears of sympathy; newspapers and politicians have carried on a bitter war of criticism and condemnation toward the Administration and all its works because of conditions at this excellent harbor but confessedly undesirable lodging place. The Brest situation is perhaps only the most exaggerated example of unavoidable conditions repeated a hundred times in a hundred different ways during the transition of a million of men from the activities of normal war to the inactivities of abnormal peace. Every one is aware that in the career of an individual no time is so unsatisfactory and so open to the temptation to fault-finding and recrimination as a period of enforced idleness. Any one with the slightest imagination realizes the discomforts attaching to the concentration and distribution of large numbers of men under circumstances that are temporarily unpleasant on account of the weather and that are permanently unpleasant on account of crowded room. Thousands of men were anxious to rush from every camp to the port of debarkation, and the railroads of France were eager to utilize their resources for the service of the stranger within their gates; so that Brest became an impossible point of congestion if measured by the standard of ordinary American comforts and satisfactions. A single commercial traveler or missionary pastor on the Western prairies—in Sullivan County, Illinois, for instance—would find himself not only

quite incapable of pursuing his work, but inclined to murder under certain combinations of mud and weather. Think of a hundred thousand men finding themselves together and compelled to make the best of circumstances under similar limitations, and one can appreciate the acute problem of providing for the comfort and contentment of the American army at Brest. That the nerves and mental outlook of soldiers are much the same as other men's under such conditions may be seen from what occurred at the Kimmel military camp in Wales, according to dispatches recently received from England. In that camp were 25,000 Canadians waiting demobilization and debarkation. Two hundred of the malcontents became unrestrainable, and at the signal cry, "Come on, Bolsheviki," the colonial forces in large numbers broke out in a mad chase of lawlessness, looting stores, trampling food and valuables in the mire, and destroying property of every description. Nothing like this has taken place at Brest. Our men, because of a little natural fault-finding and a little unnecessary yielding to temptation to air themselves after their return to this country, have been traded on by partisans in Congress and in the newspapers for the sake of political effect against the Administration. The discontent of the several armies of the Allies is natural, and easily converted into something inimical, and must be met by the utmost endeavor on the part of all the authorities concerned to free the soldiers from military responsibilities and return them to their homes in favorable circumstances just as speedily as possible. As for the rest, it may be set down as axiomatic that a Government that had been so zealous and so generally efficient as the American Government during the strenuous period of war, could not all of a sudden change its entire character and adopt a policy of neglecting the most obvious duties toward the boys in the army.

Postal Inefficiency

DAVID J. LEWIS has been one of the most consistent fighters for nationalization of telegraphs and telephones. All friends of that policy rejoiced when he was called to the Wire Administration by Mr. Burleson. His work has won the admiration of those who knew the handicaps under which

he worked. For several months Mr. Lewis tried to establish wire control on a fair basis. On January 20th last he resigned. So far the postal officials have kept his resignation a secret. Worn out by a position of responsibility without power, and tired of the vacillation and double dealing of the postal authorities, Mr. Lewis has given up in weariness and disgust.

The labor baiting policies of the Western Union have been continued under Government control. The Labor Department has done everything possible, but has failed to force Mr. Burleson to conform to the President's labor policies. Trade unionists had been publicly assured that there would be no discrimination, and privately informed that unions would not be tolerated. The service has daily grown worse, until the telegraph is only a trifle faster than the Post Office. The worst enemies of public ownership have been consulted in the formation of Wire Administration policies. Mr. Lewis has done the right thing. He had no alternative unless he wanted to discredit public ownership.

Now labor asks Mr. Burleson to resign. Friends of public ownership will indorse the demand. Mr. Burleson will comply if he has the good of the Administration at heart. Long-suffering friends of the President have apologized long enough for Mr. Burleson. A man of thinner skin, or one more desirous of serving the Administration, would have taken the hint long ago. While the Bourbons of both parties have been busy with their attacks without the walls, Mr. Burleson has been consciously or unconsciously undermining the defenses from within. Employers have no confidence in him, for he has ruined postal efficiency. He has made the Post Office pay according to business standards, but in so doing he has left nothing but a shabby wreck of the railway mail service. Employers hate him bitterly for introducing into public office the traditional labor policy of the ante-bellum Southern plantation. The President's friends distrust him, for they know that he has used the patronage of the Post Office to aid the worst elements in the Democratic Party—men like Taggart, Sullivan, and Murphy. Is there any good reason why the President should be forced to carry this load any longer? Will Mr. Burleson take the hint?

The License of the Tongue

AS to freedom of speech we have to draw the line somewhere. In private life the most devoted admirer of Milton's "Areopagitica" would doubtless make short shrift of the boor who at a marriage feast made merry with the reputation of the bride or at a funeral inveighed against the character of the corpse. So in highly critical hours of public peril common sense admits that broad powers of repression may well be placed in the hands of approved and elected government to save society from the malign effects of malicious or unintelligent ignition of the unruly passions of the mob.

Still, the less the right of repression is exercised the better it is for the truth in the long run. It is of the nature of venomous falsehood to explode by its own inflation. The bold statement of bad principles or corrupt criticism is its own eventual remedy. Every one remembers the postprandial collapse at the Republican Club in a frenzy of vituperation of the megaloccephalic Mr. Beck. But the futility of the fear of freedom of speech has better illustration in the case of the testimony of Colonel Raymond Robins before the Overman committee of the United States Senate. The authorities are said to have been very reluctant to have Colonel Robins give his testimony for fear of its unduly favoring the Bolsheviki and their policies, while on the other hand the radical elements in Socialist and Labor groups were taunting the Government with being afraid to allow him to give evidence. When Colonel Robins's testimony was taken it proved to belie utterly the expectations of the near-Bolshevists in America. Had the Government at the first permitted Colonel Robins to testify in absolute freedom wherever and whenever he wished to do so, it would at least have avoided the wild criticisms of the ultra-radicals.

Last Sunday a riot was threatened for the space of ten minutes in the auditorium of the central branch of the Brooklyn Y. M. C. A. because the Rev. George H. Simons, who had been a Methodist missionary in Petrograd, and who had recently testified before the Overman committee denounced the President as "guilty of criminal pussy-footing and playing to the Bolsheviki." It is said that there were seven hundred civilians, soldiers, and sailors present who

The Assembly at Weimar

By S. ZIMAND

Biographer of Karl Liebknecht; Editor and Translator of "The Future Belongs to the People"; Authority on German Affairs

WEIMAR, the city where the elected representatives of the German people are assembled to lay the foundation of New Germany, brings back to memory the time when German spirit and German knowledge, so different from the spirit we have been confronted with in the last four years, were in their flourishing heyday. Old Weimar is the stamping ground of Goethe and Schiller, a city that has contributed much to idealism and art.

The elections for the National Assembly, held on January 21, 1919, were a victory for the Social Democratic and Democratic Parties. The Social Democratic Party, which had at their disposal the entire election apparatus, won out 164 seats; but the victorious party is not so strong as to have a complete majority, and has to combine with the Democratic Party, which elected 77 representatives, in order to have a controlling majority.

In most of the big cities the majority Socialists polled not only the greatest number of votes, but in some centers also more votes than all the other parties combined. In fact, the few seats captured by the bourgeois parties in the industrial cities is due to the introduction of the proportional system of voting. Without the proportional system the bourgeois parties would hardly have carried any seats in the big cities. In Berlin the Majority Socialists polled 365,564 votes and elected Scheidemann, the present Chancellor of Germany; Richard Fischer, business manager of the *Vorwärts*; Pfankuch and Schmidt, party officials, and Heimann, a journalist. Among the 164 representatives the Majority Socialists elected 16 women.

The Independent Socialists have won a greater success than many expected. The killing of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg brought many followers of the Majority Socialists in the ranks of the Independents. In Berlin, always a stronghold of the radical Socialists, the Independents polled 275,915 votes and elected the former chief of police, Emile

Eichhorn, the leader of the Independents; Hugo Haase, Lankant, and the leading woman of the Independents, Louise Zietz. Leipzig City turned out to be the citadel of the Independents. The Independents polled here 284,942 votes out of a total of 615,171, and elected three representatives. The total number of Independent Socialists elected to the National Assembly is 24. Among those are two women.

Remarkable is the success won by the Democratic Party. This party represents the most progressive non-Socialist elements. Immediately after the success of the revolution they declared themselves in favor of the republican form of government, refused to receive in their ranks those who agitated for annexations during the war, and declined to ally themselves with the other bourgeois parties. This determined democratic attitude may explain their victory at the polls. In Berlin they polled 163,445 votes and elected Hartmann and the well-known author of "Middle Europe," Friedrich Nauman. Their total delegation to the assembly numbers 77.

The Centrum Party, for a long time the biggest party in the empire, suffered a striking defeat. Even in Bavaria, their stronghold, they succeeded in winning of the 45 seats only 18; that is only two more than the Socialists gained. The National Liberals, now called the German National People's Party, and the Conservatives, now the German People's Party, represent at Weimar a hopeless opposition.

The result of the elections may be considered as a victory for the republican form of government. The monarchical idea died at the polls. The feeling against the fundamental political rights for the people seems to be still strong. But no party would dare come out openly against equal man suffrage or against woman suffrage. That would mean asking the women to vote against those parties or against woman suffrage. The same is the case with other fundamental political rights, like freedom of

speech, freedom of assembly, of the press, of religion, science, and politics.

On the economic field the situation is entirely different. The class interests are sharply divided and the great struggle will be fought out on this field. The question arises, Will the National Assembly be able to build up a socialistic order of society? Both socialist parties united do not possess a working majority in the assembly. Will the National Assembly, in spite of this, be able to begin the big work of social reconstruction which is expected from them by the German working class? For some economic measures the Socialists will probably have the support of the Democrats. The Democratic

Party derives its support from the large masses of government officials, clerks, and intellectuals. Their support comes from voters whose economic interests are partly identical with those of the large masses of the working class. For this reason, if not for any other, they will to some extent combine with the Socialists. A majority will most probably be available in the assembly for such measures as the nationalization of the mines or a radical taxation of wealth. But there are limits beyond which no bourgeois party, even the most radical, will pass. Then the great industrial fight will begin, and let us hope that the problem will be solved without violence.

Secretary of the Interior Lane's Plan of Land Reclamation

By JOHN S. CODMAN and JAMES P. HEATON

Study Adopted by the Harvard Liberal Club of Boston, March 5, 1919

THE United States is to reclaim the arid, swamp, and cut over lands of the country by employing the returned soldiers, and is to offer each soldier so employed a farm to be paid for out of what he can make out of it (p. 6).

The Secretary makes it plain that in his opinion the American people are perfectly able and are in duty bound (pp. 4 and 5) to insure to each returning soldier the opportunity of remunerative employment. With this opinion we are in hearty accord, and would even go farther and assert that every citizen is entitled to this same opportunity and can be given it if the proper steps are taken. The fact that the nations of the world when organized for destruction have been able almost to abolish unemployment seems to us conclusive proof that even better conditions might be obtained were these same nations properly organized for production. This proof, however, has never been needed to convince us that the apparent inability of civilized nations to furnish employment and a comfortable living to all their citizens is wholly due to artificial and entirely unnecessary conditions.

The Secretary states (p. 9) that no one can make a study of this question without being convinced, as he has been, that this country can

support a population of from three to four times that which we have now, and he points to the fact that there is abundance of land for the carrying out of his plan. Again we are in accord with him, differing from him only in that we believe that he greatly underestimates the possibilities of population and has not in his report fully disclosed all the land that ought to be available for his purpose.

The reclamation plan of the Secretary is not one put forward merely to solve the problem of the returning soldier, but is part of a definite policy which he believes (p. 3) will in some part at least avoid those ills which have fallen upon other lands. This policy (p. 4) is "that the lands of this country shall not lie unused."

It is at this point that your committee feels obliged to differ radically from the Secretary of the Interior. We are unable to see any compelling reason why "the lands of this country shall not lie unused." On the contrary we see every reason why a large portion of them should continue to lie unused for the simple reason that they are not really needed; for we maintain that, as long as there are vast tracts of land not in use which are nevertheless practically ready for the plough and are to a considerable extent adjacent to the centers of

population, it is obvious that the arid, swamp, and cut over lands of the country are not yet required for farm purposes and that their development by the labor of soldiers or of others would be an economic waste of tremendous magnitude. If the soldiers are employed to irrigate, drain, and clear the arid, swamp, and cut over lands in order to secure farms, a vast amount of preliminary labor will have to be done at great expense to the taxpayers of the nation before any labor of a productive nature can be begun. We see no valid reason why the soldiers should not pass at once into truly productive employment.

We recognize fully, however, that there is an obstacle in the way of securing for the soldiers the land most suitable for the purpose. Mr. Lane indicates this in the following (p. 24):

"At the close of the Civil War America faced a somewhat similar situation, but fortunately at that time the public domain offered opportunity to the home returning soldiers." Again he says (p. 25): "We do not have the bountiful public domain of the 'sixties and 'seventies. In a literal sense, for the use of it on a generous scale for soldier farm homes as in the 'sixties, the public domain is gone."

Yes, the public domain is gone. Here is the obstacle to placing the soldiers on the land most suitable to the purpose. But the land that was in the public domain has not gone in the sense that it has vanished, nor has it gone in the sense that it is now all utilized. It has gone only in the sense that it has passed from public to private ownership. Of the land in the Continental United States, amounting approximately to 2,000,000,000 acres, only about 280,000,000 acres remain unappropriated, according to Secretary Lane (p. 25) and not one-half of this, he says (p. 25), "will ever prove to be cultivable in any sense." Presumably also what is cultivable must first be reclaimed.

On the other hand, there are approximately, according to the United States Census of 1910, over 400,000,000 acres of farm land which are not under cultivation, and yet, these cannot be utilized for the returning soldiers because for the United States to purchase them at the price at which they are held would be presumably far more expensive than to reclaim waste land, even though much of the latter would also have to be purchased from private owners. In other

words, the owners of unused farm land in the United States are in the position of forcing the American people to purchase from them at exorbitant prices the unused farm land needed for the returning soldiers, or as an alternative to enter into an extravagant plan of reclamation.

Your committee considers this situation an intolerable one and only in case it is politically impossible to apply the proper remedy are we ready to recommend Secretary Lane's plan as a necessary makeshift. Even a far worse makeshift, however, we frankly admit, would be preferable to seeing our soldiers reduced to job hunting with the inevitable consequences of poverty, disorder, disease, and crime which are certain to follow.

We assert, however, that the true remedy for this situation is to remove the present motive for holding out of use valuable farm land, or for that matter any other valuable land, by the simple expedient of increasing the tax on the value of the land itself, exclusive of improvements, and by abolishing at the same time the taxes on improvements of whatever nature.

This action can best be taken by the States, but if impracticable to await such action, the result should be accomplished by the Federal Government by means of a heavy direct tax on the value of all unused land. We, therefore, recommend that the Harvard Liberal Club urge this action on the Administration as an alternative to the recommendation of Secretary Lane.

In addition to the above recommendations we are obliged to criticize some of the details of the plan which are enumerated under the title "No Slacker Acres." It is noteworthy that while Secretary Lane makes no reference to the prevention of the "slacker acres" which we have indicated, he is nevertheless concerned lest the acres to be reclaimed under his plan may themselves become "slacker acres" through the holding of them "as speculative ventures in unearned increment." With this very real danger in mind, therefore, he recommends (p. 11) that "the acreage should be limited to that which will be sufficient reasonably to support a family," that (p. 12) the farms "should be non-transferable to any one holding any equally large tract of land in the same State," and (p. 12) that "the owner might well be required to live on the land for five years before gaining

sufficient title to make any transfer, and during the full period prior to the last payment three years of idleness should make the land subject to forfeiture to the Government upon repayment of the payments which have been made."

Your committee believes that the above safeguards against the "speculative ventures in unearned increment" are entirely inadequate, and that the best to be expected from them is to postpone the "speculative ventures" but not permanently to prevent them. We would recommend, therefore, that in case the club desires to indorse Mr. Lane's plan, it will at least urge

that until the Federal Government or the States adopt some policy which will prevent "slacker acres," that is, which will prevent valuable land from lying idle, the title to the lands provided the soldiers shall remain with the Government. Under Government title the lands should be rented on the basis of a permanent lease, the rental to be subject to periodical adjustment based on the value of the ground exclusive of any improvements, and in case of forfeiture through failure to pay rent the lessee to be compensated in full for his improvements.

Child Labor in North Carolina

By the Washington Correspondent of The Public

IN America the notion prevails that the slums are all in the city, and that dirt and disease are necessarily allied to tenement houses. Some facts uncovered by the Children's Bureau may be of interest to those who still fancy that rural conditions are necessarily healthful. The facts were developed in a survey of two typical North Carolina counties, where 487 families were visited, 129 Negro and the rest native white of native born American parentage.

The mothers in these North Carolina counties married young, had large families, and at the same time worked hard in the fields and at their house work. The husbands are using improved farm machinery, but the women still struggle along washing the family's clothes at a spring remote from the house and doing the family cooking in the big open fire place. Sanitary arrangements are primitive. In one county only twenty-five families had any toilet facilities. Water is usually brought from a distant well or spring, frequently contaminated.

In one-fourth of the homes there were five or more persons to every sleeping room. Instances are by no means rare where as many as ten persons were found in a single room. This did not occur in a community of foreigners or in a city slum or among the children of drunkards. Only one-fourth of one per cent. of the people of the State are of foreign birth. Ninety-five per cent. live in the country or in towns of 4,000 or less. The State has been dry since 1909.

We talk quite sagely about giving the immigrant mother some knowledge of American conditions and of teaching her American standards of child rearing. Might it not be well to bring some knowledge of Americanism to the mothers of North Carolina and other States where similar conditions exist? Many arguments have been presented during the past generation by the mothers of America for the extension of suffrage to women. None has been so powerful as the simple narrative of Miss Julia Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau.

Who will speak for the inarticulate children of North Carolina? Their fathers have spoken for them for a hundred years, and one-fourth of all the children under fourteen years of age employed in manufacturing and mechanical establishments in the United States are in that State. The third largest number of all the children between 14 and 16 years of age working more than eight hours a day are in the same State. Twenty per cent. of the total wage earners employed in canning and preserving are under 16; 23 per cent. of all the persons employed in cotton mills are between 12 and 15 years of age; 41 per cent. of all employed in silk mills are under 16; 28 per cent. of all employed in knitting mills are under 16.

Two-thirds of the white children and three-fourths of the Negro children from 5 to 15 years of age in the country districts help in the fields, cultivating, and harvesting the crops. In the more remote backwoods district nine-

tenths of the children are so engaged. Many were found working from sun to sun. The reason for this is that child labor is frequently cheaper than machine labor. One father of eight children said that he "did not buy a corn planter because he already had eight."

These children should be in school instead of at work. Between the ages of ten and twenty,

from one-tenth to one-third of the children were unable to read or write, although the law makes attendance at school compulsory.

If the babies and children of North Carolina are to have an opportunity to live down dirt, bad food, foul air, and exploitation, the women as well as the men of North Carolina must be their spokesmen.

Bohemia—A Democracy

By E. F. PRANTNER

Former Secretary Slavic Alliance and Writer on Bohemian Subjects

THE goal of all Teutonic ambitions is the destruction of the Slavs, most particularly the extirpation of the Czechs, the demolition of the nation and the elimination of the language. If the Germanic autocrats could eliminate the "mother tongue," which the Czechs have devoutly defended and preserved against its enemies for nearly twelve centuries, they could destroy the nation and the country. When the new government undertook the rehabilitation of the heretofore bounteous lands it faced stagnation and barrenness everywhere. The progress made since the new *régime* assumed control has been extraordinary, for the country prides itself on a stable, permanent, responsible, representative government.

The Czechoslovaks appreciate the gravity of the conditions confronting the peoples of the world, more particularly the immediate problems of Europe, and their conception and understanding is voiced by their President, Thomas G. Masaryk, that, "We stand on the threshold of a new era when all mankind realizes its unity. Our nation wishes to contribute, with a full consciousness of the task, something to effectuate the magnificent and noble aims."

Bohemia is a republic governed by a National Assembly with a President at its head. The assembly in which several women hold membership is temporary in character and is a representative body in virtual control of all affairs of the republic. A Supreme Court for the ultimate determination of all controversial questions has been established. Church and State have been separated,—each is independent of the other. Suffrage is universal. Political, religious, and racial equality has been guaranteed.

Pending the outcome of the momentous international conference at Paris, no constitution has been adopted. Following the settlement and acceptance of the terms of peace a constitutional convention will be assembled to frame a permanent basic law for the new republic.

If the ambitions of President Masaryk are realized the constitution of the Bohemian Republic will follow closely in many respects the Constitution of the United States. Masaryk is no stranger to our country or to our institutions.

The new constitution will divide the functions of government into three grand divisions—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. It is altogether probable that the present National Assembly will be continued as the legislative body of the country, modified to allow for representation of Germanic elements. It will do the work of our two houses of Congress.

The republic's chief executive officer will be the President, who will be assisted in the discharge of his duties by a cabinet. His powers and duties, however, will not be as broad and as extensive as those of the President of the United States, but will be considerably broader and more extensive than the powers and duties of the President of France. The judicial system will closely follow the scheme of our Federal courts, with the Supreme Court as the highest legal tribunal.

For a more convenient general administration the republic will be divided into cantons patterned after the Swiss Federal scheme. This will insure local autonomy, and a government suitable to each community.

Facing the new government was a most pressing problem, one of gigantic proportions, the rehabilitation of the finances of the country. The Czechoslovaks were equal to the task, for within a month of the signing of the armistice the new government raised two billion crowns for the national treasury by means of a popular internal loan.

The Czechoslovak army is another truly democratic institution. Democracy is the keystone of its organization and the forerunner of its successes so strikingly and singularly exemplified in Siberia, Italy, and France. By elections the soldiers indirectly select their officers. When the army is not under military control the men and officers are equal; there is a total absence of class distinction. But on the field all is different. The troops are subject to rigorous discipline and they unflinchingly support their superiors. No meetings are held to determine if this move or that should be undertaken; that is left to the judgment of their officers. To be sure, the army is democratic to the core, but it functions unerringly and unrelentingly in the attainment of its avowed purposes. Is it any wonder that these bands of ill-clad, unarmed, and undernourished troops are so frequently compared to the heroes of Xenophon's "Anabasis!"

From all accounts the so-called anti-Semitic feeling in Bohemia proved to be nothing more than a myth. The Jews and the Czechs live in perfect harmony. The Jews realize that the Bohemian Republic is a permanent institution, hence they hasten to give it their support. They have received assurances of religious freedom and political equality. Now they speak the Bohemian language where they formerly used the German; their children attend Bohemian schools.

The principal questions remaining to be determined are those of boundaries. The peace conference must, due to the very nature of the problem, determine the equity of the various claims and counterclaims. The Czechoslovaks will abide by the finding and verdict of the conference.

In his inaugural address the President declared: "We know we shall not attain our national program merely by foreign politics, but we must work unceasingly internally; there our policies will be honest and reasonable. Dur-

ing the time of transition we shall endeavor to maintain order and devote ourselves to peaceful administrative work. The substance of democracy is not domination, but work for the safeguarding of justice. We must devote particular attention to agriculture, industry, and commerce. All citizens of good will, regardless of party, religion, or nationality, have an opportunity to create an exemplary democratic state that will watch over the interests of free and self-governing inhabitants."

Primal Motives of War

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus—Leland Stanford, Jr., University

OF the many influences behind the war, it is my belief that economic motives and motives of international distrust, envy, and hate had but a secondary place. These are urged as excuses or justifications or as weapons in argument, but no people on account of these alone would have ventured to break the peace of the world.

The primal motive behind the war was internal and political. It is part of the age-long struggle against privilege, now become a struggle on the part of privilege to maintain itself. One by one the people in each nation have encroached on the perquisites of the classes that rule through inherited power. Little by little democracy has encroached on privilege. Everywhere "freedom slowly broadens down, from precedent to precedent," and as freedom broadens the scope of aristocracy must be narrowed. The spectacle of an "Emperor without an Empire" has become increasingly painful to the war-makers of Europe. The spectacle of an impotent House of Lords has cast a shadow wherever lords of any kind assemble.

The cause of most modern wars may be defined as a conspiracy of the privileged classes to revive their waning power. The gray old strategists who look to war to place their names in history are the real allies or tools of privilege, and the young men are their sacrifice. Very few wars are, in a strict sense, international. Each side has its own war castes and these play into each other's hands. But only under dynastic rule can the war-makers actually dominate. The war-spirit in democratic

nations arises through opposition to dynastic purposes, or from fear of their results.

The fact that every year of peace marks an advancing stage from militarism to civilism, from privilege to equality, from dynastic oligarchy to democracy, has thrown the tendency to revolution on the other side. "Foreign war presents a sharp remedy for internal disunion or waning patriotism." It is needed by the privileged class to keep down the "populace."

CURRENT THOUGHT

Wilson the Just

I LINGERED long enough at the London Guildhall meeting to note how deeply the President had impressed a staid company of British celebrities by what, even in a land given to honest speech, seemed a daringly frank statement of American resolve. In France the President was honored with a name that almost harked back to the "Honest Abe" of the 'sixties—"Wilson the Just." In Italy, the surging, grateful, reverent throngs all but unnerved this strong and quiet man, such was the mad enthusiasm of the people in city after city as they acclaimed "Il Presidente." An English statesman, a judicious man who is unaddicted to hero worship, said to me: "Clemenceau speaks in French, Lloyd George speaks in English, Orlando in Italian, but Wilson speaks in the language of humankind, and he thinks for the world."—*Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.*

Some Still Favor a League of Nations

DESPITE the bellowing at Washington, persons here and there still timidly favor the League of Nations. Yesterday representatives of five farmers' organizations—the National Grange and Patrons of Husbandry, the Farmers' National Council, the National Federation of Gleaners, and the Society of Equity and Nonpartisan League—pledged the President "the support of the organized farmers of America for a League of Nations." The other day it was a convention of the Superintendents' Branch of the National Education Association in Chicago that telegraphed support. The organization committee of the new Central Labor Party in this city is but one of a number of labor bodies that have spoken out. While still at sea the President received a message from the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, purporting to represent 18,000,000 Protestants, and expressing an "earnest desire" for the League. Messrs. Taft, Morgenthau, Lowell, and Van Dyke appealed last week for the public to make its attitude known to Congress. A large part of the public seems to have needed no prompting.—*The New York Evening Post.*

Not Racial but Ethical Greatness

THE race theory may be overdone, from the standpoint of science and history, and, as seen, it may lead to abnormal pride or even madness. Italy, "mongrel," France largely so, are showing a national character of surpassing quality. It would be difficult to prove that their greatness is due to Teutonic blood. Roman civilization has profoundly influenced the world. Our English and American race and language are Anglo-Latin. We are approaching the time when the genius of every nation, the great among all peoples shall be justly recognized, and race insanity will cease to vex the world. We have seen the evils of the old aristocracy, whether of heritage or wealth or superficial culture; we are looking for an aristocracy of the best in worth and work and influence. We want no unjust inequality and no false equality. "Democracy is not based on equality but justice. Democracy is a method of selecting aristocracy. Lincoln and Wilson are better exponents of national ideals than the race theorists. Christianity doesn't teach equality; there is no equality between Dives and Lazarus, Pharisees and Publicans." We shall have great souls, but they will not be tyrant, robber, or pedant souls; they will be souls of great visions, great culture, and great virtues.—*James H. Baker, in "After the War—What?"*

Montana Merchants and the Non-partisans

HERE is a case in point. A homesteader and his family are struggling along living, as many do, in a little shack, very inconvenient, very cramped and positively unhealthy. They presently get a good crop, and the deep basic, human need for comfort and surroundings which make life worth while immediately asserts itself. They plan to build, to put up a new garden fence, to paint the place, to build a barn, to fix up a water system, in a word to develop those surroundings which differentiate modern man from the savage—but hold, all this will be taxed, they are to be penalized for desiring to develop their homes and always that the great mining companies might shuffle out of their just share of the burden. The Nonpartisan League proposes to free this instinct for betterment, nay more, to stimulate it, not only by lifting taxation from home improvements, but by establishing State banks to finance the progressive move. At both ends of the game it stands ready to assist, and still there are in this State hundreds of merchants fatuous enough to subscribe one hundred thousand dollars to have printed matter mailed to the farmers which tries to explain how what is good for them cannot possibly be good for them. And this in spite of the fact that household improvement and homestead improvement properly financed and free

from taxation means a tremendous purchasing of merchants' goods and for cash. . . . As to Singletax, the League does not advocate it, but since Singletax proposes to tax unused land to the limit and the A. C. M. has in real estate, forest lands, and water rights very nearly eighty million dollars invested, a great deal of which land is idle, we suspect they have instructed you to oppose it.—*Montana Nonpartisan.*

The Right to Inherit

IF a child has the moral right to accept support from a parent, he should certainly have a moral right to accept support, through the provisions of a will, after that parent's death. Otherwise children who have been properly provided for will be suddenly thrown into poverty. If a charitable institution, an invalid, an old servant has a moral right to receive a gift or support during the lifetime of the giver, why should the right be taken away, because of death, which enables the giver to bestow through a will?—*George H. Fox, in a Letter to the Editor.*

Lincoln Walks at Night

IT is portentous, and a thing of state,
That here, at midnight, in our little town
A mourning figure walks, and will not rest,
Near the old court house pacing up and down.
Or by his homestead, or in shadowed yards
He lingers where his children used to play,
Or through the market, on the well-worn stones
He stalks until the dawn-stars burn away.
A bronzed, lank man! His suit of ancient black,
A famous high top-hat and plain worn shawl
Make his the quaint great figure that men love,
The prairie lawyer, master of us all.
His head is bowed. He thinks of men and kings,
Yea, when the sick world cries, how can he sleep?
Too many peasants fight, they know not why,
Too many homesteads in black terror weep.
He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn
Shall come—the shining hope of Europe free;
The league of sober folks, the Workers' Earth
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea.
It breaks his heart that kings must murder still,
That all his hours of travail here for men
Seem yet in vain. And who will bring white peace
That he may sleep upon his hill again?

—*Vachel Lindsay.*

The New Age Not a Transitory Flame

WE have today, not a revival of the past, but a revelation of the present, surpassing the dream of the Renaissance. And we may hope that

the purpose awakened will not evaporate in enthusiasm or die out after the first burst of energy. We face the perilous vicissitudes of the time, taught by centuries of political and social experiment, guided by scientific knowledge, united by common interest, with reasoned plans and aims. We shall make our dreams come true.—*Professor James H. Baker, in "After the War—What?"*

BOOKS

A Vision of High Progress

After the War—What? By James H. Baker, President Emeritus of the University of Colorado. The Stratford Company, Boston. \$1.

THIS volume is small in physical form but big in moral substance. It was written and published in the last months of the great conflict, and is dedicated "to my son, and all our boys, *over there*, who are defending rights sacred to all peoples," which words strike the keynote of the book. In ten short chapters we have a telling treatment of such subjects as "Human Ideals," "Democracy," "Socialism and Labor," "Efficiency," "Obligation to the State," and "Education."

Though written before the battling had ceased, the discussion of the general subject, *What After the War?* is in no sense out of date. In fact, it is perhaps more pointedly timely for the very circumstance that it was produced when the enthusiasm and tense purpose of the crusade were at their climax. It thus catches an inspiration from the afflatus of the general zeal, and shows no signs of the influence of the turgid and belittling bickerings and jealousies that have been injected into the aftermath of the struggle by the petty politician and the short-sighted self-seeker. The writer, for instance, is spared the depressing reaction of the spectacle of the Senate of the United States closing its sessions in an orgy of mulishness.

We do not hesitate to recommend this little book to every one who desires to have his recollection and vision clarified for a right perception of duty in this most crucial of times. The author gives what amounts to an ethical survey of the inward causes and conditions involved in the war as a conflict of ideals, and presents essential qualities in such a way that the reader gets something better than the facts presented—the sense, the proportion, the perspective of moral issues and agelong consequences. Particularly valuable are the ideas advanced as to the superiority of the Christian principles of love, gentleness, and helpfulness as contrasted with the hard and ambitious pagan dogmas that ran amuck in German philosophy and German politics, the ideas showing the difference between the negative love of peace and that which

requires that the highest and best moral standards shall be held sacrosanct both for the individual and the nation, and those that describe the substitutes which every civilization of a high order has to hand in place of war. The outcome of the struggle in the author's conception is a new and a better age of rectified perspective and balanced business and politics based in education and preserved by just procedure.

Historical Survey of a Century

Modern and Contemporary European History.
By J. Salwyn Schapiro. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York. \$8.50 net.

THE saying that wars lead to the study of geography may be expanded to include history. Who that has happened into a movie theater in time to catch the *denouement* of the plot does not wish to stay to see the beginning of the story in order to understand what led up to the climax. A similar thought in regard to the war has come to all but exceptionally informed persons. Their attention has been held by the dramatic incidents of the Great War, yet they have not known the whys and the wherefores, and lack the time necessary for a comprehensive study of history. Attempts to interpret the world drama by means of geographies, dictionaries, and gazetteers have left much to be desired. For, no matter how clearly the incidents might be brought out, the picture as a whole was never completely grasped. It has been with a view to meeting this requirement that Professor Schapiro, associate professor of history in the College of the City of New York, has prepared his volume. It covers the period from the battle of Waterloo to the summer of 1918. The latest edition brings the history down to the end of December. Within that comparatively brief period the world was completely remade, and it is necessary to know that remaking in order to understand the war—nay, it is necessary to know that hundred years of history in order to have an intelligent comprehension of what is to happen in the immediate future. Human society during that period underwent changes equal to all those before. People's whole conception of life changed. There was a birth of new social ideals, a breaking down of traditions, an unfolding of liberty, and a general loosening of the old moorings of life that led to the war. Had all nations moved along together the transformation might have been made by peaceful means. But the attempt of autocracy to stem the tide merely dammed the current for a time and led to the deluge. Professor Schapiro has been peculiarly happy in the treatment of his subject, giving his volume the conciseness of a textbook with the fullness of a history. The enormous initial sale that has greeted its appearance testifies to popular appreciation.

Apropos of Exhibitions

The A B C of Exhibit Planning. By Evart G. Routzahn and Mary Swain Routzahn. The Russell Sage Foundation, New York. \$1.50, net.

ONCE in a while it is possible to back "a prospect" into a corner or coax a few hundred of him into a hall, and by much expostulation and argument drive home general or specific reform ideas. But how to catch various kinds of folk on the run down the street, through a fair, or in an exhibition building of whatever sort? Mr. and Mrs. Routzahn have given years to the study of this problem, always from the angle of people who may wish to use exhibits for promoting social welfare. The expert advertiser will find the authors have applied the principles of publicity to a specific field in a thorough and tremendously suggestive way, and the inexperienced advertiser, filled with enthusiasm for the need of educating others to see the tragedy and danger of the social sores, could take this book and in one evening get innumerable ideas and plans for teaching by means of exhibits. The text is illustrated by some sixty pictures.

In the next edition we hope more space will be given to the standardizing and duplication of exhibits. Only the Security League, the Federal Food Board, the militant suffragists and a few others can afford train exhibits or loan exhibits; but almost any central organization or group with a live interest in propaganda could plan and prepare the basis for a striking exhibit for a fair, for instance. With this basis available at the low cost made possible by quantity production, groups in the country and towns would be encouraged to undertake an effort that could be given the tone and color of the neighborhood by the addition of a few local features. Suggestions for these could be given by the central organization.

Those who believe in some method of social regeneration and appreciate the educational power of exhibits should get this book and put some of its ideas into use.

The Caucasus and Kurdistan

War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia. By M. Philips Price. New York, Macmillan Company, 1918. \$8.

THE title of this book is misleading, as the term "Asiatic Russia" will suggest to every one Siberia and Turkestan, rather than the Caucasus, Armenia, and northwestern Persia, which only by a stretch of the imagination can be included under such a title. Mr. Price's contribution is a somewhat disconnected account of events in this latter area during 1915, 1916, and 1917. As a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* he spent some time in Russia following the outbreak of the war, but after the disastrous retreat

from Lemberg decided to go to "Asia"—meaning the Caucasus—where he spent the next two years, making journeys into Persia, Armenia, and the coastal region of the Black Sea. His book gives an outline (Part I) of the Caucasus campaign (1914-'16), with a detailed narrative of the taking of Erzerum. Part II consists of a diary of a series of journeys which the author made, first as a correspondent, when he accompanied a Russian expedition into Kurdistan and Persia, and afterward when he went with a detachment of Armenian volunteers assigned to attack an outlying Turkish position in the region of Lake Van. The continuation of the diary is occupied with his trips, as a relief worker, on the Kars plateau and into the little-known district of Lazistan. Part III gives the author's views on the Armenian question, on the rise of nationalism in the Caucasus, and on the Russian Revolution and its effects in "Asia."

It will be seen from this outline that the contents are too miscellaneous to be taken up in detail. The great merit of Mr. Price's book lies in the fact that it presents the impressions of an intelligent eyewitness in regard to the operations and effects of the war in an area of great importance from which but little direct information has been forthcoming. Warfare is not quite the same thing in the mountains of Armenia as in Europe. Here the privations of the combatants appear to have been extreme, and the difficulties of moving troops all but insurmountable. Critical movements were carried out by men who subsisted upon what they could carry in their pockets; advances were held up by the necessity of conveying artillery through a country in which roads were wholly unknown. Incidentally, too, the fighters were scarcely as sophisticated as on the Western Front: after a successful fight, it appears, the Russians would put up a sign, "Here we take in prisoners," and the fatalistic Turks would wait outside for a chance to give up their rifles.

As accounts of military movements are never interesting reading to a layman, the most attractive element of the book consists in the running comments on the situation in which Armenians and Kurds, Christians and Moslems are inextricably mixed; on the continued interplay of Russian and Turkish interests in this perpetually debatable land; on the seemingly unceasing movement of population north and south, east and west; on the rise of nationalism among the Armenians, and of the feeling of solidarity among the Mohammedan sects; and on the work and influence of American missionaries. In dealing with these topics, Mr. Price has preserved a refreshing moderation and sanity of view, although he appears to be a pronounced radical and a deep sympathizer with the Russian Revolution.

The most carefully written part of the work is the "Introduction," which is a remarkable contribution to the "human geography" of the region under discussion.

FREDERICK JOHN TEGGART.

A Pessimistic Note

Can Mankind Survive? By Morrison I. Swift.
Published by Marshall Jones Company, Boston.
\$1.50.

IT is regrettable that this book cannot be described otherwise than as a dirge of despair over a past record of human doings that convicts mankind of both blockheadism and brutality, and a forecast of a future in which there are but few gleams of hope. It is unfortunately true that if we take facts just as they come there is too much in the record to justify the most dismal deductions of the pessimist. But facts do not become truths until they have been rightly interpreted, and it is in this right interpretation that the genius of the prophet lies. Mr. Swift interprets the social horrors with which the pages of history are full by the simple process of charging human nature with an innate and unenlightened selfishness which has led to a debasement of character from which it is doubtful that it may ever recover. This interpretation of the admitted facts all healthy minds will challenge. It will not square with the wider knowledge of our common nature that sympathy reveals.

When we reflect that the first new and distinguishing faculty with which man emerged from the brute creation and started upon what we have been accustomed to call his upward, but which Mr. Swift would describe as his downward, career, was that of choosing between right and wrong courses—and therefore of making mistakes—the problem begins to clear. He made one great initial mistake. *He took the wrong way of collecting public revenue.* To that egregious blunder may be traced all the chaotic relationships that have since disgraced his race history. It caused the cleavage of mankind into classes, the privileged and the unprivileged. It made possible the unearned income. It caused the poverty which produced servility and cunning. It caused the wealth that produced fatty degeneration of the *ego*. It stifled, though happily without entirely suppressing, that aspiration after freedom, spontaneity, and the higher life which had been mankind's most precious endowment.

What are we now to do? "Correct that initial blunder," says the new school of economists, "and see what will follow. Cease imposing taxation on anything that is the result of human effort, and collect your public revenue by taxing the only element of value that remains, that is, the unimproved value of the land and all that is in or under it; then expect to see poverty disappear and the stubborn thistle of human nature bursting into the glossy purples of high and noble life." But to accept this simple remedy it is absolutely necessary to have emancipated one's self from the thralldom of that specter of heredity that evidently haunts our author's mind. To believe that

neither good habits nor bad ones are transmitted by heredity, but that social environment, with its atmosphere of ideals and standards of conduct, is the real formative influence that molds human character, is to look out upon a different world. It is to see not only how easily human nature may be corrupted, but how easily and naturally it may rise to unimagined heights, simply through the reversion to an environment of natural freedom. It is to introduce a ray of hope into a future which otherwise is dark and cheerless.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

Art and Romance

Beyond Life. By James Branch Cabell. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co. \$1.50.

WHEN an artist sees people wandering through a picture exhibition referring religiously to catalogues for titles of pictures and names of painters, he is apt to form a poor impression of their artistic sense. What difference does it make that the artist has, often in desperation, called the picture, "A View Near Arezzo" or "Peaches and Pineapples"? His work is before our eyes; it excites some emotion or it does not. How can the name help except as a means of identification? Is a submarine less efficient for being known as U-427 than if it had been called the Richmond Pearson Hobson?

And so in the matter of books. Here is one which might seem from its title to deal with spiritualism or some theory of a heretofore or a hereafter. But it does not at all. It raised in my mind the question why if a book may have a title which bears no relation to its contents, it would not be better to call it "Q-27" or whatever numeral would indicate its sequence in the author's opera.

"Beyond Life" consists of a number of charming *causeries* on subjects literary viewed through a distinctly personal medium. The author takes up the cudgels (if so rude a metaphor may be allowed) in behalf of romanticism against realism, and right valiantly does he ply his weapons. The true function of art is to create supermen, superlandscapes, super-sounds and harmonies. To copy nature is nothing; to excel her is everything. The ability to do these things is what entitles the artist to our respect and gratitude. Indeed, the only great artists are those who have done these things. Although the general tone of the book is one of detached persiflage, at intervals the author strikes a deeper note, as for instance: "Through a merciful dispensation, we are one and all of us created very vain and very dull; and by utilizing these invaluable qualities the demiurgic spirit of romance will yet contrive 'a world as it ought to be.' Vanity it is that pricks us indefatigably to play the ape to every dream romance induces; yet vanity is but the stirrup-cup; and urgent need arises that

human dullness retain us (as it does) securely blinded, lest we observe the wayside horrors of our journey and go mad. One moment of clear vision as to man's plight in the universe would be quite sufficient to set the most philosophic gibbering. Meanwhile with bandaged eyes we advance and human sanity is guarded by the brave and pitiable and tireless dullness of mankind." Has any one uttered a more convincing apology for romance? Everywhere through the book the man who likes to weigh literary values will find suggestions and estimates that will titillate his fancy and excite his approval.

He roams, by and large, through literature and life with an ease which betokens wide experience in both. And the outcome is a paradox because, though he lauds romance, his touchstone is realistic enough. Because he is thoroughly disillusioned, he would woo romance to secure a moment's oblivion, much as a man may seek forgetfulness in liquor. With no intention to suggest imitation, there is much about Mr. Cabell's mental attitude which suggests Anatole France, the most subtly corrosive force in literature.

It seems a lapse of taste to append to so admirable a book, as has been done here, the unflattering comments of a number of literary critics on other books—novels—by the same author. Printing these criticisms may have a commercial value by exciting the curiosity of those who read this book to get some of the others merely to see whether a man who can write good criticism could write novels as bad as these critics say they are. But there is nothing inherently impossible about it. That a man is a gourmet is no proof that he can cook a good dinner.

OWEN MERRYHUE.

Books Received

American Labor and the War. By Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. George H. Doran Co., N. Y. \$1.75 net.

Treats of labor's policy and achievements in time of war and contains the author's principal speeches delivered in London, Paris and Italy, as well as reports of all the war measures and resolutions adopted by the Federation at its annual conventions from 1914 to 1918.

Socialism Versus the State. By Emile Vandervelde, Member of the Belgian Government. Charles H. Kerr Co., Chicago. \$1.00.

The author contends that state ownership of industries is a very different thing from socialism and concludes that the state must cease to be an organ of class domination, and must be transformed into an organ for the management of industry, controlled by the workers themselves.

Economic Reconstruction. By J. Taylor Peddie. Longmans, Green & Co., N. Y. \$2.25 net.

This is the author's concluding volume of "A National System of Economics," and in the preparation of the material care has been taken to use terms and expression readily understood by men of business.

New Era Economics. By John Frederick Brown. For sale by the Author, 529 E. New York St., Indianapolis, Ind. Paper 50c., Cloth \$1.00.

A study in the theory of value and its application.

Backgrounds for Social Workers. By Edward J. Menge, Professor of Biology, Dallas University. Richard G. Badger, Boston. \$1.50 net.

Studies in Sociology. In the range of subjects discussed are included such modern problems as birth-control and eugenics.

NEWS

Labor

Strikes.—On March 4th workmen associated with the Marine Workers' Affiliation to the number of 12,000 went on strike for the eight-hour day and an increase of wages; the hospital boats and transports were not interfered with, but otherwise harbor traffic was tied up; the men claimed that subordinate officials at New York were making of no effect the policy of the Railroad Administration and the United States Labor Board; the conciliator of the Railroad Administration, James Hughes, made a proposition to the strikers on the 7th which was not acceptable, but, after parleys, on the 8th they accepted further concessions of the administration, and the strike was declared off so far as public owners were concerned, and 5,000 workmen went back to work; the strike continues in respect to private owners, the expectation being that the example of the public owners will soon be followed by the private owners; the resumption of ferry service helped to relieve the city of a possible shortage of green-stuffs; the strike delayed the sailing of the French liner *La Lorraine* for ten hours.—Since the calling of the shoe strike in New York 39 independent factories have settled with the workmen, granting the 44-hour week and the 10 per cent increase demanded; two firms belonging to the Manufacturers' Association made separate settlements with the strikers.—Union trolley men on the North Hudson Division of the Public Service Company have formulated demands for 10 hours' pay for 9 hours' work, union recognition, and better working conditions; some 5,000 men are affected, and if the strike occurs it will tie up traffic in Hudson and Passaic Counties.—The Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on entering the seventh week of strike announced that 22 more independent manufacturers, employing 5,000 workers, had settled with the union, conceding the 44-hour week, increased wages, and all of the union standards; 9,000 workers are still out.—In the strike of 15,000 shoe workers, in Brooklyn, the manufacturers have attempted to defeat the strikers by forming a "New Union" after their own heart, with the effect of sending still others to the ranks of the strikers.—The Western Union messengers of New York from 15 to 60 years of age are going on strike to the number of 500 on account of a threatened reduction of wages.—In San Francisco, it is announced, that 8,000 electrical workers and girl telephone operators in the Pacific Coast States are ready to strike at a moment's notice, a secret vote having been taken a few weeks ago.—Representatives of the Seattle, Tacoma, and Aberdeen Metal Trades Councils have decided to take a referendum on whether they shall return to work immediately under conditions of

January 21st, when they struck for higher pay, and all metal ship yards in the Northwest were closed as a result.—In Lawrence, Mass., Peter Carr, head of the Police Department, has given orders that hereafter textile strikers will not be permitted to assemble on either public or private ground.—It is claimed that the taxicab strike in New York still continues because the chauffeurs have refused an offer of arbitration.—Employees of the paper mills at Bellwood, Penn., are near the end of their fourth week of strike; the employers refuse to recognize the union.—15,000 employes of the New England Telephone and Telegraph and the Providence Telephone and Telegraph Company threaten to go on strike unless their wage demands are granted.—In New York it is said that 500,000 have signified their intention to go on strike on July 1 in obedience to the principle of "No beer, no work."—It is maintained that the refusal to work of the 2,000 inmates of Leavenworth prison was due to poor and dirty food and barbarous punishments.

—The Leipzig strike has been settled and order has been restored. Minister Schwarz announces that severe measures will be taken against persistent idlers.

—Censorship restrictions on normally routed cablegrams and radiograms originating and terminating in the United States and Alaska and the island possessions have been removed.

—The Children's Bureau in a special report states that the United States is very backward as compared with Europe in the matter of registering births. Only 20 states registered 90 per cent or more of their births.

—Reports to the Working Conditions Service of the Department of Labor from manufacturers indicate that the adoption of the eight-hour day has generally resulted in an increase in production over the nine or ten-hour day.

—The Department of Labor reports that strikes are being called in England for a 30-hour week. Lord Leverhulme, a soap manufacturer, has introduced a six-hour day in his own plants. No diminution of output is reported.

—An agitation was raised in the House of Commons over the bill requiring compulsory military service. The Labor Party is opposing the bill, and Adamson, leader of this party, voiced this opposition by saying that free nations ought to be defended by free men, and not by men secured by compulsory military service.

—The general strike in Cuba has spread, according to advices to the State Department, until transportation in fully half of the country is tied up. Practically all industries are reported at a standstill. The latest demands of the unions are that all non-union railroad employes be dis-

charged. At the Havana docks 500 convicts now are employed as stevedores.

—The conditions under which the Workingmen's Council of Greater Berlin declared itself willing to approve the action of the Berlin Federation of Labor in adopting a resolution calling the strike off included the retirement of the volunteer regiments from Berlin and the release of insurgents arrested during the strike. The council is the body dominated by the radicals, which has been directing the strike.

—The Executive Council of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, meeting in Harrisburg on the 4th, adopted a resolution urging the removal of Postmaster General Burleson. A telegram was sent to President Wilson, saying: "Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Executive Council in session here urges removal of Postmaster General Burleson because of treatment of employes and the un-American spirit revealed in the conduct of his office."

—In a speech on the 4th at the opening sitting of the joint industrial council, in London, Premier Lloyd George said: "What is happening in Russia and may happen in Germany shows that, while the anarchistic sections may appear for the moment to be triumphant, inconceivable horrors are being suffered in those countries. We must banish unemployment. This can and must be done. Some scheme must be devised whereby workers must never again be put in dread of the horrors of distress, hunger and famine."

—The managing committee of the General Labor Federation in France has adopted a resolution which begins by quoting sentences from President Wilson's address at New York dealing with the uneasiness of the peoples of Europe. The resolution condemns any rectification of frontiers which is inspired by desire of conquest and opposes armed intervention in Russia. Responsibility is declined, according to the resolution, for "social events which may occur in case the French delegates at the Peace Conference systematically disregard popular aspirations and the desires of the laboring classes, which are those of humanity as a whole."

—The German Government is nearly ready, after many weeks' work, to present to the National Assembly drastic and far reaching labor legislation which is said to exceed by far anything demanded even by the Independent Socialists. The Government will present measures for the socialization of all the mines of Germany and the taking over of the coal syndicate by the nation. A law to be passed immediately will define the powers and duties of the Workmen's Council, which the Government promised to create as a means of putting a stop to strikes. These councils will be the economic representatives of the workmen.

—After a week of negotiations between the Government, shipping agents, and striking New York port workers, the agents gave notice that the strikers could return to work if they would agree to declare off existing boycotts, and not to interfere with the employment of any one hired by the agents. This was answered by an offer by the strikers, who said they were willing to return to work under the conditions prevailing before the lockout. Shipping agents estimate that their losses resulting from the strike during the past two months amount to \$10,000,000, according to a statement issued today, after a meeting at which measures of combating the port strikers were discussed.

—Robert Williams, general secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, said on the 5th, in London, that failure to grant the miners' demands will result in a general strike of the "triple alliance," which would paralyze British industries and probably force a change in the Government. The "triple alliance" is the common term for the transport workers, railway men, and miners. Williams's organization alone numbers close to 800,000. He is not optimistic regarding the result of the inquiry being conducted into the mining situation by the Government, and declared that nationalization of all natural monopolies, with the workers participating in the management, is the only solution to the present labor unrest.

—Wage increases for more than 80,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were awarded by the advisory board which brought an end to the general strike in the men's and boys' clothing factories on January 22 by recommending the establishment of the 44-hour week. The board granted \$2 a week increase to week workers, 10 per cent increase to piece workers and 12½ per cent increase to knee pants workers. The wage increases will become effective on April 1 in factories controlled by the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association. The New York Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades will demand similar wage increases from independent employers, so the new wage scale will be brought to more than 75,000 workers.

—Members of the Pennsylvania State police and the local constable at Coatesville, Pa., recently "deported" more than thirty Southern negroes. The men were rounded up in poolrooms and restaurants in the negro section of the town, marched to the city limits, and told to "head South and keep on going." All of these men were on foot. Nearly all were penniless. For a year or more they were employed in the steel mills at Coatesville at wages higher than they had ever received before. They were hired in Southern cities by employment agents, who paid their transportation North and in many instances promised return fare. Coatesville steel mills have never

recognized the unions, and not until last fall was the eight-hour day put into effect. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has taken up the deportation outrages with Secretary of Labor Wilson.

—The War Labor Board has recommended to the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company that it "give full and free permission to its employes to organize into labor unions in conformity with the announced principles of justice." The board found the company was violating the board's policy conforming to the President's proclamation creating it. "If these employes," the board said, "follow a lawful course toward the company, advised or directed by national or international union, it is their right, and the company should not prevent them from so doing. Discharges for legitimate union activities, interrogation of workers by officials of the companies as to union affiliations, espionage by agents of the company, and like actions, the intent of which is to discourage and prevent men from exercising this right of organization must be deemed an interference with their rights as laid down in the principles of the board."

—The strike in Berlin embraced the means of transport, the electricians, post and telegraph officials, restaurant and hotel employes, and the newspaper workers. The Workers' Councils decided that the food supply system, the fire brigade, hospitals, and similar functions should not be included in the strike. The Prussian Government declared a state of siege in the police districts of Berlin, Spandau, and other suburbs of Berlin in order "to protect the bulk of the working people from famine and the terror of the minority." Minister of War Noske assumed executive power. Crowds forced their way into the police stations in Berlin, Monday night, disarmed the policemen, and cut the telephone wires. The proposal of the Spartacides to declare a general strike was adopted by the Workers' Councils of Berlin late Sunday, after a stormy meeting, by a bare majority. The Independent Socialists supported the Spartacides, while the Majority Socialists and the Democrats united in opposition.

League of Nations

—The Senate of the Colorado Legislature by a strict party vote on March 7 adopted a resolution favoring the ratification of the League of Nations plan outlined by President Wilson.

—Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, in an address in New York said that a League of Nations will soon be agreed upon. Sentiment in its favor, he said, was well-nigh universal among the civilized peoples of all countries.

—The Paris correspondent of the London *Daily News* on the 10th telegraphed that Lloyd

George's insistence on disarmament for Germany is merely the first step in a general policy of pacification intended to lead to disarmament in all countries.

—Senator Borah, opening a campaign against the League in New York on the 5th, declared it to be nothing but a League of representatives of certain Governments to be endowed with the tremendous powers of making peace or war, and emphasized the single vote of the United States.

—A victory for the League of Nations is claimed as a true interpretation of the result of the election of the Democratic candidate, John H. Wilson, in the twenty-second Pennsylvania Congressional District last week. The district comprises Butler and Westmoreland Counties, which for many years have gone strongly Republican.

—The New York *World's* Washington correspondent says that the Democratic leaders welcome the Republican insistence that the League of Nations be made a party issue. Mr. Hughes, speaking before the New York County Lawyers' Association at the Hotel Astor, deprecated approaching the question from any point of view as a partisan.

—André Tardieu, one of the French delegates to the Peace Conference, has stated that there will be no Prinkipo Conference; he said the Bolsheviki had failed to comply with the conditions laid down by the Entente as to a suspension of hostilities, and that the Allies have in view new methods of restoring order in Russia and are examining available means to carry out this purpose.

—A threat of Irish opposition to President Wilson and to the ratification of the League of Nations in Congress was made in Paris on the 7th, by Sean O'Ceallaigh (John O'Kelly), the delegate of the provisional Irish Republic to the Peace Conference. He insisted that the Irish influence in the United States could stop ratification of the League of Nations in Congress.

—While Marquis Okuma and officials of the Japanese Government are expressing approval of the League, the army and navy officials in Japan are reported to be opposed to it. Among others they raise the question of whether or not an international army will fight with the same enthusiasm as an army imbued with patriotism for its own country.

—A memorandum asking the adoption by the Peace Conference of an extended program calculated to protect the interests of farmers in all countries was presented to the American delegation by Charles S. Barrett, National President of the Farmers' Union of the United States. The memorandum also asks the inclusion in the League of Nations of a special body having directly in charge the interests of international agriculture. The memorandum also demands that the farmers

have the right to bargain collectively, that farm tenancy be abolished gradually, and that each nation have the right to withhold the export of supplies essential to agriculture. It is suggested that the regulation of trade be maintained on the basis of cost of production plus a reasonable profit.

Education

—A statement made by the Public Education Association declares that there are 80,000 to 50,000 children in New York City who are receiving no instruction whatever because of the shortage of 1,000 teachers. "Unless the salaries of teachers as well as the conditions under which they work are made just and attractive we cannot retain the force we now have, let alone obtain new ones."

—New appropriations, aggregating \$1,108,525, to schools and colleges have been made by the General Education Board founded by John D. Rockefeller as follows: For medical education—to Johns Hopkins Medical School, Baltimore, for the endowment of a department of obstetrics, \$400,000. To colleges—The College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minn., \$100,000; Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va., \$75,000; Reed College, Portland, Ore., \$150,000; West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, W. Va., \$125,000; total, \$450,000. For negro education—Me-harry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn., \$150,000; Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., \$12,500; Lane College, Jackson, Tenn., \$7,000; Manassas Industrial School, Manassas, Virginia, \$2,000; Penn Normal and Industrial School, Frogmore, St. Helena Island, S. C., \$6,000; Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, Ga., \$5,000; St. Augustine School, Raleigh, N. C., \$2,000; Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, Va., \$500; Home-Makers' Club Work in the South, \$48,575; Summer Schools for Negro Teachers, \$29,950; total, \$258,525.

—The Board of Education's practice of suspending teachers without pay, without a hearing, and without preferring specific charges against them, is denounced by the Teachers' Union of New York City, which demands that the Department of Education either formulate and serve charges against Benjamin Glassberg or reinstate him with pay for the term of his suspension. Mr. Glassberg, a teacher of history in the Commercial High School of Brooklyn, was suspended from duty, without pay and without a hearing, for "conduct unbecoming a teacher" on January 16, since which time he has been deprived of an income on which to support himself and his dependents. The Union demands that responsible officers of the Department of Education immediately formulate and serve definite charges in the case, and that a public trial be held, at which the

accused teacher may be represented by legal counsel. In the event of the inability or the unwillingness of responsible officers to formulate and serve charges, the Teachers' Union demands that Mr. Glassberg be reinstated at once in his position with pay for the term of his suspension.

Reconstruction

—The Supreme Court of Louisiana on the 4th upheld the right of the Postmaster General to fix intra-State telephone rates.

—Conviction of Eugene Debs to ten years' imprisonment for sedition under the Espionage act was sustained by the Supreme Court on the 10th.

—The Federal Board for Vocational Education announced on March 7 returning wounded soldiers, who previous to their entrance into military service were farmers, will be given training in farm management at the expense of the Government.

—John J. D. Reid, Canadian Minister of Railways, took over the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway on the 9th. The company announced it could not continue operations because of lack of funds, and an order in council was passed appointing the Minister of Railways receiver.

—The correctness of the report from Melbourne that the Federal Parliament of Australia had, on March 9, placed an embargo on all goods other than those of British origin, was questioned in New York by Mr. H. Y. Braddon, High Commissioner for Australia to the United States.

—The United States Tariff Commission has issued a report on reciprocity in commercial treaties covering the experience of the United States and other countries since 1854. It recommends that the United States treat all countries on the same terms with respect to tariffs, and in turn require equal treatment from every other country.

—Among the bills defeated by the Republican filibuster was the appropriation of \$750,000,000 for the revolving fund of the Railroad Administration. As this leaves the Government without funds for the rehabilitation of the roads. It is reported that a group of bankers is undertaking to form a syndicate for the purpose of supplying \$500,000,000.

—The failure of Congress to pass the Urgent Deficiency bill leaves many Government Bureaus without funds. The War Department announces that it will be forced to retain in the service many men who would otherwise be demobilized. The President has been appealed to by the Secretary of Labor to furnish funds for the continuance of the United States Employment Service.

—At the conference of Governors and Mayors called by the President and the Secretary of Labor

in Washington a committee was formed to provide for a permanent organization composed of all Mayors of cities of 2,500 or over. Mayor George L. Baker, of Portland, Oregon, is chairman of the committee. The conference requested the Secretary of Labor to call another national conference not later than February 1, 1920.

—A new Singletax organization has been formed in Los Angeles. It is to be known as the Singletax League, and Mr. William F. Lusk, who has been associated with Hon. J. Stitt Wilson in his lecture work, will be executive secretary. Mr. and Mrs. William C. de Mille, William H. MacFarlane, formerly of the Northwestern Railroad in Chicago; O. M. Donaldson, formerly editor of *Oak Leaves*, Oak Park, Ill., and many other well-known workers in the Henry George movement are active in the league.

—Canadian Immigration authorities at Bridgeburg detained and deported Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who was travelling to Toronto from New York. The charge against him was that he had in his possession seditious literature. *The Advance*, official organ of the Garment Workers, says that the literature found in Mr. Schlossberg's possession was copies of *The Public*, *Advance*, the *New Republic*, the *Survey*, the *Nation*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*, and, most incriminating of all in the eyes of the Canadian officials, a copy of "The Only Possible Peace," by Dr. Frederic C. Howe, United States Immigration Commissioner at the port of New York.

—The Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, gives figures based on the experience of the bureau in issuing Federal certificates of age to children going to work in five States where State certificates were not acceptable for the purposes of the former Federal Child Labor Law, which show an alarming percentage of illiteracy among certain groups of working children. More than one-fourth, or 5,294, of the 19,546 children between 14 and 16 years of age could not sign their own names legibly. Of 1,166 colored children to whom certificates were issued only 40 reached the eighth grade; that is, 96 per cent. of the white children and 97 per cent. of the colored children had not reached the eighth grade in school.

—Acting in behalf of a committee of thirty-one prominent men, Congressman Kahn of California, in Washington, on March 4 presented to President Wilson a petition on behalf of the Zionist organization for the consideration of the Peace Conference. President Wilson acknowledged the petition in a few words and agreed to have the matter put before the conference after his arrival in Paris. The petition is a protest against the plans of the Zionist Organization in Europe and America to segregate "the Jews as a nationalistic unit

in any country." It asserts that only about 150,000 out of 3,500,000 Jews living in the United States favor the nationalistic movement. The petitioners are careful to express their complete sympathy with the purpose of making Palestine a free country and of supporting it as an asylum for unhappy and oppressed Jews throughout the world, but maintain that the true destiny of those of the Jewish race and religion is to amalgamate as citizens in the national life of the countries of their birth or adoption. Among the signers are Adolph S. Ochs, of the *New York Times*; Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, Chancellor Jewish Chautauqua; Henry Morgenthau, former Ambassador to Turkey; Professor Morris Jastrow, University of Pennsylvania, and Professor Edward R. Seligman of Columbia University.

Political

—A. Mitchell Palmer was sworn in as Attorney-General of the United States on the 5th, to succeed Thomas W. Gregory. Francis P. Garvan succeeds Mr. Palmer as Alien Property Custodian.

—Seattle on the 4th elected three City Councilmen representing Mayor Hanson over candidates indorsed by the labor leaders, which is claimed by the Mayor as an indorsement of his strike policy.

—Will H. Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, in speeches at St. Paul and Minneapolis, opened the Republican campaign for 1920. Supreme nationalism was the keynote of his speeches. He said the Republicans would "accept no indefinite internationalism as a substitute for fervent American nationalism."

—The special session of the Legislature of the Filipinos has closed at Manila with the adoption of instructions to the "Independence Mission," some of the members of which are now on their way to the United States, perpetuating that body until independence is achieved and serving notice on the world that the people of the Philippine Islands think the time has come for America to redeem its promise.

—On March 5th President Wilson commuted or pardoned fifty persons convicted and sentenced under the Espionage act. Before the President sailed for Paris, Dudley Field Malone in a telegram asked him if he would appoint a commission composed of Frank Walsh, Jane Addams, and Charles M. Schwab to study the records of all political trials and report to him. Last week the Civil Liberties Bureau issued a statement controverting Mr. Gregory's statement that political prisoners were not convicted for the mere expression of opinion. The Bureau states that its records indicate that two-thirds of the prosecutions under the Espionage act have arisen from statements made in private conversations, and not in public speeches or print.

—The rule of seniority was strictly observed by the Republicans in organizing the House, with the exception of the Speakership. As a compromise in electing F. H. Gillett of Massachusetts Speaker over senior member Mann of Illinois, the latter was allowed to name the Committee on Committees, which has resulted in the same committee makeup that would have followed the election of Mr. Mann to the Speakership. Attempts are being made by progressive Democrats to the number of 64 members to break the rule of seniority in that party, which kept the control of the committees in the hands of Southern members. Final action has not been taken.

—The victory of the United Farmers of North Ontario, where their candidate, W. J. Widdifield, won the seat from the Government by the substantial majority of 324 is significant. Both the United Farmers and the Independent Labor Party have adopted progressive and democratic platforms which have much in common. Both stand for the initiative, referendum and recall, government ownership and operation of the natural sources of wealth, nationalization of the railways and banking institutions, proportional representation and other live problems that the old parties have hitherto ignored. All over the province the United Farmers and the Labor Party are getting closer together.

Suffrage

—Italy having agreed, the Interallied Women's Council has the assent of four of five great powers in the Council of Ten to its request for representation of women on all Peace Conference committees dealing with the interests of women and children.

—The Minimum Wage Board of the Bureau of Labor at Manitoba has set \$12 a week as the lowest wage for skilled female help in mail order houses, printing shops and garment factories. A nine-hour day and forty-eight-hour week was agreed upon for mail order houses and nine-hour day and fifty-four-hour week for printing establishments.

—The signatures of 98,000 Connecticut women were on view at the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Headquarters at Hartford last week. These signatures, affixed to sheets headed, "We, the undersigned believe in equal suffrage for men and women," testify to the demand for suffrage in the home state of Senators Brandegee and McLean. The list of signatures, the *Woman Citizen* says, is increasing daily.

—The census of 1910 showed 8,000,000 "females" out of a total wage-earning population of 38,000,000, or practically 1 in 5. On the basis of increase in numbers of working women shown

for the preceding 30 years there are probably now some twelve and one-half million "females in gainful occupations," 10 years of age and over, without regard to those who entered industry because of temporary war conditions. There are approximately eleven and one-half million women to be reached by an ideally efficient service.

Foreign

—The Hungarian Government has abolished the old army organization. A volunteer army of six divisions has been formed.

—The British Government has decided to release all Irish political prisoners. To prevent a great public demonstration the prisoners will return to Ireland in small batches.

—A London dispatch to the *New York World* claims that Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, Minister of Education, one of Great Britain's most brilliant scholars, will succeed Lord Reading as British Ambassador at Washington.

—Foreign exchange transactions between the United States and Russia have been prohibited by the Federal Reserve Board, and similar action has been taken by the authorities of Great Britain and France. It is understood that one purpose of the step is to stop the financing of Bolshevik propaganda.

—In a letter to Congressman Alvin T. Fuller, President Wilson expressed his disapproval of the reported intention of taking the German Navy to sea and sinking it. The President said the business sense of the people at large would be utterly opposed to the wanton destruction of a navy worth \$200,000,000.

—In Paris, on the 6th, nine barracks were thrown open for the sale of foodstuffs direct from the Government to the consumer. It was estimated that when the stores closed at 5 o'clock 25,000 had been waited upon, and not less than 50,000 pounds of foodstuffs sold. Prices are half those charged in ordinary shops. The barracks, named the "Vilgrain Barracks," are in the most congested, populous and poorest quarters of the city.

—On the 6th a bill passed the second reading in the House of Commons, by a vote of 804 to 71, providing for 900,000 men as an army of occupation for Great Britain. This army will be composed of men who enlist for a period ending April 30, 1920. In the discussion it appeared that the Government was determined to stand by France in any troubles that might arise in after-war conditions or political development in Germany, and the notion was repudiated that the army was in any way to be used against Russia.

—Government troops have succeeded in capturing all the places in Berlin held by the Spartacides, but disturbances and insurrections are reported from various parts of the country. Agreement is reported at Paris by which Germany is to turn over her shipping in exchange for 800,000 tons of food monthly till the next harvest. Part or all of these ships will be used to bring back American troops. It is estimated that the Allies will have to furnish 8,500,000 tons of grain, 1,000,000 tons of fats, and 1,000,000 tons of meat.

—The successful meeting of the crisis in India relative to silver currency during the past year was greatly aided by the coöperation of the United States. It is the opinion of governmental authorities in England that there is need for sounder currency habits in India, and that if the absorption of silver was unrestricted it might become physically impossible to purchase enough of the metal. Even if silver was obtainable, the demand might force the price to a giddy height and throw into confusion the entire exchange policy.

—W. R. Hart, United States Commissioner to China for the Committee on Public Information, who has just arrived from the Orient, declares that Japan is behind an attempt to undermine the manhood of China with drugs. Organized Japanese smugglers are taking opium and morphine into China disguised as food and war munitions, and then are selling the drugs openly. The drug habit is again gaining ground in China, says Mr. Hart. When he left things were in a deplorable state, men and boys flocking in great numbers to the drug joints. He said that China would soon become a drug fiend's paradise unless the smuggling stopped.

—Raymond Robins of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia, in testifying before the Senate committee on the 6th and 7th on affairs in Russia, deprecated the excesses that followed the Revolution, but insisted that the leaders were sincere, if impractical, and that the Soviets were the real heart of Russia. David R. Francis, American Ambassador to Russia, testified before the same committee on the 8th. Mr. Francis was very severe in arraigning the Bolshevik Government. Mr. Robins was in favor of leaving Russia alone. Mr. Francis declared that to withdraw the Allied troops at this time would cause the massacre of many innocent persons.

—President Carranza has proposed an amendment to the constitution of Mexico for the regulation of strikes and the taking over of the great industrial properties of the country. The amendment contains the following provisions: "The Mexican Government has a right to impose, at any time, upon private property any changes or modifications that it deems beneficial to public welfare. For the purpose of making a fair distribution of public wealth and aiming toward its preservation,

the Government shall also be entitled to regulate the exploitation and utility of those natural elements found in the country and which may be susceptible of appropriation."

—According to the latest returns from the municipalities and shires, the total unimproved value of land in New South Wales is now £194,964,788, while the value of improvements is £278,987,408. Since 1910 the increase in unimproved value is £41,500,000, while in the same time improvements have increased by £95,800,000. The rates in the main are levied upon unimproved values, and it would therefore appear that this system of rating has led to a very great increase in the value of improvements, which are untaxed. The rates received last year were £2,294,000, as against £1,368,000 in 1910. Of the present rates a little more than half, or £1,160,000, are levied in Sydney and suburbs, and the remainder in the municipalities and shires.

—Giving evidence in London before the commission inquiring into the British coal industry, A. L. Dickenson, financial adviser to the Coal Controller, said that the profits of the owners for the eight months up to September last aggregated £89,000,000, equal to 8s. 6½d. per ton on the output of 218,000,000 tons, the value of which at the pithead was 24s. 10d. This was compared with an average profit of £18,000,000 for the same period in the five years ended in 1913 on an output of 270,000,000 tons, equal to 1s. a ton, the value of which at the pithead was 8s. 9d. Mr. Dickenson added that the additional half crown put on coal by the Government in June last went into the pockets of the owners, who did not need it. Some of the collieries, he said, were making a profit as high as 6s. the ton.

—Writing of the breaking up of great estates in England, the London *Daily News* records that part of the Duke of Bedford's estate was at first sold privately, and 5,000 acres was afterwards resold for £126,000. During the year £14,000,000 is the approximate estimate of the money paid for purchases of portions of the great landed estates. Among the most important estates that have been broken up were Lord Stalbridge's in Dorset, 8,000 acres, including the town of Shaftesbury, sold for £462,000; the Alton estate in Staffordshire, 5,500 acres, £196,000; the Duke of Sutherland's Scottish estates, £201,000; Gopsall Hall, one of the stately homes of England, 12,000 acres, purchased by Mr. S. J. Waring for nearly half a million; the Earl of Pembroke's estate in Wiltshire, 8,400 acres, £112,000; the Broome and Harcott estates of the Earl of Dudley, 3,200 acres, £121,000; the Duke of Buccleuch's Warwickshire estate, 3,800 acres, £150,000; Lord Anglesey's estate at Burton-on-Trent, 3,000 acres, £152,000; 6,700 acres of the Eaton estate of the Duke of Westminster, sold privately; the Lentworth Hall estate, near Lan-

caster, also sold privately; Lord Crewe's Spurstow estate, near Beeston Castle, Notts, 2,300 acres, £84,600; 1,800 acres of Sir Robert Peel's estate in Staffordshire, £80,000; the historic Bosworth Park estate, 2,000 acres, £88,000.

General

—In reversing the conviction of John J. McGinniss, an attorney, and Frank d'Ambrosio, his employe, on a charge of conspiracy, the United States Court of Appeals, in Brooklyn, strongly condemned the use of the dictograph as a means of obtaining evidence.

—In 1915 the Legislature in the Philippines enacted a law providing for the organization of agricultural credit coöperative associations. As a result 74 of these associations were formed and are doing a great deal for the farmers in helping them to raise money for the purchase of livestock, seeds, machinery, fertilizers, etc.

—Discussion of the affairs of the Osage Indians in the House Committee on Indian Affairs seems to show them to be the richest people in the world. The 2,200 of the tribe have about 1,500,000 acres of Oklahoma land, about one-tenth of which has been leased for oil purposes. There is now paid to them annually between \$4,000 and \$5,000 per capita from the oil production.

—According to official figures the total number of Americans that have taken up residence in the Province of Alberta, Canada, since 1905 reaches 275,098. The largest immigration into Alberta from the United States came in 1909-10, and numbered 84,568; the smallest in 1918-19, numbered 5,618. Hundreds of Americans have taken up Government land and have become naturalized.

—Robert E. Dowling, prominent New York real estate operator, told the Assembly Cities Committee in Albany the outstanding funded debt of the City of New York had greatly exceeded its constitutional limit. It was nearer 20 per cent than 10 per cent of the assessed valuation of the taxable realty that the Constitution permits. He said that the violation of the constitutional prohibition against reckless piling up of public debts had been made possible by arbitrary and criminal boosting of real estate valuations in the city for purposes of taxation.

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