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March 29, 1919

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THE PUBLIC

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Volume XXII

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WHEN extremes meet to establish a public good the presumption is that average interests will be conserved by following an affirmative policy. On one and the same day the newspapers reported a declaration by Senator William C. Edwards, thirty-two years member of Parliament in Canada, and an interview of Captain Charles B. Gibson, a Red Cross physician in Chicago just returned from extensive experience in Bulgaria,—but gentlemen being enthusiastically outspoken as to the need for the League of Nations. "It is of the utmost importance to the future of humanity that such a league be formed," said Senator Edwards. "So far as I am able to discern, Canada is practically unanimous in support of the League of Nations. I haven't heard a single dissenting voice in the Dominion and we sincerely hope that the League will be formed." Speaking in the light of what he saw in Bulgaria, where he helped to feed 8,000 to 4,000 of the starving population every day, Dr. Gibson said: "Serbia is only waiting for the chance to spring at Bulgaria's throat, and Greece is claiming everything in sight. That is the Balkan situation in a nutshell. The League of Nations is absolutely necessary if only to preserve peace in the Balkans." Canada, taught by a century of transcontinental border peace without armaments, wants the League of Nations because of her far-flung harvest line. The Balkans need the League in order that age-long barriers of tribal distinctions and prejudices may be transformed into peaceful boundaries of friendship. Whether from the point of view of a not easily disturbed peace or from that of a peace not easily preserved, the demand for the League is equally urgent.

ALREADY persons who expect tariff privileges are listing their wants. The New England Shoe and Leather Association has addressed a letter to its members calling their attention to the fact that "one of the most important subjects to be considered by the next Congress—possibly at an early session—will be that of an appropriate upward revision of the existing United States tariffs." The letter goes on to say that "our allied shoe and leather industries, of course, will insist that a considerable degree of protection be given them in the next tariff law." The members are warned that the matter is already being actively discussed at Washington, and are urged to write at once stating what should be the protective duty that their particular product should have. If there should be anybody in this country after the next Congress has met whose wages or profits are not satisfactory he will have only himself to thank. The warning has been given. The United States Treasury will be thrown open wide.

WHAT with landlords forcing families into smaller space, and the closing of saloons where men have gathered, the proposal to stop the movies on Sunday looks like another step in the plan to compel everybody to go to church. Might it not be a good thing for the ministers to take advantage of the drawing power of the movies and attract rather than drive the people to the churches? Those unconventional ministers who have adopted this plan seem to make no complaint either of the movies or of a lack of hearers. It is very thoughtful of the Sabbatarians to concern themselves about the moral and spiritual welfare of their neighbors, but it may be doubted

whether their efforts will be appreciated; and it is barely possible that they are not needed. It may be well not to prohibit too many things at once, lest the bonds should burst.

THERE is hope in the increased willingness of men of affairs to give consideration to the wishes and desires of labor. But it is only hope. The dawn of the better day it may be, but it is only the dawn, and not the day itself. There is a keener appreciation of the rights of labor and a greater desire to see working men and women have better conditions. But as yet there is little disposition on the part of monopoly to surrender any of its privilege or forego any of its unjust gains. Since social wrongs affect beneficiaries as well as victims, it is idle to talk of establishing rights until we are ready to remove wrongs. This will come with evolution. But there are times when the current of events moves swiftly, and obstacles that yield too slowly cause overflows and destruction. The Russians have found it so; the Germans are having a similar experience. The wise may profit by the experience of the foolish.

SEVERAL interesting points were brought to the surface in the New Jersey traction strike, which involved 141 municipalities. One is the difficulty of paying dividends on a capitalization of \$150,000,000, \$80,000,000 of which is water. Another is the short-sighted determination of a few employers not to recognize labor unions. But the most striking, perhaps, is the domination of State politics by Public Service corporations. "No one who has not been in active political life," says George L. Record in an article on the New Jersey traction question, to be found on another page of this issue, "can form any real conception of the corrupting force in our public life of the existence in private hands of these monopoly privileges. Our experience in this regard confirms the principle that we cannot successfully regulate and control monopoly in private hands, for the simple reason that the profits of monopoly are so tremendous that the beneficiaries of monopolies are tempted to spend sufficient money in practical politics to control the regulating machinery." Mere economy is thus seen to be far from the only advantage in government ownership of public utilities.

THERE is a vast deal of unnecessary indignation over the vote of the Chicago unions to call a strike on election day. The object of the strike is to insure adequate manning of the polls in the interest of the new Labor Party. Twenty thousand men are already pledged and 80,000 more are expected to join the movement. The loudest outcries come from the politicians who are tearing their hair and crying Bolshevism. Criticism does not come with good grace from them for they should be the last to protest. The trade unions are merely copying the example set them by the politicians. Who has ever visited the City Hall on election day and found the doors open? From time immemorial the politicians have called strikes on election day, first taking the precaution to declare a legal holiday. There seems to be no ground for indignation unless it rises from the natural antipathy between professional and amateur. To be sure, there is a nice point in ethics involved, but the Labor Party has the better argument there. Its members are taking their holiday at their own expense, while the politicians have always had their day off at the expense of the tax payers. No wonder there is excitement. Examples like that are likely to spread.

PITTSBURGH is again on the map, not as the abode of millionaires, but as the possessor of a councilman with an idea. The city owns some two thousand lots that have been acquired in past time for defaulted taxes—all cities acquire a great deal of land in this way, but most of them resell it to persons who would pay the taxes. Councilman Daniel Winters has presented a resolution to the Finance Committee requesting the city solicitor to prepare an opinion on the legal authority of the city to lease the two thousand or more lots to individuals for the building of homes. The builder is required to pay the taxes and a rental of about four per cent. of the assessed valuation; the leases are to run for a long term of years, or to be perpetual. Suppose a man has \$8,000 to put into a home. He pays \$1,000 for the lot upon which to build, which leaves him with \$2,000 for material and labor, and gives him a \$2,000 house. If he leases under Councilman Winters' plan, he pays nothing down for the lot and has \$8,000 to pay for material and labor, which gives him a \$8,000 house, and uses

fifty per cent. more labor and material. Will some bright speculator in vacant land please point out an objection to that plan?

AMERICAN army officers are the equal of those of any other country both in ability and in integrity. During the present war they have shown remarkable ability in getting things done. But to say this is not to condone the false system that has outlived its time. The well considered article of Charles Johnson Post, to be found on another page in this issue, shows that the evils complained of in the court-martials are not temporary or surface eruptions, but are ingrown in the system. Now and again a soldier like General Ansell or Major Harlee is bold enough to speak out in defiance of military order and tradition. But the great mass of well meaning and conscientious officers are cowed into silence. They are the victims of militarism, the remedy for which is voluntary enlistment and the right of resignation. The army is merely an elaborated police force, and should rest upon the same basis of personal responsibility. Permit the men to resign as policemen do, and there will be no desertions and no insubordination. When every army man enters the ranks and works his way up through the technical schools, the army and navy officers will be as rational as civilians. The whole trouble has come from trying to make an autocratic system fit a democratic country.

IT is heart warming to find Mr. Burleson taking an interest in efficiency. He is calling an efficiency conference of postal officials together with a number of representatives of business organizations and postmasters of the principal cities. It is a good idea, but comes just six years too late. In the intervening time a bad system has been weeding out efficient men and leaving the least desirable behind. The Post Office under Mr. Burleson has gone on the theory that men, like machine-made commodities, are all alike, and that it is good business to buy labor from the lowest bidder. Mr. Burleson could have profited by Tom Johnson's advice. When the latter was asked how he managed to get such good workmen, he explained that he always paid a little higher wage than anyone else. As a consequence he could pick the best men on the market. Mr. Burleson, suffering

from his early experience with plantation labor in the South, has never seen the fallacy of cheap labor. Under him the Post Office has resolutely refused to enter into competition with private business, and its wage standards have lagged far behind those of its competitors. While private industry has been drawing men from the top of the industrial market, Mr. Burleson has been recruiting them from the bottom in competition with the unskilled. The result has been a slowing down of the whole machine. The coming conference may be able to reverse the tendency, but it comes too late to serve Mr. Burleson. It will take years of patient constructive effort to replace six years of clumsy wrecking. Mr. Burleson has taken his clock apart. Now let him put it together.

ONE of the chief factors in the problem under consideration at Paris is Russia. Conditions in that country bulk large from whatever point they may be viewed. From being one of the chief members of the Entente, Russia is now the only country in which Allied armies have not ceased fighting. But worse than that, it is the only country whose condition is bound up in mystery. Yet no intelligent action can be taken until people know the facts. Is Russia a seething mass of wild disorder, with industry destroyed and starvation staring the people in the face; or is it a workers' republic where those who toil enjoy, and where a social order based upon justice is coming out of former chaos? There was similar doubt and confusion in regard to German atrocities in Belgium, but when Lord Bryce rendered his report there was no further uncertainty. Cannot a commission of such men as Bryce be sent to Russia to bring us the facts?

OWING to a typographical error in the issue of March 8, the editorial on "Lawrence, Massachusetts," was made to say, "fifty per cent. of the adult male wage earners receive less than \$1,800 a year when they work full time." The amount should have been \$1,000. Present wages as calculated by the *Forward* of Boston are \$1,200 per year for 63 per cent. of the workers; \$1,000 per year for 47 per cent., and \$900 per year for 27 per cent. This is for a fifty-two week year without any deductions for sickness, idleness, and holidays.

Germany's Opportunity

COMPLAINT was made during the reconstruction period after our Civil war, that those Southern States that had not gone out of the Union were more difficult to handle than those that joined the Confederacy. Germany may present something of that condition as compared with neighboring States. If the revolution should prove to be a success, and the Socialists and Radicals should retain control during the reconstruction period, the resulting economic condition may rest upon a more equitable basis.

Have these men the wisdom to choose the right course and the courage to follow it? To attempt the program of the Bolsheviki will mean inevitable reaction, and a discrediting of progressive ideas. But if the immediate steps be directed toward eliminating economic dead-heads, there will be a positive gain that will make itself felt throughout the life of the nation.

It would be idle to try to name all that would be done in Germany, supposing the slate to be wiped clean. But there are some things that would not be done. An aristocracy or hereditary nobility would not be created; legal privilege for private persons would not be set up; monopolies in private hands would not be allowed. And most important of all, the land system under which the owner, whether in city or country, can live on the labor of those who use the land, without giving any service in return, would not be permitted.

Justice counsels the elimination of a privileged class. Self-interest dictates that all forms of monopoly should be abolished. Ninety-nine out of every hundred Germans would profit by the change. Will they make it? Will they establish a common ownership of all the people in the land and lay a confiscatory tax on abnormally large incomes? Will they, in a word, put industry on a sound basis where labor and legitimate capital will enjoy all they create?

Progressive-minded people in countries untouched by revolution will have a harder job. The beneficiaries of present conditions, who are in control of the governments will first have to be dislodged before the real constructive work can begin. But if Germany, with all her privileged classes dislodged, will put through a con-

structive program, the resulting benefits will be so self-evident that other nations will have to follow her example in order to keep up with her industrial development.

This is Germany's opportunity. She can by a wise economic policy confer a boon upon the world that will go far toward compensating mankind for the havoc she has wrought.

North Dakota Farmers

THE refusal of the British Government to visé passports issued by our own State Department to officers of the Nonpartisan League does not reflect any credit on the British Government. During the war it was the custom to brand political opponents as pro-German, and the League got more than its share of epithets. Its loyalty can be partly judged by its record. Part of the record is the political success of the League. Outlawed in a half-dozen States, it has gone serenely upon its way. It has swept North Dakota for the second time, captured Idaho, made a serious raid upon Minnesota, and secured a foothold in a half-dozen other States.

Investigations by Congress, the Security League, and the newspapers have shown much opposition to profiteering, but very little to the war. Concerning itself wholly with a domestic problem, it did not rally overnight to a whole-hearted support of the war. For that matter, neither did Congress, nor the nation itself. It was quick, however, to comprehend the sincerity of our national purpose, and judged by its record ever since the declaration of war it has given ungrudging support to the national cause. Its attack on profiteering was an attack on a practice that did more to undermine our morale during the war than any conscious German propaganda. It may have had some suspicious elements, but what community or organization was free of the faint-hearted or pro-German? Certainly not Congress. Nor business—the Alien Property Custodian can vouch for that.

The League has come to stay in the Northwest. It arose for exactly the same reason that the farmers' coöperative movement in Northwestern Canada arose, and it is finding its outlet in much the same manner. The farmer of the Northwest has been exploited. There are too many people between him and his markets. Hence there has arisen a demand for freedom

from the large army of persons who yield scant service and get large returns. The Grain Growers in Canada and the League in North Dakota each advocating their coöperative elevators, each strongly in favor of Government ownership of railways, each wanting to be freed from the land speculators. Hence each is for the taxation of land values. Each stands for a closer union between producer and consumer, and for the elimination of the long line of monopolies that stand between them,—terminal monopolies, market monopolies, and banking monopolies. There is the reason for the League. Epithets will not dispose of economic evils. The people of the Northwest are up in arms and intend to have some alleviation of their condition.

Senator Lodge in Debate

WE confess to an impatient sense of disappointment at the manner in which Senator Lodge met the occasion of his debate with Dr. Lowell. So profoundly stirred are all thoughtful, informed, and unbiased Americans over the need for the extension of the federal principle to the international units of the world, that only the strongest, the wisest, and the most impersonal argument of his case would have befitted a Senate leader responsible by his round-robin for a conspiracy of criticism against the League of Nations. He should have clearly stated the philosophy underlying the case, he should have sharply defined the deficiencies of the document, and he should have unmistakably indicated essential lines of needed change and possible improvement. In the time allotted to his two speeches he had ample space to do all that. Instead, in characteristic fashion he merely cantered around the subject with facile pettiness. His diversion on the intimacy and opinions of Mr. Roosevelt and his correction of Mr. Wilson's verbal quotation were alike needless. It was no time for either pathos or persiflage. The nation calls for sound argument, a logic that will endure the dry light of rational understanding. He borrowed from the friends of the League three suggestions of improvement in the terminology of the Covenant, and offered them as his own contribution in constructive statesmanship for the benefit of the League of Nations. Did the Senator and the rest of the

thirty-nine round-robin subscribers really imagine that the Covenant in its draft form would call for no changes? Any female child that had ever helped frame the rules for a class debate could have informed them differently. Five little girls would have five different opinions that needed to be adjusted. The President's task in Paris was to create an atmosphere in which the representatives of the governments of the hundreds of millions of citizens of our earth could find the necessary media for exchange of thought and harmonization of purpose. What has been achieved belongs to the miracles of history.

The Senator's charges that the Covenant opens the door to injury to the United States, through immigration, through tariff impedimenta, through repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine, are chimæras of his own imagination. Undoubtedly the successful working of the League will change the complexion of many old beliefs, but not in the way the Senator professes to fear. Possibly the time will come when America will send out as many emigrants as she receives immigrants; if tariffs remain artificial, possibly free trade will be found to be a natural, growing, living thing; possibly a world recognition of the basic truth behind the Monroe Doctrine will not detract an iota from the security of the democratic idea on American territory in either Latin or Saxon latitudes.

The Senator's chief concern is lest the sons of American mothers become guerrilla snipers on Serbian hills or Montenegrin plains. We are not sure that a Lafayette would not look just as handsome fighting for freedom in the Balkans as in Virginia or Pennsylvania, but the Senator goes far afield for arguments when he worries over possible future belligerencies into which we may be drawn. Indeed, if we are to get into any more wars let it be on our own terms. The League of Nations at the very least will prevent any repetition of surprise wars. But the Senator deliberately shuts his eyes to the psychology back of the Covenant. Its real aim is to prevent not merely surprise wars, but to circumvent the necessity of any war at all. Men who go to an arbitration council or a law court, not simply because they have to patch up a quarrel, but because they are determined to settle their differences peacefully, will never draw their guns.

Nor will we be called on to "meddle" in the internal affairs of any state. What is in process of formation is a League of free nations. The whole spirit and intent of the Covenant is democratic. It is of the essence of democracy to leave every commonwealth and every section of a commonwealth free in the determination of the things belonging to itself. States may grow smaller or larger, and change the forms and terms of their allegiance, but the one essential principle of self-determination must prevail in the whole and in the part.

Journals of Opinion

ONE of the encouraging signs of the times is the changed attitude of what was formerly considered the conservative journals of ideas and opinion toward political and social problems. Professing liberalism, these journals have been wont to toy with affairs in well-turned phrase and balanced sentence, to the entertainment of rose-water reformers, and the despair of those who hope to have something done.

In the midst of this delectable exercise came the Russian revolution. Something was done; whether wisely or not may be still in doubt, but something was actually done with a view to relieving intolerable conditions. The first reaction of the outside world was to applaud. The Czar and his government had no friends.

But the Revolution did not stop with the removal of the Czar. All idlers and non-producers fell under the ban. This was serious. Other countries might lack czars, but they had idlers and non-producers aplenty. The new doctrine might spread from Russia to other countries.

Immediately the mass of the press swung to the opposite side; but the journals of ideas and opinion did not return to their old moorings. They did not become Bolshevik or plutocratic, but remained somewhere between, like Mahomet's coffin suspended between earth and heaven. Indefinite as was the position taken by the editors, the devotees of the new Russian cult in this country were so hungry for a word of sympathy that they rallied enthusiastically to their new friends.

But this relation cannot continue indefinitely. Mahomet's coffin may float in mid air till the

last trumpet sounds, but the journals of ideas and opinion cannot forever hover between inclination and conviction. Mere sympathy is not enough. Bolshevism is a fact. It professes a belief in a society composed only of producers; and it is very definite in limiting the term "producers." The time is near at hand when these journals will have to declare themselves regarding economic conditions in this country, or cease their commiseration of Bolshevik Russia. Granted that their sympathy for producers in Russia is sincere, what do they propose to do toward eliminating the non-producers in the United States?

It may be inferred that the journals in question do not favor the Russian method of attaining the Russian purpose. But there are other ways. In this country the people can set up any system of economics they wish, merely by voting. What have these journals proposed that warrants the thought that idlers will be eliminated, and workers come into their own? Are they in favor of repealing any law granting privileges to private individuals? Do they believe in opening up the natural opportunities to producers?

The central feature of the whole Russian revolution was the return of the land to the producers. What about the land question in this country? Has one of these Bolshevik-courting journals lifted its voice for an increased tax on idle land during the war, or proposed any other means for compelling its use? Has one word been uttered for the removal of taxes on industry and laying them upon monopoly and privilege? Sympathy with revolutions in foreign lands is commendable; but there is housecleaning at home to be done.

Just to Be Out of Doors

JUST to be out of doors, so still, so green,
 With unbreathed air, illimitable, clean,
 With soft sweet scent of happy growing things,
 The leaves' soft rustle, sound of sudden wings,
 The far faint hills, water wide between,
 And over all the feeling half serene,
 Of what this happy world will come to mean
 When no conventions hard shall intervene
 Content with the contentment Nature brings,
 Just to be out of doors.

Court-Martial Bureaucracy

By CHARLES JOHNSON POST

Formerly *First Lieutenant 71st Infantry, N. G. N. Y.; Journalist; Author of "Across the Andes," "Jimmy's Infant Industry," "Manual of Pack Transportation," "The Rock Island Scandal," and "The Honor of the Army."*

FRIENDS of the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, in whose minds he is associated with that great American, Tom Johnson, read with sincere regret his blanket letter of indorsement of Judge Advocate General Crowder and the oppressions and inhumanities of our court-martial system under General Crowder's administration.

Newton D. Baker, by the heritage of his democratic associations, is democratic; his appointment as Secretary of War was hailed with rejoicing by every progressive and thinking man and woman of our nation. If it meant anything, it meant that the ideals of an arbitrary Prussian militarism were to be opposed in the autocratic bureaucracy of the War Department. For the War Department and the regular army establishment had for years before the Great War saturated itself in German military studies. A study of the professional journals issued quasi-officially by the army establishment shows a vast number of essays and quotations from German militarism for the past twenty years, and of the Swiss military establishment—as an establishment best suited as a basis for democratic and free-minded countries—there is scarcely a trace.

The court-martial system now in use in our army was taken bodily from the British court-martial system in the days of the American Revolution. In those days the British Army was recruited by press-gangs, who seized the riff-raff, poverty-sodden elements of their population, beat them into the ranks, and by their court-martial system held them in absolute subjection under ferocious penalties of torture, and prison, while the hereditary gentleman officer class was favored and shielded.

Torture has been abolished. The court-martial, irresponsible, ferocious sentences to imprisonment, and the class favoritism of officers against the common soldier in the ranks remain.

This court-martial system is the Judge Advocate General's department, now under Gen-

eral Crowder. This court-martial system with its inhumanities, brutalities, and officer favoritism—unchallenged under General Crowder's administration—I exposed in a series of articles in *Harper's Weekly* (now merged in *The Independent*) in 1914, with convincing proof from the official records of the department itself of American soldiers' going to jail for embezzlement while officers were simply dismissed; of wickedly oppressive sentences for desertion at which every instinct of common justice and common humanity protested; of an officer who tortured his men for three weeks while on a drunken spree and was simply dismissed; of another officer who was tried for an apparently trivial neglect of a routine duty and convicted, and the charge against him in the court-martial procedure was so delicately framed and conducted that not a suspicion crept into the records that, directly connected with such dereliction of duty, an American soldier had been blown to pieces,—manslaughter under civil law.

I wrote the articles exposing these scandalous conditions in Judge Advocate General Crowder's department together with their system of handling court-martial cases; these exposures were drawn from the official records of the War Department itself. Hundreds of cases were revealed from which I quoted typical examples. Not the slightest effort was ever made by General Crowder or any officer of the army to deny these charges of abuse—nor could they be denied—and their sole retort was to exclude *Harper's Weekly* from the Army and Navy Club at Washington—of which General Crowder, I believe, is a member—and thus, by example, attempt to suppress its circulation in army circles.

Recently Acting Judge Advocate General, Samuel T. Ansell, a splendid officer of vision and conscientious, intelligent Americanism, could stand these court-martial abuses no longer, and taking his professional life and career in his hands, rose in public protest against

the horrible injustices and barbarities of our army court-martial system.

He told of the case of four soldiers in France sentenced to be shot, whose sentences were set aside by the President himself upon a presentation of the facts. This incident is still recent in the public mind. Yet it was Judge Advocate General Crowder who fought to have these men executed and maintained the outrageous theory that facts and justice had nothing to do with courts-martial, but that they were simply a blind instrument for enforcing discipline at the pleasure of any properly appointed officer!

Another boy was sentenced to death and General Ansell found on the evidence that the boy had gone home, staying with his father who was dying from paralysis. The day after his father's death he reported back for duty and was condemned to be shot.

Another soldier of excellent soldierly record, with a wife and aged parents, went home on a three days' pass and found his father desperately ill. They were very poor and in extreme need. He remained until his father's death and two days after returned to camp and was sentenced to be shot.

A boy who had been in the army but a few days was on kitchen duty. He was smoking a cigarette—against the rules. A lieutenant demanded his package of cigarettes and the boy refused. He was haled before a court-martial and sentenced to dishonorable discharge and *forty years in prison.*

"Here was a raw recruit," said General Ansell, "new to army life, in the turmoil of a kitchen, quite likely upset by a reproof that might have been harshly made and letting his temper get the better of him. For this he was sentenced to *forty years* in jail. In many instances—I am not citing exceptions—the *same brutally excessive sentences have been imposed for trivial offenses.*"

This is the indictment of Judge Advocate General Crowder and his court-martial department by a high officer of that department.

"These sentences," said General Ansell further, "imposed for slight offenses by the courts-martial have shocked every sense of justice. They have reached the heights of injustice. The sentences in many instances bore no reasonable relationship to the offenses committed.

"For forty years the army has been cursed with red tape in its court-martial proceedings. . . . I realize that I am arraigning an institution to which I belong. But I am doing it so that simple justice may be done the men in the ranks."

This is the Judge Advocate General's department with its archaic court-martial system.

This is the department for whose system and methods General Crowder is absolutely responsible, for he is the sole and supreme authority in the administration of the courts-martial. As the head of that department he interprets the organic law of Congress. He has it in his power to say that courts-martial shall be simply routine, irresponsible methods of administering justice, and he has it in his power to say that courts-martial shall be reviewed in the light of the facts and justice and our national idealism. General Crowder in his own defense holds that he has no power of review, but he might also have held that he *had* the power of review and there would be no one to gainsay him; and he could then, in this latter case, have protected to some extent common soldiers from abuse. Moreover, he has the power to reverse the opinions of a predecessor. He has held his own reactionary opinions as to his function to be sacrosanct, even beyond his own power of recall, and has on this flimsy argument defended the crystallized reactionism in the War Department.

How, in the light of these undisputed facts—which occurred both before the war and during it—and in the light of the *Harper's Weekly* exposures, could Secretary of War Newton D. Baker write in his blanket indorsement of General Crowder:

"My dear General Crowder,—I have been deeply concerned, as you know, over the harsh criticism recently uttered upon our system of military justice. During the time of peace, prior to the war, I do not recall that our system of military law ever became the subject of public attack on the ground of its structural defects. . . . The recent outburst of criticism and complaint, voiced in public by a few individuals whose position entitled them to credit, and carried throughout the country by the press, has been to me a matter of surprise and sorrow."

Did Secretary Baker write this letter—or was it simply in the mass of perfunctorily signed, routine documents submitted for his signature, adroitly shoved on his desk by the bureaucratic conspirators against humanity and justice in the War Department?

If Secretary Baker did not know of these public exposures of the scandals in General Crowder's department, he was the only official of the regular army establishment who was not aware of them. And it is difficult to believe, in the light of his splendid associations with fundamental democracy and the sense of American justice and American idealism, that this alleged

letter of his is anything more than a revelation of the desperate unscrupulousness of a regular militaristic bureaucracy that has for years been receiving its professional inspiration from abroad.

With desperate energy Judge Advocate General Crowder is attempting to make these court-martial scandals in his department appear as nothing more than a personal attack upon him by General Ansell. Nothing could be further from the fact. General Ansell has stepped forth as the champion of American decency in the years-long scandals and oppressions of courts-martial in the Judge Advocate General's department, over which General Crowder presides. General Crowder represents one system; General Ansell the other. General Crowder should perish under the weight of the outrages and injustices he has permitted, and with him the sheltering court-martial system that he has protected.

With the Great War there have come into the army great numbers of officers and men, splendid fighting men, but unmilitaristic and having

no sympathy with the old-line bureaucratic militarism of the regular War Department. That this influx will have its effect is undoubted; that the old, reactionary, but established bureaucratic militarism will not permit it, but is fighting it, is evident. The court-martial system—whereby common soldiers are arbitrarily convicted, ferociously sentenced, with no orderly resort to legal appeal for justice, and whereby they are at the mercy of a feudal, irresponsible system that affronts every American instinct—must go, and with it those who protect and defend it.

The Judge Advocate General's department and archaic court-martial system needs to be routed out. Its oppressions and brutalities, holding over from the days of the British press-gang recruited armies, should be cast aside, and a new system—an American system—in harmony with the decencies and ideals of simple justice, established. And it is this movement which General Crowder and the militaristic bureaucracy of the old War Department *ré-gime* are most persistently opposing.

High Rents and Low Wages

By HUGH REID

Private Secretary of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor

SOME months ago in interrogating Mr. J. Ogden Armour, Frank P. Walsh asked that gentleman if he believed that a business which could not pay its workers a living wage deserved to exist. To Mr. Armour's credit let it be said that he answered promptly, if reluctantly, in the negative. No matter how embarrassing this question may have been to Mr. Armour, there are many others who would share his embarrassment if the asking of such questions became general. Consider for instance the sugar industry of Porto Rico.

Porto Rico is a rectangular island a hundred miles long by thirty-six in width—roughly speaking, two million acres in extent. A million and a quarter of people are packed within its borders. Sixty per cent. of them are engaged in agriculture or directly dependent upon the earnings of agricultural labor. Agriculture in Porto Rico means the raising of sugar cane, tobacco, coffee, or fruit. With a few exceptions, the inhabitants of Porto Rico are American

citizens and have enjoyed that privilege for some years.

Cuba is also an island. It also grows sugar cane, coffee, tobacco, and fruit. Half or more of its working population is engaged in agriculture. They are similar in race, habits, and customs to the Porto Ricans. But there the analogy ends.

Cuba is not a country which we think of as offering any unusual opportunities to wage earners. Wages are none too high, but compared with Porto Rico Cuba is a working man's paradise. Take the wage scales of the two countries, for instance. An able-bodied field man employed in Cuba in the planting and cultivating of sugar cane received an average daily wage of \$1.26 per day during 1916. The same man doing exactly the same work received 69 cents in Porto Rico. The man employed in the cutting of cane in Cuba averaged during 1916, according to the United States Department of Commerce, \$1.60 per day. His Porto Rican

competitor received 70 cents. The Cuban teamster received average wages of \$1.33 per day; the Porto Rican teamster was considered worth 70 cents.

Let it not be thought that these are the unusual wages of a bad year. They were if anything better wages than Porto Rico has been accustomed to. In general, wages and the cost of living have both advanced, wages dragging behind and mounting much more slowly, as they have in the United States. So, although the money wages of the *jibaro*, or agricultural laborer, are much higher than formerly, his actual wages figured in terms of food and shelter are less and less each year. In four years, for instance, 1912-16 money wages rose only 4 cents per day, while the cost of living advanced probably 30 per cent. Since 1916 wages have advanced approximately 35 per cent. and food and clothing have advanced about 50 per cent.

So much for sugar laborers. Let it not be assumed that these are worse off than others. A report from the Porto Rican Bureau of Labor indicates that their condition is equaled by only a few workers engaged in fruit culture. Tobacco and coffee workers were worse off, and received wages even lower. Their general average in the coffee fields during ten years has been about 30 per cent. less than the pay in the cane fields.

Do not make the mistake of comparing these wages with those of the American farm hand. The latter has received low pay, but what little he gets has been in addition to board and lodging. The Porto Rican's 70 cents had to provide for everything. It is a job that will stagger the most experienced of our American poor to provide housing and shelter for a family on a total income of \$215 per year. Yet the years when the *jibaro* received that wage have been rare indeed. Just how this munificent sum has been spent is best shown by the following from the report of the Porto Rican Anæmia Commission: "The normal diet of the agricultural laborer is as follows: Breakfast—A cocoanut dipper of black coffee without sugar; at noon—a lunch of boiled codfish and oil and one of the following vegetables, banana, platano, name, potato, or yantia; at three o'clock—another dipper full of coffee; for supper, a stew made of the current vegetables of the island and rice and codfish.

At intervals he treats himself to pork, and on rare occasions he goes to town and eats enormous quantities of bread. This is the normal *jibaro* diet; with the wages paid him he can get no better. If the normal food of the *jibaro* were his usual food it would not be so serious a matter, but as a matter of fact he does not get the same as detailed above save when he is exceptionally prosperous."

Under such conditions is it strange that the Porto Rican laborer is anæmic from scanty and improper food? "A large proportion of the rural population in Porto Rico," says another official report, "suffers from this disease (anæmia) which attacks the red corpuscles of the blood and renders breathing difficult and continued and severe labor almost impossible." All of which is a polite official way of saying that wages are so low that men are alternately poisoned by bad food and starved for lack of food. When the army authorities tried feeding three decent meals a day to the Porto Ricans employed on construction work they found an increase of over 100 per cent. in efficiency. This is a sad commentary upon their customary diet.

It is well enough to talk about city slums. Porto Rico is an agricultural slum. It has 400,000 people who cannot afford to wear shoes, who have never been able in their lives to afford them. There are 100,000 children out of school. The territory has a population three times as dense as New England, and ten times as dense as that of the United States. It is eight times as thickly settled as Iowa. Its birth rate and death rate have no parallel in the United States, and that in spite of its having the most healthful climate. The diseases due to dirt and hunger are the commonest causes of death.

The land of Porto Rico is owned in large measure by the great sugar companies or by the original Spanish holders. Having noticed the comparison in the labor cost of production in Cuba and Porto Rico, it is interesting to compare the returns received by the landlords of the two islands. The production costs gathered from the ten leading companies in Porto Rico during 1916 show that the amount allotted for field rental was \$2.97 for each ton of raw sugar produced. Similar figures gathered from twenty-three of the leading com-

panies in Cuba showed that only 28 cents per ton was paid for field rental. The figures show that, although wages in Porto Rico are only half what they are in Cuba, the returns of the landlord are about ten and a half times as great for a corresponding area. The Porto Rican laborer is beginning to suspect that there is a connection between high rents and low wages. Facts like these go far in explaining the immense popularity of the prospective appointment of ex-Governor Hunt of Arizona as Governor of Porto Rico. Governor Hunt knows the land question.

An editorial in one of the Porto Rican

dailies will give some idea of what the people of the island think of the situation. "A man has no right to make himself rich, very rich in two, three, or four years while there are so many others that are so poorly paid that life is a burden to them. A man has no right to live like a prince while the men who produce his wealth live like animals. Such a condition is ruinous to the state, for it makes good citizenship impossible. To succeed, democracy must give every man his chance and what chance have these poor devils in the cane fields had?"

To be quite frank, just what chance have they had?

The Car Strike in New Jersey

By GEORGE L. RECORD

Prominent New Jersey lawyer, who has devoted much time and effort toward securing just taxation and government control of public utilities

THE strike of the Street Railway employes of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, by which the entire street car service of North Jersey has been tied up this week, carries its lessons of great significance to those who are students of economic problems.

In 1902 some New Jersey, Philadelphia, and New York financiers consolidated the various street railway, electric light and power, and gas corporations into one great concern. This consolidation was accompanied by the usual stock watering process. In a recent litigation the minutes of the company disclosed with refreshing candor a striking incident in this process. The minutes solemnly recited an offer to the Board of Directors by Mr. G. (an employe of the company) to turn over certain securities, which represented the ownership of a street railway, aggregating \$1,000,000, for \$22,000,000 of the consolidated company securities. The minutes further recited that after giving this offer careful consideration it was determined to accept it. The same litigation disclosed that out of a total capitalization of something over \$150,000,000, more than \$80,000,000 was "water," that is, had been issued for no value received either in money or service.

In those days street railway properties operated on the five-cent fare were, as one of the company's witnesses in a litigation described it, "a gold mine." Transportation by electric

power was so much quicker and cheaper that the business of the company grew by leaps and bounds, and huge fortunes were made by this stock watering process.

The insiders of this company knew, as the public does not even to this day seem to know, that no fortunes can be built up in this way unless public officials are chloroformed, and so they proceeded to take control of the politics of the State, directly and indirectly—succeeding in this function to the Pennsylvania Railroad. For more than a generation the Pennsylvania Railroad had run the politics of both parties in New Jersey with the same skill and efficiency with which it ran its railroad business.

At about the time the Public Service was formed an agitation to compel the railroad companies to pay their proper taxes to the State had disclosed the fact that the railroads of the State were escaping taxation to the extent of about \$4,000,000 annually, and new tax laws were framed which compelled the railroads, after a long struggle, to submit to proper taxation.

The railroads of course had been in politics solely to protect this privilege of escaping taxes to the extent of \$4,000,000 a year, and when that privilege was taken away they lost interest in State politics, and their place was taken in a general way by the public utility interests of the State. Since then our politics

have turned largely upon an attempt to compel the public utility interests to reduce their charges and to pay their proper taxes.

The inflation of values incident to the European war changed the street railway business from an extremely profitable to an unprofitable business, viewed from the standpoint of the immense watered capitalization that had been piled up upon this enterprise. The company was bound by franchise contracts with the different municipalities not to charge over five cents. They had maintained for years that these were perpetual contracts protected by the Dartmouth College decision, and our courts, always subservient to their interests, had solemnly affirmed this contention. Therefore the new conditions which rendered these contracts unprofitable made it necessary to have them broken. This was accomplished by the very simple device of having the State courts read into the Public Utility Act, which gave the State the power to fix rates, the implied condition that said act had abrogated all these contracts. No such language is in the act. It is notorious that no such provision could ever have passed our Legislature. Our statute was in this respect a copy of the New York statute, and the Court of Appeals of New York has construed that provision exactly to the contrary of the New Jersey courts.

It is interesting to recall the fact, that in the course of one of the many litigations against this company it was found necessary to challenge the right of one of the Judges of the Court of Errors and Appeals to sit in one of these cases, upon the ground that he was the President of a corporation the assets of which had been invested to the extent of many hundreds of thousands of dollars in the securities of the Public Service Corporation. By the vote of this judge a decision had been rendered favorable to the corporation. As a result of this challenge, he withdrew from the case, and the court granted a re-hearing and reversed the previous decision.

The effect of this latest decision not only was to free the company from the five-cent fare contracts, but also to relieve them from their financial burdens, such as keeping in repair the pavements between the rails and two feet on either side thereof, and keeping the tracks sprinkled in summer and swept free from snow

in winter, and various other financial obligations. All these are now shifted upon the car riders, together with all taxes imposed.

The present difficulty arises out of the old contention between organized labor and arrogant employers, to wit, the recognition of the union. A very large increase in wages was ordered last year by the United States War Labor Board, and the relations between the company and its employes would have continued for a while at least without further outbreak, if it had not been that the president of the company undertook to compel the employes to abandon their union and join a pretended company-made union, which of course was a mere device to destroy the Street Railway Union.

We had thus another pitched battle over this question of the right of union men to organize and to bargain collectively through agents of their own choice. Public opinion has long since indorsed the right of employes thus to organize and bargain. After a week's strike, the controversy was settled, each side claiming the victory.

In the meantime the public in all the towns and cities affected walked to and from its business. The newspapers, while generally sympathizing with the men, commented upon the fact that the public always is the sufferer, but they refrained from suggesting any remedy.

The obvious remedy to which most thoughtful citizens of this problem have long since been driven, is the public ownership and operation of these utilities. If the public operated these utilities, it could establish laws compelling the settlement of all grievances by a form of arbitration, and could enforce those laws, thus saving all inconvenience to the public.

Public ownership also would remove these powerful interests entirely from our politics. No one who has not been in active political life can form any real conception of the corrupting force in our public life of the existence in private hands of these monopoly privileges. Our experience in this regard confirms the principle that we cannot successfully regulate and control monopoly in private hands, for the simple reason that the profits of monopoly are so tremendous that the beneficiaries of monopoly are tempted to spend sufficient money in practical politics to control the regulating machinery.

CURRENT THOUGHT

Scaffolding

By Alfred E. Randell

PLANKS, and boards, and littered rafters,
Crudely joined in height;
Scattered stone, and slate, and plaster,
In chaotic plight.

Yet within that chaos,—Beauty,
Chaste, enduring, true;
Symbol of man's joyous duty,
Daily thus, to woo
From the chaos of the present
Temples fit for God,—
Temples where both King and Peasant
Serve, and pray, and laud.

* * *

President, and Kings, and Nobles,
Scribes and Diplomats,
Representatives of Nations,
Full fledged Democrats,
Titles, Rules, and Agelong Customs,
Strictly censored Press,
Long debates and hot discussions
Victory's Distress—

Scaffolding the growing glory,
Dream of all the years;
Fashioned out of human suffering,
Bought by blood and tears;
Built in spite of hatred, dark'ning
Mind of man with fears;
Radiant in its beauty, ans'ring
Vision of the Seers;
Monument of man's own building,
Triumph of the years.

Hail, thou League of all the Nations,
Prove thine untold worth,
Bring our war-sick world Salvation—
Peace, Good-will on Earth.

Does Education Pay?

“**DOES** It Pay?” is the title of a little pamphlet issued by the Department of Education of Tennessee, which proves by statistics that education is a paying investment, even from the standpoint of dollars and cents. The author of the pamphlet compares the States of the Union, citing statistics to show that the earning capacity of the inhabitant is large in proportion to the amount the State spends for education. As an example, in comparison between Massachusetts and South Carolina the returns upon investment in education are brought out in a convincing manner. Massachusetts gives her citizens 7.4 years schooling, and spent last year \$26 a

pupil, or a total of \$16,018,000. South Carolina gives 3.18 years schooling, and spent last year \$1,678,000 on education, or \$6.95 a pupil. The Massachusetts citizen produced \$466 a year, while the South Carolina citizen produced only \$171 a year.—*Houston Post*.

Arguments and Public Opinion

DEFINITE arguments are the symptoms and pretexts, but seldom the causes of change. Their chief merit is to accelerate the inevitable crisis. They derive their force and efficacy from their conformity with the mental habits of those to whom they are addressed. Reasoning which in one age would make no impression whatever, in the next age is received with enthusiastic applause.—*W. E. H. Lecky, quoted in a letter to The Times*.

The Statesman

FOR the statesman there is no exact measure of greatness. The greater he is, the less likely is his work to be marked by decisive achievement which can be recalled by anniversaries or signalized by some outstanding event: the chief work of a great statesman rests in a gradual change of direction given to the policy of his people, still more in a change of the spirit within them.—*From the introduction of Lord Charnwood's "Abraham Lincoln."*

Those Who Want No League

THOSE persons who want no League of Nations at all we may ignore. They are simply belated Clausewitzes and Treitschkes and Bernhardis. They want this country to do what Germany sought to do—impose its will, its culture, upon the world. They, like Berchtold, will have nothing to do with an areopagus. They would have this nation a law unto itself, regardless of other nations. Their state would know no law but the law of its own being, no purpose other than its own continuance and superiority. They warn us against the likelihood of our “holding the bag,” but they insist that we shall be the supreme world power, controller of commerce, master of the seas. They would keep us out of a league to check any other super-power in order that we may be such super-power. The world will not stand for that, as the rally of the world against Germany has shown.—*William Marion Reedy, in Reedy's Mirror*.

Damning the Consequences

PLATFORM and press may pretend that such measures as the refusal of raw materials to Germany are designed as a kind of penance and

are meant to serve as a moral purge. No German, however idealistic he may be, is simple enough to believe that. Such proposals reflect nothing but the resolve of our own capitalist class to extract the maximum profit from victory. They aim solely at the capture of the world's markets for British trade and the reduction of the German competitor to impotence. In such a world the German idealist will be impotent. The people will turn to one of two expedients. Either they will attempt to revive the old discredited militarism, or else they will turn to the new violence of Bolshevism. We solid people. "If you carry out that policy of economic strangulation," said one of the most shall have against us for the first time a really idealistic of the Minority leaders to me, "then I, too, will feel like a patriot."—*H. N. Brailsford, in the Herald (London).*

Our Seniors of Sectionalism

WHILE the Republicans of the new House of Representatives, under the leadership of James R. Mann, are reorganizing the committees with strict regard to the claims of the Old Guard, Democratic members have inaugurated a movement intended to make the party organization in Congress something else than sectional and dependent otherwise upon something more than the accidental shellbackism of long service.

When there is a Republican Congress the members of that party having had longest service assume the leadership and control the committees. Naturally this places the organization of both Houses in the hands of Northern men. When there is a Democratic Congress, no matter how many members may appear from the North or how able they may be, the organization falls inevitably into the hands of Southern men.

This is the rule of seniority, and it takes no account of anything but the circumstance of repeated re-elections. The greatest financier or economist in the world might be chosen for his first term from the South in a Republican Congress or from the North in a Democratic Congress and in either case he would go to the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics or some other body as inconsequential, whereas some party hack unduly favored, perhaps, for many years by an admiring constituency would by that mere fact become Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means or the Committee on Finance.

Something worse than incompetency results from this system. There is always a sectional organization of Congress. The way parties stand today it is all South or it is all North. If Democrats can change it so far as they are concerned, they will help their own cause nationally and they will set an example which in due time even the Jim Mann and Joe Cannon Republicans will be compelled to follow.—*The New York World.*

BOOKS

German Self-Subjection

The German Myth. By Gustavus Myers. New York: Boni and Liveright. \$1.

THIS little book supplies an array of facts that cannot but translate our new-found indignation over German cruelties and disgust for German mendacity into a perception of long-continued causes that conspired to make modern Germany logically incapable of any policy but one of cruelty and duplicity. Mr. Myers's "Myth" is the claim which Germany had made for many years of being easily first in all national progress and social excellence. The writer takes up a half-dozen points on which Germany and her friends had been loud in their claims for Teutonic superiority, and with incontestable facts shows how absurdly false the claim was.

He deals first with the claim that Germany was the friend of her farmers and invented a banking system by which the tillers of the soil could have an easier struggle. Analysis of present-day facts and their antecedents shows that the Prussian *Landschaften*, instead of having any popular benefic use like our rural banking system, has no trace of similarity to it. Loans are not intended to help the struggling farmers, but are for the profit of the landed aristocracy. This system of credit was established in 1767 for the benefit solely of the landowning aristocracy. The system was substantially the same when the war broke out.

It is similar in regard to the claim that the working man in Germany had a great degree of political freedom; that he had employment constantly, and that in various ways he had advantages which made Germany the paradise of wage earners. It appears from Mr. Myers's facts that long after the workers of other countries had been put on a shorter work day those of Germany continued toiling from eleven to fourteen hours a day. Up to the very beginning of the war the general work day in Germany for the highest skilled trades was from 57 to 60 hours a week, while in other trades 12 to 14 hours a day was still common. Not until long after other countries had established the right of workmen to organize was it possible for Germans to form a union. Military conscription of workers was universal. When textile workers appealed to the War Arbitration Office at Posen for a wage amelioration, the presiding officer without listening to them declared that "their present wages were enough, and that if they brought about the closing of the mills the male workers would be put into the army while the female workers would be sent to West Prussia to work on farms." As regards the absence of unemployment, Germany has had always a chronic problem of unemployment. Compensation for work has been very low. That of miners in copper

mines was \$271 a year; and for journeymen printers from \$6.50 to \$7.50 a week. For 800,000 persons in woodwork trades the average weekly earnings were \$6 a week.

Women in Germany worked 11 hours a day up to 1910, when Government regulations reduced the work day to 10 hours, and 8 hours on Saturdays. Much of this work has been carried on in home sweatshops under repellent conditions, where the hours of work ranged up to 14 hours a day. The average wage for women in municipal employ in Berlin was 75c to \$1.50 a week.

Another side of the labor situation is shown forcefully by the statistics of strikes and lockouts in Germany. Some 4.8 of the strikers obtained full success from their strikes and 26.9 were partially successful, but 68.8 or more than two-thirds of the strikers had returned to work without having had any success at all. The significance of this is seen when we reflect on the figures in other countries. In the same year 74.5 of the labor conflicts in Great Britain and Ireland ended with full victory for the strikers, and in 11.1 of the strikes the strikers obtained partial success.

In the last chapter of the book Mr. Myers treats of "Teaching of Mental and Social Servitude." He shows the intimate relation between the school system of Germany and the industrial habits of the people. "The foundation for militarism is laid in the public schools"; "militarism has been the outward tool, but the real agency has been the school system." "In America public schools were established on the theory that a commonwealth could not exist without an intelligent, discerning, self-reliant citizenship," but in Germany the idea of the common school was to be a school for the common people where in the first place the children of the common people were taught to remain content in the station of life in which they were born; secondly, the children were taught from six years absolute obedience to authority; and, in the third place, their minds were filled with what was called the "historical motive." The child was to remember that he was a German, that Germany was the chosen of all nations, and that the Hohenzollerns were the divinely appointed administrators of Germany.

The lesson of the book and all its facts is that the nation that gets out of the line of the universal, international progress of mankind may not only be left behind and thus suffer negative deterioration, but by accepting a false principle may become a positive force of evil in the world.

A Voice from the Background

Twenty-five Years in the Black Belt. By W. J. Edwards. Boston: The Cornhill Company. \$1.

THE Jeanes Fund for helping the small rural schools for colored children in the South pays a part of the salary of 225 supervising industrial teachers in as many counties. Each year these

peripatetic teachers meet in groups, usually by States, or by two States together, and the proceedings of these conferences are the most interesting meetings of any kind that it has ever been my privilege to attend. Why? Because at these meetings are heard direct stories from actual workers telling just what they are doing, and how the folk in the background are getting along. It is a relief and a delight to hear at a meeting such first-hand stories of actual work instead of so much discussion about "organization for work."

For somewhat the same reason Mr. Edwards's book, especially the first half of the hundred and fifty pages, is intensely interesting. The reader's only criticism will be that he did not double the number of pages devoted to the telling of his childhood experiences, of his struggles for a living and for an education, and of his efforts in aiding others toward getting a living and an education by the establishment of his school at Snow Hill in the midst of the Black Belt and almost on the spot where he was born. The simple story of this life in the background of civilization struggling out into wider knowledge is more worth reading than half the big histories. As I have said, the regret will be that even more details of the writer's actual life are not given. We like the glimpses of Aunt Lucy George, of his own noble Aunt Rina, and of those humble, self-sacrificing folk who stood by him in the founding of Snow Hill.

One of the best chapters in the book is the fourth, telling of his life at Tuskegee, and we wish it were longer. It was at Tuskegee that he became acquainted with such superfluities as toothbrushes, nightshirts, and knives and forks. "The next ordeal," he says, "through which I was to pass was going into the dining-room and using knives and forks, but I avoided all humiliation by simply watching." The few glimpses he gives of Tuskegee's great founder are particularly interesting. "The one thing," he says, "that made the deepest impression on me while at Tuskegee was Mr. Washington's Sunday evening talks to the students. He used to tell us that after getting our education we should return to our homes and there help the people. I could understand every word he said, and I felt always that he was talking directly to me."

When I said that Mr. Edwards should have doubled the pages of his first part I did not mean that the last half should have been omitted. It seems to me that all he says in these discussions is valuable. It is valuable because, if for no other reason, it expresses the point of view of a man who has worked his way into a position which gives him right to bear testimony and to speak his convictions. We should all want to know what anybody capable of thinking thinks about the great and difficult question of race relations. It would be well if the book, from cover to cover, could have wide reading among white people both in the South and in the North. And the readers

of this small book should by no means omit the preface, wherein those who know Canon Sheehan's splendid Irish novel "Luke Delmege" will hardly fail to notice certain reminders.

There may be found in the book a few slips in the construction of sentences, as, for example, the "has" in the middle of page 75, and one or two of the chapters might have a better arrangement, but these things are trifling in comparison with the real matter in such a book. I do not wish to overpraise it, but in conclusion I beg to confess that, while I find it difficult to read some big books once, I found no difficulty in reading this little book twice.

JAMES H. DILLARD.

NEWS

League of Nations

—Canada has put her estimate of war cost at \$1,500,000,000, to be submitted to the Reparations Commission.

—It is reported that March 29th is the day set for the completion of the treaty, and Versailles is chosen as the place where it will be signed.

—Ending a month's deadlock the Commission on Labor Legislation has agreed unanimously on the machinery for an international labor bureau under the League of Nations.

—It is reported that the French and British have accepted the American view that reparation should cover only war damages, which would be as heavy as Germany would be able to pay.

—At a meeting of the executive committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, held at Boston on the 17th, a resolution was adopted whole-heartedly supporting the Covenant for a League of Nations.

—It has already been stated that the sentiment in Brazil and Argentina is strong in favor of the League of Nations, and now the reports come that Chile and Uruguay join the other Latin-American nations in their desire for the League.

—It is reported that the more aggressive section of the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland contemplates a campaign similar to that adopted by the militant suffragettes at the moment it is hoped to have the Peace Conference intervene in behalf of Ireland.

—The Commission on International Labor Legislation reached an agreement on the 19th on all the points at issue. The American idea that each country should settle its internal labor problems, without invoking the power of the League of Nations, has prevailed.

—Senator King of Utah has prepared a substitute League of Nations covenant, which he will

send to President Wilson in Paris. He would protect the Monroe Doctrine, allow each nation to decide its own policy on immigration, tariff, and similar matters, and permit withdrawal of any nation from the League on a year's notice.

—Charles H. Grasty, Paris correspondent of the *New York Times*, makes a curious statement that there is a movement on foot to constitute Ireland as an independent state under a mandate to America from the League of Nations. He says that at least one English statesman is a serious advocate of that settlement of the Irish problem.

—Resolutions not yet acted upon have been introduced into the Mexican Senate, expressing sympathy and admiration for the democratic proposals of President Wilson and the desirability of the League of Nations, and expressing the hope that when it has the opportunity the Mexican Government will form a part of the League of Nations.

—It is reported that Premier Hughes, of Australia, is opposing the League of Nations on the strength of the idea that it would open the door to a flood of Japanese immigration into Australia. He maintains that it is not a party issue, but is so important in the Australian view that the League of Nations might "go bust" before Australia would consent to its establishment with the principle of the equality of races incorporated.

—Fifty Democratic members of the Missouri Legislature on the 21st offered to resign if Senator James A. Reed, Democrat, from Missouri, would resign from the United States Senate. The legislators then propose to run for reelection, as they suggest Reed should do, to force a popular vote in Missouri on the League of Nations. Great indignation was expressed at Senator Reed's speech before the Legislature at Jefferson City.

—On the evening of March 19th a debate was held between Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, and President Lowell, of Harvard University, on the proposed League of Nations covenant. Senator Lodge declared himself in favor of a league that would promote peace instead of breeding disorder, and would work no injustice to the United States. On being requested by Dr. Lowell to write out or to state his methods of remedying the covenant at it stands, Senator Lodge declined.

—Speaking at a luncheon at the City Club in Cleveland, on the 22d, in support of the League of Nations, Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, Democrat, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that, while preferring amendment of the proposed constitution so as to make it more definite and specifically to exempt from its provisions the Monroe Doctrine, he would support it whether it was changed or left untouched. Referring to the objections of those who wished the League to be left until peace is established, Senator Pomerene said the League and the peace treaty were so in-

tertained that one without the other would be worthless.

—The enemies of the League of Nations have been busy circulating the report that William Howard Taft, president of the League to Enforce Peace, had been showered with letters of protest from its members, and that many had sent in their resignations. The League has given out a statement that only eight of its 800,000 members had resigned as a result of the League's action in indorsing the covenant of the League of Nations. Of the 7,800 volunteer speakers pledged to work in different parts of the country under the direction of the League's Speakers' Bureau not one has withdrawn his pledge as a result of the League's policy.

Reconstruction

—The force of employes of the Emergency Fleet Organization will be cut from 3,900 to 2,000 about May 1.

—Americanization classes are now being conducted by the Bureau of Naturalization in more than 2,000 cities and towns.

—At the sitting of the Diet of the Bavarian Government on the 18th in Munich, a bill abolishing the nobility of Bavaria was adopted, and also a measure prohibiting rights of inheritance.

—The Belgian Government, the Socialist newspaper *People* announces, has agreed to accept the principle of an eight-hour day and to further efforts to have it included in the peace treaty.

—The Australian Cabinet has approved a plan for the expenditure of \$6,500,000 in the extension of vocational training to returning soldiers who were under 20 years of age at the time of enlistment.

—Indicative of increased shipping interests in Philadelphia, in one day recently ten ships were licensed by the Philadelphia representative of the War Trade Board, to carry goods between Philadelphia and foreign ports.

—Officers and men to the number of 1,419,886 had been discharged from the army up to the 15th; 878,500 men and 21,000 officers have been returned from overseas. There are still 540,525 men under arms in the United States.

—"A million dollars and a million members," is the slogan for a new drive by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which maintains that temperance work in the United States is not ended with the adoption of the amendment.

—The Svoboda Steamship Line has been incorporated in Delaware. The company will charter or purchase steamships for the transportation of 1,000,000 Russian workers, Bolsheviks and others, to Russia. Food and farming implements also will be shipped.

—The War Department announces that settlement of claims involving detailed inventories and reviews of accounts is slowing up cancellation of war contracts. Of \$2,941,000,000 in contracts recommended for cancellation, the actual closing out had reached a total of \$185,182,068 on February 27.

—In the cases of the fifty-four aliens held for deportation at New York appeals have been withdrawn by the aliens themselves or by their attorneys in twenty-three cases; the Secretary of Labor has affirmed the deportation decision in nineteen cases, and rehearings have been granted twelve others.

—After a series of conferences the representatives of the steel industries and the members of the Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce a decision was reached upon price reductions which considerably lowered the price of steel products and left wages at the same rates as at present.

—A report comes from Sweden that the Soldiers' Council in Christiania, Norway, has issued a proclamation to those liable to military service, urging them to demand the right to determine their own military disposition, and to place military authority in the hands of the soldiers instead of the officers.

—According to the Associated Press, never since the landing of troops at Vladivostok in August, has there been such widespread criticism in Siberia of the United States. Undoubtedly says the dispatch, it is a fact that there is a systematic campaign on of invidious distortion of facts calculated to sow discord among Russians and Americans alike.

—The American Commission has sent three special investigators on a secret mission to Russia to confer with the Bolsheviks and report on the prospects of a settlement of the Russian difficulties. These investigators, who are now in Moscow or on the way, are William C. Bullitt of the State Department, formerly of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* and Lincoln Steffens, the radical journalist.

—The Zionist Society of Engineers and Agriculturists (122 East 37th Street, New York) announced last week that arrangements are being made with several agricultural schools whereby young men, Zionists, technically inclined, able-bodied and anxious to go to Palestine, will get a thorough training in tractor work and in practical agricultural methods generally. All expenses of successful applicants will be paid, those interested should apply to the society for particulars.

—The American Socialist Society, the membership corporation operating the Rand School of Social Science, on the 21st was fined \$8,000 by Federal Judge Julius M. Mayer of New York. The fine was imposed after the society had been

found guilty by a jury under the Espionage act, on the charge of unlawfully obstructing the recruiting and enlisting service of the Government by the publication of a pamphlet, entitled "The Great Madness," written by Scott Nearing.

—The Civil Service Reform Association sets forth the following facts protesting against the proposed amendment to the New York State Constitution conferring preference upon the Spanish and World War veterans for civil service positions: "It destroys the basic principle of the merit system; it is undemocratic in that it favors a class of citizens; it excludes women from obtaining civil service positions in the future; it impairs the efficiency of the civil service and raises the cost of administration," and causes other undeserved discriminations.

—The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has appointed L. C. A. K. Martens as its official representative in the United States, with the power of opening trade negotiations with the American Government, it has been announced. The credentials just forwarded to Martens, who is a worker of long standing in the Socialist movement of Russia, empower him to place at once in banks in Europe and in the United States gold to the amount of \$200,000,000 to cover the price of initial purchases which it is the desire of Russia to make of the United States.

Labor

—The railway workers of Great Britain voted on the 21st to reject the Government's offer which met a portion of their demands.

—In the employment reports for the week ended March 15th, 85 cities show unemployment and 11 show a shortage of workers.

—Several hundred thousand railroad shop employes have asked the Railroad Administration for wage increases averaging 25 per cent.

—There are relatively few unemployed men in France because most of the able-bodied men are still in the army, but the number of unemployed women is large and is on the increase.

—The special correspondent of the *New York Call* in Lawrence asserts that police brutality and inefficiency have become the outstanding features of the mill workers' strike in that city.

—Without waiting for the reports of the Special Parliamentary Commission on its investigation of the mining situation, 40,000 coal miners at Nottinghamshire went on strike on the 19th.

—Refusing to work under the supervision of a newly appointed general foreman, more than 1,000 ship workers at the Merrill-Stevens shipbuilding yards, near Jacksonville, Fla., went on strike on the 21st.

—While the Canadian House of Commons in

Ottawa was cabling a report of experts sharply criticising the Government Printing Bureau, the 101 pressmen of the printing plant went out on strike on March 8.

—Eleven million women and girls are engaged as wage earners in the United States according to estimates by the Department of Labor. Twelve million women are reported to have entered industry in Great Britain during the war.

—On the 17th the Miners' Committee of the Essen region in Germany adopted by a large majority the resolution demanding a reduction of the workday to 7½ hours beginning in April, 7 hours in 1920, and 6½ hours in 1921.

—In Cuba, where the unions were at first content with demanding higher wages and shorter hours, they are now demanding that all non-union railroad employes be discharged. Five hundred convicts are being used on the docks of Havana to load freight.

—At a recent conference the New Zealand Federation of Labor adopted a resolution urging the abolition of Compulsory Arbitration and the settlement of disputes by an Industrial Council, representative of employers and employes, according to industries.

—A detailed official statement just made public in England shows the average earnings of railway men in 1918 were 28 shillings 6 pence per week, and that they were increased during the war by 33 shillings. In addition to this, it is said, an eight-hour day was granted.

—In the Massachusetts State budget, which has passed the Legislature, is a provision for \$50,000 for the building of houses to be sold to working men at cost. The Governor has spoken favorably on the project and there is little doubt that the measure will pass the Senate.

—In its efforts to solve the difficulties caused by the port strike at Buenos Ayres the Government on the 20th formally ordered the longshoremen to unload the coastwise steamers inside the port to permit of the entry of transatlantic vessels. The longshoremen refused to obey.

—Members of the Cleveland Federation of Labor are almost equally divided on the question of forming a Labor party, 2,683 voting for and 2,523 voting against it, according to Secretary John G. Owens. The votes were taken at meetings and are not complete. A referendum vote will be taken by May 1.

—The International Seafarers' Federation has adopted £15 monthly as the proper standard wage for seamen and firemen, with the older ratings being paid in proportion. This is virtually the same as the American minimum wage and the same as that of the British and Scandinavian countries with the present war bonuses.

—The 40,000 members of the Metal Trades Council who have been on strike since January 21 at Seattle and other coast points in Washington returned to work under the terms of the Macy award of the 11th. Press reports indicate probable resumption of the controversy April 1, upon the expiration of the agreement.

—According to *Klassekampen*, organ of the Danish Socialist Labor Party, freedom of assembly, of speech, and of press has completely disappeared and a reign of terror prevails in Denmark. Any one who dares issue an anti-militarist manifesto, however harmless, is arrested without warrant and condemned to prison without trial.

—Three officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have been sent from New York to take charge of the Lawrence textile strike of 35,000 mill operatives. This action follows the decision of the Lawrence strikers to affiliate with the Amalgamated Workers instead of the United Textile Workers of America, composed of highly skilled workers.

—In New York the Western Union messengers have gone on strike for higher pay and better working conditions. In some of the offices, the boys are paid two cents for the delivery of a message while in others they receive two and one-half cents. The messengers demand a half cent increase on the delivery of all messages. They also demand that those working at night should be required to work only six nights.

—A report just issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission in Wellington, New Zealand, shows that the enormous rise during the war in prices of articles of wear was due not, as charged by the capitalists, to increased wages and cost of materials, but to the fact that manufacturers and dealers took advantage of the public to increase their profits, which were double or treble those of 1914 in each of the years of the war.

—Workers at fourteen of the International Harvester Company's seventeen American plants and at all three Canadian plants decided on the 12th by majority vote to adopt the "Harvester Industrial Council" plan of employe representation submitted to them by the company on March 10. The proposition failed of approval at three plants located in Chicago. Under the plan the employes will elect by popular vote their representatives on each "works council." The employer and employes will have equal voting power in the unit body where will originate suggestions, requests, or complaints relative to all matters of mutual interest, including wages, hours, working conditions, and all welfare proposals. Disagreements will be appealed to the company's president, thence to a general council of all works affected, if need be, with arbitration by mutual consent the final resort.

Suffrage

—Secretary Edward Keating, of the recently established Commission on Reclassification of the Federal Civil Service, announces that one of the principal undertakings of the commission will be to secure "a square deal for women workers."

—Governor Smith on the 29th signed the bill creating in the State Industrial Commissions of New York a bureau of women in industry. The bureau will examine into the conditions surrounding the employment of women in industries and recommend safeguards for their health and protection.

—A new thing happened in history on the 19th, when forty women representing five nations addressed the Peace Committee on Labor Legislation, which is drawing up an economic and industrial program to be carried out under the League of Nations. The women who represented the United States were Mrs. J. M. Harriman and Mrs. Julius Barrett Rublee.

—The National Woman Suffrage resolution submitting to the State Legislatures the question of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States preventing discrimination against women in voting, will be adopted by the new Congress within two weeks after it meets, according to the plan of Republican politicians who wish to appropriate to themselves all the credit for passing this amendment.

—Prominent women on the 20th at Albany severely took to task Thaddeus C. Sweet, the Republican Speaker of the Assembly, for deliberately burying the eight-hour bill for Women and Minors, the Minimum Wage bill, and the bill for protecting women working on street cars and in offices. Miss Mary E. Dreier, Chairman of the Women's Joint Legislative Council, declared that "the Speaker has been calling Republican Assemblymen into his room, and has threatened covertly to kill their legislation if they dared to come out for the bills. What shall we say to the great State of New York when a little paper manufacturer from Oswego holds up legislation which will benefit almost a million workers?"

Transportation

—The Railroad Administration announces that it will shortly make a substantial reduction in domestic freight rates. Similar reductions in ocean freights are promised by the Shipping Board.

—The North German Lloyd Steamship Line, a dispatch from Bremen says, has a fleet of twenty-three steamers, totaling 250,000 tons, coaled, equipped, and ready to depart for the United States.

—According to the statistics of the Railroad Administration the total increase in expenses in 1918 over 1917 was \$1,250,000,000. Slightly

over half, or \$588,550,000, was due to advances in wages.

—Word comes from Lincoln, Neb., that the Governor of Nebraska has sent invitations to the Governors of the States interested to send delegates to a meeting of a Pershing Highway Association to meet on April 16 to elect officers and form a plan of campaign for building a Pershing Highway across the Continent.

—The Interborough Consolidated Corporation, a \$50,000,000 holding company, went into bankruptcy on the 21st. James R. Sheffield was appointed receiver by Judge Julius M. Mayer. This is not the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, which operates the subways and elevated lines, but a holding company that holds the majority of the shares of the operating company.

—Director General Pescador of the Mexican National Railway lines has reported to President Carranza that the total receipts of the system in the last fiscal year were \$58,752,642.39. The receipts in the previous year were \$49,378,328.35, the 1917-'18 increase being more than \$9,000,000. The largest gross earnings of any previous year were in those of 1910-'11, when the amount was \$61,984,421.

—In the appointment of receivers for the New York Railways Company and the Interborough Consolidated Corporation two trenches were lost, declared Theodore P. Shonts, President of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, comparing the situation to a battlefield, and added that the company intended to "fight it out in the last trench" to prevent the appointment of a receiver for the Interborough.

—On the 20th Job E. Hedges was appointed temporary receiver of the New York Railways Company, which operates the green car surface lines of Manhattan. Judge Mayer of the United States District Court made the appointment on the application of the American Brake, Shoe, and Foundry Company, which holds a claim of \$88,806 against the Railways Company for materials. The indebtedness of the company is \$1,600,000. In its answer the Railways Company joined in the petition for a receiver "to preserve the system as it has been maintained, and to protect and preserve the corporate franchise privileges." Argument to make the receivership permanent will be heard in the same court on March 31.

Public Welfare

—An appropriation of four millions of dollars was made by Congress for carrying on the Venereal Disease fight in 1918 and 1919. A large part of this appropriation has been allotted to the various States, or is available to them for the campaign.

—An adaptation of the League of Nations idea

to prevent future wars between coal producing capital and labor at the expense of the neutral public has been advanced by Dr. Harry A. Garfield, former Fuel Administrator. Announcement was made that his plan is being considered by members of the National Coal Association through a referendum now in progress.

—Clarence H. Mackay, president of the Postal Telegraph & Cable Company, was removed on the 22d by Postmaster-General Burlison. A. F. Adams, president of the Kansas City Home Telephone Company, a member of the General Telegraph and Telephone Operating Board, was appointed by the Postmaster General to supersede the Postal officers in the management of the systems.

—On March 5, 1919, Muskegon, Mich., adopted a commission manager charter. Muskegon is the seventy-fifth city to adopt this system in its orthodox form. Forty-nine of these cities have a population of 8,000 or over. Many more have accepted the principle with modifications. Twelve States now have a State-wide law permitting any city to adopt the commission manager plan by referendum without recourse to changes in the local charter.

—There were put into the Overman committee records what was described by the New York *Tribune* as "Bolshevik, Anarchist, and Red revolutionary propaganda." In plain English, it was samples of circulars, handbills, posters, pamphlets, and newspapers of revolutionary trend, printed in various languages. One exhibit was a list of organizations of the I. W. W. According to it there are 12,901 centers of agitation, of which 8,884 are unions and 4,567 are recruiting stations.

—On the 20th, at Albany, J. Henry Walters, President pro tem. of the Senate, introduced a concurrent resolution providing for a legislative investigation to trace the movement of Bolshevism in New York to its source and devise legislation to curb its activities. The resolution was adopted as offered from the floor unanimously, practically without debate, and without resort to the usual practice of sending it to the Finance Committee, although it carried a \$50,000 appropriation.

—As an antidote to Bolshevism among the unemployed and to aid soldiers and sailors returning to private life after serving under the colors through the war, in finding work, Governor Smith in a special message sent to the Legislature of New York on the 20th, urged an immediate appropriation of \$50,000 for the maintenance of employment bureaus to take the place of those conducted by the Federal Government for that purpose, but cut off through the failure of Congress to pass the Sundry Appropriation and General Deficiency bills.

—*The Industrial Banner*, of Toronto, publishes the following comparative table:

	State-owned Australia.	Private-owned Canada.
4-lb. loaf	12c	29c
Butter	25c	58c
Cheese	16c	82c
Honey	10c	40c
Tea	25c	60c
Meat	18c	28c
Mutton	11c	30c
Sugar	6c	12c
Salmon	6c	25c
Coal (ton)	\$5.00	\$11.75

—Delegates from negro civic, religious, fraternal and social organizations of nine States and the District of Columbia met at the Zion A. M. E. Church, in New York on the 20th and formed an association, to secure enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, the abolition of the "Jim Crow" system, granting of right of franchise for the negro in all States, equal educational opportunities and to fight race prejudice and discrimination. Delegates were urged to see that black women secured equal rights with others in the event of the granting of women's suffrage, and that proper representation be given in the reorganization of the army.

Foreign

—In the last election for the London County Council the laborites increased the number of their representatives from 5 to 15.

—At the airdrome near Santry, six miles from Dublin, on the 20th, forty Sinn Feiners overpowered the soldiers on guard and seized eighty service rifles. They disabled the military motor cars at the airdrome to prevent pursuit.

—Dr. Synghan Rhee, delegate of the Korean National Association to the Peace Conference, received from Shanghai on the 20th a message telling him that the independence movement in Korea was growing steadily, and that 10,000 had been killed and 45,000 arrested.

—The Mexican General, Joaquin Amaro, on the 20th defeated a strong Villa force, believed to have been under Villa and Angeles's command, at San Andres de Los Chacones, near Satevo, fifty miles south of Chihuahua City, according to a military telegram.

—In Stockholm on the occasion of the visit of the Finnish General, Mannerheim, representative of the White Guard, to Prince Gustav of Sweden, the mounted police were armed with Russian knouts and with them dispersed the crowd that assembled to demonstrate their hostility to the reactionary White Guard leader.

—In Madrid, Spain, where the labor situation has gone from bad to worse, the Labor Federation has called a general strike. The railway men have stopped work in various parts of the country, and the Government has taken the bold step of mobilizing all employes, calling them up for military duties to maintain public order.

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