THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

May 24, 1919

Labor, Business, and the Public

Bohemia's President

Commission Manager Plan

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Contents

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CARRYING water on both shoulders appears to be an every-day thing with Republican Senators. When the League of Nations plan was first given out the Republican Senators thought to make it a party measure, and started their best speakers across the country to exploit it in behalf of the G. O. P. But the speakers did not get far before they discovered the people were in favor of the League of Nations. Then they hastened to declare they were not opposed to the idea of the League of Nations, but only to the form in which the President had put it. Amendments were proposed by Republicans and adopted by the Peace Conference, but still the Republican Senators are opposed to the League. As they are betwixt the people who want the League and the necessity of discrediting the President, they must shape a policy that will satisfy the voters and at the same time make political capital for themselves.

THE most reassuring thing about the treaty is its opposition, which seems to consist principally of Italian imperialists, the German Government, and Republican United States Senators. Herein lies the best evidence that the treaty is at bottom sound. It is probably true that it does not include a number of very desirable settlements and that some of its terms are unjust. Let those idealists who are disappointed because world democracy has not leaped far enough ahead pause and consider the vigor of the opposition. The treaty, while not the best possible, is undoubtedly the best that could be agreed upon. Two mistakes can be made. One is to adopt a treaty in a less ideal form than is possible at this time. The other is to adopt none at all.

THE chief difficulty in arriving at the terms of peace in Paris has been the fact that the old statesmen did not take kindly to the new ideas. The ruling classes nowhere showed any disposition to give up anything they could cling to. Only those kings got out who were turned out, and the lesser beneficiaries of privilege will hold on till they too are pushed off. The ornamental kings of England, Italy, and Belgium have little influence one way or another, but the people who live on monopoly tolls and who have increased their fortunes in spite of the war, these must be shaken off before there can be any real progress toward recovery from the devastation of war. In other words, the holders of wealth will have to submit to what is in effect partial confiscation of capital if industry is to be restored. The beneficiaries of privilege who happen to live in countries that prefer evolution to revolution need not think themselves immune because they have escaped the immediate destruction that has befallen their class in autocratic countries.

A SURGICAL operation is not to be commended to a healthy man no matter how it may help a sick one. So with price fixing. As a Governmental policy it can be justified only by an abnormal or unusual condition. The Industrial Board, which has just ended a stormy career by resignation, was an ill-advised venture at best. It was founded upon the theory that profiteering can be cured by kind words, and its policy was from the very first unfathomable. It said it could reduce prices by mutual consent rather than by price fixing. It promptly reversed this position by fixing prices. It then protested that these were maximum, not minimum prices, but when Director General

Hines took the Board at its word and assumed that the prices were maximum ones, he was violently attacked for trying to buy more cheaply. What the next vagary might have been no one can tell now, but it is to be hoped that Secretary Redfield will think seriously before inflicting another board upon us.

CLOSING one door upon an evil without opening another way for its escape is well illustrated by the sumptuary legislation of the New York Legislature in forbidding women to work after certain hours at night. The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company has already begun laying off the women taken on during the war, and it is estimated that full compliance with the law will mean the discharge of fifty thousand women. Had the lawmakers first created opportunities for labor, the women might have been shifted to more fitting work without the present hardship. As it is, many will feel keen resentment at being legislated out of a job and forced to reënter fields already overcrowded by their sex. The way out of the social quagmire is not to be found in arbitrarily restraining people from doing what they ought not to do, but in opening wide the opportunity for doing what they ought to do.

DOES sickness cause poverty or does poverty cause sickness? The report of the Bureau of Municipal Research in Baltimore leads to the conclusion that sickness causes poverty. Of the 8,863 cases studied it was found that 6,308 were due to sickness or physical defects. Unfortunately, however, the Bureau seems to have confined its attention to the poor, and so says nothing as to whether sickness among the rich also causes poverty. For all the report shows to the contrary, it may be, as General Gorgas found in Cuba, Panama, and the Transvaal, where he had practical experience, that instead of poverty being caused by sickness, sickness was caused by poverty; and his recommendation was that wages be increased and the standard of living raised. He said that the shortest road to health among the poor was to double their wages. As common experience tends to confirm the idea that sickness and poverty go together among the poor and not among the rich, the General's advice would seem to be worth considering.

TAXATION is coming to be recognized as a determining economic force by an ever-increasing number of persons. German cities have made extensive use of the principle to direct town building. Owners of objectionable buildings, or buildings wrongly placed, were induced to mend the fault by the promise of lighter taxes under the new conditions. THE PUBLIC has already called attention to the proposal of Allan Robinson, president of the City and Suburban Homes Company, to exempt new buildings from taxation for a period of eleven years to compensate the builder for the higher cost of building. Now comes United States Senator William A. Calder, who has had a very wide experience in putting up buildings in New York, with a proposal for the "enactment of State laws exempting from taxation for the first two years after their completion all buildings within the confines of the city used solely for residential purposes." The only objection to this plan is the limited time of application. The exemption should be made perpetual. But it is good to see even this limited recognition of a sound principle.

STRAINING at gnats and swallowing camels is a traditional failing of politicians. The refusal of the leaders of the American Legion to hold their next annual meeting in Chicago is a well deserved rebuke to Mayor Thompson, although it savors somewhat of playing to the galleries. But their decision to meet in Minnesota is less understandable, for Mayor Thompson, after all, confined his anti-American activities to mere rhetoric. Governor Burnquist and his friends declared war on the United States and continued to harass the Federal Government throughout the war. Under the guise of patriotism strikes were fomented by the Burnquist administration and patriotic attacks on profiteering forbidden. Regulations were adopted making it virtually a crime for the parties to a strike to accept the aid of the Federal Government. By the use of Burlesonian tactics the Burnquist administration created such a state of seething discontent and disorganization in the State of Minnesota that it was unable to assert its full industrial power on the side of America. It is to be hoped that our war veterans are not more interested in the shadow than the substance.

WITH an estimated increase of 675,000 population since 1914 in New York City and less than half the buildings put up in 1918 that there were in 1916, it is easy to see why there should be a shortage of houses. Tenement House Commissioner Frank Mann says there are 985,000 tenements in Greater New York, or 103,000 buildings. Of these 103,000 tenement buildings 75,000 were built under the old law. Nearly all the vacancies are in these old tenements, of which Mr. Mann says: "They are legally fit for human habitation, but that is all —humanly they are not fit, and they are beyond repair. The only remedy for this situation is the erection of new and better houses." Few persons will question Mr. Mann's statement or conclusion. But the problem remains, how are the owners of these old buildings to be induced to rebuild. A pertinent suggestion has been made by one student of the situation who says the new buildings should be exempted from taxes.

THE program announced by the Farmers' National Council at Washington is in striking contrast with the time-honored policy of making the American farmer a stool-pigeon for the benefit of the protective tariff advocates and railroad adventurers. The farmer has come to see that if he wants his interests attended to by Congress he must make his political power felt. The Nonpartisan League of North Dakota and neighboring States has begun the work, and the Farmers' National Council is planning to bring the influence of its great membership to bear upon Congressmen. Its immediate program includes the four recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission for the meat-packing industry; government ownership and democratic operation of railroads; the heavy taxation of excess profits, incomes, inheritances, and land values to pay for the cost of the war, and preservation of natural resources. Congress will now have an opportunity to make good its oft-repeated professions of interest in the welfare of the farmer.

DISCOVERIES of new potash deposits in Nebraska and California were regarded at the time as national assets, but judging by the political activities of the persons controlling those deposits they are liabilities, since it appears that a heavy protective tariff for the purpose of shutting out all foreign potash from the market is necessary for the further development. The natural effect of the discovery of new supplies in America should be to decrease the price of this much needed product. If the sole effect of their discovery is to raise prices it would be better if they had never been found, since it seems that the sole condition upon which they may be operated is a subsidy from the national treasury. Yet the advocates of such a subsidy are the ones who object most loudly to Governmental paternalism when the wages of railway employes are increased. Consistency, thou art a jewel!

THE PUBLIC has insisted that the doctrine preached by the president of the Lumber Manufacturers' Association did not raise a race issue but a labor issue. The president of the organization, it will be remembered, advised his fellow employers not to deal with Negro representatives of workingmen because it was the custom in the South to give orders to Negroes, not to confer with them. This viewpoint was refuted by the South itself at the recent meeting of the University Race Commission at Nashville. This board, which includes representatives from the eleven Southern State Universities, went on record as clearly in favor of the coöperative working out of inter-racial problems. Its clear statement that the day has passed when the white man can any longer settle by himself the problems of Negroes may be taken as an indication that the lumber manufacturers do not speak even for the South.

THE Federal Bench should be the last place to seek for a recruiting agent for the I. W. W. If the decision of the United States Court of Appeals in St. Louis in the case of the Coronado Coal Company of Arkansas is not designed to aid in the spread of the doctrine of direct action, it is at least well adapted to that purpose. In a case arising out of an Arkansas coal strike in 1914 the court has held the striking union labor to a fine of $600,000 for a conspiracy to ruin the business of certain coal operators. The actual award is $200,000, which under the Sherman law is trebled. Together with costs the total penalty may aggregate $800,000. Does any one imagine for a moment,

if the position were reversed and the employing interest had made a general reduction in wages, that the court would have held the company officials liable for a conspiracy to ruin the homes of the workers? The fundamental position taken by the trade union is sound. The right of the worker to quit work either alone or in concert with others for a reason or for no reason must be admitted. So long as that is denied the legitimate trade union cannot exist. If the courts drive the unions out of business the principal result will be a lack of confidence not only in the courts but in political action. If the coal operators of America are wise they will procure a speedy reversal of this decision. They may remember something of the political consequences of the Danbury hatters' case.

SOME one should take up the cause of rich children. There are all manner of societies, leagues, boards, and what not for the protection of the children of the poor; and the poorer they are the more attention they receive. No one should begrudge them this, but they should not monopolize philanthropic and State aid and care. The child inherits no moral taint; and the offspring of the rich are as much entitled to live and grow as those of the poor. The death of "Baby" McLean, the $100,000,000 baby of newspaper notoriety, brings dramatically to mind the handicaps of the rich. This little fellow who managed to live nine years was surrounded and constantly attended by nurses, guards, detectives, doctors, and servants, waking and sleeping, playing and eating. It is said that he had never been alone till the moment when he ran into the street and was run down by an automobile. In New Jersey the authorities are talking of prosecuting the parents of a child who died without medical assistance. The McLean child died because of too much assistance. He never had had a taste of life. What is the S. P. C. A. doing? There must be some means of protecting the children of the rich.

THE fifty pardons and commutations of sentences for persons convicted under the espionage act during the war are commendable, although the President will doubtless be seriously criticised for so sweeping an exercise of clemency. An espionage act was badly needed during the war, but the one passed by the Senate failed lamentably of its purpose. No act can be said to be adequate that provided penalties of twenty years in the penitentiary for an ill-advised word, while profiteering—an overt act of treason—was left to the extra-legal administration of Red Cross fines. To make the situation still worse the local district attorneys generally put strained interpretations upon offenses trivial in themselves. The courts, swayed from their judicial balance by intolerant local opinion, frequently assessed penalties out of all proportion to the offense committed. In the vast majority of cases under the espionage act the conditions surrounding the trials were of such a nature as to make a great many of the trials legalized lynchings. The sooner we correct such injustice the better.

IT must have been a rude awakening to the British Tommy returning from the front to find that the land owners of Great Britain had been enriching themselves during his absence. Many English cities have been purchasing land upon which to erect houses for the wage earners, and the price of this land, according to *Land Values* of London, appears to have almost no relation to the value placed upon it for purposes of taxation. In the town of Alferton land that had been taxed on a valuation of $20 an acre was sold to the town for home building purposes at $7,000 per acre. In Bolton land taxed on the valuation of $13 per acre was sold to the city for $2,015 per acre. As the price paid for the land enters into the cost of the homes and must be paid by those who occupy them either as tenants or owners, the laboring man may be forgiven if he gets a little "restless" over these carryings on.

PROGRESSIVE Republicans are no match for the Old Guard. The latter have outgeneraled them completely in the organization of the next Senate. The spectacular and much-heralded fight on Senator Penrose for the Chairmanship of the Finance Committee of the Senate is to be a fiasco, while the progressives stand by. Senator Johnson and Senator Borah might have foreseen this outcome if they had profited by Senator Chamberlain's experience, for they have been used to pull Tory chestnuts out of the fire in the League of Nations fight

just as Senator Chamberlain was used in the fight on Secretary Baker. In the League fight Mr. Knox and Mr. Penrose were careful to defer to the Westerners, and let the latter do most of the leading while they themselves appeared to be merely followers. As a result the Western Senators have been forced into a position where it was necessary to have a large number of anti-League Republicans on the Committee on Foreign Relations. At this point Mr. Penrose revived his deferred candidacy for the Finance Committee and the progressives have had no alternative but to submit. Three months of playing politics with the adroit Old Guard finds the Western Senators hopelessly involved in a losing fight, and committed to the candidacy of the one man whom they had sworn they would never accept.

Censuring the President

THE main charge against President Wilson appears to be that he conceived high ideals but failed to realize them all at once. He set forth democracy in such glowing terms that he inspired a new hope in the oppressed in all lands; yet at the Paris Peace Conference he failed to embody all these aspirations in the treaty.

But by what code of morals is a man to be condemned utterly because in contending against other men for an ideal he is forced to content himself for the time being with something less than the whole. Where or when has a political or social ideal been attained at a single stroke? Is not all progress a matter of growth? Have not all ideals been attained step by step?

It was the taunt of the Bolsheviki at the beginning of the revolution that America was not free because this or that restriction remained. And those Americans who bemoan our lapse from democracy, and commiserate us on the loss of the liberties bequeathed us by the Fathers forget that few of the privileges now enjoyed by a large part of the people were recognized at the time of the framing of the Constitution.

Men who signed the Declaration of Independence owned chattel slaves; property was a necessary qualification for voting, and woman suffrage would have been considered preposterous. Yet the man who penned the Declaration, as well as those who signed it, took the first step toward their realization, and left to future generations the duty of completing the work.

President Wilson went to Paris inspired with the highest ideals of any modern political leader. He met from other countries men less devoted to those ideals. Necessity compelled an agreement. He did not get all that he sought, nor all that he should have gotten. But that is not to say that his mission was a failure, or that his work should be condemned.

Sober reflection will convince open-minded men that the President not only secured much at the Conference, but that he provided a means for obtaining all else that was there withheld. What would have become of the new nations stretching all the way from the Baltic to the Adriatic but for his championship? Granted that the terms imposed upon Germany are too severe, and that the disposal of the Saar Valley is wrong and will have to be corrected, the means of correction have been provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Every act must be weighed against the alternative choice. Would Mr. Wilson's critics have had him withdraw from the Conference, and leave the men who exacted so much to take it all? Has he not shown the greater wisdom in maintaining friendly relations, and securing the adoption of machinery that must necessarily continue his purpose as the world broadens its ideals?

It should not be forgotten that a democratic government never can rise far above its own people. And just as the men who signed the declaration that "all men are created equal" were obliged to bow for the time being to those who maintained chattel slavery, so President Wilson, who declared for self-determination, has been compelled to accept modifications at the hands of other Governments whose coöperation was necessary. He stood as the representative of the United States; yet the voters gave him an adverse Congress, and the Senate bluntly declared it would not approve his acts.

Why then lay the blame for such failure as there has been upon him? Should he not rather be congratulated for what he has accomplished in spite not only of foreign opponents, but of the opposition of his own countrymen?

Congress and Mr. Berger

THE courts have already caused much confusion between their own functions and those of Congress by their incursions into the legislative field. Mr. Gillett, the new Speaker, is well on his way to increase that confusion by urging Congress to enter the judicial field. He and many others wish to deny a seat to Victor Berger, who was elected to Congress last fall from Milwaukee. If Congress should follow Mr. Gillett's advice it would be well within its legal rights, for the Constitution makes it the sole judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members. But its legal rights are not to be interpreted in any sweeping manner. It would, for instance, be a strictly legal but nevertheless unwarranted interpretation for Congress to hold that a Negro or naturalized citizen could not sit in Congress. To do so would be to destroy the representative nature of Congress itself. And the protection of that representative nature is the very reason for conferring upon Congress the power of judging its own members. Any exercise of Congressional authority for the purpose of punishing Mr. Berger or any other Congressman-elect for what Congress deems to have been a crime is an invasion of the judicial field. If the people of Milwaukee wish to be represented by a man convicted of crime that is the business of the people of Milwaukee. Congress should do no more than assure itself that he was properly elected. In so doing it will follow the best traditions not only of our own nation, but those of other countries. There are repeated instances of men elected to the British Parliament while serving terms in jail or even while fugitives from justice abroad. The only ground upon which Congress might be justified in unseating Mr. Berger is that his conviction occurred since his election. It might be reasoned that the people of Milwaukee would not have elected him had they foreseen this conviction. It will be recalled, however, that the language upon which his indictment was based had already been the subject of heated controversy in a senatorial campaign and was widely quoted in the Congressional elections. If Congress is highly sensitive on the matter of protecting the people of Milwaukee it might provide the machinery by which any constituency can recall an undesirable Congressman. But Congress is probably not as yet quite sensitive enough for that.

Alien Deportations

MORE light and less heat is needed by those who are working themselves into a frenzy in their advocacy of wholesale deportation as a remedy for the I. W. W. The chief obstacle in dealing with a man who goes to one extreme is the man who goes to the other extreme. We are being regaled today with an avalanche of passion upon the general subject of alien agitators. We shall have better hopes of progress when hysteria has subsided and calm analysis of the problem is possible.

Even the I. W. W. is not necessarily a vicious organization. It has simply, like Germany, acquired a bad doctrine. Fundamentally the only difference between the I. W. W. and the ordinary trade union is that the former is in favor of the entire industry as a basis, while the latter organizes upon the basis of the specialized craft or trade. There is nothing necessarily vicious or un-American in industrial unionism, except as it and its leaders have been in some respects infected with the doctrine of sabotage. And sabotage itself is utterly foreign to real American thought.

This doctrine, in a sentence, teaches that violence and the destruction of property are proper weapons. It is repugnant to the doctrine of the political state. The alien who comes to our shores to carry on such activities is an invading enemy. He comes with an expressed unwillingness to coöperate in our political state. The state may therefore properly deny him its protection. It treats him with great leniency when it only deports him.

The error into which Mayor Hanson and all his fellow orators fall lies in thinking that all industrial unionists are advocates of sabotage. Some radicals fall into a similar error when they class all capitalists as in a conscious conspiracy to rob the workers. One wonders just how Mayor Hanson would solve the problem of deporting the entire Western Federation of Miners, for instance. There is a movement on foot among industrial unionists to expel all advocates of sabotage from their movement. Such a step would be the best service that could be done to the cause of industrial unionism. For

a very few people may infect as well as leaven the whole lump.

Railroad Management

Advocates of public ownership have frequently been charged, and properly so, with a lack of practicality. No one can bring the same charge against advocates of private operation, if the speech of Charles E. Mitchell, President of the National City Company, Montreal, on April 21st, is to be taken as indicative of the views of his fellow bankers. Mr. Mitchell believes that a year and a third " of government operation of railways in the United States has proven conclusively " that government operation is a failure. He suggests an immediate return of the roads, but the terms which he proposes would indicate that he doubts the ability of private operation to make as good a showing as the Railroad Administration. Although condemning the present high rate as unwarranted, he urges that an immediate rate increase be granted to take up the burden of wage increases. It might be more to the point to suggest that the wage increases be taken out of the present exorbitant dividends which the companies receive under the Governmental policy of rental. But although arguing that continued government operation means recourse to taxation, Mr. Mitchell has no alternative to suggest himself but an increase in rates, which would in itself be a tax on transportation. Under the Mitchell plan the roads would be turned back to their owners to operate, but the Government would be required to continue its guarantee of standard rentals for two or three years, until such time as private operation should find itself firmly in the saddle. He is generous enough, however, to suggest that the Government should receive any excess over this rental as a compensation for being required to make up any deficit. So far the plan does not differ in its financial aspect from the one we now have, for that is precisely what the Government is doing. It would make the Government responsible for a fixed sum every year that would have to come out of the Treasury. But it would take out of the hands of the Government all power to enforce any economies which might be necessary to correct deficits. Mr. Mitchell is not content with even that financial arrangement. He adds a further proviso that any road may release the Government from its guarantee at any time and receive its full net return. Does any one doubt that under this, every successful road in the country that was sure of making a return equal to the rental would " release " the Government immediately and that every bankrupt or inefficient road would scurry for refuge to the public treasury? Stripped of all its verbiage, Mr. Mitchell's position is that he is for private ownership provided the public treasury can be periodically tapped to make it profitable. In the various plans submitted by bankers like Mr. Mitchell one thing stands out. None of them has any confidence in the ability of the railroads to pay dividends without substantial public aid, either in the form of guaranteed dividends or increased rates.

British Coal Lands

AMONG the recent witnesses to appear before the Parliamentary Commission that is investigating the situation with regard to the nationalization of coal lands in Great Britain were a number of British peers who have been called upon to explain why the Government should not take over the coal mines and operate them for the benefit of the miners and consumers. Baron Dynevor was not sure, according to the testimony, where he got the right to his land, or how much coal was taken out. Lord Dunraven said he had not probed into antiquity to find his right to work the mines on certain public lands. Lord Durham asserted that his tenants were comfortable and happy. He admitted his royalties on his coal together with rent for shafts and pulleys amounted to $300,000 a year. The Duke of Northumberland admitted that as a coal mine owner he performed no service to the community. A statement of his possessions shows he owns 170,000 acres and has mineral rights over 244,000 acres. Last year after deducting all taxes and duties he drew nearly $120,000 in royalties.

That is the coal question. England is rich in coal, but Englishmen who would use it have to pay large sums to the lords, dukes, and others who give them permission to dig it out of the earth. The owners of the coal do nothing toward digging it out or preparing it for market. They merely give others permission to dig it.

Some of them do not even know how they became possessed of these mineral lands.

Presumably the commission will recommend purchase of these lands by the Government and operation by the miners. But if purchased, how are they to be paid for?

But why purchase? If this were a proposal to nationalize shops, factories, or other creations of labor and capital one could see the necessity of paying the owner. But how can one equitably pay for the natural elements such as water, earth, sunlight, stone, coal, or other material as it lies in the ground where nature placed it? One expects to pay the miner and all those who have to do with preparing coal for market. But whom should one pay for what nature has planted in the earth?

It will be interesting to see how the people of Great Britain will balance their reverence for property rights with their natural belief in justice. And the mining question is only a small part of the land problem.

The Exile of Alcohol

A FEW days ago bishops of the Catholic Church recalled the circumstance that Father Matthew's last words were an expression of joy that Maine had carried prohibition. Those old enough to remember the activities of the Sons of Temperance and Father Matthew societies against the almost universal intrenchment of drink abuses have to rub their eyes at the spectacle of not only common drunkenness and tavern licentiousness coming under the ban, but of the liquor traffic itself and the tippling habit keeping on the jump to escape annihilation.

Champions of freedom in bibulosity profess great willingness to sacrifice the saloon as a sop to the Prohibition Cerberus, and assert that the amendment was "put over" by the pestiferous diligence of a not significant minority.

In this contention we believe the opponents of Prohibition are wholly in the wrong. It seems to us that an important factor—if not the determining factor—in the fight is the array of thoughtful people who are not addicted to either prohibition or total abstinence, but who know the facts and "have a heart." Every intelligent man or woman who is well informed is persuaded that the abolition of the saloon would leave society afflicted with many of the worst forms of the drink traffic.

In the first place, it would leave the sale of intoxicants untouched in the hotel, the café, the cabaret. The evils of drunkenness in its bald excesses have no defenders among the sane. But the perils of moderate indulgence are equally glaring to the observant and reflective. Our modern life with its freedom and feminism throws down the restraints that formerly were the protection, such as it was, of young girls. Meanwhile human nature and the deadening effect of alcohol remain the same. Three or four glasses of wine or beer have been the dead line for innumerable hosts of young women in their coquetry with the fast life. The adjoining bar has made the café and the hotel refectory the anteroom to the house of assignation for many years in all our cities.

Liquor is, moreover, a necessity in the business of prostitution. Certain of its forms could not be carried on at all without the copartnership of strong drink. The occupants of the "crib" and the "parlor house" hold themselves in favor with their vampire masters by the number of bottles they demand for their customers in the day's work, and no shady residential lodging or apartment is without its method of supplying drinks as ample for its needs as the saloon.

The same argument applies to printers' or plumbers' or carpenters' clubs. These institutions too easily become drinking places and gambling "joints." A craft club might be a very useful rendezvous for friendship, education, and recreation; but the presence of the bar goes far toward making its higher uses improbable. The abolition of the saloon with the general prohibition of liquor would not only not remove these hidden centers of gambling, but would probably multiply them as substitutes for the public drinking place.

These are merely samples of the reasons why many thousands of American people who are neither puritans themselves nor believe in sumptuary laws for others are quite resigned to letting Prohibition take its course. They are willing to have an experiment made of national development with the country sober. With the welfare of American boys and girls at heart, their grief at the loss of their own occasional potations is very effectually assuaged.

Labor, Business, and the Public

By Louis F. Post

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

THESE three groups are very much like the John and the Thomas who were described so wittily and wisely by the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." For labor, business, and the public are more than three groups. They are twelve. There is labor as business sees it, labor as the public sees it, and labor as it sees itself. Then there is business as it sees itself, business as labor sees it, and business as the public sees it. There is also the public as business sees it, as it sees itself, and as labor sees it. Finally, there are labor, business, and the public as each of them really is.

The important thing, of course, is that each shall see itself as it really is, and the others as they really are. When all three get this visualization distinctly the way for an efficient readjustment of industry will have been cleared. For then labor will no longer appear to business as a mere item of "labor cost," nor to itself as the only useful factor in industry; business will no longer appear to itself as the industrial god, nor to labor as a profiteering devil; the public will no longer appear to business as a handy confederate, to labor as an ambushed enemy, nor to itself as an innocent by-stander. Let us try to find out what each of those three groups really is.

What is labor?

Comprehensively it includes all useful work, whether of employer or employe, of business man or professional man, of the factory, the farm, or the household. In this comprehensive sense labor produces all wealth, for no wealth can be produced except as wealth-making exertion does it. In this comprehensive sense labor should rule the world. In this comprehensive sense labor would rule the world if it pooled its interests.

But in dealing with industrial controversies, we must narrow the meaning of labor to those groups of workers with whom employer groups come in conflict. So narrowed, labor does not comprise all work, it can not produce all wealth, it should not rule the world, it is only a group of workers,—an enormously large and diversified group, a tremendously useful and growing group, yet only a group. Of labor as a whole, it is simply one great subdivision analogous to the minor subdivisions known as "skilled labor" and "unskilled labor."

We might distinguish it as the employe subdivision, but for the fact that professional folks also work as employes. Much the same difficulty threatens, if we distinguish it as wage-earning work; for fees in the professions, salaries for some industrial functions, the earned profits of useful business men—indeed, all forms of compensation for service—are really wages for work. Inasmuch, however, as the word "wages" has come in common use to designate the hire of certain employe classes, we shall be accurate enough if we define "labor" in the industrial conflict sense as comprising that class of workers whose habitual compensation is paid by employers in stipulated wages.

What, then, about the business group?

Considered as wealth producers, business and labor are interchangeable terms. Business includes all useful work just as labor does. Serviceable employer and serviceable employe alike are really business men, even as both are really working men. But for our immediate purpose the meaning of business, like the meaning of labor, must be narrowed. For at this point we are dealing with industrial controversies in which labor and business are on opposite sides.

In the narrowed meaning business seems to imply industrial organization and management in contradistinction to man power. Business buys or rents natural resources. It buys or borrows labor produced mechanism. It hires man power. It performs that indispensable work of coördination and direction without which industry would be enormously less productive than it is.

In so far as business performs this supervisory service it is an industrial subdivision as truly as wage-earning man power is. The two subdivisions belong in the same comprehensive category—human labor.

The only distinguishable difference between the useful business man and the useful wage

earner is that the business man takes chances on the profitableness of the industrial enterprises in which he engages, whereas the wage earner stipulates in advance for fixed pay. So the useful business man is speculative as well as productive, while the useful wage earner is productive but not speculative. One gets his compensation out of variable "profits," the other out of stipulated wages. The wage-earning worker is a business man who sells his product for a fixed price in advance of its production, the profit-making business man is a worker who speculates on the probable profitableness of the joint product of himself and his employes.

And the public, what is that?

The public consists of useful wage workers, of useful business workers (including the useful professions), and of industrial parasites.

Since the public is composed in part of industrial parasites, we must distinguish them from useful workers—employers and employes—who also are part of the public. But how?

Were everybody either a parasite without also being a useful worker, or a useful worker without being also a parasite, the task would be simple. Useful workers could be put in one class and parasites in the other. But the problem is too complex and subtle for that. Most industrial parasites are useful workers to some extent. Part of their income, therefore, is compensation for work, while part is a "rake-off" from some privilege or power which serves no useful purpose. So we can not classify by persons; we must classify by interests. That is, we must distinguish, as well as we can, between those parts of incomes that are earned and those parts that are not earned.

Let us emphasize that point. In modern business it is interests rather than persons that are parasitical. The person is a parasite only to the extent that his income is from a parasitical source; he is not a parasite to the extent that the source of his income is his own useful work, nor to the extent that its source is the work of others if acquired by him through free gift or fair contract.

So labor, business, and the public, as they really are, are one, provided we eliminate parasitical interests.

The labor which supplies an industry with man power may be distinguished as its wage-working factor, while the labor which organizes and supervises the industry may be regarded as its business factor; but the two are essentially partners in production. Both are really labor. And the general public, with parasitical interests eliminated, what is that but a comprehensive group of all varieties of useful business and all varieties of useful man power? It comprises the entire body of consuming producers and producing consumers. It is the mass of the customers on whom every serviceable business man depends for business and every serviceable wage-worker for employment.

Business, labor, and the public, each cleansed of parasitical elements, are in the great aggregate the people who interchangeably serve and are served.

President Masaryk of Bohemia

By E. F. Prantner

Former Secretary of Slavic Alliance and Writer on Bohemian Matters.

"BOHEMIA is found on the side of the fighting Slav nations and their Allies without regard to victory or defeat, because right is on their side." This was the declaration of Thomas G. Masaryk, now President of Czecho-Slovakia, at the moment Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia.

When Bohemia's foremost son, Comenius, in 1648 abandoned all hope for his country he addressed Chancellor Axenstierna in the despairing words: "If there is no help from man, there will be help from God, whose aid is wont to begin where that of man endeth." Thereafter for two hundred and seventy years the land of his birth and all its people remained helpless under the most despotic autocrats of modern times. These stifled the Bohemians' culture, trampled on their civil, political, and religious rights, and attempted to eliminate the language of their forefathers.

In 1850, in an obscure district of Moravia, Thomas G. Masaryk was born. He is the son of a coachman and was picked by destiny to be Bohemia's liberator. His education was begun

in the local school, the gymnasium of Brno, and finished at the Universities of Vienna and Leipzig.

In 1878 young Masaryk paid his first visit to the United States. The impressions made on him by American institutions fostered the love of liberty and a longing to free his native land.

At the age of twenty-nine he was appointed an instructor of philosophy in the University of Vienna, and three years later he was chosen professor of philosophy in the new Czech University of Prague. Immediately he was recognized as an able interpreter of modern philosophical, political, and social tendencies. Incidentally he became the most potent force in molding the thoughts of several generations of Slav students.

In 1891 he was elected a deputy for Moravia to the Austrian Parliament, subsequently resigning to devote his entire time to scientific research. In 1907, as an adherent of the "Realist" movement, which later was merged with the "Progressive" party, he was again delegated by his constituency to represent them in Parliament. One of the planks of the platform on which he was elected demanded ultimate independence for Bohemia.

Masaryk is the last, and possibly the greatest, of the "awakeners" of the Bohemian people, who, following the termination of the disastrous Thirty Years' War, were reduced to utter political, cultural, social, and religious impotence. Freedom of mind and body and the liberty of his country were always uppermost in the thoughts of the teacher of philosophy. In furtherance of his ambitions and convictions Masaryk published and edited a newspaper, the *Times* (Cas), which soon became the most influential journal of the Bohemians. It openly demanded autonomy for Bohemia. It was one of the first journals whose publication was suspended at the outbreak of the Great War, because of its persistent advocacy of the rights of the Bohemians, its defense of Serbia, and its open avowal of the cause of the Allies.

Masaryk exposed the forgeries prepared by the Magyar "nobleman," Count Forgach, who then was the duly accredited ambassador to Serbia, and who, with the connivance of a Vienna historian, Dr. Friedjung, made possible the "charge" that the Jugoslavs of Austria-Hungary were engaged in a conspiracy against the monarchy. In Agram (Zagreb) fifty-three Croatians were sentenced to the gallows as a result of the efforts of Forgach and Friedjung, and they would have been executed if Masaryk had not appealed to the whole world against the barbarity and immorality of Austria in sacrificing innocent men to a supposed political expediency of making out a case against Serbia. Masaryk demonstrated beyond a doubt that willing tools and courtly officials of the dual monarchy's foreign office manufactured the "documents" which were used as the basis of the proof on which the convictions of the Jugoslavs were predicated.

Masaryk is an author of no mean ability, and his writings cover a wide field. At the age of twenty-six he published his "Immortality According to Plato." This book was followed by his "Jan Hus," "Karel Havlicek," and the "Bohemian Question," all of which aimed to uplift the Bohemian nation morally and religiously. His "Social Question" is a masterful criticism of the theories of Karl Marx. He is an authority on Russia. "Russia and Europe" is a record of his observations and an able and sympathetic analysis of the ambitions and purposes of the Northern Slavs.

Discussing politics, Masaryk observes: "Real, sincere politics must be founded on science. I endeavor always to put my political views on a sound, scientific basis, on what science has taught me. Science is truth, nothing more or less, and political truth is democracy." The spirit of the ancient Czechs dwells in Masaryk. He says: "Bohemia can never accept the ideals of Prussia and Germany, which would enslave the world by military drill and Machiavellian misuse of science and culture."

Of the broader field of European politics, Masaryk has said: "The Allies have proclaimed as their aim the reconstruction and regeneration of Europe, and it is evident that this cannot be attained merely by reshaping the map. Europe's whole mentality must be changed. Her regeneration must be as much moral and spiritual as political."

Combined with the ability to inspire confidence and lead men, he has a genial manner and kindly heart. Masaryk is leading the peoples of Bohemia, in spite of trying conditions, to a government of pure democracy.

The Palestine Land Program

By Mary Fels and Bernard A. Rosenblatt

Mr. Rosenblatt is President of the Zion Commonwealth, Inc.

THE Zionist Organization has just accepted a program of land taxation that may prove to be epoch-making in the struggle for social justice. This program is based on the principle of the nationalization of land values, and yet it is free from controversies that usually accompany Singletax plans. This proposition had been formulated in the following words: "That by proper measures of taxation or otherwise, every increase in the value of land over that of August 1, 1914, whether now accrued or hereafter accruing, excepting such as is due to improvements made thereon by individuals, shall be appropriated for the benefit of the state and for the people of Palestine as a whole."

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this plan is the fact that even those who are naturally conservative were forced to accept a radical land program in order to make certain the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. One of their leaders said to us: "I disagree entirely with your social philosophy, but I must accept your theory of land taxation as an economic expedient for the restoration of Palestine as the Jewish Homeland." It is undoubtedly the finest tribute to the principle of the taxation of land values when even its opponents are forced to utilize it.

Palestine is a small country of not more than twenty thousand square miles, even assuming the historic boundaries (with a territory of about two hundred miles from north to south, and one hundred from the Mediterranean Sea to the Syrian Desert). Exclusive of sand dunes and waste lands, a considerable portion of which can be made fertile by irrigation, there are unoccupied crown lands, formerly belonging to the Sultan of Turkey, as well as extensive estates held by absentee landlords. The latter include more than fifty per cent. of the best agricultural land in Palestine, in Galilee.

Palestine is on the threshold of a new age. Land values will increase enormously with the freedom that is coming by the exit of Turkey and the entrance of Great Britain as trustee of Palestine. This increase in land values will be due entirely to two factors: (1) The campaign of General Allenby, resulting in the conquest of Palestine; (2) The future immigration to Palestine.

The land owners of Palestine have done nothing to increase the value of their lands since 1914. They have not invited General Allenby to Palestine, nor have they done anything to make possible the future Jewish immigration to the Holy Land. They are simply in the fortunate position of being able to take advantage of these events if we permit the law to remain as it was. Now there is no reason why we should pour wealth into the hands of those who happen to hold title to the land of Palestine, when the increased value will be due, not to labor on the part of the landlords, but to the new government which Great Britain and the Zionists will have established. Even under strict Anglo-Saxon law the land values should be taxed for the benefits received from the conquest of Great Britain and the Jewish mass immigration, so that the increased value, which represents the social and communal value, shall go into the public treasury.

Such a program of land taxation is important, not only because it is socially just but also because without it the task of repopulating Palestine becomes increasingly difficult. Even before the war the Jews of Palestine began to appreciate the evils of land speculation; for every new colony increased tremendously the land values of the remaining estates, so that after every land purchase it became ever more difficult to acquire additional land even at very high prices.

In the Jewish suburb of the City of Jaffa, Tel Aviv, land values increased more than four hundred per cent. in the decade from 1904 to 1914. These facts have encouraged some rich men of neighboring Egypt to cast their eyes upon Palestine as a fair ground for land speculation. They have witnessed the enormous economic development of Egypt under the enlightened rule of Great Britain, and have drawn

the conclusion that under British trusteeship—particularly with a large Jewish immigration—Palestine will become like Egypt in prosperity and in the consequent increase of land values. But these profits from land speculation will eventually have to be paid from the labor of the population of Palestine, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Now is the time to protect the population of Palestine, present and future, against the enormous toll that would be imposed by land speculators. The only way to keep land prices down to the pre-war values, and thus make land cheap and accessible to Jewish settlers, is to accept and put into practice the principle that all increased values should go, not to land speculators, but into the public treasury.

The conservative, however loath heretofore to collect the annual rental value created by the community, begins to realize that this is the only effective way in which it is possible to create cheap land for the purpose of facilitating Jewish colonization. It is from that point of view, however much he may disagree with any general scheme of land reform, that he has been forced to accept the program of "The Nationalization of Land Values."

It may be confidently expected that with the development of Palestine the reserved land values as they were on August 1, 1914, may gradually be eliminated, so that a complete system of land value taxation, by which the full community value is taken for the benefit of the public, will be inaugurated.

"Armed Democracy" Under the Commission Manager Plan

By H. S. Gilbertson

TOO often the friends of the people's rule take the narrow view that the one and only one thing needful for the reform of government organization is the mechanism for finding out what the public wants and putting their wishes into general mandates. The program of political democracy is not so simple. A government which is satisfactory only on the political side, that is, the policy-determining side, is ill equipped to serve the public.

But there is in American political life a growing influence which is making for *armed democracy*. Where it is an accomplished fact, the people not only have servants who can appreciate their needs and formulate their wishes, but have the proper instruments for translating the needs and wishes into concrete services. Where this influence is operative politicians are responsive, and the administration is not seeking its own perpetuation after the manner of a bureaucracy, but is devoted to public ends.

Correct representation, plus efficient responsible management, is what the so-called city manager plan of municipal government has effectuated. Just now it is confined, in operation and largely in theory, to cities, but the principle has begun to be thought of, at least, for counties and even for States.

The city manager plan, or, as it is more exactly called in Dayton, the commission manager plan, provides for a single elective board of directors, which may be called a commission or council. This commission receives nominal salaries or none; the members give only part of their time to municipal work, and thus are left free to continue their private careers without interruption. Their functions are to hire and supervise an appointive chief executive called the city manager, who holds office at their pleasure; they also pass ordinances and contribute to the city government the amateur and representative element. If, for example, the city manager proposes the municipal operation of the street car line, the commission will have the duty of examining the proposition, first as to its wisdom, and second as to whether such a move accords with public sentiment, with which they, as representative citizens having wide personal acquaintance throughout the city, are supposed to be familiar. If the decision is favorable to municipal operation, they have the further responsibility of seeing that the city manager is competent to handle the job and that he does handle it properly in the years that follow.

The commission manager plan differs from

the commission plan in the fact that the commissioners do not assume the actual executive management of each of the city departments, but delegate the administrative work to the manager.

The plan preserves the basic merits of the commission plan, which are the short ballot and the unification of powers. To the readers of THE PUBLIC no definition or explanation of the short ballot will be needed. "Unification of powers," the other basic merit which the commission manager plan takes over from the Galveston-Des Moines commission plan, means the reposing of all power in a single board. This gives to the whole mechanism the single, controlling, composite mind that is essential to the success of any organism. The plan usually provides for the initiative and referendum and for the recall of the commissioners.

The real beginnings of the city manager movement were back in the fall of 1912, when the little town of Sumter, in South Carolina, got the idea from an abortive proposal previously made by the Board of Trade at Lockport, N. Y. Dayton, Ohio, "caught" the plan from Sumter in 1913, and the epidemic has been spreading until now seventy-five cities have the system in operation in its purest form, while forty more have adopted the plan with more or less variation. The more important cities now under the plan are Grand Rapids, Mich.; Norfolk, Va.; Wichita, Kan.; Springfield, Ohio; Kalamazoo, Mich.; Wheeling, W. Va.; San Jose, Cal.; Niagara Falls, N. Y.; Jackson, Mich.; Waltham, Mass.; Ashtabula, Ohio; Phoenix, Ariz.; Hot Springs, Ark.; Albuquerque, N. M.; Sault Ste. Marie, Mich. The population of the cities varies from 1,200 to 130,000.

Ashtabula, Ohio, Kalamazoo, Mich., and Boulder, Col., have taken the further step of providing for the election of the governing body by the Hare plan of proportional representation. Twelve States have optional State-wide laws permitting the adoption of the plan by a simple referendum without resort to the Legislature or a charter board. These are Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, North Carolina, and Louisiana.

In Chicago, where the people have been laboring under a complicated "system" of twenty-two separate taxing bodies, the fifteen leading civic organizations have recently come out strongly for the "All-Chicago" plan, which provides for a council of thirty-five and a city manager (to be called, however, "mayor").

Nor is the plan applicable only to cities. In California the Tax Association of Alameda County has been mainly responsible for the passage of a Constitutional Amendment which would permit the adoption of a home-rule charter providing for the consolidation of the seventeen or more Alameda municipalities, in a county and borough system, with a "county manager."

Kansas has a "State manager," who has under his administrative control all the State institutions; but this, of course, is not quite analogous to the city manager plan, since it is not the State Legislature but an administrative board to whom the State manager is responsible.

The city that has made the plan famous is Dayton, Ohio. When the first commissioners took office there in 1914 they realized that the success of the new government depended largely upon the personality and equipment of the man whom they would select to fill the city managership. No one in Dayton seemed to fill the bill in every particular. There were plenty of able men in the town, but most of them had been too closely identified with local affairs or were unavailable for some other reason. The job was offered first to Colonel Goethals, the builder of the Panama Canal, at $25,000 a year. He declined. The commission then discovered H. M. Waite, the city engineer of Cincinnati and right-hand man of young Mayor Hunt, whose administration there was just closing. Waite had had a long and important engineering experience in private corporations and took the Dayton managership.

Dayton has enjoyed a brilliant administration, surviving through two elections. Radical cuts in the death rate and infant mortality rate, bold expansions of service without corresponding increase of cost, a model financial budget and control of expenditure, advanced reforms in recreation and, in care and reform of prisoners, abolition of the red light district, and good business practice that fears no comparison with the best business houses are some of the results. There is no truth in the recent

newspaper yarn that Dayton is bankrupt; it is only true that Dayton, like every other Ohio city, is embarrassed by the ridiculous Smith one per cent. tax law.

Springfield, Ohio, has an enviable record, too. Her first city manager, Mr. C. E. Ashburner, was called from Staunton, Va., where he was the first city manager, to be chief executive of the larger city at an increased salary—the first incident in American life suggesting that municipal management was soon to become a profession, with wide opportunities opening up to the trained, experienced man. A new spirit began to pervade the city hall at Springfield. For instance, when the question of paving came up, the matter was not handled piecemeal by ward aldermen in the you-scratch-my-back-and-I'll-scratch-yours principle, but a comprehensive permanent program was worked out for the whole city. In Ashburner's first year Springfield's debt was reduced from $120,000 to $40,000. Ashburner was afterward called to Norfolk, Va., to be city manager there at a fifty per cent. increase in salary.

Niagara Falls elects its commissioners on a partisan ballot. (In most of the commission-manager cities the nonpartisan ballot prevails). For this reason it was feared in some quarters that the council would treat the city managership as a nice fat plum. But not so. Mr. Ossian E. Carr was summoned there in January, 1916, from the successful managership of the smaller city of Cadillac, Mich.

And so it goes. Mistakes have been made. Wrong men have been chosen for city manager, but they have been easily replaced. "Politics" in several of its innumerable forms has crept in; disgruntled minorities have sighed for the good old spoils days. But the movement is progressing and pointing unmistakably to a better day for democracy.

Analysis of the Official Returns of the Congressional Elections of 1918

By C. G. Hoag

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League

EACH State should have a delegation in Congress in which each party is represented in proportion to its voting strength.

If this principle—proportional representation, as it is called—had been applied thus to the vote actually cast at the last Congressional election, the result would have been for the House of Representatives:

Democrats	231	instead of	194
Republicans	193	instead of	235
Socialists	6	instead of	1
Nonpartisan League	3	instead of	3
Prohibitionists	2	instead of	1
Independents	0	instead of	1
	435		435

Democratic majority of 27 instead of Republican majority of 35

The following striking errors in State delegations would have been avoided:

	Republicans			Democrats			Socialists			Prohibitionists		
	Elected	Should have been elected	Gain or loss by P. R.†	Elected	Should have been elected	Gain or loss by P. R.	Elected	Should have been elected	Gain or loss by P. R.	Elected	Should have been elected	Gain or loss by P. R.
Illinois	22	16	—6	5	10	+5	0	1	+1	..	..	..
Indiana	13	7	—6	0	6	+6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa*	11	7	—4	0	4	+4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	12	9	—3	1	4	+3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri	5	8	+3	11	8	—3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	6	3	—3	0	3	+3	..	..	..	..	..	..
New York	23	20	—3	20	20	..	0	3	+3	..	..	..
North Carolina	0	4	+4	10	6	—4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	30	23	—7	6	12	+6	..	..	..	0	1	+1
Wisconsin	10	7	—3	0	2	+2	1	2	+1	..	..	..

*Soldier vote not included. It would probably not have affected the result.

†"P. R." means proportional representation.

CURRENT THOUGHT

Tolerance

I ASKED the wisest man: "What are the four most important things in the world?" He replied: "Character, Friendship, Marriage, Parenthood." I went to the Board of Education and asked: "Where can I be educated in the arts of character, friendship, marriage, and parenthood?" And the B. of E. gasped and giggled: "My word, what a silly question!"—*Herbert N. Casson, in Forbes Magazine.*

Labor and the World

THE labor program which the Conference of Peace has adopted as a part of the treaty of peace constitutes one of the most important achievements of the new day in which the interests of labor are to be systematically and intelligently safeguarded and promoted. Amidst the multitude of other interests this great step forward is apt to be overlooked, and yet no other single thing that has been done will help more to stabilize conditions of labor throughout the world and ultimately relieve the unhappy conditions which in too many places have prevailed. Personally, I regard this as one of the most gratifying achievements of the conference.—*President Wilson, in a cable to Secretary Tumulty.*

The New Holy Office

THE question is not academic in England just at this moment. The activities of our New Holy Office in the suppression of subversive doctrine are not generally known. Here is a story which illustrates their character. An English girl, on arrival from America at Liverpool, found herself compelled to go before the political inquisitor and answer as to her opinions, political and religious, and her associations in America. She was stripped, her clothes examined, the linings torn out, and finally her skin was scrubbed with hot towels in order to reveal invisible ink messages. And this not during the war, an' it please you, but months after the signing of the armistice. The explanation seemed to be that the inquisitors on this side had received information that the girl in question had been associated with the I. W. W. on the other side and was coming to England for the purpose of spreading their nefarious doctrines here.—*The Herald* (*London.*)

Oh, Shocking!

SEATTLE has taken over the ownership and operation of its street car facilities. St. Louis's street car facilities have taken over the political control and operation of the city. It will probably cost the taxpayers of Seattle no more relatively to run the street car system than it costs the citizens of St. Louis to have the street railways run this city. The taxpayers have to pay for the running of street cars everywhere. Why not pay for it out of taxes directly and wholly and let the citizens ride free? Even those who ride in automobiles would not suffer under such a system. They would profit by the increase of their land values, as they do now. So far as it goes, the Seattle plan is preferable to the St. Louis practice. Bad municipal management can be corrected and improved. Bad private management cannot when it owns the municipality to such an extent that street car administration can be carried on by means of burglary. Cities deserve the kind of street car management they have. St. Louis, for its spinelessness, deserves worse than it has.—*William Marion Reedy, in Reedy's Mirror.*

Intellectual Cowardice

I STATED at the beginning of this article that when this lesson of the war was understood it would be hushed up. The mind of man recoils from such horrors. We should be told, and we should perhaps persuade ourselves to believe, that neither we nor any civilized nation, would adopt such a policy of set purpose. This is sheer moral and intellectual cowardice. We should be forced into it by the cold logic of necessity even if we did not make it our professed intention. The "Laws of War" are mere hypocrisy, designed to perpetuate its existence. In fact they do not operate. War is the negation of all laws. What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? Just this. You cannot make war by halves. Either militarism, navalism, and war in all their forms and manifestations must be resisted and swept away now, or we are definitely committed to preparations for destroying as many women, children, and non-combatants as possible; consciously, as a definite policy, and as the shortest, indeed the only, road to that orchard of death where the fruits of victory grow always out of reach of any living hand.—*Major H. J. Gillespie, in the Herald* (*London*).

Uncivilized

AN ancient ape, once on a time,
Disliked exceedingly to climb,
And so he picked him out a tree
And said, "Now this belongs to me.
I have a hunch that monks are mutts
And I can make them gather nuts
And bring the bulk of them to me,
By claiming title to this tree."

He took a green leaf and a reed
And wrote himself a title-deed,
Proclaiming pompously and slow:
"All monkeys by these present know."—
Next morning, when the monkeys came
To gather nuts, he made his claim:
"All monkeys climbing on this tree
Must bring their gathered nuts to me,
Cracking the same on equal shares;
The meats are mine, the shells are theirs."

"But by what right?" they cried, amazed,
Thinking the ape was surely crazed.
"By this," he answered; "if you'll read
You'll find it is a title-deed,
Made in precise and formal shape
And sworn before a fellow ape
Exactly on the legal plan
Used by that wondrous creature, man,
In London, Tokio, New York,
Glengarry, Kalamazoo, and Cork.
Unless my deed is recognized,
It proves you quite uncivilized."

"But," said one monkey, "you'll agree
It was not you who made this tree."
"Nor," said the ape, serene and bland,
"Does any owner make his land,
Yet all of its hereditaments
Are his and figure in his rents."

The puzzled monkeys sat about;
They could not make the question out.
Plainly, by precedent and law,
The ape's procedure showed no flaw;
And yet, no matter what he said,
The stomach still denied the head.

Up spoke one sprightly monkey then:
"Monkeys are monkeys, men are men;
The ape should try his legal capers
On men who may respect his papers.
We don't know deeds; we do know nuts,
And spite of 'ifs' and 'ands' and 'buts,'
We know who gathers and un-meats 'em,
By monkey practice also eats 'em.

"So tell the ape and all his flunkeys,
No man-tricks can be played on monkeys."
Thus, apes still climb to get their food,
Since monkeys' minds are crass and crude,
And monkeys, all so ill-advised,
Still eat their nuts, uncivilized.

—*Edmund Vance Cook, of the Newspaper Enterprise Association.*

BOOKS

A Scientific Verdict

Alcohol: Its Action on the Human Organism. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1918.

WE extend sincere congratulations to Lord d'Abernon and his eight distinguished collaborators for this remarkably illuminating summary of their studies as an Advisory Committee appointed by the Central Control Board of the Liquor Traffic in Great Britain. The task assigned to them was the consideration of the physiological action of alcohol, especially in respect of its effects on health and industrial efficiency. The book belongs to that class which the reviewer not only commends because it is worthy of publication on account of its interest and information, but which he recommends his readers to peruse because of its solid contribution to the knowledge indispensable to sound thinking and right living.

These gentlemen have done their work in an atmosphere far removed from the political or business turbidity and confusion of prohibition warfare; their conclusions, nevertheless, are of eminent value to every one who desires a sane view of the rather astounding transformations of recent months in public opinion and in the marshaling of the armaments of vice. But, even so, they do not lend themselves to a fanatical doctrine of antagonistic abstinence. They are quite willing to admit a limited although transient and somewhat imaginary value to alcohol. For instance, after a patient who has been chilled to the marrow has been put to bed and succored with blankets and hot water bottles, a moderate dose of spirits will add to his immediate sense of comfort and warmth. In the general misery and wetness and lonesomeness of trench warfare the regular ration of rum was found useful. In states of worry and anxiety after the day's work is done a very limited quantity of beer or wine might add to the relaxation of the evening meal. Finally, a speaker, diffident or tongue-tied, might grow bold and loosen his words with a glass of wine. That is about as far, however, as there seems to be value in alcoholic libations.

The evils, on the other hand, are voluminous. The authors eschewed entirely the long procession of deaths, diseases, crimes, poverty, and wretchedness that trail at the heels of the habitual and excessive imbibing of beverages containing alcohol. They concerned themselves with the effects of the most moderate use of distilled or fermented liquors by healthy people. Their findings are based on careful experiments, but tally with the conclusions of shrewd observers in all walks of life. The sole food value of alcohol is as a fuel, and its use in that respect is only to divert or delay the consumption of proteins needed for other purposes. Its action is on the nerves, its nature that of a drug. As a drug it is not a stimulant but a narcotic, and its limited real or apparent benefits are not energy-producing but sedative. Hence it is found that the moderate use of alcohol strikes at the top of the tree of a man's life and blunts his finest moral sense and his acutest intellectual perceptiveness. The effects are seen in the deadening of self-criticism. With every glass of beer or wine the drinker cares less for what "they" think, and the instinct of boorishness or bravado or tyranny increases by degrees from the first exhilaration to the acme of intoxication. Simultaneously occurs the loss of self-control. Temper, tongue, eyes, hands, legs go a-glimmering. Even a single dose of alcohol impairs the control of the nerves and muscles. Accurate tests prove the immediate effects of moderate doses on the eye and the finger, indeed on the voluntary control of every organ in the body. Often a coarse, routine work can be done by a workman apparently as usual when he is incapable of doing fine and complicated tasks. Being a narcotic, the effect of alcohol is always depressant and never stimulative. Hence the feeling that one can do more work under the spur of drink is not justified by the experiments. The "feeling" is the result of blunted power of self-judgment.

Other common illusions concerning alcohol are thrown on the junk heap: "So far as the unconscious reaction to external cold is concerned, the effect of alcohol is to weaken the action of the heart-regulating centre;" "From the point of view of maintaining the deep [internal] temperature, the influence of alcohol is evidently wholly bad;" "The taking of alcohol during or as a preliminary to prolonged or severe exposure to cold is on every ground to be condemned." Again, as to the family brandy flask: "No scientific ground has been discovered for any claim made on behalf of alcohol to practical value as a direct stimulant of the heart in cases of threatened failure of the beat. Its use in this case is comparable to that of smelling salts."

But the book should be read as a whole. Had working men been educated in its fundamental facts, no parades with the slogan, "No beer, no work," would publish their incompetency for political vision or true regard for the well-being of the crafts.

Ethics and the Man Higher Up

Industrial Good Will. By John R. Commons. New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1919.

A GREAT change has come over the engineering literature of the country. The attitude of the technical press toward labor and its problems has undergone a transformation so thorough, so significant, and so unexpected as to have surprised even the most optimistic of radicals. It was not so very long ago when the various trade publications were urging upon the industrial work-

s the necessity of many personal virtues. Bill, e shop mechanic, was warned against taking a y off, or reporting for duty five minutes late, washing up two minutes before quitting time. e was admonished not to waste time in talking to fellow employes, and he was threatened with displeasure of "the boss" if he joined a labor ion. It was the almost unanimous opinion of advisers that he must be conscientious, that he ıst apply himself to his task, think about his rk, take precautions against accidents, and make ggestions for improvements in shop processes. l was urged to provide for sickness and old age, to addict himself to liquor, to attend night ıools, and to strive for promotion. One book n suggested that he could not be a good black- ith unless he was a member in good standing in neighborhood church.

Something unusual must have happened recently, Bill is being sadly neglected. Attention has ldenly been turned to the wasteful, incompetent, ctionary employer. Articles are appearing on care and consideration to which employes are itled, on shop democracy, and even on the union- tion of draftsmen and engineers. And top of it we now have "Industrial Good Will."

Here is a book, printed not by the regular pub- ıing houses, but by a concern which caters efly to big manufacturers, and whose intellectual erests lie solely in the technical world. It is ertised neither in the *New Republic* nor in the *tion.* Even the *Liberator* seems unaware of its stence. The book is submitted to the public ough such papers as the *American Machinist, Engineering News-Record,* the *Electrical rld, Coal Age,* etc. It is not written for radical or leaders, not even for "liberals," but for con- rvative business men, for employers of labor, for erintendents, general managers, and foremen. One can almost imagine himself in the class- n listening to Professor Commons lecturing se good people.

Now, gentlemen," he says, "some of you have n treating labor as a commodity, to be bought sold as so much pig iron. Others have treated ike a machine from which the maximum out- was to be obtained by the use of lubricating uses and efficiency systems. The time has come you to accept labor as a partner in your indus- s and to try to secure its good will. Have you e experienced the class struggle? Good will verts the class struggle into class harmony and liation into reciprocity.

You must introduce democracy into your shops. ı must insist on and perfect the solidarity of or. You must make your men's jobs secure inst your own foremen and against hard times. ı must reduce their hours and increase their pay. ı must provide them with old-age pensions and ness insurance.

You will need to consider the personalities of r workers. They want education, they want their jobs made interesting, they want a voice in the management of your concerns, they even de- mand your loyalty to their interests.

"And you must provide these, one way or an- other, or—

"Remember that the millions of workers who are now returning from Europe, where they so successfully fought for national liberty and na- tional business, have learned the power of joint action and the spirit of comradeship."

So we now have the condition of round-about- face. Instead of Bill, it is the employer who is being lectured, coaxed, warned, and threatened. What the immediate reply of the industrial chiefs will be may be surmised, but cannot be told with certainty. But it is of no great importance. The truly significant feature of the whole thing is that it is not alone Commons who is making this plea. Editorials appearing in the various engineering journals, special articles, speeches delivered at engineering meetings all tend in the same direc- tion. Capital and management are being reminded of their social duties and responsibilities. Their attention is being called to the more human prob- lems of industry. And it is interesting to note the energy and vigor with which some of them are replying.

HYMAN LEVINE.

An Idol of Clay

John Brown: Soldier of Fortune. By Hill Peebles Wilson. Boston: The Cornhill Co. 1918.

WE are undecided whether to congratulate Mr. Peebles Wilson or to tender to him our condolence for his biography of Captain John Brown, for Mr. Peebles Wilson is in the unfor- tunate position of having become a ruthless icono- clast after having been an ardent idolater.

His admiration for John Brown and a feeling that his own predecessors had not done full justice to the remarkable Captain prompted Mr. Peebles Wilson to undertake a new biography. With un- tiring energy, he went about his self-imposed task, searching all available records. His labors, how- ever, were rewarded with the bitterest of all prizes —disillusionment. He discovered that his biog- raphers, instead of undervaluing the personality of John Brown, had heaped upon him utterly un- merited praise and honor; that the Captain, far from being a hero, was nothing but a common ad- venturer, a self-seeker whose constant preoccupa- tion was to get rich quick, even if the gold nuggets he got had to be washed in innocent blood, a vulgar *condottiere.*

This is what Mr. Peebles Wilson has found out about the famous John Brown and this is what he has had the courage to set down in a book which is extremely interesting, not because of the morbid interest that always attaches to exposures of con- spicuous men, but because it is extremely well written and is lacking in that ponderous erudition that has wrecked many a biography.

It is a thousand pities that Mr. Peebles Wilson's idol should turn out clay from head to toe, and were it not for the fact that the unmasking of John Brown favorably affects the reputations of some men who suffered through his prevarications and slanders, the present biography might as well have been left in the ink well, for it robs the world of a hero, and heroes are so scarce that the world cannot very well afford to lose even one of them.

After all, whatever the real character of John Brown, we had come to look upon him as a hero. The public's eye caught him in a heroic attitude at Harper's Ferry, and without further inquiries made him a hero and worshiped him accordingly.

A healthy sign, this hero-making tendency of a people, for it shows the possession of ideals which it wishes to see personified in one man. The legendary John Brown, appearing at Harper's Ferry with a handful of men, attempting what afterward took thousands upon thousands of lives to accomplish, embodied the anti-slavery ideals of the North. That is what he represents, and what he will continue to represent to most people, no matter how worthless the real John Brown may have been. MARIANO JOAQUIN LORENTE.

Commercial Unpreparedness

Labor and Reconstruction in Europe. By Elisha M. Friedman. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1919.

IN time of war we did not prepare for peace. Hence our present shaky commercial condition. Great Britain did prepare, and her National Industrial Conference, which has staved off trouble, is the result. France also, with a plan to make herself independent by developing her trained war workers to turn out "peace" products, such as electrical equipment, gas engines, machinery, and chemicals, is well under way. Germany, as far as censored reports allows us to know, is preparing herself for ("plotting for," the hysterical press has it) South American trade. Other countries are trimming the commercial and industrial ship for new ventures, and the United States alone is drifting without a chart. Mr. Friedman, believing that we may advantageously cull the best that foreign programs offer, handicapped as we are by the lack of a reconstruction ministry as in England, or a commission of transition economy as in Germany, and further, being hobbled by a written Constitution, has written this book. Without advocating a policy or sponsoring a scheme, he presents to the American manufacturer and laborer the bold outline of the labor situation in Europe. For those who are patriotic enough to be constructive, it is a work of inestimable value. The introduction by William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, is a one-page literary gem that the publishers would be wise to adopt as a nation-wide advertisement of the book. CHAS. J. FINGER.

Pamphlets Received

100 Years—For What? Addresses of the Five officials the National Socialist Party before being sentenced to twen years' imprisonment. Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison S Chicago, Ill.

A People's War—Against Venereal Diseases. Washingt D. C.: United States Public Health Service.

Our Immigration and Naturalization Laws. New Yor National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legis tion.

Who Are the Conscientious Objectors? Brooklyn, N. Y Committee of 100 Friends of Conscientious Objectors.

A League of Nations Versus Human Nature. By H. Crou Batchelor. London, England: C. F. Roworth.

The Christian Nations and the Hague. A prize essay. James Armstrong Scott. Lawrence, Kansas: University Kansas.

The Taxation of Mines in Montana. By Louis Levi Professor of Economics, State University of Montana. N York: B. W. Huebsch.

Problems of Industrial Readjustment in the United Stat Research Report Number 15. The National Industrial Co ference Board, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

Remedial Railroad Legislation. Edited by Robert Binerd. New York: Association of Railway Executives.

Report of an Inquiry as to Works Committees. Made the British Minister of Labor. Reprinted by Industrial R lations Division, United States Shipping Board Emergen Fleet Corporation.

Reconstruction Series on cooperation and the many i dustrial reports and programs drafted by the various lab and religious bodies of this and other countries. New Yor The Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protesta Episcopal Church.

Some Notes in America's Eyes: A plea for a new constit tion. By Edward Jones Cox. Los Angeles, Cal.: J. Rowny Press.

Marine and Dock Labor: Report of the Director of t Marine and Dock Industrial Relations Division, Unit States Shipping Board. Government Printing Office, Was ington, D. C.

How the Government Handled Its Labor Problems Duri the War. Prepared by the Bureau of Industrial Researc Washington, D. C.

Operation of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act Canada. By Benjamin M. Squires. Bureau of Labor St tistics, Washington, D. C.

The Child Labor Bulletin: Fourteenth Annual Conferen on Child Labor. New York: National Child Labor Co mittee.

Report of the Federal Trade Commission on the Mea Packing Industry: Evidence of Combination among Packe Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

A Communication

IF the world will ever need Singletax, it need it now, and how to get it is, of course, th question uppermost in the mind of every Singl taxer. During the two years past we tried to d something in Michigan, and did secure about 84 000 out of the necessary 64,000 signatures to a initiative petition providing for constitution amendment that would exempt personal propert and improvements to the extent of about 50 pe cent. of their value.

It was easy to get signatures. The only troubl was that we hadn't enough money to keep men i the field to circulate the petitions. In my opinio we could get 200,000 signatures to this petition i this State just as easy as we got 84,000 if we coul only place the petitions before the voters; and on of the best things that could be done in promotin the campaign, or any other Singletax campaig would be to circulate petitions just as widely a possible. The educational results would be wort the cost.

The expense of procuring signatures in Michi gan amounted to only about ten cents per name

which included printing, postage, secretary's salary, canvassers, etc. This I regard as a very low figure and it would not be surprising if a large campaign would cost somewhat more. There is, of course, the possibility that the cost might be less per name, but this is doubtful. Suppose an estimate of twenty cents per name should be made and there should be at least as much more for campaign purposes after filing petition. This would mean $80,000 for 200,000 names and a two years' campaign.

I have believed for a number of years that, if all Singletaxers of this country would forget their own State and local measures and put all their money and efforts at work in one State, results might be accomplished. I believe there is more than one State where two years' work, perhaps less, would make it possible to succeed with a Singletax measure just as strong as Singletaxers care to make it. I think this can be done in Michigan, but perhaps it can be done much easier in some other State. Anyway, my hat is in the ring and I will agree to support any campaign which a conference may determine is best for us.

If some one will call a national conference with this express purpose in view, I will be glad to attend and I will pledge $25 per month for two years, or any other period which the conference may determine upon, provided we can agree upon some real definite action.

If Singletaxers approve of this plan, it should be an easy matter to raise very much more money than this. If they approve of the plan but don't produce the money, then all I can say is that we haven't many Singletaxers who really want Singletax. I shall be glad to hear from those interested in such a conference. A. Laurence Smith.

41 Alger Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

NEWS

Education

—The California Assembly passed a bill requiring that industrial workers under eighteen years shall be given at least four hours a week in classroom between hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., and that night classes shall be established in high schools to train persons under twenty-one unable to read or write English.

—The signature of Governor McKelvie of Nebraska to the Siman bill forbidding the teaching of foreign languages in the grade schools of Nebraska, according to a special to the New York *World*, completed the Americanization program napped out and adopted by the Legislature which has just adjourned.

—Bessie Locke, Director of Kindergarten Extension, United States Bureau of Education, 8 West 40th Street, New York City, is urging parents whose children attend a school in which there is no kindergarten, to circulate a petition for one and present it to their School Board. The Bureau of Education will gladly furnish, upon request, blank petitions and propaganda leaflets.

—The annual announcement of Columbia College for 1919-1920 says that Columbia University has devised a new method of studying history, and the old freshmen courses in modern history and philosophy have been dispensed with; Spanish has taken on new dignity; the English Bible has been added to the list of entrance subjects; two sets of admission requirements, one requiring proof of brain power rather than possession of a stock of knowledge, have been adopted, and military training is officially recognized as a part of a liberal education.

—A call for workers to prepare for the supposed coming *régime* when the present capitalist system is followed by the industrial has been issued by the I. W. W. organization. The executive officers point out that the great need in Russia, upon the workers taking hold of affairs, was that of technical experts, trained to direct the industries. The I. W. W. proposes that labor organizations shall make it their business hereafter to educate their members along the lines of taking hold intelligently and administering efficiently the control and management of their respective industries.

—New York City's 22,000 teachers sent representatives to Albany on the 8th, to urge Governor Smith to approve the State-wide Teachers' Salary Increase bill. Backed by John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education, and spurred by the action of Mayor Hylan in vetoing the Lockwood-Fertig bill, which would have been applicable to New York City alone, the teachers put up a valiant fight for their measure. The bill carries an appropriation of $5,800,000 for the State's share of the cost of paying the new salary scales and New York City's share has been variously estimated as being from $9,000,000 to $12,000,000.

—Dr. Ping Wen Wuo, president of the National Higher Normal College at Nanking, China, who is in this country with a group of Chinese educators and officials on their way to the Peace Conference, said that it is also his mission to arrange with the United States Department of State and Bureau of Education for the coming to the United States in September of the Chinese educational commission to Europe and America, the most important educational commission that China has ever sent to a foreign country. It will be the purpose of this commission to secure the information necessary for a reconstruction of the Chinese educational system along recent western lines, and away from Japanese influences, which now prevail.

Cost of Living

—Government reports indicate that food prices are much higher in Great Britain than in the United States. The following prices ruled during

April: Fresh eggs, $1.33 per dozen; butter, 61 cents per pound; cheese, 36 cents per pound; milk, 81 cents per gallon; rice, 8 cents per pound.

—Eating in Great Britain is cheaper by far than in the United States, which produces the food, say Congressmen just back from visiting that country and France. "In England you can get a good meal at one-half the price charged in Washington," declares Representative William R. Green of Iowa.

—Lower prices for wheat, resulting in a reduction to the consumer in the price of bread is an early prospect, according to Julius Barnes, Federal wheat director. Mr. Barnes conferred on the 14th with grain handlers, millers, flour jobbers and bakers in the office of the Food Administration Grain Corporation in New York.

—Five-cent bread is to be demanded by 10,000,000 or more consumers in a petition to Congress drawn up and sent throughout the country by the National Housewives' League, Mrs. Julian Heath, president of the league, has announced. The petition calls upon Congress to take such action at the coming special session as will relieve the flour market and bring the price of bread to the prewar figure.

—The cost of living in France at the close of the war as contrasted with its beginning is forcefully shown in a table published by *Commerce Reports* for May 8. Manufactured articles for the most part rose 500 per cent.; soap 1,000 per cent.; apples 400 per cent.; kitchen coal 376 per cent.; and the lowest increase is in sugar, which is only 231 per cent. The article is contributed by United States Consul Lay, of Paris, who states that the labor shortage in the devastated regions is probably 2,000,000.

Public Health

—A resolution creating a Committee of Progressive Child Welfare Standards was unanimously adopted at the International Conference of Child Welfare Standards in Washington on the 8th.

—The Children's Bureau reports an unusually low mortality rate in Brockton, Mass. High wages paid to certain skilled foreign-born operatives have resulted in a death rate among their children ten per cent. lower than among those of native-born parents.

—In an appeal to make motherhood safe the Children's Bureau says that 16,000 preventable deaths of mothers occur annually in the United States from childbirth. The United States has a higher maternal death rate than any other of the principal countries except Spain and Switzerland, Sweden being lowest.

—Minimum standards for the health, education, and work of American children were drawn up in tentative form as a result of the three days' conference on child welfare standards held recently at Washington, D. C. The standards will be further discussed at the regional conference in nine cities, which will be held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.

—In writing on the 13th to Corporation Counsel William P. Burr on the drug situation in New York, Health Commissioner Dr. Royal S. Copeland declared that the City Health Department is powerless because the Legislature took away much of its power when it created the State Commission on Narcotic Drug Control. Having this power, he charged, the State Commission will not use it.

—Attention of the Grand Jury in Newark, N. J., was called by Judge William T. Martin on the 18th to the case of Dorothy Walker, the 8-year-old daughter of Andrew Walker, who died while under the care of a Christian Science Healer of what was later diagnosed by the County Physician as diphtheria. The ground of the complaint was that the law requires the parents of a child in illness "to provide proper medical attendance."

—Forty thousand illegitimate babies are registered annually in England. How many non-registered illegitimate births there are we have no means of knowing. Of these 40,000, 10,000 (which means 25 per cent.) died during their first year. This is double the mortality of the legitimate children. In other words, 5,000 children die annually because they were born "illegitimately," without civil or religious sanction. Of course illegitimate children are, *per se*, not any more feeble than legitimate ones. It is the difference in the care and nourishment that makes the difference in the mortality. The *Critic and Guide* says: "The English bastardy laws are the worst in the world. A little country like Norway is about a thousand years ahead of mighty Britannia in about a thousand different things."

Public Order

—The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor went on record on the 14th as favoring the sale of beer and light wines. The convention also demanded the removal of Postmaster General Burleson from office.

—Denial that the May Day raid on the offices of the New York *Call*, a Socialist newspaper, was incited by Victory Liberty Loan speakers was made by Secretary Glass in a letter to Raymond Wilcox, business manager of the *Call*.

—The Internal Revenue Bureau announced on the 10th that, regardless of the decision of a North Carolina Court holding the Child Labor Section of the Revenue Law unconstitutional, the bureau will continue vigorously to enforce its provisions. "The constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the section," Commissioner Roper said, "is a question to be determined by the Supreme Court of the United States."

—The United States Circuit Court of Appeals reversed on the 15th the conviction of eight Rus-

sellites who in June were found guilty in Brooklyn of conspiring to violate the espionage law. The defendants, leaders of the cult founded by the late Pastor Russell, were accused of trying to obstruct recruiting and of fomenting disloyalty, insubordination and mutiny in the armed forces of the nation. Pastor Russell forbade his followers to fight or kill.

—Terenti Barbunk, said to be personal agent for Nicholas Lenine, Russian Bolshevist Premier, in the Calumet region, and head of all the Bolshevist activities in the cities of East Chicago, Indiana Harbor, Gary, Hammond, and Whiting, was arrested on the 15th by Captain William Hughes, head of the East Chicago Bertillon Department, and turned over to special agents of the Department of Justice. When Trotzky left New York for Russia, Barbunk, who had been associated with him, went West.

—Attorney General Palmer has informed the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that the manufacture of any sort of beer is in violation of the law and should be so treated. This information is in answer to Commissioner Roper's request for a decision on questions involved in the controversy over the making of 2¾ per cent. beer. The opinion of the Attorney General is in the hands of the legal advisers of the Bureau of Internal Revenue and will be printed in the form of an order and distributed to the officers concerned.

—According to the New York *World*, so many requests have been received for tickets to the mass meeting to be held the evening of May 24 at Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the Association Opposed to National Prohibition, that it was announced at the organization headquarters that "soldiers, sailors, and marines in uniform or with discharge cards will not require tickets; for guests 200 seats will be reserved on the platform; a total of 592 box seats and 2,109 arena seats will be reserved."

—The Supreme Court of Connecticut has ruled that, under statutes of that State, compensation should be paid to illegitimate children of an employe killed by accident: "Compensation is not awarded either as the price of fault or as a measure of duty owed to the injured employe. The underlying principle is lifting from the shoulders of unfortunate victims of industrial mishaps and their dependents some measure of the resulting burden and casting it upon the industry which occasioned it and through that industry on society at large."

—Three of the persons on trial charged with the murder of Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg during the Spartacan disorders in Berlin last winter were convicted by the court-martial. The hussar named Runge, who was accused in connection with the death of both Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, was sentenced to two years in prison and four years' deprivation of civil rights. Lieutenant Kurt Vogel was sentenced to two years in prison and four months under arrest, with dismissal from the service. Lieutenant Rittmann was sentenced to six weeks under arrest.

League of Nations

—The Dutch Government denies that it has decided to surrender former Emperor William. The question at present, it contends, concerns only Germany and the Entente.

—The death knell of old Austria was sounded in Parliament when Chancellor Renner, in accepting the nomination as a peace delegate to go to St. Germain, said he relinquished all hopes for a fusion with Germany.

—A petition from the Korean people and nation asking for liberation from Japan was submitted to the Peace Conference on the 12th by representatives of Korea. The petition also asks for recognition of Korea as an independent state, and for the nullification of the treaty of August, 1910.

—Belgium has protested to the Entente Allied Powers against the proposed use by the German Republic of the red, yellow and black flag that is almost identical with that of Belgium. Germany originally proposed the use of the red, gold, and black flag of the old German Federation, but later adopted yellow in place of the gold, the result being a duplicate of the Belgian colors.

—Calling upon "all American Socialists and Democrats to support the peace treaty and the League of Nations," the Social Democratic League of America, the Socialist organization that supported the war, on the 14th in New York issued an appeal signed by members of the executive committee, who are Charles Edward Russell, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Frank Bohn, and William English Walling.

—It seems unlikely that the Chinese will sign the treaty of peace unless China is given written assurance by the Council of Three that Japan will return Kio-Chau to China. The Chinese delegates say the clause in the treaty contains no such provision, their only basis for believing that such a restitution will be made being a verbal agreement. Without a definite written promise from the Council of Three, they believe it impossible to gain permission from the Chinese Cabinet for the signature of the treaty.

—In New York, after hearing speakers denounce as "brutal and barbarous" the treatment of the inhabitants of the Islands of the Dodecanesus by the Italians, 2,000 Greeks at a mass meeting of the National Association of the Dodecanesians, held at the Amsterdam Opera House on the 11th, rose to their feet and with right hands upraised, took the following ancient Greek oath: "As long as the sun keeps its course in the heavens we shall never make peace with those who menace Greek liberty or tread upon Greek rights."

Resolutions were adopted denouncing as "utterly intolerable the intervention and occupation of our islands by Italy." The resolutions were cabled to Premier Venizelos of Greece at the Peace Conference.

—The *Osservatore Romano,* in an article apparently inspired by the Vatican, says that Baron Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister, is chiefly responsible for the gravity of the situation over the Adriatic question because he was the author of the pact of London, which assigned Fiume to Croatia. "It is not true," the newspaper says, "that Russia demanded that Fiume be reserved for Serbia; but even if that were so, Sonnino, who remained in power throughout the war, should have had the treaty changed when Russia collapsed and when nothing would have been denied to Italy." The *Osservatore Romano* thinks that Baron Sonnino only was anxious to maintain Article XV. of the London pact, which prevented the participation of the Pope in the Peace Conference, which, it adds, was "an odious offense to the Holy See."

Reconstruction

Governor Edge, of New Jersey, on the 12th, appointed a commission to investigate the taxing system of that State.

—A cablegram from the American Consul General at London reports that all control of the sale and distribution of agricultural commodities by the various ministries either has been abolished or will cease on May 31.

—The Treasury on the 16th announced establishment of credits in favor of Great Britain of $80,000,000, making a total for Great Britain of $4,816,000,000, and in favor of Belgium $1,890,000, making Belgium's total $340,500,000. Total credits to all Allies now are $9,870,219,000.

—To facilitate intercourse between the United States and Mexico passport regulations have been modified by the State Department. The modifications provide that residents of either country may obtain permit cards which will not only allow the holder to cross the border but to visit the interior of the other country in emergency cases.

—A new consortium for the financing of Chinese loans was organized on the 12th by American, French, British, and Japanese bankers. A reservation was made for later participation by Belgian bankers. The general agreement provides that, at the suggestion of the United States, and with the sanction of the French, British, and Japanese Governments, the banking groups will combine their interests to make joint financial, administrative, and industrial loans to the Chinese Government.

Edgar Rickard, joint director of European relief administration, made public on the 14th cabled advices from Herbert Hoover, the director general, that the devastated European countries are almost ready to "stand on their own feet" so far as food is concerned. Mr. Rickard said that the summer crops in Europe, although necessarily subnormal, would be sufficient to tide the people over part of next winter, when, it is hoped, they will have recovered commercially and so will be able to get foods through the usual trade channels. The last ship loaded with foodstuffs sent to Europe by the American Relief Association will leave New York June 30th.

Foreign

—Cargoes awaiting transportation along the South Manchuria railway lines now aggregate 670,000 tons of produce the majority lying at Changchun, Kaiyuan, and Kungchuling.

—According to the *Economiste Européen* the war has had anything but a disastrous effect on Greece. In 1917 the budget showed a surplus of 14,000,000 drachmas. In 1918, in spite of a considerable increase in the salaries paid to Government employes, the surplus had risen to 168,000,000 drachmas.

—Rafael A. del Valle has been granted a concession by the Mexican Government for the extraction of potash from seaweeds on the coast of Lower California. Señor del Valle is desirous of interesting American capitalists in a plan for building a plant for extracting potash, and states that the undertaking can be made a profitable one.

—The most important industry in Bolshevist Russia from the fiscal viewpoint, yielding most of the Government revenue, is the manufacture and sale of spiritous liquors, according to advices received in Washington through official channels. During the last six months of 1918 the amount of taxes paid to the Bolshevist Government was 813,000,000 rubles.

—The official announcement just made gives the casualties in the French air service in the war zone during the war as 6,828. The casualties were divided as follows: Killed, 1,945; wounded, 2,922; missing, 1,461. Of the missing 700 must be considered to have lost their lives. Outside the war zone the casualties totaled 1,227, bringing the aggregate for the whole service to 7,555.

—Consul Felix S. S. Johnson, of Kingston, Ont., reports that the wet spinning of linen yarns up to 60 lea has been begun in that Canadian Province, and that both wet and dry spun tow yarns are expected to be turned out in a short time. As flax fiber is raised in Canada and linen cloth woven there, this manufacture of yarn gives to the Dominion a self-contained linen industry.

—Reports to newspapers in Mexico reflect considerable concern over the increasing number of Chinese and Japanese arriving in the Pacific Coast States of Mexico. It is declared that 5,000 Asiatics arrived during March and that unless restricted measures are taken the number of immigrants for the current year will total 100,000. Most of the Asiatics entering the country are taking up ag-

ricultural pursuits in the States of Sonora and Sinaloa.

—With the backing of the Bank of Taiwan, the new Kuanan Bank has been formally organized at Taipeh, Taiwan, with the object of facilitating trade between the South Pacific, China, and Japan. The program of the promoters states that the court of auditors and of directors were organized by Japanese and Chinese officials. The authorized capital of 10,000,000 yen will be subscribed equally by Chinese and Japanese. Branches will be established later at Singapore and Samarang.

Public Ownership

—The Copenhagen street car system, which is owned by the municipality, is proposing considerable extensions and the purchasing of additional cars to the value of $800,000.

—Svensk Handelstidning of Stockholm says the Finnish Government is purchasing one industrial company after another, lately having bought the majority of shares in the A/B Tornator, whose capital stock is $3,000,000.

—According to the Copenhagen Berlingske Tidende the Norwegian Government expects to establish three new factories, one each at Aalesund, Haugesund and Vaagane, for making oil and fertilizers from herring. The combined output is calculated at 800 tons of oil and 6,000 to 7,000 tons of fish meal.

—The committee appointed by the city of Christiansand to decide whether the municipality should have a free warehouse only or a free port as well has reported that the latter will be necessary if Christiansand is to compete with the seaports of neighboring countries, and recommended that a free port be built up along with the general harbor extensions as a natural consequence of the growth of the trade, since economic reasons prevent this being undertaken in full at once.

—Government ownership and operation of railroads, packing plants and the War Emergency Fleet will be advocated by the Farmers' National Council during the next session of Congress as part of a "reconstruction program," which it will endeavor to have adopted, according to a statement given out on the 10th by George P. Hampton, managing director of the organization. The program was worked out by special committees of the council to place agriculture on a sound economic basis, and to solve problems "which have been gathering for half a century, and which demand solution."

—All Scandinavia is busying itself with free ports. Copenhagen has had one for twenty-five years, and for several years past has been extending and improving it. Since the result of the war has become known, these activities have increased with a view to making serious competition with Hamburg for general distributing of foreign goods in northern Europe, especially around the Baltic. Then the competition was followed up by Stockholm, Goteborg, and Malmo, Sweden; and Christiania and Christiansand, Norway. Christiansand is more easily accessible to the regular ocean traffic than Christiania but is not so good a distributing point for railroad traffic, and in general not such a banking and business center.

Labor

—The National Federation of Federal Employes announces the establishment of an affiliate in Honolulu, Hawaii.

—Sixty dollars per month and everything found will be the wage scale for farm help in the Canadian West this summer.

—The French General Labor Federation announces that the next International Syndicalist Congress will be held at Amsterdam on July 80 and succeeding days.

—Thirty-five thousand employes of Canadian railway shops have presented demands to the Railway War Board for a 47-hour week and a maximum wage of 80 cents an hour.

—The agitation for a six-hour day has been going on for some time in the ranks of labor in Alberta, Canada. Some members of the present legislature are known to favor the shorter day.

—Out of work pay at the end of March was being paid in Great Britain to 1,077,686 persons. There were, at this date, 240,015 unemployed in the London and Southeastern district alone.

The French Official Journal announces that the law prescribing an 8-hour day or 48-hour week in industrial and commercial establishments in France applies also to Algeria and the French colonies.

—The government-owned Panama Railroad has put into effect an eight-hour day for the longshoremen on the docks at Cristobal and Balboa. The entire canal service now is on an eight-hour basis.

—English dispatches indicate serious unemployment in Lancashire. The outlook in cotton manufacturing districts is regarded as grave. Large numbers of miners, including many demobilized soldiers, are out of work.

—Under the terms of the settlement of the great Porto Rican strikes, which have been in effect since April 8, an eight-hour day for women has been granted and a reduction in the men's working day from eleven to nine hours.

—The Textile Councils of Fall River and New Bedford, Mass., have voted to demand a fifteen per cent. wage increase of the cotton manufacturers effective June 2. The alternative is a strike involving 70,000 to 80,000 operatives.

—It is reported by the Department of Labor that the United Mine Workers of America and the Bureau of Naturalization are to coöperate in a movement to induce foreign-born members of the miners' unions to become American citizens.

—More than 70,000 workers have already joined the recently established Greek Federation of Labor. These workers come from twenty-five different industries and are grouped into 200 unions. The union is a purely industrial organization.

—From the discussion of the child question under the auspices of the Department of Labor it has been concluded that a central employment agency for children should be established, offering occupational advice and supervision during the first years of employment.

—The chorus girls in the revival of "The Belle of New York" in the Lyceum Theatre will receive twenty dollars a week instead of ten. This will be the first production in which operates the standard contract recently prepared by the joint committee of actors' association and the West End theater managers' society.

—Further Labor Party victories are reported from Winona, Minn., where a mayor and four aldermen were elected. In Kansas City, Kansas, one candidate for commissioner was successful and three members of the school board. The Labor candidate for mayor was beaten by 238 votes. Two commissioners were elected in Duluth, Minn.

—It is said that the scheduled I. W. W. meeting will not be held in Milwaukee. The national convention slated for May 25 also will be forbidden. The protests of Milwaukee's civic organizations, and most important of all the threatened demonstration by 5,000 soldiers, caused the Governor to intervene and order the city authorities to prevent the meeting.

—The reporters of Salt Lake City, Utah, were locked out of the daily newspapers for trying to form a union. When it became known that an effort was under way to form an organization the publishers held a conference and agreed to employ no reporter who had taken any part in the movement. A charter will be applied for and a fight will be made for recognition.

—The average wage of farm laborers in Great Britain advanced during the war from $3.50 a week to about $6.75 a week. Before the war the men's wages were too low to enable them to pay union fees, but since the war rapid development in trade unionism has taken place. The investigators found little evidence of unfriendly relations between employers and agricultural workers.

—Regarding the salaries now paid to customs officials as "nothing short of a national disgrace," L. S. Rowe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, speaking at the National Conference of Collectors of Customs and Appraisers of Merchandise, just held at the Customs House, urged that Congress make possible a speedy readjustment of salaries to assure employes of the customs service a living wage.

—An early labor shortage in this country of 5,000,000 men was predicted by Abram I. Elkus, former ambassador to Turkey, and chairman of the New York reconstruction commission. While urging that all returning soldiers be given jobs at once, Mr. Elkus asserted that labor conditions among civilians were more serious than among the soldiers. There are twelve civilians unemployed to every unemployed soldier, he said.

—A State Aid bill for the organization of a national employment system on a State basis to take the place of the present Federal Employment Service will be presented by the Department of Labor to the next Congress. The bill is the result of a conference between department officials and representatives of various States at Washington recently. Under its provision Federal grants equal in amount to those granted by the various States will be provided for the maintenance of employment bureaus.

—In Winnipeg, Canada, thirty thousand men and women struck on the 15th after metal workers and their employers, had failed to adjust their differences, and the city's transportation system and other facilities were tied up. The strikers included city firemen, who were replaced by emergency men, and the city employes of the gas and water works, which were manned by citizens. More than sixty unions joined in the strike during the day after the first men were called out at 11 a. m. by the Trade and Labor Council.

—Labor in the Argentine gets pretty much what it wants, according to Robert L. Barrett, lately commercial attaché of the United States Embassy in Buenos Aires, who is in Boston on business of the United States Department of Commerce. The reasons for Labor's strength are to be found within, not without, the country, Mr. Barrett declares. During his year and a half, recently terminated, in the Argentine capital, he saw practically no evidence of German or Russian influence. He saw plenty of evidence of stupidity on the part of employers, and of unity of action on the part of the workers.

—In the 1918 Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia the statement is made that in the calendar year 1917 there were 444 labor disputes in the Commonwealth (the total population of which is only 4,980,090), involving 1,941 establishments. The number of workmen directly affected was 173,970, the number of working days lost was 4,599,658, and the total loss in wages was over $10,000,000. The loss in wages due to strikes since the outbreak of the war has exceeded $20,000,000. New South Wales has been the heaviest sufferer from labor troubles, but in the past year or two Queensland has become the most active center of disaffection.

—Five hundred scientists and technologists met recently in the lecture hall of the United States National Museum, Washington, D. C., and voted to affiliate, through the National Federation of Federal Employes, with the American Federation of

Labor. The gathering included botanists, zoölogists, physiologists, pathologists, bacteriologists, chemists, physicists, and various other research workers employed in such branches of the Government as the Bureaus of Plant Industry, Animal Industry, Chemistry and Entomology, in the Department of Agriculture, Standards in the Department of Commerce, and Patents in the Department of the Interior.

Color Line

—The Department of Labor reported on the 10th that an increase in housing facilities for Negroes in Cincinnati had resulted in a lowering of the death rate and in a decrease in the number of arrests.

—In the New York *World* of the 17th, Louis Seibold, writing of the making of "banana rum" in Georgia, says: "Most of the persons engaged in selling this and other forms of hard liquors are colored. And, in fact, most of the purchasers are of the same race."

—Announcement has been made by Emmett J. Scott, special assistant to the Secretary of War, that the Chief of Staff has personally directed the Commanding General at Camp Meade, Md., to revoke the finding of the Army Board which declared that Negroes were unfit to serve as officers and leaders of men.

—A nation-wide drive to obtain 100,000 members to defend the constitutional and legal rights now denied more than four-fifths of the Negro race in this country was announced by John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Association, which has now more than 50,000 members, expects to double its membership by June 21, at which time a national conference is to be held in Cleveland, Ohio.

Suffrage

—The Dutch Second Chamber at The Hague on the 12th adopted by a large majority a bill for the enfranchisement of women.

—Kyoto Imperial University has received application for entrance from seven Japanese women, mostly graduates of Women's Higher Normal School. Nearly all applications are in the College of Literature.

—Recommendations to grant women sex equality in church affairs were laid before commissioners of the Presbyterian Church in the United States at the second day's session of the 131st General Assembly just held in St. Louis.

—The republic of Uruguay recently enacted a law requiring the managers of all stores, shops, pharmacies, factories, workshops and other establishments to supply chairs for the use of female employes whenever their work permits.

—Prospect of adoption by Congress of the Susan B. Anthony woman suffrage resolution was bettered by receipt of information that Senator-elect Henry W. Keyes of New Hampshire, Republican, would vote for the measure.

—At Albany, Governor Smith has signed the "conductorette" bill. This law limits the hours a woman may work as a conductor on street, elevated, and subway railroads and provides no woman under the age of twenty shall be so employed.

—At a luncheon at the Republican Club on the 16th Mrs. Medill McCormick, Republican National Chairman for Women, instructed the Women's State Republican Executive Committee on the conduct that committee, in her opinion, would find profitable. "Keep still and saw wood," she advised. "We must be practical politicians."

—The North Carolina Equal Suffrage League will soon have an Advisory Board composed of 150 North Carolina men who are advocates of votes for women. Plans for forming this Advisory Board were made at a conference of State officers held recently at Raleigh. It was also decided to engage in an aggressive campaign for suffrage during the next two years.

—The eight-hour law for women, passed by the Utah Legislature, became effective May 12. It provides that women shall not be employed for more than eight hours in any one day or more than forty-eight hours a week, except in cases where life or property, or both, are in danger. The only exception made concerns women who work in canning plants.

—Western headquarters have been opened by the National Woman's party in Chicago and San Francisco. From these centers the women voters are to be kept in touch with the suffrage situation in Congress, and their influence organized to secure the one vote still lacking in the Senate and the quick passage of the amendment as soon as the extra session is called.

—William J. Harris, Senator-elect from Georgia, has been enrolled by the suffragists as the vitally essential sixty-fourth man necessary to carry the vote for the amendment in the Senate. Word came from Paris that Mr. Harris had succumbed to the missionary work of President Wilson and promised him to vote for the suffrage amendment when again it comes before the Senate. Harris heretofore has been classified as uncertain, with the chances against his being won over for the movement.

—Debate has begun in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris on a bill giving women over thirty years old the right to vote for members of municipal councils and general councils of arrondissements and departments. Several Deputies, speaking in favor of the bill, dwelt on the services women had rendered in the Red Cross and other war work which, they said, added largely to other reasons for giving women equal rights. Other Deputies,

who also favor equal suffrage, oppose the bill because it does not given women the right to vote in all elections.

—As one of its first acts after winning presidential and municipal suffrage the Knoxville Equal Suffrage League of Knoxville, Tennessee, has been formally disbanded and merged into the Non-Partisan League of Knoxville, which is composed of both men and women of voting age. The object of the new organization, as expressed in the constitution adopted, is to encourage the study of municipal government, the investigation of the qualifications of the candidates for office, and the educating of voters upon the subject of voting and good citizenship.

—A. S. B., writing in *The Woman Citizen*, recalls that May 27 will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Julia Ward Howe. "Various organizations," she says, "are planning to celebrate the day. Her interests were so many-sided that the friends of many good causes have reason to remember her gratefully. But in all the diverse celebrations, some one should say a word to recall her long and earnest championship of woman suffrage. Her interest in this movement was warm and constant; and in whatever tributes may be paid to her, she would wish suffrage not to be forgotten."

—Jane Addams of Chicago presided on the 12th at the opening session of the Women's Industrial Conference for Permanent Peace. One hundred delegates, representing thirteen countries, were present. The Americans, in addition to Miss Addams, are Emily Balch, Alice Hamilton, Florence Kelley, Jeannette Rankin, Alice Thacher Post, and Lillian Wald. On the 14th they passed resolutions on the League of Nations. On the 19th a delegation, composed of Mrs. Despard and Mrs. MacMillan, England; Mme. Duchéne, France; Signora Lenoni, Italy; Mme. Ragaz, Switzerland, and Miss Jane Addams, United States, was appointed to report their recommendations to the League of Nations.

—To the "Lady from Ravalli," Maggie Smith Hathaway, Montana legislator, belongs the credit for having this year introduced into a Legislature distinctly unfavorable to labor, and having pushed through to success, the first equal pay law in the United States. In pushing her bill she placed on each State Senator's desk literature carrying the following points: "A woman who does the same amount of work as a man should have the same pay"; "Quality and quantity of work, not sex, should be the basis of compensation"; "Low-paid woman labor compares unfairly with men's labor"; "Women teachers in Montana earn for like work from $126 to $376 less than men."

—Woman suffrage bids fair to become after the war a political issue in France. The question so far as it has developed debate in the Chamber is not so much whether the vote is to go to Frenchwomen, but as to whether they will have it in full at the outset or only for local affairs. "In France," says *Le Matin* of the 11th, "where the lowering of the birth rate brings us a most agonizing problem, let us decide not to follow the example of those countries which have tried woman suffrage and rejoice in it." Another point of difference between France and America in this question is that while here there is indifference on the part of the bulk of the women the men do not seem to seize the issue as a matter of ridicule.

—Señorita Hermila Galindo faces the hardest task of any woman in the world, according to Jack Neville, of the Newspaper Enterprise Association. Single-handed, she is attempting to emancipate Latin-American women from superstition, ignorance, suppression, and the iron-bound traditions of centuries. Her first battle is with the women themselves. To any other woman the task would seem helpless. When she began she had the moral backing of only two big men—President Carranza and General Pablo Gonzalez. Today she is making headway. She has organized the National Feminine Council, and is publishing one of the two women's magazines in Mexico. Through the circulation of this periodical, she is explaining the objectives of the council. Through the council she expects to uplift the women.

—Recent disturbances created in the House of Commons have been strongly condemned by Mrs. Pankhurst in an interview with representatives of the London press. "Now that women have the vote," she said, "and have constitutional means of expressing their political opinions and remedying their grievances, we strongly disapprove of such manifestations as took place in the House of Commons last night." Speaking of the part played by her second daughter, Mrs. Pankhurst said Miss Sylvia Pankhurst had the artistic temperament very strongly. People with that temperament were peculiarly susceptible to outside influences, and extremists were making use of her because of her name. "Since the beginning of the war," Mrs. Pankhurst continued, "our name has been identified with the patriotic effort to win the war. We women have struggled for years to get constitutional rights, and now that we have the vote we mean to stick to constitutional methods. Both my daughter Christabel and I deeply deplore and strongly repudiate the action of my second daughter."

Land Reform

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

—In March the geological survey of the Department of the Interior classified 1,135,933 acres of land under the enlarged homestead and stock-raising homestead laws. This brings the total so designated up to 15,780,611 acres. The stock-

raising homestead law permits entries of land for grazing and the raising of stock up to 640 acres, and the enlarged homestead act up to 320 acres. States in which land was classified for homestead purposes during March were Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

—A State league, full of promise, was organized by Californian Singletaxers at Fresno on May 10. The convention from which the league sprung was well attended, enthusiastic, harmonious. Officers elected include some of the best known and ablest Singletax advocates on the Coast: Mrs. Anna George de Mille, Judge J. G. Maguire, R. R. Waterbury, R. E. Chadwick, A. G. Brodeur, H. H. McCleary, D. Woodhead, F. H. Dessau, Mr. Beckwith, Mr. Lincoln, and William F. Lusk, secretary of the Los Angeles League and until recently associated with Hon. Stitt Wilson.

Political

—Senator McCormick of Illinois has announced that he intends to introduce several bills providing for the creation of a national budget system.

—Secretary of the Treasury Glass asked for and accepted the resignation of Colonel Henry D. Lindsley, who since last December has been Director of the War Risk Insurance Bureau here.

—Chicago's nonpartisan election bill was passed by the Senate on the 14th to await action by the House. The bill would abolish partisan primaries for the nomination of Mayor, City Clerk, City Treasurer, and the Aldermen.

—Formal notice of a contest in the election of Truman H. Newberry, Republican Senator-elect from Michigan, was given on the 19th with the filing in the Senate of petitions by Henry Ford, defeated Democratic candidate, asking for an investigation of campaign expenditures and a recount of the ballots.

—A joint resolution to return telegraph and telephone systems to private management, introduced on the 19th by Representative Steenerson, of Minnesota, Republican, calls on the President for an itemized report of all expenditures and receipts since the properties were taken over and a report showing financial results of Government operation. Relinquishment of Government control would depend on the time of passage of the resolution.