THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

May 31, 1919

British-American Difficulties

Parasites in Business Guise

Women and Public Life

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Contents

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A STRANGE objection to the treaty is that made by Dr. Felix Adler, that it punishes the innocent along with the guilty. "Is it just," he asks, "to ascribe the crimes of the German rulers, and of those who consciously consented to those crimes, to at least half, nay, more than half, the German people—the women and children, for instance, who had no more voice in deciding what was done, and no more responsibility for what was done than we had?" But does Dr. Adler know any way of punishing the guilty without bringing hardship upon the innocent? Can the State even so much as name the wrong-doer as a criminal without causing sorrow and suffering to his family? Germany has caused grievous wrong to women and children of France, Belgium, Serbia, to say nothing of women and children of other countries. Must they alone suffer lest the women and children of Germany be called upon to share the responsibility of the men who wrought the mischief?

WHETHER the British Government engages in building workingmen's cottages, nationalizes mines, or establishes peasant proprietaries, the inevitable difficulty it runs into is to obtain land. Not that there is any scarcity of that commodity, but it is always found in the hands of some one who insists upon a high price. Thus the Manchester Corporation bought 106 acres for housing. The market value is estimated at $40,000. But when the city wanted it for workingmen's houses, it had to pay $239,000. This extra amount is added to the price of the cottages. Sir Richard Winfrey in a speech in the House of Parliament estimated that in the past few years the land had gone up 50, 75, and even 100 per cent. He instanced the case of 3,165 acres taxed at less than $10 an acre and valued at $490,000. It was sold for $750,000 to a man who resold it within a week for $1,000,000. Complaint is made by those working on the housing question that every improvement the Government puts in raises the value of surrounding unimproved land so much that it is harder to get the next piece of land.

PARTICIPATION of women in commerce and industry, art and science, law and education has already made its impression upon the mind of mere man. But this is as nothing compared to the influence they will have upon politics. Politicians heretofore have shaped their policies with a view to placating this or that faction of a few thousand voters. But this new element is not of a few thousands, but of millions of voters. The twenty-eight States granting Presidential suffrage have enfranchised 15,364,423 women of voting age, which is a half-million more than the total votes cast in the Presidential election of 1908; and there are sixteen States to follow. This is something to set all men to thinking.

PART of the land seized for the new United States fort at Rockaway, near New York City, may be worth $1,800,000, the amount claimed by the Railway Pacific Corporation. It would be interesting to know the price paid for this land by the corporation and how much it is valued for taxation purposes. It may be a case similar to one that recently attracted attention in Sydney, Australia. Land was owned by a ferry company, and the tax assessor valued it at $60,000. The company appealed and swore it was worth only $40,000. The assessment was confirmed. Later, when the Government wanted

to buy the ground for a recreation reserve, the same ferry company asked $250,000. Unfortunately for the company, some pestiferous person with a good memory thought of the assessment episode.

A BANK cashier in Alabama declares in an interview in a local paper that the lynching victim under discussion had committed no offense, that there had been a mistake made in the man the mob was after. It must be admitted that this is most inconsiderate on the part of mob victims. They should be more careful. Identification cards should be carried, or other satisfactory evidence furnished showing that they are or are not guilty of the offense charged. Few persons can realize how mortifying it is to find after the victim is dead that he is the wrong man, and that the whole thing must be done over again. It wastes time, labor, and rope. If this should happen often enough mobs may be compelled to resort to the courts to determine in the old-fashioned way the guilt of the accused. And having determined that fact some inconsiderate person may venture the suggestion that the courts pronounce judgment.

NO bill among the thousands that were introduced during the first week of Congress is more deserving of attention than the one known as the Towner Educational bill, creating a department of education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet, and appropriating $100,000,000 to aid the States in the promotion of education. The principle underlying this bill is at the very foundation of democracy. An illiterate voter suffers from an unpardonable handicap. When an American soldier of pure Anglo-Saxon blood whose parents and grandparents were born in this country can say in answer to the inquiry as to why he had never learned to read and write, "Captain, I never had no chance," it is time for the people of the country to give the matter serious attention. The objection that Federal aid means taxes paid in one part of the country for education in another should have no weight. Every child must have the fullest opportunity to get an education. The Towner bill starts with the support of the National Education Association and the American Federation of Labor.

A REPRESENTATIVE of Armour and Company protests that THE PUBLIC does not treat the packers fairly. This is a serious charge. THE PUBLIC means to treat everybody fairly. Doubtless Armour and Company also mean to be fair, and most assuredly the consumer wants nothing but what is fair. Yet after all there remains the insistent fact that the packers have made enormous profits, and that the price of meat has been beyond the reach of many citizens. Armour and Company are credited with net profits of $56,641,400 for three years, 1916-17-18. Meanwhile round steak averaged 32.6 cents a pound in New York in 1917, and bacon, 39.5 cents. Possibly it is due to some untoward conjunction of the planets. The Armour representative assures us that though they own refrigerator cars they are subject to the regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and he adds: "There is nothing to prevent others from owning and operating refrigerator cars. And if they do not care to own and operate them, it is because they are not profitable." Sure enough. Why not? If the butcher in Cranberry Center doesn't like the Armour refrigerator service he can start a line of his own. This indeed may serve as a solution for other problems. People who do not like the service rendered by a railroad can build a railroad of their own.

THE packers appear to have been unfortunate in arousing popular suspicion. They have declared again and again that the sum total of effects from their various combinations and activities has been increased service to the community and greater economy in operation. It is most unfortunate, therefore, that just as they reduce the cost of handling meat the price continues to advance. In the matter of disposing of surplus army stores they have again been brought under suspicion. When the War Department decided to sell 100,000,000 cans of beef and 50,000,000 pounds of bacon that had been accumulated in anticipation of longer service in the field, the packers protested that this meat should be disposed of abroad in order not to demoralize the home market. And the men in charge were friendly to the request. It was only when Secretary Baker himself interfered that the plan was abandoned. Some persons might have suspected that the proposal was

made with an ulterior purpose of maintaining the present price of meat. But this is clearly not the reason. The packers are merely trying to maintain their high degree of efficiency. The fact that meat prices remain high is only incidental, and is in no way the fault of the packers. Since the packers have done everything possible to cheapen the processes of handling meats, the conclusion is unavoidable that the high price is due to a conjunction of the planets; and the public should seek relief not at the hands of statesmen, but of astrologers.

SECRETARY REDFIELD is playing with fire again. This time it is the street railways of the country that are trying to use him to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. His experience with the Industrial Commission may have taught him wisdom in dealing with schemes which are altruistic on the surface but have a concealed profit for some one. Almost every traction line in the country is losing money. Many are on the verge of insolvency. The real trouble, of course, is that public utilities stocks have been outrageously watered. The present question is whether street railways shall pay dividends upon fictitious assets or not. The "service-at-cost" idea, which appears to have influenced Secretary Redfield quite deeply, is in reality only a scheme to legalize the water. If his recommendations to the President for membership on the national street railways commission are top-heavy with advocates of the "service-at-cost" idea, his future usefulness will have to be considered as limited, for gullibility is not a desirable trait in a statesman.

"MANUFACTURERS," says the president of the National Manufacturers' Association, "have no intention of trying to force wages down, but want efficiency in return for high wages." Labor will inquire what wages are referred to, for all the Government figures gathered during the last ten years show that wages have steadily fallen. It is true that money wages have risen, but the purchasing power of the dollar has been falling faster than the daily wage has risen, so that the result is a net decrease in purchasing power. There is a great deal of buncombe being passed on to a defenseless public upon the subject of high wages. It still remains to be demonstrated that wages in any considerable industry are as high in terms of purchasing power as they were two years ago.

IF it be true as claimed by protectionists that trade at home enriches a nation, and if the interpretation of the Paris treaty made by Wilson critics be true, that the Germans are "economically imprisoned within their own borders," the advantage of retaining her home markets and the profits from her own trade may be sufficient to enrich her above the amount of the indemnity. Trade abroad, the protectionist says, means one profit within the country and one in the other country, whereas trade at home means two profits within the country. Germany under the terms of the treaty, if they prove to be as drastic as her friends declare, will enjoy all the advantages promised by the Boston Home Market Club.

SEVERAL newspapers have been moved to comment on the fact that silver is within nine cents of being on a par with gold on the basis of 16 to 1. To those who have watched the gyrations of parlor sociologists and near statesmen in their attempts to solve the problems confronting society, the incident recalls the stirring days of 1896, when one set of politicians vehemently declared that labor could be restored to its natural place only by the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, while another set were showing the people how everything would go to the demnition-bowwows if the country did not maintain the gold standard. We are almost on the silver basis. Wheat has gone above $2 a bushel and the purchasing power of the dollar has fallen one-half. Yet the country has not gone into the hands of a receiver, nor has the labor question been solved.

America and the Children

AMERICA spends six times as much for liquor and tobacco as she does for education. That alone should be sufficient justification for holding the conferences on child welfare standards now being conducted under the auspices of the Department of Labor. Some of the facts being brought out by the American and foreign experts are worthy of even wider distribution than they are now getting. The

fruit of an appalling neglect of child life has been shown during the past year in numerous ways. The draft disclosed a most menacing condition among those who should be in the full vigor of manhood. Seven hundred thousand illiterates of draft age testified to the neglect of education. This starvation of mental requirements was paralleled by almost equally serious physical conditions. Out of the first 2,510,706 men examined in the draft, 730,756 were rejected for physical defects, most of which were preventable and which were largely due to abuses forced upon childhood. The Children's Bureau figures that 300,000 infants die annually whose deaths are largely preventable. Upward of 20,000 preventable deaths from the immediate effects of child-bearing occur annually. Is it not time that we engaged in a few conferences such as are now going on?

The problems confronting the nation in this respect are of course fundamentally economic. The necessity for certain palliative legal measures may be taken for granted. Better education is mandatory. Child labor must be ruthlessly suppressed. But the economic causes will remain and the necessity for repressive law will persist as long as poverty persists. For it is as true in our day as Solomon's that the destruction of the poor is their poverty. Inequality of opportunity means inequality of education and inequality of health. The Labor Department figures show that when the parents' wage is $1,250 a year one baby in every sixteen dies. When the wage is $450 one in every six dies. The record of child destruction is a record of poverty. The highest mortality and the highest illiteracy are in the isolated farm and the close packed tenement to which are driven those forced out by monopoly of the more advantageous parts of the earth.

Quoting the President

CRITICS who attempt to confute the President by quoting from his speeches and state papers should at least have the fairness to state the circumstances under which the declarations were made. When President Wilson said "there must be peace without victory" he expressed a hope held by many that the war might cease with something of mutual respect among the nations. But the Germans made no response to his appeal, and continued a war of conquest in which they believed their enemies would pay the cost. After he declared the world must be made safe for democracy Germany made the Brest-Litovsk treaty in which every degree of perfidy was exhibited. Following his statement that there must be no dismemberment of empires, and professing sincere friendship for the German people, the same German people carried on the most ruthless campaign that devilish ingenuity could devise. And in spite of every proffer of friendship they continued to press on with indescribable ferocity. It was only when two million Americans arrived in France, and two million more were ready to follow, that the Germans who had been appealed to so often in vain began to see a new light. If one should make an appeal to those incapable of response it might be charged against his discretion, but could not be laid to a lack of conscience or integrity. And when after repeated attempts failure followed failure the charge of inconsistency could not lie when resort was had to more summary measures. The fact that the terms of the treaty sanctioned by the President are severer than those implied in his earlier declarations should be laid to the Germans who made no response to those earlier appeals, and not to any shortcomings on the part of the President.

If one is to be reasonably cautious may he not, in view of the perfidy shown by German leaders, harbor a suspicion regarding the good faith now professed. Hindenburg, the idol of the soldiers, is still in command of the army. Bernstorff, Dernburg, and others who did the dirty work of the Kaiser are leaders in the new government. Who can say with full assurance that at the proper moment another change may not occur at a moment's notice, and the Hohenzollerns be found again at Potsdam?

The problem before the delegates at Paris has been to provide a treaty by which Germany could be controlled in case she contemplated such a reversion, and at the same time provide means for modifying that treaty in case she proved to be sincere. This has been accomplished by depriving her of the physical means of making war, and at the same time of setting up the League of Nations to amend the conditions of the treaty as may from time to time be found advisable under new conditions.

Germany has been deprived of her military arms, but only as a first step in the plan of universal disarmament. Would any normal person in the light of Germany's action during the past four years trust her otherwise when such unprincipled men as Bernstorff are high in the councils of the new government? The German word cannot be trusted until it has been proven. Whether or not the severe terms of the treaty are carried out literally will depend upon Germany's conduct.

The President's Message

NO one has been quicker to recognize the new relations of the executive and legislative branches of government than the President. When the Democrats had control of Congress he, as the leader of the dominant party, laid down a definite program to be followed, and applied himself so diligently to carrying it out that he was accused of being autocratic and tyrannical. Now that the Republicans are in control he recognizes the change in responsibility, and leaves the laying out of programs to the leaders of that party, contenting himself with merely suggesting in most general terms that certain things are happening, and may be attended to if Congress so desires.

Among these is the question of railroads and labor. Had the President's party been in power he doubtless would have suggested a plan of procedure. But knowing from experience that any plan he might propose, no matter what its merits, would be opposed for political reasons—just as his peace plans have been opposed—he has wisely left the initiative to his opponents.

It is easy to find fault. Small natures delight in it and imagine themselves to be critics. But when it comes to constructive effort the difference between the nagging politician and the upbuilding statesman is apparent.

The Republican leaders who have been so cocky in criticising everything the President has done will now find themselves clothed with responsibility they are ill prepared to assume. They have no labor program, and can have none that is satisfactory, because they are not in sympathy with the new labor spirit. They have no railroad program, and can have none, because they cannot satisfy the owners of the roads and the public. The owners of the roads do not want them back as they were before the Government took them over. And if the Republican leaders attempt to give the owners what they want, it will so outrage public opinion that they will be swept out of power as unceremoniously as the Democrats have been.

The hope is that the Democrats who responded so sulkily to the leadership of the President will learn in adversity what they should have known in the time of power. The Republicans who imagine themselves constructive from comparing their policies with the stupidity of the Democrats will now be judged by their deeds rather than their words. Making a great ado about the Paris treaty will not avail. They cannot so easily fool the people. When they have utterly failed, and confessed failure, the President will again submit positive proposals.

Trade With Russia

PERSONS who have despaired of understanding the Russian situation, and have thought to throw off all responsibility by saying it is Russia's own affair and should be settled without interference from the outside, little realize what an enormous country it is, both in extent and in population. One faction may wish to continue fighting while others long to return to trade and industry, but all suffer alike from the acts of the enemy. The Bolsheviki may or may not represent the masses of the people, the peasants may be satisfied with their land allotments, Kolchak or Lenine may have the greater following, yet extending throughout the country there exists a coöperative society that embraces all classes and all shades of opinion.

Coöperation in Russia does not mean what the term means in this country. For some reason coöperative trading has never thrived in the United States, but in Russia its growth has been phenomenal, embracing in its membership 20,000,000 families, more than 50,300 stores, factories, warehouses, and mills, and doing a business last year of 8,000,000,000 rubles. And most remarkable of all, it has functioned throughout the revolution, and it has such general support from the people that the Bolshevist Government has been unable to secure control of it.

When Lenine attempted to nationalize the

stores, factories, and warehouses of the co-operative societies the members rallied such united support that the Bolshevist Government was compelled to leave them alone. Thus it is that, while privately owned factories, stores, and banks have been nationalized, the property of the coöperative societies still remains in the hands of the organizations.

But it is only within the country that the co-operative societies function. The blockade maintained by the Allies prevents trade through European ports, and the poor transportation in Siberia reduces its trade to a bagatelle in comparison with what it should be. And it is with a view to mending this state of affairs that the All-Russian Coöperative Societies have sent representatives to this country, not to secure recognition of any political faction, but to obtain permission to trade with the outside world.

These representatives are not asking for financial assistance, but only for the privilege of sending a shipload of goods through the blockade. They claim the Bolshevist Government will respect this ship and its cargo as it has respected the stores and factories belonging to the society within the country. If they should be mistaken, and the Bolshevist Government should seize the ship, the loss will be the societies, alone. The coöperative societies will have lost a shipload of goods, and the Bolshevist Government will have demonstrated its lack of integrity.

Russia is a sorely stricken country. Absolutism had so handicapped its industrial development that its exclusion from foreign trade means commercial demoralization. It is little that the coöperative societies ask, yet it means much to them. They are not organizations supporting any political faction, but are trying to keep alive under most trying conditions the industrial life of the nation. If the Allied Governments cannot or will not aid Russia, will they not permit the Russians to help themselves?

The Newness of Woman

SO aboundingly full of promise to the political future of America is the settling of the question of the Federal Suffrage Amendment that we are moved to felicitate the well-born League of Women Voters on the broad expanse of human use that opens up before it. We have a right to expect from woman's freed and enfreeing activities a new vitality of reform and a veritable springtide of human progress.

This for two reasons. In the first place, we shall have the play of the heart in the comprehension of social problems. The poetic conceit that "man's love is of man's life a part, 'tis woman's whole existence," is true on far broader lines than the dove-cooing purport of its inditer's intent. Love enfranchized, socialized, universalized in all the apparently non-sex uses and utilities of human life is still woman's whole existence. Her physiological processes concentrating in human motherhood are a symbol of a mental refinement of receptivity that qualifies her to comprehend by intuition and at first hand truths and problems for which the masculine mind toils and moils through drudging experimentation, writhes under the pressure of prejudice and tradition, and agonizes in temptation before it crosses the Jordan of struggle and doubt and plants itself in the Promised Land of rational common sense. Society needs as it needs nothing else the divine natural aptitude of the enfranchised woman mind to believe and teach the great principles of human fellowship and grace.

In the second place, woman's entrance in full swing into political and social reform implies the expansion of domesticity to the conduct of national and world affairs. Woman is inherently and necessarily domestic in the very warp and woof of her soul. The interpretation of this principle was formerly that the man should strut forth with martial bearing and kill and plunder, connive and govern, while the meek consort of her heroic lord stayed at home to cook and clean and spin and mend. In all ages naturally the mother is where her children can be cared for. But our modern conception is that civilization is a very poor contrivance unless it is safe for children; and the awakened woman is seeing to it that the world shall become thus safe and cultural for childhood. With this conception of life there are no problems, no interests foreign to woman's province, and as time goes on the woman's love for home and child will transform our civil deserts into something better than Eden, because the new social order will be so scientifically organized that it can endure.

Women Voters at the Crossroads

By Carrie Chapman Catt

President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

THERE was a triple significance in the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association held at St. Louis in the last week of March of this year.

It was the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of equal suffrage as a working principle of government; it was the Jubilee of the National Association, and it saw the inauguration of a new force in American political life.

A half-century ago the Legislature of the Territory of Wyoming granted women the same political privileges as the men of the Territory enjoyed. This was the first commonwealth in the world to give women the ballot on equal terms with men. It stood, therefore, as the working model of a new ideal in democracy.

In the same year that Wyoming gave equal rights to women—1869—the National and the American Woman Suffrage Associations were formed for the purpose of gaining equal political rights for women throughout the country. Twenty years later these two associations were merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

For fifty years the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its two predecessors have been seeking to persuade the National and State Governments to follow the example of Wyoming and incorporate justice to women in their constitutions.

The St. Louis Convention was therefore the Golden Jubilee of two suffrage events—the winning of Wyoming and the beginning of the nation-wide fight for recognition of women's political existence.

But the convention was more than commemorative; it was prophetic and constructive. The Federal suffrage amendment struggle is now on the eve of victory.

In the meanwhile woman suffrage as an actual factor in the vote for the next President has been won in twenty-nine States. This means that women share in choosing 306 out of a total of 531 electoral votes. It means that almost two-thirds of the women of voting age in this land now live in territory which concedes their right to vote for its chief executive.

In seventeen of these twenty-nine States women may have a voice in electing the men who represent them in the United States Congress. In fifteen of them women may vote on equal terms with men. Therefore, however wonderful the past of the woman suffrage cause has been in its sacrifices, its struggles, and its attainments, the greatest of all the reasons for the St. Louis Convention did not rest upon celebrations. "The eternal feminine" beckons on to new duties and new responsibilities; and, first of all, to a stable organization which shall "carry on" after the vote is won and correlate the activities of the emancipated women of the country.

Women have learned much in these fifty years of effort. They have learned, for example, some of the blind spots in our democracy. They know where, and, to some extent, to what influences the electorate is vulnerable. They have found out, at great cost to themselves, how votes may be manipulated and ignorant men, unconsciously to themselves, made to thwart the freedom of their sisters and wives.

They have also learned how any backward section of the country may retard the development of the country as a whole.

Therefore, as women, vitally concerned with the honor of the nation and with the welfare of the race, those suffragists who met at St. Louis had a third object, an object facing toward the future. This was the formation of the League of Women Voters, whose main aim is to catch up and use to the full the newly gained political freedom of millions of women.

It was never at any time feared that these enfranchised women would fail to work for that which is worthiest. It had, however, been clearly foreseen that their energies might be sucked up in the local conflicts within their State borders, and that, having gained freedom for themselves, they might unthinkingly leave it to the women of other parts of the country to gain freedom for themselves.

They might fail to remember that the child unprotected in one State leaves childhood everywhere exposed to the onslaughts of the enemies

of progress. They might even forget, in their own content, that there are women elsewhere whose civil status is a menace to a united womanhood. With experiences fresh in their minds, these women thus banded themselves into a nonpartisan, non-sectarian body, to accomplish eight forms of service for their native land.

Two things had been written deep in their consciousness. As war workers—for every suffrage association in the country gave of its best to service at home and abroad throughout the war—they had learned that a grave menace to allied victory lay in the army of illiterates now existing in the United States.

Women of the country had met this illiteracy at the polls in their suffrage campaigns. They had been defeated by it more than once.

Having whole-heartedly worked for their political freedom, as no men had ever worked for it, having proved by their loyalty to American institutions that they are worthy to be counted among those whose patriotism is tried and proved, the women of the voting States, united in this League of Women Voters, determined that their first collective act should be to raise the standards of citizenship for both sexes.

A committee on American Citizenship, therefore, heads the list of the eight committees to which the League has dedicated its first year of work. The reforms in the electorate which they are projecting include: Compulsory education from 6 to 16; education of adults; English, the national language; higher qualification for citizenship; direct citizenship for women; naturalization for married women; compulsory publication in foreign language newspapers of lessons in citizenship; schools of citizenship; an oath of allegiance from every man and woman, and an educational qualification for the vote.

This high standard for an American electorate, this maintaining of the *morale* of a free people, seems the essential step to be taken toward a better democracy.

Next in order of immediate importance is the stabilization of conditions for that portion of their sex which is concerned in the industrial enterprises of the country. That this host of women, every year growing larger and larger, until it now numbers nearly 18,000,000, mostly young, mostly potential mothers or actual mothers, shall not be so exploited as to imperil the future of the race or the welfare of women themselves is a foremost care to all women.

The remaining six committees adopted and approved by the League cover: Child Welfare; Improvement of Election Laws and Methods; Social Hygiene; Unification of Laws Concerning Civil Status of Women; Food Supply and Demand, and Research. The last is a committee supplementary to all the others and one upon which all will depend.

It may readily be seen that the problems faced by the League of Women Voters are practical. They are concerned with the preservation of American institutions; with the protection of the home and of the child; with better standards of living, and with the maintenance of a stable government.

There has been much talking about whether the League of Women Voters is a woman's party antagonistic to men. If it is not a sex-conscious, politically hostile group, how will it achieve its ends?

It is not a party; but it has a party's weapon —the ballot. It is, above all, not a sex segregation. While this idea of working outside of any political party for the protection of those American ideals for which America was founded, was initiated by a group of women, they are very far from planning to work without the assistance of men. Their plan does not aim at sex hostility. It is no outcast among political parties, its hand against every man.

But neither is it a parlor uplift movement. The women that compose it are backed up by the possession of the ballot, the right to express their convictions at the polls. They will not hesitate to use their votes fearlessly whether it is with or against the party of their inheritance. Having already attained enfranchisement, they will be no longer inhibited by fear that action may imperil the political status of the women in their several States. They can dare, as they have never dared before.

This League of Voters is an effort to make into a working reality those dreams of a free America which have been potent in the long fight women have made for the ballot. They have for so long declared that democracy is something worth giving a lifetime to obtain that they will not rest until an All-American democracy comes up to their dreams of it.

The Influence of Women on Public Life

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman

Writer and Lecturer on Ethics, Economics, and Sociology; Author of "Women and Economics," "The Man-Made World," "Moving the Mountain."

THERE are two phases in the influence of women both in private and in public life.

The more permanent, the more important, and by far the greater is that due to the inherent characteristics of women.

But the more prominent, at first, is that due to the previous status of women.

Let us consider this, and dismiss it; it will pass.

Women as a class have throughout history held a subordinate position, being exploited in sex, and industrially kept as unpaid servants at home even when not so employed outside.

They have been rigorously limited in education and in experience, and their training has been such as to overemphasize certain required qualities and to neglect others.

From this general background we may naturally expect certain results when women first enter upon political life.

In their individual professional work it is not so manifested, because in such case the special development of the individual is stronger than the general class tendency.

The chief distinction of the woman's industrial position is that it has been isolated. She has worked alone, for the family group only, without social relationship such as is involved in all trades and professions.

This tends to a narrowness and immediacy of view, with undue weight on personalities. Her work has been such as to give her a keener interest in tomorrow's dinner than in next year's crop or in the introduction of tree farming.

As she has not earned money, nor had any but the family needs to spend for, this tends to niggardly use of public money, or an unwise extravagance.

As her code of virtue was almost exclusively on sex lines, this tends to an insistence on "morality" in candidates for office, which is in itself no harm, but which is often unaccompanied by an equal insistence on competence in other respects.

The best side of her influence due to previous status is in a tendency to better legislation favorable to women and children, to raising public morals and public health, and to a practical economy in handling public funds.

Fairly balanced, it would seem that even in this transient effect the influence of women on public life is mainly good.

Referring to their established record so far, we find that the legislation put forward by women is almost wholly humanitarian, and for the most part wise.

The other deeper, more lasting influence, that due to inherent characteristics, is more than reassuring.

Here the main point to bear in mind is that women are not, as has been heretofore supposed, merely creatures of sex, created as a subordinate assistant to man, but that, as Lester F. Ward has so clearly established, the female is the race type and the male is the later development, and most modified to sex.

Since our previous world has been wholly in the hands of men, it has also been modified to sex, with neglect of the more human qualities.

For instance, it is human to live in peaceful association and coöperative service, whereas it is masculine to live in a state of rivalry and combat. Our past history shows us the effect of a male civilization, whereas the bee-hive or ant-hill shows the effect of feminine management.

With the entrance of women upon public life we shall, for the first time, be able to watch *human* development, with the destructive tendencies of the male offset by the constructive tendencies of the female, and the real human impulses of both men and women at last allowed free action. Both are human, but he alone has dictated our social processes so far. Now she becomes human, too.

This is the most important consideration of all.

"Male" and "female" do not rise above the personal relationships. What is needed for our progress and happiness is improvement in social relationships.

Normal social—that is, human—relationship tends toward a condition of increasing understanding, productivity, and happiness.

This normal human advancement has been

most impeded by the unnatural predominance of the male of our species, to which is due the exaggerated importance we attribute to sex qualities.

With the general humanizing of women there will pour out into our public life the tremendous current of human impulse so long suppressed in that half of the race. Their womanliness will do the world good, but far more good will be done by their humanness.

We, as members of that supreme form of organic life called Society, should long since have attained a condition of universal comfort and smooth progress; but a wholly masculine philosophy has taught the false doctrine that "life is a struggle," and as men we have made it so.

Life is growth, like that from egg to chicken. Struggle is an incidental and occasional process in life, as is a cock-fight. We have spent so much energy in struggling that we have made but a poor showing in social growth.

Our last great combat has left the world gasping, shaken, agonized, desperately injured, but now rising in recovery.

In this revival we may look for swift and measureless help from women, the more so that so many of them are now robbed of all hope of the previous seclusion, and must spend their wealth of mother love and power in human service.

The British-American Difficulties

By William E. Dodd

Professor of American History University of Chicago; Editor and Joint Author of the "Riverside History of the United States."

AS the Conference in Paris draws to a conclusion, certain facts seem to stand out and challenge the world for their meaning. One of these is the control of the seas of the world by Britons. No lover of freedom can wish to deny ample naval power to an island country like England, the power to keep the ways of commerce open so that her people may not fear famine. This concession is the more readily granted as the idea of a free and ever freer trade among nations is advocated and practiced by the British people.

There can be no just claim that the British Navy was a menace to the freest trade before the great war began. The rapid and phenomenal growth of the German merchant marine during the twenty years that preceded the famous Second of August, 1914, is proof of this. Yet one might say that this very growth did in a measure tend to a change of the British attitude on free trade or near free trade. It did not, however, bring on the war, for Britain showed in a score of ways that she had no thought of war as a means of checking the German commerce.

Now the great war is safely over the question naturally arises, Will British statesmen continue to insist upon the old absolute and undoubted national supremacy at sea, or will they pool their navy and be content to know that they have a larger part of the pool than any other country? The answer to that question concerns the people of the United States, although no American who knows history feels the least anxiety on the subject so long as British statesmen continue their present international trade policy.

But another question arises here. A great and growing commercial interest in the United States, represented by manufacturers and exporters who have the ear of public men in Washington, demands for us that very place in the commercial sun that Germany talked so much about. The representatives of this interest pressed Congress to pass the Webb-Pomerene law of last year. This law allows American exporters to combine in the export trade and undersell competitors. South Americans insist that our business men propose to do in the foreign fields just what the trusts were forbidden to do in the Sherman and Clayton antitrust laws. In fact, the law is an imitation of the German cartel system, which certainly did tend to disturb the peace of the world a few years ago.

Now, British statesmen have yielded to similar interests in their country. They have enacted a law that allows British exporters to combine in the foreign trade and meet the American competition. Our law is not now regarded as sufficiently strong, and the United States Chamber of Commerce is asking for an improvement of the law. At least, such is the press re-

port. There can be no doubt that here is a bone of contention. It may be that the two most similar and most friendly nations in the world will begin to look upon each other as rivals in trade; that this may lead to worse conditions, and that the British may thus wish to maintain a navy with reference to such contingencies. What makes our Webb law look rather aggressive is the fact that it was passed in the midst of a war in which England was fighting our battles. And what tends to quicken British feeling is the extraordinary doubling and quadrupling of American trade in countries where Britain was formerly supreme; and this was done in a time of the greatest possible international stress. It is known that President Wilson hesitated to indorse this trade policy and tried to moderate its tone. Yet he signed the bill in due course.

In the matter of the navy, then, there is a little ground for fearing that England, the island empire, hesitates to pool her war vessels in the proposed league of nations just for fear that our growing commercial interests may one day wish to make commercial war upon her. In the matters of the actual law making of the recent past and the present tendencies of American commercial forces there is further ground for some anxiety. There can be no doubt that President Wilson and Premier David Lloyd George understand these tendencies, and that they are taking steps to moderate and even annul the too pressing demands of commercial men whose very business is to make money, merely make money.

But there is another angle to the story. The Irish in the United States have said in public meetings that there shall be no league of nations unless there is an independent Ireland. The Irish in Ireland wish the same thing, only a little less ardently than the American Irish. There are many Irish leaders in this country who hold high station in the Administration or whose leadership is so important that they may not well be left unobserved. Moreover, the greater prelates of the Roman Church are constantly making it plain that a religious motive may also lurk in the American Irish point of view. If leading politicians in the Democratic Party make a point of our building a navy to compete with the British Navy, if leading Churchmen insist always upon an Ireland freer than Cuba or Canada, and if both politicians and prelates insist upon the commercial privileges granted in laws like that of last session, and upon a merchant marine that shall carry American goods to every port in the world, then those who hope for a more perfect union of the English-speaking peoples of the world ought to do their utmost to moderate and counteract such moves and purposes.

A perfect understanding between the Britons and the Americans is the first and perhaps only essential condition to a world peace that can endure. Indeed, the mission of the two countries is to keep the peace themselves and then to keep the peace among all other countries through a league of nations. The league of nations as projected depends in fact more upon British and American coöperation than upon anything else in the world. Without that cooperation there can be no league. There are many facts that tend to prove this beyond a doubt. I shall not here rehearse them.

But there are other obstacles in the way of that very friendship and coöperation. In our country by the very nature of men there is another problem that bears upon the subject. There are men of German birth who sympathized with Germany in the late war, in spite of the excesses of the imperialists; there are men who actually admired the great aristocratic and efficient German machine, as well as those who merely entertained a certain love for the Fatherland as it warred upon a hundred battle-fields. These men number perhaps a million. They now feel that Germany is being punished too severely. They are sore, angry at France, jealous of the power of Great Britain, and peeved at President Wilson.

This state of mind makes them the ready prey of small leaders who tell them about the wickedness of Britain, offer alliance with the commercially restless business men, or the embittered Irish. All these make strategic elements in the great cities. Moreover, there is a very great body of Americans who have been reared upon a certain pabulum of dislike, even hatred, of Britain. The leaders of this group of Americans are apt to be men of prestige; they are in the Senate and House, in Governors' chairs, and in the committees of State and national party machines. Thus the first and most important item of a wise American foreign

policy is endangered from several sources. The tendency of Britons to think they must have the one great navy in the world; the growing feeling in the United States that a great world trade is vital to our industrial life; the existence in the country of millions of Irish people who have a historic grievance against England, and the present state of mind of quite as many Germans, all tend to create difficulties of a most serious nature.

If public-minded men and women, if editors, business men, and leading politicians would take into consideration the importance of a continuing friendship with British Liberals and the dangers of playing the smaller game of nationality or commercial politics we should probably be able to render the world as great a service as our ancestors certainly did render the world in the great Declaration of 1776.

Parasitical Interests in Business Guise

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.

TO unravel the confusions of parasitical with productive industrial interests is imperative if we are to improve industrial conditions and make business as well as labor flourish. We shall probably be able the better to unravel them if we make a quick survey of industrial history.

When our original grandparents were driven out of the Garden of Eden to shift for themselves they were told that thenceforth man must eat bread in the sweat of his face. No pronouncement more scientific was ever made. It is the only way in which mankind can get bread or anything else that is wanted. Human existence is absolutely conditioned upon continuous human labor.

But labor may become drudgery, and drudgery is irksome. And because drudgery is irksome men have been trying, ever since the Gates of Eden were closed against them, to find easier ways of making a living. This effort is civilizing in so far as it reduces the sum total of toilsome sweat. Hasn't it given us wonderful labor-saving inventions? But in so far as it shifts the sweat of toil from the faces of parasites to the faces of earners it is barbarous.

The barbarous effort to eat bread in the sweat of other men's faces began with the bodily ownership of some men by other men. Looking back upon that era of slavery, most of us now can see its injustice and understand its detrimental influences upon society—master and slave and all the rest. But bodily slavery did not last long after democratic civilization had taken root.

Unfortunately, however, its place was filled by a slavery only somewhat more subtle. The feudal system, with its gradations of reciprocal protection and fealty forced the business man of the feudal period, together with the serf, to do most of the necessary sweating. But the business man finally went on strike, after the manner of his day, and in due time the feudal era ended.

Nevertheless, the eating of bread in the sweat of other men's faces did not cease. The explanation is clear. Under feudalism the business class as well as the labor class had been a subject class; for a third class, the feudal landlord class, monopolized the resources of nature. The business class finally crippled that third class, and in great measure abolished it. But, and here is the point, business did not destroy the feudal privilege of monopolizing natural resources. It acquired that privilege for itself. So this phase of feudalism survives even into our own time. It survives as a special business interest, rather than the aristocratic class perquisite that it used to be. Thus the power over all labor—business labor as well as wage-earning labor—which monopolization of natural resources inevitably gives to its monopolizers, is now camouflaged as a legitimate business interest.

Consequently we have what we call "the war between labor and capital." Wage-earning workers feel the pressure; but, not recognizing the real cause, they react against employers. Employers without privileges of magnitude also feel the pressure; but, not recognizing the real cause, they denounce wage earners. The cause is really rooted in the monopolistic interests that control natural resources.

Those interests are called "business inter-

ests." They seem to be business interests, for they are usually dressed in business clothes and associate with business men. But they are no more a legitimate part of useful business than the parasitical moss on a live oak is part of the tree.

The incomes that such interests yield to their owners are unearned or parasitical incomes. That is, they are unearned by their recipients. No income is unearned literally. All incomes are produced by current industry. They do not fall like manna from the skies. There is nothing miraculous or magical about them. Let industry cease, and incomes cease. Therefore, every income is earned by somebody.

In so far, then, as incomes are distributed to workers (employers and employes) with reasonably approximate fairness according to the usefulness of the work, they are not parasitical. So distributed they are earned by the recipient, no matter whether they are large or small, nor whether they go to wage earners or employers.

But in so far as incomes are unfairly diverted from their earners, they are manifestly parasitical in the hands of their recipients. This is not necessarily a reflection upon the recipients of parasitical incomes. Very often they themselves cannot tell the difference between what they earn and what they do not earn. Legal maladjustments and unfair institutional survivals taint many an income that seems fair to its recipient. But the confusions resulting from those subtle maladjustments are a constant cause of the "war between capital and labor."

CURRENT THOUGHT

In a Moorland Pass

MOORS where the silence lies
Thick as the dews of night,
Mountains that kiss the skies,
Streams for an elf's delight.
Fierce shines the sun on the hill,
Thought, brooding deep—alone—
And a lad and his lass in a moorland pass
And the great world-war goes on!

Wars may be bloody and hard,
Dynasts hold people in thrall,
Empires on sword and shard
Rise like a creed and fall;
The hills and the streams of earth
Remain when the storms are gone,
And a lad and his lass in a moorland pass
Shall carry life's message on.

—*James C. Welsh, in the Socialist Review.*

Postmortem Retribution

THIS story has been credited to Lincoln, in relation to punitive operations after declarations of peace: A man was once seen pounding a dead dog. Being asked the reason why, he answered: "I do this as a lesson to this dog and all other dogs that there is punishment after death."—*David Starr Jordan.*

Need of Clear Thinking

IT is not the lack of good will that is to be feared. But good will without mental effort, without intelligent provision, is worse than ineffectual; it is a moral opiate. The real lack in our national history has been the lack of bold and clear thinking. We have been well-meaning, we have had good principles; where we have failed is in the courage and the foresight to carry out our principles into our corporate life.—*Interim Report of the Committee on Adult Education to the British Ministry of Reconstruction.*

Culture Not To Be Nationalized

THE notion of nationalizing culture had better be let alone. It was because this became the ambition of Germany that she got into her present trouble. A nation's culture should be left to develop naturally, and if it reveals any point of superiority the world will see that fact for itself. Let nations thus emulate one another and share their virtues naturally. In this way mankind will attain to uniformity of thought and morality. This policy will settle all questions of democracy. It will settle all Germany's problems, too, if she will only give it the necessary attention.—*Professor G. Kuwaki, in the Japan Magazine.*

An Ancient Way

THE Winnipeg Board of Trade proposes to inaugurate a campaign to advertise the city's advantages as a manufacturing centre. Any one who comes to Winnipeg to start a factory will be treated as a criminal by the imposition of an annual fine upon any factory building which he may erect. If, instead of erecting a factory, he decides to buy a block of land and hold it idle until the growth of the city has added materially to its value, he will be let off with a very much lighter tax. Thus we have the absurdities of a tax system which penalizes industry and rewards idleness and exploitation.—*D. W. Buchanan, in Winnipeg (Canada) Paper.*

Thought for Everything but Man

THE task of tomorrow is to lay the foundations of a New Democracy—not for the soldier alone, but for our own children as well. It must be a democracy of far greater freedom than that

which existed four years ago. There were too many millions in the coal pits, the steel mills, the cotton factories, the sweat shops. There were too many little children in the cotton mills. There were too many farm tenants and agricultural drudges. The "homeless, wifeless, jobless" I. W. W. of the West is a product of economic license. We thought of work, of wealth, of everything, but *man*. We must think more of *man* and less of wealth. America owes that much at least to the returning soldier.—*Frederic C. Howe, in "The Land and the Soldier."*

Trade Union Girls Reject "Uplifters"

"PAY us a sufficient wage and we don't need your cheap rooming houses," is the answer of trade union girls to the attempt of local "uplifters" to erect a girls' home in Des Moines. These girls, members of Retail Clerks' Association No. 30, have declared themselves as follows: "We, the Retail Clerks' Association, strongly oppose the girls' hotel, because it only humiliates a girl to become a victim of charity in any form. If the employers will pay the girls the salary they duly earn, there will be no need for such a cheap rooming place. Pay each working girl a livable salary; let her room in a place suited to her temperament; she will then be more cheerful, and able to do much better work for her firm. Room in the environment of a home, and the home influences have a tendency to refine and educate; while hotel life is just the opposite. Noting the committee appointed to promote the hotel, we find they are the ones working to keep the wages down. Therefore, we condemn the plans of the working girls' hotel."—*The Bridgemen's Magazine.*

President Wilson on Taxation

AND credit and enterprise alike will be quickened by timely and helpful legislation with regard to taxation. I hope that the Congress will find it possible to undertake an early reconsideration of Federal taxes in order to make our system of taxation more simple and easy of administration and the taxes themselves as little burdensome as they can be made and yet suffice to support the Government and meet all its obligations. The figures to which those obligations have risen are very great indeed, but they are not so great as to make it difficult for the nation to meet them, and meet them, perhaps, in a single generation by taxes which will neither crush nor discourage. These are not so great as they seem, not so great as the immense sums we have had to borrow, added to the immense sums we have had to raise by taxation, would seem to indicate, for a very large proportion of those sums were raised in order that they might be loaned to the Governments with which we were associated in the war, and those loans will, of course, constitute assets, not liabilities, and will not have to be taken care of by our taxpayers. The main thing we shall have to care for is that our taxation shall rest as lightly as possible on the productive resources of the country, that its rates shall be stable, and that it shall be constant in its revenue-yielding power. We have found the main sources from which it must be drawn.—*From Cabled Message on Assembling of Sixty-sixth Congress.*

BOOKS

A Real Love Story

The Soul of Ann Rutledge: Abraham Lincoln's Romance. By Bernie Babcock. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1919.

WE wonder if Mrs. Bernie Babcock of Little Rock, Arkansas, realizes what a genuinely good piece of work she has done. Whether the tale is so artistically wrought that it simulates simplicity, or is so simply told that it imitates great art, does not matter. We have here a book that compels attention from the intelligent, and wrings the emotions to the verge of tears.

All those to whom the valley of the Mississippi was a stamping-ground a generation or more ago, and who rubbed up against Mr. Lincoln's earlier contemporaries and intimates, will find pleasure in the accurate and colorful picture of the pioneer environment of the rail-splitter and storekeeper working his way to the bar and Legislature. At the moment we recall no picture of the homely West of former days more vivid, excepting Hamlin Garland's "Boy Life on the Prairies," and that was a vision of the author's personal recollections. This is a reconstruction from an imagination truthfully sifting, selecting, and weaving amid a wide store of available material. We live again in the days of experimental democracy in a new environment. Some of the seed brought forth a hundredfold. Incidentally we go to the camp-meeting and hear Peter Cartwright, to the spelling-match, the school-house debate, the quilting-bee; we see the horse trade, the improvised fight, the quick application of rude justice; we mix in the social conflicts, we feel the moral restraints, we joy in the natural and spiritual hopes of limited mortals trying to make the most out of their conditions.

The love of Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge is founded on well authenticated tradition. It is deftly and humanly handled. It offends no sensibilities of those who admire or revere Mr. Lincoln's work and memory,—which in itself is to accord it high praise. Ann is a beautiful, gentle, spiritual, womanly girl whom to know is to love. She has not only the melodious quality but the intuitive intellect that would be peculiarly commanding to Mr. Lincoln's rugged and direct masculinity. Occasionally, as when she gives Abraham the correspondential natural basis for his favorite poem, William Knox's stanzas on "Immortality," one

wonders what Johnny Appleseed passed that way tearing out and distributing leaves from Swedenborg's "Heaven and Hell" or "Divine Providence."

But Mrs. Babcock's story does not depend upon Mr. Lincoln's great name or any historically correct tradition of a love episode for its real and truly great merit. The book might be called "The Soul of America," and Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge might be baptized Richard Roe and Jane Doe, and its message would still retain its fine gold of living philosophy and its rich bouquet of spiritual romance. The inward and ethical union of one man and one woman in all the interlacings of enduring friendship is the peculiar jewel of the highest religion, and any writer who can catch and hold and communicate anything from its immortal gleam deserves to be called a friend of the human race.

The Child's the Thing

The Kingdom of the Child. By Alice Minnie Herts Heniger. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1919.

THIS book should be read by every teacher or parent of growing children, and awarded a place alongside Herbert Spencer's priceless contribution to the subject, "Education: Physical, Intellectual, and Moral." To all who can take long views, and whose interest in the welfare of the race extends beyond their own span of life, it must be obvious that the art of educating the young is that above all others which should command the service of the highest intelligence, the loftiest emotions, and the purest ideals that mankind can bring to bear upon it. That we have made vast progress during the last half-century in "how not to do it," the recollections of any middle-aged man should assure him. It is no longer assumed that a child's mind is a mere receptacle into which information can be packed. The pedagogue of whom Carlyle wrote that "he knew thus much of human nature, and no more, that it has a faculty called memory which can be acted upon by the application of birch rods," is unknown in these more enlightened times. We realize now, as our forefathers did not do, that real education only begins when a child reaches out voluntarily for information, and that the art of the educator consists in predisposing him to this spontaneous act by skillful "suggestion." But we have still much to learn, or, if learned, much to do in adapting what we know to our rigid educational systems and institutions.

The inspiring idea in Mrs. Heniger's book is that all the innate faculties that are active in the child before "the shades of the prison-house begin to close" around him should be enlisted in the process by which the mind and soul are induced to unfold; and that among these the imagination and dramatic instincts should be encouraged to the utmost. When we remember that for countless generations parents have witnessed their children's efforts at self-expression through dramatic action—mimic battles with coal-scuttles for helmets, pokers for swords, and rows of chairs for fortresses; and while it has been made plain to us that the child's native country is the Kingdom of Make-believe or the Never-never Land, it is surprising that the idea of adapting the stage to the education of young children should have been so long delayed. It is therefore with peculiar pleasure we learn that the Children's Theater has actually existed for fifteen years, with the results which a little imagination would lead us to expect. It is now a commonplace in psychology that there are two ways of knowing a thing—from the outside and from the inside. The child with its unvitiated instincts always seeks the inside view; he wants to *be* the character he reads about, to act out the scene that has stirred his imagination. Mrs. Heniger tells of a Russian boy who had been chosen to recite Lincoln's Gettysburg speech at a function. At rehearsal it seemed flat and uninspired, till suddenly an idea seized the boy and he exclaimed, "I'll take off on Abraham Lincoln and say the speech like as if I was him." "No written description," says the author, "can convey any idea of the passionate, patriotic fire with which this immigrant lad delivered the oration. His dramatic instinct had given his imagination the clew of actually becoming, for the time, the hero whose thought he was chosen to expound." The implications of the story are obvious. Who is there that cannot realize how much more intimate would have been his own understanding of Hamlet's soliloquy if in his childhood he had even once been called upon to act Hamlet, to be Hamlet, to think and speak from Hamlet's point of view. Mrs. Heniger devotes a chapter to "Bible Stories." What a wealth of material for childish dramatization lies there—in David and Goliath, in Boaz, Ruth, and Naomi, or Job and his friends; and what a stimulus to the spiritual understanding of the Scriptures might be achieved by the utilization of this primitive instinct!

But why is it that so many good people read such proposals with a curious sinking of the heart—a desperate desire for their realization along with a despairing skepticism as to their practicability? Is it not because we all know that an economic problem underlies every question of reform in education, art, or morals? Mrs. Heniger says: "Too long have we regarded life as a struggle to achieve material ends, and the business of life as efficiency in handling material things." The trouble is that we *must* regard life as a struggle—that, in short, it *is* a struggle for material ends, whether we so regard it or not. Who can withhold some sympathy from those parents who irritated John Ruskin by asking his advice as to the education best fitted for their children's "advancement in life" without a suspicion that there is a kind of education which is in itself an advancement in life? The truth seems to be that all reforms, and even the power of conceiving the higher uses of education, must wait upon economic reform. When livings are as easily earned, as they certainly will be when monopoly and privilege are abolished, amazing changes may

be expected in the attitude of both teachers and students to the joys of the intellect and the things of the spirit. The status of the teacher will rise to its naturally high level! The fulcrum will have been removed from the lever by which governmental bureaucracy stifles his originality and spontaneity. We shall think of him as what he really is, an artist, practicing the finest of the fine arts. The examination and marks system will probably break up because of its own weaknesses, as being totally unsuited to the ideal ends of education. All these changes and many more may be confidently expected when the day has arrived for fair play, equality of opportunity, and a square deal all round.

ALEX MACKENDRICK.

Economics and History

The Development of the United States From Colonies to a World Power. By Max Farrand. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1918.

THE economic and social interpretation of history has received far more attention from the historian of the present day than it did from that of the nineteenth century. The monotony of purely political essays and histories has thus been broken. The social and economic motives that fill the mind of mankind, the insatiable economic ambitions of nations, have influenced to a far greater extent than one might at first be willing to concede the political life of nations.

Professor Max Farrand, a historian of international reputation, has applied economic and social reasoning to this study of the development of the United States as a world power, and has produced a volume that promises to be accepted by the critics and public as an invaluable source for the constructive interpretation of American history.

The great periods of industrial expansion have received the most careful treatment, while the political upheavals are but hastily considered. We get a glimpse of the remarkable industrial development of the nation, with the red thread of political events closely interwoven. It is not a one-sided, meaningless recital of facts that the author gives us, but a logically constructed entity. To understand history we must measurably comprehend the economic and social forces that made themselves felt at the time of specific political events. Otherwise, how meaningless history becomes! The historian is not indulging in digression when he searches in the economic world for interpretative facts. On the contrary, it is part of his great mission to do this very thing. Professor Farrand is among those historians who feel the inadequacy of purely political history. He has given us not only a volume of practical value, but a piece of historical research which stands out for its literary qualities. Professor Max Farrand has unquestionably blazed the trail for a new historical school in the United States, and his painstaking efforts ought to lead to much valuable constructive criticism of the general methods with which he has so cleverly experimented.

FELIX FLUEGEL.

The Theatre in School

Le Chevalier de Blanchefleur et Autres Pièces: Six Petites Comédies. Par Eleanor W. Hutchison, A. B. New York: D. C. Heath & Co. 1919.

THIS small volume belongs to Heath's Modern Language Series. The six little plays are intended for beginners in French to act. "Their purpose is to give from the start the feeling that French is not merely a study to be attacked analytically for the discipline of their minds, but a living language in which people can give commands, hurl defiance, beg for mercy, pronounce judgment, scold, make love, and generally exchange the thoughts that make life interesting, exciting, and romantic." The plays are interesting in themselves, and as they belong mostly to olden days there is a chapter devoted to practical hints for staging and costuming. Also there are numerous suggestive illustrations, and a vocabulary.

NEWS

Education

—Dr. Lyford P. Edwards of the department of sociology of the Rice Institute in Houston, Tex., was dismissed by the trustees on the 24th, because he "possesses certain views in respect to the political conditions in Russia so contrary to the fundamental principles of our own government as utterly to destroy his further usefulness."

—A sub-committee of the English Association of Education Committees has made a report recommending coöperation with the National Union of Teachers on the formation of joint standing councils in line with the ideas of the Whitley Committee, "to deal with the better utilization of knowledge and experience, the principles that should govern conditions of employment, and the discussion of questions of organization and legislation"; the function to be advisory and not executive.

Labor

—The United States Training Service reports that a recent survey among wage earners shows that three-fourths have engaged in two or more different occupations since entering the industrial field.

—Commissioner of Labor and Statistics Buehner of Cheyenne, has recommended that the Legislature of Wyoming pass a law compelling the payment of wages at the time that workers are discharged.

—Local Union 499, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, in

a resolution made public on the 22d, demands an investigation of the Board of Education's attitude toward the Teachers' Union.

—Organized labor of Illinois scored its first victory of the legislative session in Illinois on the 14th by defeating the State police bill. The Senate vote was 28 to 16 against the bill. Senators from strongly organized labor centers voted against it as a Cossack measure.

—The present period of unemployment will end in the next few months and by fall the country will face a labor shortage of nearly 7,000,000 men, Colonel Arthur Woods, former New York Police Commissioner and now assistant to Secretary of War Baker, told Governor Smith at a conference of State, city and county officials with the Reconstruction Commission.

—The Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, through Bishop Luther B. Wilson, acting as secretary, made public a pastoral letter to the 18,000 pastors of the denomination on "The Church and Social Reconstruction," in which advanced ground is taken with reference to wages for laborers, collective bargaining and profit-sharing, all of which are urged by the bishops.

—According to the Seattle *Union Record*, evidence that officials of the Seattle Taxicab Company offered $100 to strikebreakers for any one who would beat up President A. L. Carpenter, of the Auto Drivers' Union, and offered a bonus of "$50 extra for every rib broken," was introduced in the court of Superior Judge J. T. Ronald of that city in affidavits signed by the taxicab company's own witnesses.

—A pageant, "The Children of Sunshine and Shadow," was given in the Lenox Theatre, New York, on the 21st. The play, which showed the contrast between the children who have the opportunity for play, healthy development, and education and those who are forced to work in dangerous or stunting occupations, was written by Constance D'Arcy Mackay for the National Child Labor Committee and was presented with the cooperation of Florence Fleming Noyes and Margaret Chamberlaine.

—At a huge mass meeting on the 21st outside Lexington Hall, the striking workers of Lawrence voted unanimously to accept the recommendation of the general strike committee that the 1919 Lawrence strike be declared at an end. During the morning and afternoon committees of the strikers visited eleven of the mills which had not yet received committees, and with one or two minor exceptions, the reports were all to the effect that 15 per cent. increases would be given, with no discrimination other than that necessary to protect present workers and to readjust the mills to full-time production. Many of the mills guaranteed jobs to all old employes, and some had already arranged to discard inefficient "scab" help for the old skilled workers who have been on strike.

Public Health

—But one of three of the children born in Tokio's slums survives until past infancy. Fully forty per cent. of the residents of the quarter are in a deplorable state of health. The Tokio Fu Charity Society is considering plans for bettering living conditions in the poor quarter.

—The League of Red Cross Societies is an established entity, Henry P. Davison, former head of the American Red Cross, on his return from a five-month tour of Europe has just announced. All of the powers now possessing Red Cross organizations with the exception of those of Germany and her allies, have been invited to join the new league, and not one has declined. The countries invited are: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Cuba, Denmark, Greece, Holland, India, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentine.

—Two thousand physicians assembled at the Imperial University in Kyoto recently to hear Dr. Shimasono lecture on beriberi, the cause of which is much disputed among medical authorities. The disease is not contagious, and its chief cause is eating pure rice—although the Doctor disbelieved the theory that rice ever causes blood poisoning. The speaker said that if rice is taken into the body along with other food there is less danger of beriberi. He cited the cases of prisoners, factory hands, Buddhist monks and others, who eat much wheat mixed with rice. Buddhist monks eat ten or twenty times as much other food as rice, and rarely suffer from the disease. Among the factory hands of the Kejiho Iron Foundry of the Mitsubishi Company, 450 of 2,000 Japanese suffered from beriberi because they ate pure rice, while only 9 of 3,000 Koreans suffered from the disease, presumably because they ate millet and beans. Dr. Shimasono advised the eating of wheat with rice, in the ratio of six parts of rice to four parts of wheat.

Public Order

—By a vote of 5 to 4 the State Supreme Court at Olympia, Wash., on the 24th granted a writ of mandate to the California Wine Growers' Association, permitting a referendum vote on the legislative ratification of the Federal prohibition amendment. The association applied for the writ to force the referendum vote some weeks ago.

—Sale by the State of California on the 12th of property in Santa Barbara's Chinatown for $6,000 ended the first case completed in the California courts under the anti-alien laws. A native Chinese acquired a half interest in the property. The attorney-general brought action to have the interest declared forfeited to the State under the anti-alien land law, the suit being decided in the State's favor.

—Declaring all reports of pogroms in Poland false, John F. Smulski, President of the National

Polish Department of America, urged President Wilson, in a cablegram on the 22nd, to take steps to curb the anti-Polish "demonstrations" which, he said, were being conducted by Jewish people of the United States, and creating a "bitter racial antagonism between Jewish and Polish citizens of the country."

Political

—The new Republican majority of the House on the 22d passed the War Risk Insurance deficiency bill delayed by their filibustering in the last Congress.

—What is said to be the greatest convention of the I. W. W. began in Chicago in the 5th, and continued two weeks. According to the *New Solidarity*, the gathering was devoted to constructive work pursued with vigor and knowledge of the great issues involved, and calm judgment marked all its deliberations.

—Senator King of Utah is sponsor of a bill to deport members of the so-called Russian Soviet Republic Bureau at New York, and calling on the United States Government to recognize the Omsk Government. King charges the deportation is necessary because the Soviet Bureau is "advocating Bolshevism in the United States."

—Enactment by the Sixth-sixth Congress of legislation for the creation of a national budget system became assured on the 20th when budget legislation was introduced by members of both the Senate and House. Speedy passage of budget legislation in some form is thought to be assured by the fact that it has the approval of both political parties and is favored by the President.

—Impressed by demonstrations in New York and other cities, which forcefully called to their attention reports of wholesale murders of Jews in Eastern Europe, Senators and Representatives on the 22d considered the advisability of passing resolutions expressing the indignation of Congress and of the American people over such occurrences. Two such resolutions already have been introduced, one by Representative Goldfogle, and another by Representative La Guardia, both of New York.

Co-operation

—Members of Division No. 194, Electric Railway employes, of New Orleans, have organized a coöperative store with a capital of $5,000. Stock will be sold only to employes of the New Orleans Street Railway company.

—John T. O'Connor, President of the State Federation of Labor of Tennessee, announces that the organized labor men of the Southern railroads are planning a chain of coöperative stores to center about Knoxville, Tenn. Shares in the enterprise are to be sold at a dollar apiece, but each member must purchase at least twenty-five shares, while fifty is the upward limit. By this means it is hoped to raise a capital of $100,000.

—A London dispatch asserts that Russia has 50,000 coöperative societies and the membership of these is found in 20,000,000 heads of families. As the average family is at least five strong, this means 100,000,000 individuals bound in a coöperative movement which operated the strongest bank in Russia—a bank that did a billion-dollar business every year; a bank so popular and stable that Lenine and Trotzky dare not touch it.

—The interest of railroad men in coöperation will be shown at their Convention in Denver in June by the prominence it will have in their program. " Our president," writes John F. McNamee, editor of the *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, in a letter to the Coöperative League of America, " will recommend that action be taken to have the Brotherhood get officially behind the movement and push it with all its influence."

—The same economic conditions and social impulses which have stimulated the recent rapid growth of Consumers' Coöperation in the United States seem also to be operating in South America. During the past three or four years numerous cooperative societies have been formed largely through the support of labor organizations. Recently the Argentine coöperative societies began their first national convention in Buenos Ayres, the sessions lasting three days.

—Naturally, our institutions of higher learning and culture are nearly all subsidized by men who have acquired vast means through private profit. Iowa University, however, is showing itself independent of such sources of income by instituting a practical course in coöperation. " I am planning," writes Professor Gilbert G. Benjamin, one of the faculty, in a letter requesting literature to the Coöperative League of America, " to take up the discussion of Coöperation as found in Europe and the United States in my class in Contemporary History. I am planning an intensive study of the subject, and have given out various countries of Europe in topics to different members of my classes. I also plan to take up this subject during the Summer School, when I shall have in my classes several high school teachers. I plan to take up particularly the Ethics of Coöperation, the Rochdale system of Coöperation in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, France, Germany, Russia, and the southern countries of Europe, also emphasizing Coöperative enterprises here in the United States."

Proportional Representation

—Proportional Representation has been adopted by European countries since last summer at the rate of nearly one a month. The list includes Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, Germany, Poland, and Hungary. On April 9th it was accepted by the Chamber of Deputies for France.

—When a motion in favor of electoral reform, including proportional representation, was dis-

cussed in the Italian Parliament in April, Mr. Turati, who introduced the motion, declared that only by such a reform could confidence in Parliament be restored among the mass of the people and a system of soviets be avoided. The Government took the position that consideration of the matter should be postponed by the chamber for six months, and a motion to that effect was carried.

Public Ownership

—The President has indicated that he will appoint a Commission on Municipal Public Utilities composed of representatives of the Departments of Commerce, Labor, and the Treasury, together with representatives of the workers and the financial and operating interests.

—A report of the Canadian Commission of Conservation says Canada has 358 privately owned electric light and power plants, and 207 municipally owned plants. The report declares that municipal ownership is preferable to private ownership in the case of large plants or in the operation of small plants forming part of a large system.

—A writer familiar with the telegraph service in this and other countries, under both private and public ownership, says in a recent issue of *Pearson's Magazine:* "The United States enjoys the unenviable distinction of paying twice the rates of any European nation and of sending hardly any more telegrams than England, although it is twice as populous. The minimum cost of a telegram in the various civilized nations is as follows: Great Britain, 12 cents; France, 10 cents; Germany, 12 cents; Belgium, 10 cents; Switzerland, 12 cents; Austria, 11 cents; United States, 25 cents. That the number of telegrams sent is inversely proportional to this minimum cost is shown in these figures. The number of telegrams used for every 100 inhabitants: Great Britain, 84; Switzerland, 127; France, 108; United States, 95."

Color Line

—On June 21 to 29 there will be a conference marking the tenth anniversary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held in Cleveland, Ohio.

—Samuel Dett, a Negro at Niagara Falls, N. Y., has been granted a verdict of $392 against the Arcade Theatre Company, because he was denied the privilege of occupying seats which he had purchased for the lower floor.

—Plans for the tercentenary commemoration of the landing of the Negro in America are being made. The celebration will begin August 1, 1919 —300 years after "*a Dutchman of Warre sold us twenty Negroes.*" Among other notable items is scheduled "A Great Pageant of Negro History."

—The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History will convene in biennial session in Washington, D. C., on the 17th and 18th of June at the Twelfth Street Branch Y. M. C. A. A symposium will be held on "The Negro in the World War."

—Charging that the American Legion in caucus at St. Louis side-stepped the issue giving the colored soldier serving in the world war full recognition, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which has been in existence nineteen years, in an open letter extends all colored soldiers an invitation to join their organization and be received on terms of equality.

—Joe Denis, a Negro, has been found guilty in the United States District Court of violating the espionage law by urging a strike on the Texas and Pacific Railroad, near New Orleans, September 14, 1918. It is stated that this is the first conviction of its kind in the United States. Denis, while employed as foreman of a section gang, was charged with interfering with the movement of troops because he urged workers to strike for better conditions.

League of Nations

—Henry White, one of the American peace delegates, speaking at a luncheon to Ambassador Wallace in Paris on the 22d, alluded to the Peace Conference difficulties and referred to efforts by certain journalists "to represent discord as existing between the United States and France, thus risking misleading the Senate before the treaty comes before it."

—It has been learned in trustworthy quarters that the United States, Great Britain, and France have united in sending a note to Italy requesting an explanation of the landing of Italian forces in Turkey. The Italians landed forces at Adalia, Budrum, and Makri during the period when Premier Orlando and Foreign Minister Sonnino had withdrawn from the Peace Conference, making the landings without notice to the Allies.

Reconstruction

—News has been received that Japan has dispatched a military mission to Germany, consisting of two Captains and one doctor, who will study German conditions for a period of three years.

—During the month of April, $13,672,065 were loaned to 4,271 farmers of the United States by the Federal Land Banks on long time first mortgages, according to the monthly statement of the Farm Loan Board.

—Between February 25 and April 25 the Army Clemency Board, headed by Lieutenant Colonel S. T. Ansell, passed upon 2,857 cases. The board made complete or partial remission of sentences in 91 per cent. of these. On April 25, 2,100 cases remained to be disposed of. It is expected that the board's work will be completed by June 1. The average sentence was reduced from seven years and six months to one year and eight months.

—The New York *Call* asserts that complete repudiation of recent attempts by agents of Siberian consumers' coöperative societies to create the impression that 20,000,000 heads of families they represent in Siberia and Northern Russia have given their support to the Kolchak Government at Omsk and that coöperative leagues throughout Russia generally had taken a stand against the Russian Soviet Government, was contained in a statement made to one of its reporters by Alexander M. Berkenheim, chairman of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies.

Foreign

—The Soviet Government has introduced a new chronology, whereby the year begins on Oct. 25, the date of the establishment of the Bolshevik *régime*. The year is to contain 280 working days.

—The Asia Banking Corporation, the second American banking institution to be established in the Orient, opened its offices in Shanghai recently. The new bank has adopted "Service" as its watchword and will carry on business with an American staff.

—The ships launched from Scottish yards during the quarter ending March 31, 1919, numbered 80 and aggregated 96,486 tons. This tonnage is much lower than the average of the 10 years preceding the war, and especially the years immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities.

—In the House of Commons on the 21st the Government was asked if it was considering limiting further attempts to fly across the Atlantic, in view of the desperately hazardous conditions. Major General Seeley, Under Secretary of State for War, stated that the matter had been given the most careful thought by the Government, which considered that it was not its function to say to its countrymen that they should not undertake this daring flight and the attendant risks.

Land Reform

—Word comes from Paris of the death, after a long illness, of Mme. Georges Darien, the well-known French writer. Mme. Darien was a co-worker of her husband in all his Singletax work, notably in connection with his admirable little monthly, published for a number of years before the war.

—The Board of Directors of the new California Singletax League is at work on the preparation of an amendment to the State Constitution. A Bulletin, reporting the recent Fresno Convention, and giving the League's declaration of principles, has been published. Copies can be had by addressing the Secretary, Wm. F. Lusk, 208 American Bank Building, Los Angeles.

—In a recent report, the State Immigration and Housing Commission of California, points out that in Los Angeles County alone, within a few miles of the city of that name, are 286,331 unplowed acres suited to dry farming and 358,719 acres for which water might be obtained. Many of the big estates come down from old Mexican grants or railroad grants. Nearly 5,000,000 acres in eight counties are owned by only 279 individuals and corporations. As a solution the commission recommends a graduated tax upon land values, with exemption up to a certain value, and taxes on a rapidly increasing scale for the larger estates.

General

—There was an extraordinary trade in condensed milk through Hongkong in 1918. The total imports into the colony amounted to $4,077,606, of which $3,611,500 worth came from the United States.

—*Bradstreet's* reports a large surge forward in building during April, total expenditures in 180 cities reporting footing up $77,987,549, the largest since April in 1917. This compares with $60,511,492 in March and $34,085,955 in February.

—Directors of the International Mercantile Marine Corporation have agreed to sell eighty-five ships and other assets of British subsidiaries to an English syndicate for a sum between $180,000,000 and $185,000,000. This is the greatest transaction in the history of shipping in America.

—The greatest crop of Winter wheat ever produced in any country is in prospect for this year's harvest. The forecast of production for May 8th by the Department of Agriculture placed its size at almost 900,000,000 bushels—in exact figures, 899,915,000—which would make this year's harvest worth $2,084,000,000 at the Government's price guarantee of $2.26 a bushel.

—The first cotton-ginning plant in Zululand recently commenced operations at Amatikulu, after almost a year's preparatory work. This plant, which is owned by the Zululand Cotton Company, is equipped with an 80-saw gin, the largest of its kind on the market. The capacity of the gin is between 1,500 and 1,600 pounds of lint for an eight-hour day, which represents 2½ tons of seed cotton. The machinery and engine are of American manufacture.

—A survey by the Department of Labor indicates a likelihood of heavy emigration. The principal cause for the flow of emigration seems to be the desire of aliens to learn what has befallen their families in their native lands. Many have told investigators that they have not heard from their wives and children for four years. Other important causes are the desire to participate in the settlement of the estates of relatives killed in the war and unemployment, especially in the steel industry. Sixty-one per cent. of the aliens in a single steel plant declared their intention to return.