CZECHO-SLOVAKIA'S EXPERIMENT

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

September 13, 1919

Religion Applied to Life

Voluntary Tribunals

Incomes That Are Unearned

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WHETHER or not the Kenyon Bill offers the best means of controlling the Five Big Packers' domination of food stuffs, the hearings upon that measure are enlightening enough as to the necessity for some kind of control. Nothing has testified so eloquently or so convincingly to the domination of the Big Five as the flood of cattle raisers, farmers, and retailers who have gone to Washington to urge Congress to stop all agitation upon this subject. Most of these men have no affiliation whatever with the packers. It is apparent, however, that many of them are testifying through fear. The enormous quantities of meat now held in storage by the packers are sufficient to provide the country's needs for a considerable time, during which they can well afford to cease buying. The result has been a drop in prices paid for hogs and cattle. This drop has been ignorantly attributed by the exploited cattle raisers to the agitation and not to the manipulations of the packers. The very fact that a mere handful of men possess the economic power so to manipulate prices is in itself a powerful argument for some form of control.

GOVERNMENT ownership and operation of refrigerator cars as recommended by the Federal Trade Commission will be a more important element in controlling the meat packers than the licensing provisions which are being urged. Licensing has many doubtful features, and has been in most instances where applied a weapon in the hands of privilege rather than in the hands of the Government. The Federal Trade Commission's recommendation, however, goes to the very heart of the food question, and the figures that accompany it go far to explain the nature of the packers' grip upon American markets. They now own more than 90 per cent. of the equipment suitable for the shipment of fresh beef. Moreover, there appears to have been the grossest kind of discrimination by railroads against the independent packers who are fortunate enough to own cars. The figures show that the cars of the Big Five received 60 per cent. greater mileage per day than those of their competitors. Such facts explain the dominance of these five firms in the face of their admittedly inferior efficiency. If the smaller competitors had fair access to transportation, such as would be guaranteed by government owned railroads and government owned cars, we fancy that the domination of the Big Five would gradually melt away.

REPRESENTATIVE NEWTON of Missouri proposes to have Congress vote fifteen thousand dollars to defray the expenses of the Senators who plan to follow the President, whose trip will be charged to the annual traveling fund of $25,000 voted by Congress. And why not? Who shall presume to say that a speech of any Senator is not equal to the speech of a President. If a President is to have $25,000 to travel about the country making speeches, holding receptions, and hobnobbing with local dignitaries, why should not similar provision be made for each Senator? Nay, why distinguish among members of Congress? Rep-

resentatives merely seem cheaper than Senators because there are more of them; and since there is no one to say who is who, they should all be treated alike—as they were when private secretaries were provided for all the members. If some members do not speak they will be so much to the good—as were those members who had no need for a secretary and appointed their wives to draw the salary. If each member is allowed ten thousand dollars for speech-making tours, it would mean only $5,810,000. And what is five million among Congressmen?

ITALY'S action in granting suffrage to women adds another drop to America's cup of humiliation. American women began the agitation for equal rights long before the question arose in Italy, and they began the work in a country that boasted of its liberality and progressiveness, a country that pretended to lead the world in advanced thought and realization of the highest manifestations of political liberty. Yet it has been the American woman's lot to see Congress haggle through term after term over the right of women to vote. And now that the suffrage amendment has at last been put through Congress, it is being opposed by some of our backward States. Only a few days before this action of the Italian Government the Virginia and Alabama Legislatures rejected the suffrage amendment. Must American women be the last to receive equal rights with men? Shame upon American men.

WALL STREET may be heartless and soulless, but it is not without understanding. In their market letter of August 1, Goodbody & Company, brokers, say: "Broadly speaking, corporations whose stocks are most likely to increase in value from now on are those that control raw material and supply—that is, the opportunities to production. These include land (both rural and urban), mines, forests, water powers, water fronts, and so forth. While the stocks of such corporations may decline with other stocks, they are more certain to rally more quickly and more than will the stocks of corporations that have to purchase their materials and supplies." This will help to make intelligible the statement of Charles Schwab that he could easily start a successful rival to the Steel Trust if it were not for the fact that the Trust controls the ore land. But all industry, directly and indirectly, stands in the same relation to raw material. Not only that, but the location or site upon which industry and business are conducted is under the same influence. As business revives under peace conditions land, the great and universal raw material, will advance in value until it encroaches upon wages of labor and the profits of capital. There is but one way to meet this. That is, to remove taxes from industry and put them on land values.

INVESTIGATIONS like missiles have a strange way of hitting the wrong mark. Nowhere is this so well illustrated as in Congressional investigations. Two that have recently been in the limelight illustrate this point. The Senate has at last confirmed Mr. Palmer's nomination for Attorney General, after holding it up for several months. Now it appears that the only basis for the mysterious charges was the fact that Mr. Palmer in selling enemy property failed to give special consideration to the financial interests of a United States Senator in an insurance company. The Palmer investigation has done more to undermine Senatorial prestige than it has to injure Mr. Palmer's reputation for honesty. The long drawn out farce of investigating John Skelton Williams is still going on, and apparently with no sounder basis. Up to date, however, the investigation has undoubtedly been of great public benefit because of its revelation of the influence of powerful bankers upon Congress.

THE jailing of I. W. W. members in Kansas under the Espionage Act is bringing to light the fact that the soul-deadening effect of the law's delay is increased by the nerve-racking strain of indecent prisons. According to the report of Winthrop D. Lane in *The Survey*, the Federal prisoners in Kansas jails have not only been held nearly two years without trial, but they have been confined in jails that have undermined the health of the men. It has been the boast of English law that a man is innocent until he has been proved guilty. Yet men have been arrested on suspicion, thrown into jail, and made to suffer all the pain of prison punish-

ment, and at the long delayed trial have been declared innocent. True, an attempt has been made to avoid this by admitting the accused to bail until conviction, but the terms of bail are such that, though easily met by those having property-owning friends, they are unavailable for those whose friends are poor. Thus, a rich man, though the veriest scoundrel, is given his liberty pending trial, while the poor man, though the soul of honor, may languish in prison. The experience of the Government political prisoners calls for a remedy that will admit something besides property as surety for the accused. And pending this relief the prisoners should have a speedy trial and decent internment. The purpose of the law is not revenge, but to prevent repetition of the offense. A man who believes the laws of this country are for the benefit of the rich, and that the only relief lies in revolution, is apt to be confirmed in that belief by the experience of the political prisoners in Kansas jails.

RUSSIA still remains the enigma of international politics and the blot on the escutcheon of the Administration. As a war measure American troops could legitimately be sent into the country to carry out any policy calculated to overthrow Germany. But Germany has been overthrown and a peace treaty drawn. Yet are American troops in a foreign country with which we are not at war. If there is any adequate reason for this, it should be made clear without delay; for unexplained it is a serious handicap to the Administration in the great work lying before it. So long as unexplained from Washington, there will be innumerable reasons given by gossip. The most plausible reason suggested and at the same time the most discreditable is that France, which is the largest holder of Russian bonds, will not recognize any government that repudiates its debt, and England has elected to stand with France. But it would be to the everlasting disgrace of America if she should countenance such a plan to the extent of sending troops to Russia. An explicit explanation is long overdue.

CONGRESSMAN FORDNEY of Michigan is no sphinx. The ear-drums of Congress will testify to that. Yet he has propounded a riddle. He wants to know how we can shorten our hours of labor, lower prices, and increase income at the same time. No one in Congress so far has answered him. Maybe there is no one there who knows the answer. Yet the answer is quite obvious. Simply eliminate the parasites. A great part of our national income goes to people who perform no service in return. Precisely what part of the value of a ton of anthracite coal is attributable to the Girard estate, for instance, which merely owns the coal lands and derives no part of its income from production? Yet it receives 20 per cent. of the sale price for permitting the coal operator and the coal miner to produce coal. What part of the value of steel is due to the labor of those who merely own the Mesaba range and charge others for the right to dig ore? Robert Smillie, the coal miner, asked a very pertinent question in cross-examining a noble lord who owed his title and his coal lands to the fact that he was a descendant of the mistress of a former king. "Just what social service," said Mr. Smillie, "did your ancestor render in return for this income?" His lordship had no answer for Mr. Smillie; neither have we. So we pass the riddle on to Mr. Fordney in exchange for his.

AN estimable woman, who is testifying in one of our Federal prisons to the doubtful wisdom of espionage prosecutions, wrote recently to her husband a letter bearing incidental testimony to the sort of religious pabulum doled out to public wards of a country where we are proud of the separation between church and state. "It is almost time for chapel," she says. "I loathe it, but must endure it in order to have the outdoor recreation. It is not that I object to the orthodoxy of the services, but I rebel at the ignorance of the man who is supposed to be the spiritual guide for these poor women. He is so dense and stupid and illiterate. I love and revere the human brotherly message of Jesus, and I revolt when a common, coarse poser makes a Billy Sunday of Jesus, and coarsens and brutalizes his message, and does it in English that sets one's teeth on edge." From certain angles it may be expedient to regard the prison house as not a palace of comfort. It may be that inmates should be schooled to endurance of inconvenience up to a certain point. They may be called upon to overlook

unventilated cells, rats running over their beds, water trickling down the walls, the contagions from grewsome associates, impossible and nauseating food; but contact with certain atrocious types of clergymen,—they should be spared that.

Recall of Judges

IT had been supposed that the doctrine of divine rights was dead. Yet it appears to be still entertained by the American Bar Association. A report of the special committee protests against the judicial recall on the ground that it is "the destruction of the judiciary and thereby a step to the elimination of the safeguards vouchsafed by Constitutional limitations upon the legislative power of government." Some explanation is needed of the theory that elected legislators cannot be trusted to interpret the Constitution and that its interpretation can safely be left to judges over whom the people have neither the power of election nor removal. Whence proceeds the inspiration that transforms an erstwhile corporation lawyer into an infallible interpreter of the Constitution, once he has been invested with a judge's gown and a lifetime job? We know no powers that can control judicial appointees short of Providence itself or the corporations responsible for their appointment. And not even the Bar Association, it may be presumed, will so far offend against the judicial ermine as to hint that the corporations are the source of the divine afflatus.

The judicial recall has a sound place in a democratic government. A government of laws and not of men is the ideal, says Elihu Root. All believers in democracy can enjoy the rare privilege of saying amen to Mr. Root's prayer. It has been the ideal held out by all great jurists. Even-handed justice can take no cognizance of individuals. It must have regard to principles only. This was recognized by the minds which first conceived justice as blind. And upon what is law based in a democracy if not upon the will of the people? We have eliminated the sovereignty of the king and substituted the sovereignty of the mass. How can this be a government of law unless both the law and its interpreters are controlled by the same source—the people? The Bar Association in fighting the recall is really trying to make this a government not of laws but of men only.

The Bar and the Nonpartisan League

THE Nonpartisan League seems to keep the spotlight. It is an idle day when some one in high position does not denounce it. The latest is a sort of collective denunciation by the American Bar Association. It appears that Townleyism is "an outcrop of pure socialism" and is of the variety that "fights hand in hand with the anarchist and the up-to-date bolshevist." We do not believe that this sort of sentiment reflects the opinion of lawyers in general. If it does, Heaven preserve us from the entire profession! The Bar Association is simply indulging in a fit of hysterics when it says that if conditions in North Dakota were as favorable to the success of bolshevism as they are in Russia, Townley would be the Lenine of the Northwest and his soviet government would go to all the extremes of tyrannical dictatorship.

If Townleyism is bolshevism, then the worst fears of the Bar Association are justified, for Townley is vastly more popular in the Dakotas than Lenine is in Russia. Lenine's government seems to have achieved power by the armed suppression of a popularly elected assembly. Townley, on the other hand, has maintained his ascendency by winning five successive elections in which an amazingly high percentage of the voters participated. In addition, the people of North Dakota voting specifically upon each measure indorsed the Townley policies in a referendum election. The Bar Association's apprehension that Townleyism means "nationalization of government, of industry, of society, and of woman herself" reveals the type of mind that fathered this report. Nationalization of women is plain drivel. And as for nationalization—that is, public ownership—of society, just what does that mean? As for public ownership of industry, the largest industry in the country, transportation, needs public ownership very badly. As for public ownership of government, why not? Is the Bar Association against that, too? We have suspected that this latter is the sore spot. The real opposition to the Nonpartisan League comes from those who believe in private ownership of government.

Senatorial Mangling of Treaties

IF there were any reason to believe that the opposition to the treaty was due to a sincere regard for the welfare of the country, and not to make political capital for the coming Presidential campaign, one might sympathize with the efforts of the Senators in attempting to safeguard American rights. But when the facts are considered there is no room for any such charitable thoughts.

Partisan ethics do not permit a Republican Senator to approve of a treaty negotiated by a Democratic President. Any trumped-up excuse would have served till after election, but for the fact that the people throughout the country are manifesting a desire to see the treaty adopted, and see it done quickly. It is this that has impressed the Republican Senators in all their opposition. Every proposal that they have heretofore put forth has met with such public condemnation that it has been abandoned.

The four reservations finally adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee have been framed with a view to causing the rejection of the treaty by the other nations, and yet avoid the responsibility that would follow Senator Knox's resolution to reject the treaty. The reservations actually do little more than declare the obvious intent of the treaty itself, and would be as effective if submitted as interpretations of our understanding of the treaty terms. But by making them a part of the treaty, and stipulating that they must be approved by three out of four nations—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—the apparently innocent reservations become obstacles intended to cause the rejection of the treaty itself. The more honest course would be the adoption of Senator Knox's resolution rejecting the present treaty and negotiating a separate peace with Germany.

If the Senators could for a moment forget next year's Presidential campaign, approve the treaty as it stands—with the definitions desired—and bring about the peace for which mankind is waiting, the world could take up in earnest the work of reconstruction.

Meanwhile the President is crystallizing popular sentiment for the treaty by his speeches in the West. That his exposition of the treaty should have met with a cordial response was inevitable. To most people the question of a league of nations is so plain that they have grown weary of the discussions; but when the President puts before them graphically the alternative, they make quick response. They have begun to realize that we are confronted with the question of disarmament with the League of Nations, or militarism without it. We can reject the treaty, as Senator Knox proposes, and negotiate a separate treaty with Germany, or we can accept the Lodge amendment, which indirectly means a rejection or a mutilation of the treaty by other nations; but in either case we shall be compelled to arm and prepare for future war.

The effectiveness of the President's speeches is evident from the alarm of the obstructing Senators, and their frantic effort to come to some kind of agreement among themselves. As long as they were permitted to center attention upon some trifling defect in the treaty, they confused the minds of persons who do not think for themselves. But no sooner did the President direct attention to the great advantages and benefits that will follow its adoption than the whole atmosphere began to clear. Too long have the friends of the League of Nations permitted its opponents to keep to the fore trifling technicalities. From this time on its manifest virtues should be emphasized.

Japanese Labor

LABOR troubles in Japan have reached an interesting stage. The rising cost of living has filled the country with unrest and led to strikes for higher wages. Protectionists of this country have been wont to compare American and Japanese wages for the purpose of showing the necessity of a protective tariff. Reason should have taught them that there is no really cheap labor. Low wages mean inefficient, and, therefore, expensive labor. English cotton manufacturers have long had the choice between manufacturing cotton cloth in Manchester or in Bombay. The fact that they prefer to pay wages many times higher in England than in India shows that they find high wage labor cheaper.

Japan had the appearance of being an exception to this rule. Wages there were low, and

the labor was rapidly becoming efficient. But note the result. Just as Japanese labor became efficient in operating machinery, and in handling new processes, the laborer either emigrated or struck. This has led to a more rapid advance in wages in Japan than in any other country. The Tokyo printers, according to the special correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, have won a strike for $32.25 a week, which is an advance of forty per cent. of what they were formerly getting. The Government printers, numbering 8,700, are demanding a fifty per cent. increase; and the five thousand printers of Yokohama are making the same demand. The Japan electric companies are pleading with their striking men that their wages during the last few years have advanced 270 per cent. Japanese wages are still low, compared with ours, but the labor is not so efficient as to make it unprofitable for English and American cloth makers to send their goods into China in competition with Japan.

If Congress really wishes to investigate something worth while it should inquire into the cost of foreign and American labor when measured in product. Protectionists demand a tariff to equalize the difference between the cost of labor here and abroad. Yet no Government board or official has made any attempt to discover what that difference is. All the data privately collected on the subject show the reverse of the protectionist's contention, and the experience of mankind in all lands indicates the same fact.

High wages mean efficient labor. They mean the use of machinery and intricate processes. In India and China, where wages are low, little machinery is used and industry is conducted by ancient methods. In this country, where wages are highest, machinery is used to the greatest extent, and—whenever competition is allowed to prevail—the newest processes are in use. Where the foreign goods are barred from the country and home competition is ineffective there is a tendency to lag in the adoption of improvements. During the days when sugar was highly protected the Louisiana planters clung to the old open kettle process and gravity extraction, but when Hawaiian sugar was admitted free the Louisiana growers adopted the vacuum process and centrifugal extraction.

If for any reason it should be found necessary for the Government to encourage the starting of a new industry—such for instance as dye-making—a bounty will be found much more effective than a tariff. For, if the price of home-made dyes be raised by the tariff, American industries using those dyes will be handicapped in their competition with foreign manufacturers; whereas, if a bounty be paid while the industry is getting on its feet, the price will remain at the old level and American users will enjoy the same advantages as their foreign rivals.

The bounty system has another advantage over a protective tariff. The people will know exactly what the new industry is costing, and can tell whether or not it is worth while.

The Secularity of the Kingdom of God

THE history of the Middle Ages celebrates for the most part the conflict between the church idea and the state idea. The church asserted that it represented and functioned the good of man's spiritual life, while the state ministered to and controlled his physical or natural life. The consensus of modern times has trended toward the confusion, even the erasure of these lines of distinction drawn so confidently by the lords spiritual and the lords temporal of those days. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and similar bodies all proclaim a new conception of the functions and responsibility of the church. Whatever else these various philanthropic, educative, and social organizations signify they proclaim the fact that the church no longer stands for a set of phenomena, regulations, and interests that have any validity apart from the common every-day activities and aims of human life.

It is true that in certain backward communities among the French Canadians, the Austrians, and the Spanish nationalities, ecclesiastical purposes and exhibitions still have place out of all proportion to any palpable social use that they serve; but among enlightened and progressive peoples the excessive activities of the church in ritual and dogma have been supplanted by efforts at a real and obvious betterment of the lives of the people. It is not that

there has been a decay in reverence, or truthfulness, or honesty, or fidelity; for as matter of fact these moral assets have never existed in a greater degree than now. But the objects of these mental qualities have changed and it has become a general belief that whatever there may be of value in a love for God it must manifest itself in a useful and fruitful love for man. The age is practical and efficient. Any religion that can survive must partake of modern practicality and efficiency.

More and more it is understood that the highest human life can be lived in the world—in fact must be lived in the world, for nothing develops human character like the conflicts and temptations in actual work and common contact. With the beauty and fruitfulness of the modern home and of modern human relationships it is being borne more and more into the common thought that there can be no condition more suitable for the external form of human society than a world like ours properly conducted and exploited. A true political or civil life must be a moral life. Not a heaven beyond, according to God's will, but a world here and now where God's will is done, is the demand of enlightened human consciousness. No church that does not contribute to the incoming of justice and fraternity has longer a mission that will be seriously regarded.

The Heart of Religion

WE might conceive of the church, as it has been known in history and as we now know it, as being entirely obliterated as a human institution without any impairment to the interests of genuine religion. Stripped of all its ecclesiastical impedimenta and its pharisaic hangers-on, religion would endure as the deepest impulse and aspiration of human nature.

Professor George Plimpton Adams of the University of California has written a book in which he recognizes the universality of the claim of our modern self-assertive consciousness to make the world over according to democratic and industrial conceptions. The most solid institution must fall before our ethical demands. But he perceives that, apart from external achievements in social order, there would be something very vital lacking if future generations had nothing to cherish or look forward to but the most recent form of self-derived science and politics. He maintains that men need and will continue to need an objective ideal of what is just and good and true in order to find a satisfaction, a standard, and an aim adequate to the full measure of their complex being.

The Professor's desire is to have imparted to our modern life an idealism that would be a counterpart to the Platonic and Christian idealism of the past. He is not content with a conception of religion that is even a just and useful expression of the need and form of social order. He maintains that religion is not called upon to achieve for society uses and benefactions that an orderly society should do for itself. Politics might become the external form of religion, but it would not be religion. Religion has its real fulfillment only when men have an ideal and satisfaction that compel the homage of their inmost love and loyalty.

His demand will be fulfilled when men grasp the truth that religion is primarily a thing of inward affection and ultimately a thing of the conduct of life. All men, from divers motives, can agree upon the form of a just and efficient outward society. But the soul lives not by the thing it does, but by its motive and volition in the deed. Thus in the most outward civil use those who wish to be motivated by high spiritual ardor and idealism can render their services to society from the loftiest of aims full of what may be called the love of God and the love of man, and so fulfill the divinest definition of religion known to human thought.

The Cost

By Edward Howard Griggs

THE War is ended, the fighting done,
With joy all free hearts leap,
The troops are coming, with honors won—
But what of the boys who sleep?

We turn to the tasks of peace once more,
We sow and the harvest reap,
The children play by the cottage door—
But what of the boys who sleep?

O life is sweet and good forsooth,
With its loves and longings deep,
It is sad to die in the flush of youth,
Like the dear, brave lads who sleep.

Alone they sit, in the silence lost,
With hearts too full to weep—
Mothers and wives who have paid the cost—
And dream of the boys who sleep!

The New Application of Religion to Life

By John Haynes Holmes

Minister of the Community Church, New York

THE socialization of religion, the discovery that the church may be held by social motives to the service of social causes, is undoubtedly the most important religious development of the present day. It is true, of course, that in certain ways the social application of religion is nothing new. Charity, interpreted in terms of succor of the weak by the strong, was made a rudimentary virtue by early Christianity, and elevated, as Lecky points out in his "History of European Morals," "to a leading place in the moral type." Zealous and triumphant opposition of the church to flagrant social evils, such as the gladiatorial games in ancient Rome and the liquor traffic in modern times, has never been wholly absent. Now and again great crusades for social righteousness, like that of Savonarola in Florence and the mightier movement of John Wesley in England, have glorified brief periods of religious history. But the spiritual phenomenon characteristic of today is something more than a revival or extension of former social tendencies in religion. It is at bottom a new spirit in the world. "Applied religion" means today what it never meant before.

It is common to speak of this revolution in religious consciousness and practice as the substitution of the idea of justice for that of charity. Henry George pointed the contrast when he said that it was "something grander than Benevolence, something more august than Charity, it is Justice herself, that demands that we right (social) wrong." Henry D. Lloyd struck the distinctive note of this great change when he hailed the true church as that church "which will not let any man offer charity to those to whom it refuses justice."

From the earliest transformation of Christianity from a free gospel of the Kingdom into an organized ecclesiastical hierarchy, the religion of Jesus took definite shape in formulas that were predominantly *individualistic* in character. At the heart of the religious problem was the individual man—a separate, isolated soul having no relations with other souls save those that are "of the earth, earthy," and therefore ephemeral and unimportant. This man was always regarded exclusively from the theological point of view; his status was that of one "conceived in sin and born in iniquity," and destined therefore to punishment in the world to come. The mission of the church was to save this individual man. Living now like Bunyan's "Christian" in the "City of Destruction," he must be shown the way of salvation and persuaded to escape thereby. What this particular way of salvation is has been ever a matter of hot dispute. But that it is the church's task, after the example of the Christ, to save the individual soul out of this world, which is a snare and a delusion, into the next world, which is the abode of eternity and therefore alone important, has been agreed by all.

The first decisive break with this understanding of religion was not that between Catholic and Protestant, but that between orthodox (both Catholic and Protestant) and liberal. The liberal Christian found it necessary to regard man not from the theological but from the moral point of view. The essential fact about the individual is not his theological status, which is purely fictitious, but his moral character, which is everlastingly real. Not man's state of sin but his act of sin is the important thing. Hence the liberal's emphasis upon moral training, his insistence that all a man needs to be saved is knowledge of virtue and strength to practice it!

This step from the theological to the moral idea of the individual marked a great advance in true religion. It stopped short, however, at what after all was the most important point, namely, the nature of individuality. This was inevitable, perhaps, for liberalism came at a time when the social aspect of the personal life was almost unknown. Today, however, through a variety of causes, running all the way from the development of the abstract sociological sciences, on the one hand, to the concrete social transformation of capitalistic society, on the other, this aspect of personality has become supremely significant. A man is now no longer regarded as a separate individual entity, but as

one member of a complex social group. He is seen to be not fundamentally a man, but a father, a son, a laborer, a citizen, an American, a Caucasian, a Protestant. A single individuality is to be understood from the standpoint not of any isolated personal factors within itself, but of the various kinds of social relations that it enjoys with its fellows. And this is true not only of physical appearance and mental habits, but of moral character as well! We are all of us victims of environment, social creatures, members of class, national, and racial groups. The old figure of the potter and the clay has a significance today in terms of economic determinism which it never had in terms of the theology of predestination.

It is this fact of the social basis of the individual life that has completely transformed our attitude toward religion, our understanding of our spiritual tasks and obligations. A social conscience, for example, has been created; we see that our worst sins are social sins, that to own a tenement that is a breeding ground of poverty, tuberculosis, prostitution is a viler offense than adultery. We have discovered that the process of salvation cannot begin or end with the single person, but must go behind this person and grapple with the social environment that makes or mars him. "I don't see," says Charles Kingsley's wise old laborer in "Alton Locke," "how a man can hear sermons with an empty belly." We have learned, indeed, that there is no such thing as the salvation of the single individual. "Heaven's gate is closed," wrote Whittier, "to him who comes alone." We live together and die together. Salvation must be won for all or none. Salvation, in other words, is social, as St. Paul discerned in his great vision of the "one body" and the "many members."

Most important of all, however, is our new understanding of the meaning of "applied religion." In the old days this meant charity, the service of the weak by the strong through motives of pity or piety. Today, however, the ideal of charity has given way to that of justice. We are no longer content to succor the weak, but are asking why there should be any weak to succor. The broken, wretched, evil lives that swarm in our slums, hospitals, and prisons we are no longer accepting as signs of human frailty or mysterious evidences of God's will. We know them now for what they are, products of social inequality, and straightway we proceed to mend them by wiping out the social conditions from which they spring. In other words, we have become scientific in our task of religious idealism. We have discovered in the world of the spirit, as in the world of matter, the law of cause and effect. In a myriad ways the individual life is the effect; society—its laws and customs and institutions, its factories and tenements and streets, its systems of wages and profits and private ownership—is the cause. If we would serve the individual, therefore, we must handle the social phenomena that have made him.

It is the extension of "applied religion" from charity for the individual to justice in the social order that constitutes the great spiritual discovery of our time. The churches now see the social implications of their task; and their response marks the opening of a new period of Christian history.

Our churches, Catholic and Protestant, orthodox and liberal alike, are organized on the basis of the old individualistic interpretation of religion, and thus are unadapted to the new type of social work that is now before them. Study any of our existing denominational institutions, and it is at once apparent that they are built on the pattern of theology and not of morals, and are geared to the job of personal and not of social salvation. To expect such churches to perform efficiently the task of justice is to make the same mistake made by the builders of the first automobiles, when they took a carry-all or buggy, attached a motor to its wheels, and thought they had made a motor car. The fact of the matter is that, if our churches are to be efficient agents of social change, they must be refashioned into a new type of spiritual machine.

The socialized church must be

(1) *Undenominational.* It must eliminate affiliation with any sectarian body whatsoever, in favor of identification with the community in which it is placed.

(2) *Public.* It must accept the universality of the religious instinct, and welcome all men, regardless of sect, class, nation, or race, on a basis of membership identical with that of citizenship in the community.

(3) *Free.* It must recognize no creed or

statement of faith, but leave all matters of theological belief to the unfettered thought and conviction of the individual.

(4) *Social.* It must interpret religion in terms of social service, and dedicate its members to the fulfillment of social idealism.

(5) *Democratic.* It must be organized on a basis of self-determination, recognize a single constituency of members who are voters, and place its affairs in the hands of a board of managers responsible in all things to the congregation.

The private denominational church must become transformed into the public community church. The institution, like the ideal, must become socialized. Such a socialized church is the only kind of religious institution that can do the work of socialized religion.

Jury Trials Versus Voluntary Tribunals

By Percy Werner

SEVERAL years ago Justice Clarke of the United States Supreme Court, then sitting as a United States District Judge for the Northern District of Ohio, used the following language in the course of a written opinion:

> This court cannot refrain from observing in this connection that the old notion that a suit at law or in equity is chiefly a game, affording an opportunity for the matching of wits of counsel and for the exercise of the ingenuity of courts, is fast giving place to the conception that suits, both at law and in equity, should be sincere and candid attempts to reach the real point of difference between the parties to them, and to secure a just settlement of such difference. (Coulston v. Steel Range Co., 221 Fed. 669, 672.)

Some years ago a judge, in addressing a bar association in Kentucky, gave the following description of one of our trial courts:

> Our jealousy of the judge is such that we have formulated a set of hard and fast rules for his guidance —absolute rules of evidence, strict review of every act, word, or ruling by the Court of Appeals. We have devised special machinery to eliminate the personality of the judge. At the same time we have given increased rein to the advocate as well as to the shyster, till now the judge must daily "sit like a knot on a log" and listen to speeches to the jury—speeches that are the disgrace of our civilization—and daily watch practices which he is powerless to prevent and which are recognized by all the community as void of all semblance of morality. To make matters worse, we have made our judges—all of them—mere puppets of political parties, so that it is impossible for them or any of them to be independent, as I know every one of our judges would wish to be.

In these two quotations we have a picture of what a court ought to be and of what it unfortunately often is.

There has for some years been a widespread feeling throughout the country that our system for the adjudication of the private differences which arise between our citizens is inadequate to meet the situation of our modern commercial and industrial life, with the result that there has been a growing distrust of our courts and a growing disrespect for our laws, and for many years the members of the legal profession have labored to find a remedy for the situation. In the discussions of the subject it has been made perfectly clear that the source of all the dissatisfaction was in our procedure, or so-called adjective law as distinguished from our substantive law. Many have been the suggestions for reforming our procedure. Codes of procedure have been adopted and the provisions thereof from time to time amended, but little genuine advance has been made. Some five years ago the writer, a lawyer of many years' experience in the trial of jury cases, proposed to his brother lawyers in the various bar associations of his State a procedure which he believed to be at once scientific and democratic, to wit, that of Voluntary Tribunals, or the professionalizing of statutory arbitrations, according to which procedure the lawyers, representing their respective clients in respect to a private difference, instead of carrying such difference into the State courts for adjudication by an elective judge and a jury in the ordinary way, would submit such difference under an agreement for statutory arbitration to a third lawyer selected by themselves, and by them deemed, by reason of their acquaintance with his character and attainments, to be a proper judge or arbitrator to whom to submit the particular difference in question. (See published proceedings of the Missouri Bar Association for 1914.) As lawyers understand, the award of such an arbitrator, rendered under an agreement for statutory arbitration, may, if desired, be placed of record and becomes thereby a judgment of a court of record with the whole force of the State behind it to enforce it. No attack was there made upon the jury

system, nor upon the elective system of judges, but the effort was made to show that the proposed system preserved what was best in the procedures developed under the Roman law and the English common law, and was adapted to a democratic age and consistent with democratic ideals, and would furnish a speedy, inexpensive, scientific, conciliatory, and common-sense procedure, which should commend itself to an enlightened bar and an enlightened public. It was further pointed out that it was unnecessary to convert the Legislatures of our various States to such procedure, as it was a matter which lawyers and their clients could wholly control, the necessary legislation for giving effect to the awards of statutory arbitrations having been placed upon our statute books nearly a hundred years ago. That the proposal had vitality is strikingly shown by its subsequent history. In May, 1914, the Chairman of the Committee of Arbitration of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York wrote to the writer, expressing interest in an article which he had read regarding the address to the St. Louis Bar Association, and telling of his work in connection with commercial arbitrations. Responding to this letter the writer, referring to the movement within commercial organizations and the one which he had advocated before the Bar Association, asked whether it were possible for the two movements to be coordinated, and suggested that the matter be brought to the attention of the attorney of his exchange. Subsequently it appears that a Committee for the Prevention of Unnecessary Litigation was created by the New York State Bar Association, which committee met with the Arbitration Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, and this Joint Committee, representing the two bodies, formulated certain very valuable Rules for the Prevention of Litigation, and included among their recommendations one in favor of informal arbitration, where the third party might be a business man "or a lawyer whose legal opinion is acceptable to both" parties to the arbitration. And in this report (approved by the Chamber of Commerce November 2, 1916, and by the New York State Bar Association January 3, 1917) appeared the following: "Following the example of commercial bodies, the New York State Bar Association has established under its auspices a system of arbitration which it deems practicable for lawyers to recommend to clients wishing to settle their disputes by arbitrators. With one or more lawyers sitting in each case, arbitrators are enabled to pass upon questions of law as well as questions of fact." Subsequently there was issued by the Committee on Arbitration of the New York State Bar Association a list of official arbitrators, consisting of members of the New York State Bar Association, who signified their willingness to serve as arbitrators and classified as specialists and general practitioners, and arranged according to judicial districts of the State. It is perhaps not too rash to assume that a new and distinctly democratic procedure for the adjudication of private differences is thus in process of development in this country.

It is interesting to note that, alongside of this development of a democratic procedure for the settlement of private differences between citizens, there is growing up in this country an entirely new jurisprudence, with appropriate courts for the adjudication of questions arising thereunder. The old jurisprudence had regard for the individual rights of individual members of society, with virtually no recognition of the rights of the community, while the new jurisprudence has regard for certain rights of the individual, not merely as individual rights to be vindicated by the individual, but also for community rights to be established by the community, not alone for the one individual concerned, but for all the individuals of the community. Thus we have created and established in this country commissions which sit as courts, hear evidence, and adjudicate rights under the law, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, various Industrial Commissions, Workmen's Compensation Boards, and Public Service Commissions. Without in any wise impairing or destroying the old jurisprudence, it is supplemented by new remedies and new courts which are more adequate, certain, and summary than the old. It is thus that jurisprudence grows and institutions evolve.

So with the idea of voluntary tribunals. The substantive law as it has grown up through the ages past remains unchanged, except as added to by judicial decisions and legislative acts. The courts, consisting of judges elected by the

people, and juries called from their several occupations into the courts to decide issues of fact, remain open to those who choose to resort to them. But self-respecting individuals, having an honest difference between them which requires legal adjudication, who desire nothing further than a speedy settlement in strict accordance to the law, and with as little expense and inconvenience to the litigants as possible, will search in vain for a reason why this may not be had through their respective attorneys by creating a voluntary tribunal to try the particular case in hand, through the choice of a third lawyer discriminately chosen to try the case. Such procedure is simple, dignified, honest, conciliatory, and democratic, as well as sound from every legal point of view as applied to the purely private differences between individuals which give rise to the ordinary civil action. All of the ordinary delays of the ordinary court procedure are avoided. The lawyer chosen as arbitrator can select such time and place for the trial of the case as will best suit the convenience of all the parties concerned. Technical pleadings become unnecessary, all that is necessary being that the agreement for submission state precisely the difference to be adjudicated. Technical rules of evidence, which have grown up through distrust of juries, become of little importance where the case is tried by an able lawyer who seeks only to get down to the marrow of the controversy before him in the most direct manner. The exasperating delays and interminable appeals experienced in our clogged courts are avoided. Instead of the innumerable volumes of reports of adjudicated cases which are fairly spawned upon us by the various appellate courts of the country, containing lengthy opinions, half of which deal with technicalities of pleadings, the application of rules of evidence, and questions of procedure, our legal literature may be expected to be enriched by contributions to periodicals prepared by professional arbitrators, where new and interesting cases are brought before them for adjudication. The time of our State courts will be given to the adjudication of cases involving community rights, in the decision of which all citizens are interested. And above all, the lawyers of the country, on whom, more than on any other class, it is incumbent to see that the laws of the country are respected because respectable, will practice under a system which will inevitably raise the standard of the bar and redeem it from the popular reproaches from which it has too long and too deservedly suffered. Here, as in our consideration of jury trials in civil cases, we ask, Is the proposed system of voluntary tribunals an ethical system? Will it tend to discourage ambulance chasing and pettifoggery? Will it have a tendency to elevate the bar in the esteem of the public and increase the respect of the people for the law? The bar may well look to the public to encourage and adopt the new procedure of voluntary tribunals.

Czecho-Slovakia's Experiment

By E. F. Prantner

Former Secretary of the Slavic Alliance and Writer on Bohemian Matters

EVERY hamlet in Czecho-Slovakia observed the American Independence Day with appropriate ceremonies and great outbursts of enthusiasm fittingly to honor its liberator and staunch friend, the United States. In Prague, on this occasion, the President of the new republic, Thomas G. Masaryk, delivered the principal address, in the course of which he said: "There are as many democracies as there are nations and states. For myself I find that the doctrines of the American democracy appeal to me most, and I accept them. At this moment I can conscientiously declare that those fundamental truths have ever been, and always will be, the guiding principles of my politics and of all my life."

When he uttered these words the first ministerial upheaval of Czecho-Slovakia had just passed. The first cabinet of the unshackled country was succeeded by the present one. The results of the municipal elections were known and the political strength of the various parties had been definitely indicated. The atmosphere was clarified.

The cabinet now in charge of the country's affairs, like its predecessor, is a coalition one.

The portfolios are assigned among the various groups in proportion to the total votes cast. But the outstanding fact is rather astounding —the predominating convictions of the men in the cabinet, delegated by the numerous political parties, is socialistic, not of the extreme stamp, but all seem to be men of the common sense type. The Socialists in the recent municipal elections polled about 46 per cent. of the entire vote cast. But it must be remembered that no single faction evidenced this voting strength but the two socialistic groups; Social Democrats and the Czecho-Slovak Socialists respectively registered 30 per cent. and 16 per cent. of the total. Hence, notwithstanding statements to the contrary, the Czecho-Slovak Government must be regarded as a pure socialistic experiment in statecraft.

Two major parties with socialistic tendencies flourish in Czecho-Slovakia, the Social Democrats and the Czecho-Slovak Socialists. The former is the more popular and its membership is drawn, mainly, from the laboring masses. It has been in existence for over thirty years. The Czecho-Slovak Socialists, who pride themselves on their nationalistic inclinations, are the successors of the National Socialists and they boast of others than workingmen as their adherents. Heretofore these two wings were bitter opponents, but recently they seem to have found a common meeting ground, and it is evident that eventually they will amalgamate, as they differ but slightly over principles.

The Social Democrats advocate three main doctrines—first, coöperative societies; second, trade unions, and third, political democracy. They believe that the realization of all their ideals in social progress will eventually culminate in a victory of democracy in economic life and the complete economic liberation of the working classes.

The great thinker and leader of the major socialistic group, Modracek, believes that the confiscation of private property is merely a transitory phenomenon, an economic transformation. He does, however, contend that it is necessary to nationalize the country's natural resources, such as railways, water power, mines, and large landed estates.

Under Modracek's theories the coöperative state is a simple problem of administration whereby the toiling classes must eventually demonstrate their ability and capacity to manage industrial and economic enterprises and intellectually to dominate society. With him it is simply a matter of educating the masses and thereby eradicating class wars and eliminating the constant struggles for existence by the laboring men.

Modracek counsels trade unions to seek higher levels, to strive for the abolishment of the wage system, and to substitute therefor a copartnership of workingmen, not only in profits but in the management of all economic establishments. He does not regard this arrangement as ideal, but merely advocates it as the initial step to an ultimately perfect coöperative system.

Neither the Bohemians nor the Slovaks are Socialists of the extreme stripe. They never succumbed to the Germanic influences; most of them are men of common sense. One of the Bohemians, Karel Havlicek the "awakener," who is responsible in a large measure for fashioning the existing state of mind in Bohemia, wrote that "no nation can gain ultimate success except by the force of internal strength, through that weight which it attains." Continuing to amplify his axiom he says, "The internal strength of a nation consists of its culture, industry, physical strength, morality, and preservation (of national spirit), and every one who contributes to a realization of these attributes best serves its future liberty." The Bohemians have heeded the admonitions of Havlicek in the same manner that they observe the Golden Rule.

It is not expected, nor even dreamed, that the administration of President Masaryk will undertake such radical governmental and industrial upheavals as the Bolsheviki introduced into Russia. The people sense the folly of such a course. But many socialistic theories will be put to the practical test of application.

In the Czecho-Slovak cabinet, due to their preponderance, the Social Democrats and the Czecho-Slovak Socialists are represented in a corresponding ratio. The premier, Vlastimil Tusar, is a Social Democrat.

Tusar is no idle dreamer or fantastic idealist. He is a man of force, character, determination, culture, and vision. He has been active in socialistic circles for the past twenty-five years. Possessed of common sense he is keenly alive

to the responsibilities resting upon him. He realizes that the world is intently watching the upbuilding of a democratic state in its turn on the ashes of the most despotic governmental structure of modern times by men of socialistic convictions.

When assuming the duties of premier, Tusar addressed the National Assembly, and in the course of his speech he said: "In Socialism, which before the war was purely critical, there are also great constructive forces. The times demand that we make use of these latent energies and strive for such an organization of production as would appease the ideals of the working classes, and at the same time insure an unbroken continuity of production during the period of upbuilding. The Government (Czecho-Slovak) intends to go forward in this direction with firmness tempered with great circumspection, being fully aware that the organization of production is an extremely sensitive organism which will brook no hurried or forcible interference."

Thus far the socialistically inclined coalition Government of Czecho-Slovakia has accomplished but little. In fact, it was due to their insistent demand that their theories be put into actual practice that the cabinet of Karel Kramar, a moderate in politics and the ablest statesman besides Masaryk in Bohemia, resigned. Now they are in the saddle; the opportunity is theirs practically to demonstrate the truth, feasibilities, possibilities, and probabilities of their doctrines and principles. The world is anxiously awaiting the outcome of the experiment, which it will minutely analyze because it will have a bearing on the future economic, political, and social fabric of our times.

The Three Kinds of Unearned Incomes

By Harlan Eugene Read

THE camel's nose is under the Arab's tent. The sovereign State of North Dakota has defined the difference between earned and unearned incomes. Glory to God—not to mention the Nonpartisan League.

The secret is out at last. There is a difference between earned incomes and unearned incomes.

We have doubted this for quite a handful of centuries. Monarchies have doubted it. Democracies have doubted it. Even a lot of reformers have doubted it—nearly everybody but Henry George; but now the truth has leaked through and Mr. Burleson allowed it to be printed. A Legislature composed of Cromwellian Roundheads, thirsting for the blood of the middleman, lusting for battle with the banker, the speculator, and the elevator person, has stumbled upon the greatest fact of political economy, namely, that unearned incomes ought to bear the burden of taxation, and thus be ultimately destroyed.

Adam Smith, who was in good standing with his Majesty the King of England, Scotland, Wales, and perhaps Ireland, declared that taxes should be levied in proportion to each citizen's ability to pay. The world believed it. It sounded plausible; and it was easy. Find taxable property where you can and tax it when you find it. Establish a rate. Get the same rate from everybody.

That is the rule of law (and thumb) that has dominated the world until today. What could be fairer? Nothing. Taxation is solved. The question is settled. We shall now sing two verses of hymn three hundred sixty-five and be dismissed.

When, lo, the North Dakota Legislature, which knows not Adam Smith, nor his apostles, and thinks in terms of broad fields and sunlight, writes a phrase that will live forever simply because we can never unlearn truth. The phrase is: "*Unearned incomes shall pay the following rates.*"

Now, the definition of earned and unearned incomes given by our North Dakota friends is not as satisfactory as we should like. Earned incomes are described as "money earned by an individual for personal services, or derived from any business personally managed." A regular, sure-nuff reformer with a college education will turn to E. R. A. Seligman, page seventy-four, and say it can't be done,—but, never mind; the camel's nose will be followed by the camel's neck, and not all the Arabians in North Dakota can keep the camel's body out. The search for the

unearned income will be a short one, for it is easy to identify.

There are only three methods in the world of getting money without earning it, namely, robbery, gift, and monopoly. Hit a man on the head with a club and take his cash away; induce him to give it to you; or monopolize something that he needs.

All the world knows and recognizes the evil of robbery. All the real thinkers of the world have found in Henry George's works the recipe for exterminating monopoly. Yet there still live men among the thoughtful who believe in the right of gift from father to son,—who assert the justice of our present inheritance laws, which make certain children yet in the cradle a present of all the property in the world; asserting that if the world's property had been squarely earned in the first place, the problem of privilege by inheritance would join the dodo and the caveman as a relic of a long forgotten and miserable past.

And so it would, approximately speaking. While it is true, as Henry George himself admits, that "large estates would still remain, such as the Astor estate," it is also true that they would not be dangerous if we had Singletax.

But we have not got Singletax. And until we get it we must recognize the fact that we have not got it.

The evil of monopoly lies in the fact that men get money thereby without earning it.

Therefore, *any* method of getting money without earning it is wrong—equally wrong. Robbery, inheritance, monopoly: These are the three methods. They are all bad.

Robbery is as bad as monopoly—not so sneaking, of course, but as bad from an economic point of view.

Money received by inheritance, also, is just as bad economically as money received by monopoly. The moral involved is different, but the economic effect is the same.

So here is the North Dakota Legislature—a bunch of Roundhead farmers—declaring that there is a difference between earned and unearned money—declaring that *any* money unearned must pay additional taxes. A parliament of farmers gives a hint to the parliament of the world. Not knowing economic definitions it expresses itself in the vernacular. "Unearned money" is the phrase—and in that phrase is a practical caution to the disciples of Henry George—an admission that the real evil that causes poverty lies not in a definition but in a fact. The fact that money has been unearned by the holder is sufficient for confiscation by taxation.

Apply this fact to robbery, and stolen goods will be restored. Apply it to the gift, and gifts that are injurious to mankind will be forbidden. Apply it to monopoly, and the earth will again belong to the children of men and of God.

The taxation of land values, if it were being done, would nearly exterminate robbery because it would remove the economic cause of robbery. It would nearly exterminate swollen inheritances for the same reason. But it is not being done yet; and in the mean time the effort to abate both robbery and inheritance must continue.

President Wilson and the Secret Treaties

By John S. Codman

MR. AMOS PINCHOT in an open letter to Senator Borah says that when America entered the war "an informed Mr. Wilson" (having knowledge of the secret treaties) "would have held all the winning cards," and that "he could easily have forced the Allied Governments to abandon the secret treaties already made and pledge themselves to make no more without this Government's consent."

There would seem, however, to be a grave doubt whether Mr. Wilson's own people would have allowed him to use his "winning cards" to secure a peace of the kind Mr. Pinchot and Mr. Wilson himself desired. Moreover, the President could not "easily" have forced the Allied Governments to abandon the secret treaties. An attempt to have done so would have been met in this country by a clamor of protest, and the President would have been accused of trying to dictate to the struggling nations of Europe (and as a matter of fact he was so accused) when they were engaged in a life and death struggle to save civilization from the assaults of the bloodthirsty Hun. Not only did the powerful jingo element in this country insist on helping the Allies unconditionally, but

they demanded war also for no other reason than because of the German submarine attacks on our ships.

In securing the tacit acceptance by the Allies of the fourteen points as the basis of the terms of the armistice, the President accomplished a great piece of statesmanship, and if he had had the full support of his own people he might have been able even as late as the Paris Conference to have upset all the secret treaties by insisting that they were nullified by the acceptance of the armistice conditions. This support he did not get. When he asked for a vote of confidence the people refused it. Furthermore, the powerful Republican Senators did everything they could to weaken and destroy his influence at the peace table. Now, having in a measure succeeded, they blame him for what he failed to get, and they are joined in their opposition by radicals like Mr. Pinchot, who grossly exaggerate the defects of the treaty and hold a distorted idea of the meaning of the Covenant.

To fail to ratify the treaty will be far worse than to ratify it with what defects it has, and for those defects the American people should blame themselves rather than their leader, whom they failed to support.

League of Nations

By Walter Clark

Chief Justice Supreme Court, North Carolina

IT has been justly said that the expansion of the powers of the General Government has been beyond the intention of the Convention that framed the Constitution. Still, that Constitution itself and its subsequent expansion have been a necessary evolution, as has been the aggregation of the little Italian communities into united Italy and the similar aggregation of the former petty kingdoms into Spain and Germany and England and the provinces in France.

The League of Nations is along the same line, and is necessary. Its inevitable expansion, such as has taken place in the creation of the United States, Italy, Germany, France, and England, will be the result of the growing fraternity among the peoples. The day of "Tribalism" has forever passed. There was nothing divine in it. The union of families into tribes came when the human mind was equal to it. When human intelligence reached a higher stage the tribes became grouped into nations, and now when humanity has risen to a still higher stage we are moving off upon the plane of the "Federation of the World," when, as Tennyson says, the battle flag will be furled in the Parliament of Man and the war drums shall be heard no more.

The world does not stand still. It turns over completely every twenty-four hours. And at the end of every year we are thousands of millions of miles from where we were 365 days before. We ought to be gratified that we are living to see the dawn of the day when war and its miseries and abominations shall cease, and when, like Moses, you and I can see over into the land of the millennial period, though like Moses we shall not be spared, perhaps, to enter in ourselves.

Balance of Power and Fighting Units

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus of Leland Stanford, Jr., University

THE European war system is the direct result of the attempt to maintain peace by means of a "balance of power," that is, the adjustment of alliances among nations so as to form two combinations of substantially equal military strength. Under such conditions the resources of either group are theoretically regarded as adequate to keep the other from breaking the peace. As matter of fact, each combination tries to tip the scale in its own direction. Historically, balance of power has furnished active incitement to war, and the whole system soon becomes unstable. In balance of power each nation is at the mercy of the weakest link of the chain, whether among allies or opponents. This will be found in that nation most disposed to fight, because there the people are least likely to be consulted. According to Bismarck (1876), "The majority as a rule has no inclination for war. War is kindled by minorities, or in absolute states by sovereigns or cabinets."

Under the war system each state is primarily a "fighting unit," in perpetual readiness for attack or defense. Its operative machinery consists of army, navy, espionage, and fortifications, with all the adjustments—social, economic, and political—and all the implements

and materials of destruction necessary to make these things immediately effective. The necessities of the war system tend to drive every state to the limits of its resources both in men and in money. This is in accordance with "Johnson's Law of Waste," that "military expenditures among competitive nations expand in peace or in war as wealth expands, by the law that war shall consume the fruits of progress."

The idea of the state as chiefly a fighting unit Pierre Loti terms the "hyena theory of nations." To the supporters of this theory, says Georges Bourdon, "the world is populated by hyenas crouching on the plots of earth from which they ought to be dislodged."

CURRENT THOUGHT

Charity

CAME two young children to their mother's shelf
(One was quite little, and the other big)
And each in freedom calmly helped himself.
(One was a pig.)
The food was free and plenty for them both,
But one was rather dull and very small;
So the big smarter brother, nothing loath,
He took it all.
At which the little fellow raised a yell
Which tired the other's more æsthetic ears;
He gave him here a crust and there a shell
To stop his tears.
He gave with pride, in manner calm and bland,
Finding the other's hunger a delight;
He gave with piety—his full left hand
Hid from his right.
He gave and gave—O blessed Charity!
How sweet and beautiful a thing it is!
How fine to see that big boy giving free
What is *not* his!

—*Charlotte Perkins Gilman.*

Responsible for a Mighty Germ

NO one can say that Mr. Wilson invented the League of Nations. What he invented was the idea of standing up for it and having it, and having it now and having it first as the organic basic seed or core of assumption round which all terms of peace and guaranties of peace could be made—the core of assumption out of which peace should grow and be a living, self-renewing thing, and not the static laid-together, stratified, treatified dead thing peace has been before.—*Gerald Stanley Lee, in the Saturday Evening Post.*

From a Sagebrush Farm

WE, the people, who know what it means when we say "the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God,"—we the people are heart and soul for the League. There isn't a farmer or a working man that I know who is not for it, and I have never *heard* of a farmer or a working man who is not for it.—*The Farmer's Wife, in the Atlantic Monthly.*

Will the British Empire Succeed?

WITH a white population of sixty millions—fifteen overseas and forty-five, who are now ceasing to increase, at home—we are now responsible for some thirteen million square miles of the earth's surface. If we succeed, our success will be utterly unprecedented, the most wonderful and beneficent and astonishing in history. If we fail, our failure will be the most appalling.—*Dr. C. W. Saleeby, in "The Falling Birth Rate an Imperial Menace," in "Overseas" of London.*

But That Was Washington!

HIS journey through New England and his trip through the Southern States in the spring of 1791 had a double motive. He wished to bring home to the people the existence and the character of the new government by his appearance among them as its representative; and he desired to learn from his own observation and from inquiries made on the spot what the people thought of the administration and its policies and the doings of Congress.—*Henry Cabot Lodge, in "Biography of George Washington."*

The Law of Equal Reaction

IN its fullest sense, the Law of Equal Reaction is that, for every act, word, or thought, there is a reaction upon the person, class or nation from which it goes. . . . In other words, the world pays us in the same coin which we ourselves use. Today the application of this law to human relations is little understood. A great development along social, industrial, and international lines, however, is coming about in the near future through a recognition of this principle. Some day, it will become the foundation even of religious teaching, as the Golden Rule is based simply on this fundamental law.—*Roger W. Babson.*

The Root of the Matter

WE desire to protest against the prevailing misuse of this word "radical." In medicine a radical remedy is one that removes the causes or roots of an ailment. It may be—and generally is—very mild in its action. It is frequently but the discontinuance of a bad habit. Quacks, on the other hand, use most drastic remedies in doctoring symptoms without ever touching the causes of disease. For the treatment of our economic ills a world of drastic remedies for doctoring symptoms, devised by the veriest quacks that ever lived, are blatantly advertised as "radical" remedies by one set of fools and earnestly opposed by another set not for their inefficiency but for their taken-for-

granted "radicalism." The radical remedy, when it is adopted, will harm no righteous interest, but benefit it. It will eradicate nothing but injustice. Let us not decry radicalism—the world needs the genuine article.—*Commerce and Finance.*

Soul of the People

SOUL of the people! Battle flags are furled!
Let us turn from the warfare of the world
And make ourselves full worthy of our peace.
Is there a Hunnishness at home in us?
Do we applaud the riot and the rout?
If we look in our hearts and find them thus,
'Tis ours to cleanse them out.

Soul of the people! We aroused our might
To drag the autocrat from his mad course.
Shall we turn from that high resolve of right
And make ourselves the autocrats of Force?
Have we, or any of us, schemed and planned
Whereby some Class shall seize the people's crown?
If Junkerism breeds within the land,
'Tis ours to live it down!

Soul of the people! Let us still prepare!
Our sword be Reason and our shield be Thought!
Let us not make ourselves the greedy heir
Of that which ruled, and ruined, those we fought.
Set us no Violence upon a throne
With ministers of malice and of hate.
If we are kaisers to ourselves and own,
Help us abdicate!—*Edmund Vance Cooke, N. E. A.*

BOOKS

Metaphysics and the Future of Religion

Idealism and the Modern Age. By George Plimpton Adams, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Philosophy University of California. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 258. 1919.

THE present is an era of protest against the cocksure materialism of recent Darwinian and Hegelian decades. We are familiar with the forms of this protest in politics, in art, in Christian Science, in spiritualism, and in the new social and cultural standards of conduct. Professor Adams gives us in this volume a notable statement of the judgment of metaphysics on the shortcomings of unrestrained and unidealized modernity, scientism, democracy, and industrialism,—all the more valuable because of its abundant and impartial appreciation of our modern self-reliant modes of looking at the mind and its world.

The author's survey of philosophy brings out in sharp relief the distinctive antithesis if not antagonism between the structural ideals and ideas of Platonism and medieval Christanity and the insistent and self-centered conception of the mind and external phenomena which became current with the triumph of the Copernican astronomy, democracy, and industrialism.

The upshot of his research and study is that there are vast and valuable regions of thought that lie outside of the realm where sense impression and scientific conjecture are absolutely authoritative. There are limits to the mind's power to create its own world and its own standards. It demands a real and not self-derived object for its devotion and its loyalties. Professor Adams believes that we need to reach out for, discover, and participate in a domain of structural ideas that would correspond to the realitics if not to the dogmas of the ancient and medieval idealists. Modern science, democracy, and industrialism leave us in need of an objective good that is not only a sufficient stimulus but a justification of modern loyalty and pursuit and devotion.

It is in the sphere of religion that the book finds its climax and its paramount interest. "Religion, in its higher historical forms, expresses the conviction that there are rational loyalties and preferences. By 'rational' I simply mean that the loyalty is not merely generated by a local and particular interest which is rooted in instinct, but that it is directed toward and is nourished by a Good which is autonomous. The worth of our striving and of our interests shall be measured by the intrinsic worth of that ideal which shines wholly in its own light. . . . Religion, it is true, does connote a kind of 'absolutism,' if you choose to use the term. The object of one's uttermost fealty is not wholly relative to the particular interests which happen, for the time being, to be grouped together in some organism, class, or nation. This is, one may say, 'absolutism.' but so is any conviction that there are, for instance, beliefs that derive their validity from the side of the objective realities they envisage, rather than from the instinctive and feeling propensities with which they may be congenial. And without this conviction there is no knowledge, no science, and no life of reason whatever." This implies no necessity of the mind to accept or believe any past or current dogma; but it does imply that in the future of religion the mind has a solid realm of fact and experience and perception to traverse and exploit.

A Shifty Light

Principles of Political Economy. By Thomas Nixon Carver. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1919.

PROFESSOR CARVER of Harvard has written a text-book for students of political economy. His obvious aim is to make his subject as simple as possible, and in this he has achieved a large measure of success. It is not quite clear, however, why the book should have been entitled "Principles of Political Economy." There is no attempt to define political economy, nor are there any "principles" set forth, if by principles we mean fundamental, guiding truths deduced or enunciated. Indeed, so carefully has he succeeded in avoiding principles that it would be unflattering to him not to assume that such was his purpose. To have done otherwise would have led the Pro-

fessor into the domain of morals, a region which he seems most desirous of avoiding. His attitude is illustrated by the approbation with which he quotes a definition of vice as "a habit which wastes or dissipates human energy."

It is this attitude of "benevolent neutrality" between the commonly accepted tenets of good and evil that has brought on economics the deserved reproach of alienage from human sentiment. However scientifically correct may be the attitude that economics can take no notice of right or wrong, but only of the expedient or the inexpedient, the fact remains that, long before a man can determine whether a given course of action will be ultimately expedient or inexpedient, he is often obliged to act. He must therefore have a working hypothesis, and what is good or bad, according to his prejudices or his instincts, must guide him.

The chapters on free trade and protection furnish an interesting example of Professor Carver's method. He marshals in very convincing fashion all the arguments of the free traders, or rather, the arguments that they used to advance when there were people unpractical enough to espouse a cause merely because they believed in it. Then he proceeds to show that they do not meet the real arguments for protection, which he presents with much ingenuity in another chapter. There is not space here to discuss the merits of Professor Carver's protection arguments, but as he sums up his case on the protective side, he will be an acute economic student indeed who will not conclude that his teacher has climbed down from the fence on that side. The Professor selects the maintenance of lighthouses as a type of *trade* which, because it is unremunerative, nobody would undertake unless the Government provided the means. The simile is an unhappy one. The Professor is himself, in some sort a lighthouse. His function, also an unremunerative one, is to warn students of the quicksands and rocks which beset their life voyages. But he sheds an uncertain and wavering beam, and in substance leaves them to follow their own devices.

Under the general heading of "Reform" appears a very condensed but fair summary of the Singletax position. The correctness of its general postulates is conceded, though attempts are made to traverse certain details. The inutility of land owners as land owners is conceded, but the advantage to the community of the distribution of what they now receive is not regarded as likely to raise the general standard of living very much. No consideration is given to the increase in the production of the community, which would inevitably follow from the opening up of valuable land now withheld from use because the owner who is not using it himself cannot find a tenant willing to pay all the product over a mere living for permission to put it to use. No attention is paid to the economic waste involved in a system which drives our farmers to the outmost recesses and the harshest climates of our Continent to raise our food supply, while there lie at our very doors, in every State of the Union, thousands of untilled acres. This involves a double waste, or indeed a triple waste,—the long haul to get their products to market, and to get to them the things that they want in exchange, and the waste of their lives in regions far removed from the amenities of civilization, where loneliness fosters insanity. Professor Carver seems only to see the effect on land near cities. Has he considered the effect of full value taxation on mineral deposits? Could coal land be held out of use, with resultant coal monopoly, if such land were taxed on full market value? What of the great California ranches? The Singletax receives such short shrift at the hands of academic pundits occupying chairs of political economy, that its adherents will feel some gratitude to Professor Carver for his attempt to understand their theory and to set it forth fairly.

OWEN MERRYHUE.

A New Use of the Bible

How the Bible Grew. By Frank G. Lewis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1919.

INTELLIGENT folks, whose religion is the hope of altering a social condition which breeds injustice, hypocrisy, and human misery, do not, as a rule, find time for the "Holy Scriptures." They resent the pious aroma exuding from the pores of those who worship the Bible from "cover to cover." They have seen it utilized as a fetish or magic charm, as a book let down from heaven to buttress a social *status quo,* and as an extra-experiential guide to the other world. Bible study, however, is now passing into a phase wherein the book is regarded as a social product growing out of a human situation; it is becoming visualized as a social and economic source book. In the light of this, and considering the Bible's enormous influence in the world, we are amiss in not capitalizing it as a leverage for social ideals.

A preliminary step in this direction is taken by the author of "How the Bible Grew." He is concerned primarily with pointing out from the Bible itself how naturally it sprang up from the life of the people, and how it accumulated to itself the material that now is imbedded firmly in the accepted canon of scripture. In style and method his study is so simple that the veriest tyro can comprehend, and yet it maintains strictly the dignity of a cultural study. He traces out the growth of the Bible as one might explore a river, beginning in the broad, completed stream and pressing back and back into tributaries, brooks, rivulets, and springs. In the New Testament, as well as in the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, two centuries earlier, he finds distinct and clear references to the Law, the Prophets, and a third group, the Rest of the Writings—the three technical names for the divisions of the Old Testament. These three main streams are explored separately; each is then fur-

ther studied, and there are revealed the sources of the Law, the Prophets, and the other writings. This procedure is fascinatingly comprehensible. The Bible is made to tell its own story, and there are no artificial strictures such as inspiration and authority imposed to impede the progress upstream. All conventional excess baggage is thrown overboard. The treatise continues and concludes with brief chapters on the growth of the New Testament, and with the diffusion of the Bible material in the numerous versions and translations down to the present day. From the Song of Deborah to the American Revised Version is a far cry, but the intermediary panorama of social vicissitudes furnishes us the clew to the understanding of the process of the humanization of divine rites and the deification of human rights.

HERBERT W. HINES.

Childhood and Social Ills

Backgrounds for Social Workers. By Edward J. Menge. Boston: R. C. Badger. 1919.

THIS book is not so much a study in sociology as a Chestertonian tract. The theory of the author is that it is lack of training that causes boys and girls to "go wrong." Place in their inner consciousness during their first fifteen years of life certain principles, and a great step has been taken toward lifelong peace and happiness. A large part of this suggested training has to do with sex, and, by reason of the lack of knowledge in parents, they are not the proper ones to give such instruction just now. Therefore, parents, he says, must be trained to train children.

Consideration of such questions as birth control, sterilization of the unfit, and like matters fills many pages. The general conclusion the author arrives at is that in these degenerate days we are desperately wicked and that the world would do well to turn its face to the thirteenth century and select therefrom for adoption much that appears in perspective as good.

Professor Menge deplores the practice of birth control and the use of contraceptive devices, but fails to see that these evils are caused by the pressure of poverty in the present or the fear of it in the future. That contraceptive devices are largely used by both the married and the unmarried is not to be denied, but they are used as shoddy clothes, canvas shoes, and similar makeshifts are used. Free men from poverty and these evils with many others will vanish. CHARLES J. FINGER.

Pamphlets Received

Political

The New Day in North Dakota. Some of the Principal Laws enacted by the Sixteenth Legislative Assembly, 1919. The Industrial Commission of North Dakota, Bismarck, N. D.

Presidential Contest in 1920. Data presented by George H. Shipley, Director of the Research Institute of Washington, D. C. The Progressive League of America, Washington, D. C.

Militarism

Who Should Officer the New Army? By John J. Lenney, a Veteran Soldier. League Against American Militarists and Militarism. Washington, D. C.

Education

The Case of the Rand School. Rand School of Social Science, New York City.

Life of Henry Barnard. The First United States Commissioner of Education, 1867-1870. By Bernard C. Steiner. Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Transportation

The Transportation Muddle and the Way Out. Proves that transportation costs would be lowered by making land values reimburse the outlay of the utility.

Public Ownership the Solution of Chicago's Transportation Problem. Municipal Ownership League, Unity Building, Chicago.

Self-Determination

India's Freedom in American Courts. Friends of Freedom for India, 92 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Truth About India. By H. M. Hyndman. The India Home Rule League of America, New York City.

Some Facts About the Proposed Dismemberment of Hungary. By Eugene Pivany, Author of "Hungarians in the American Civil War," etc. Hungarian American Federation, Cleveland, Ohio.

A Guide Book on the Philippine Question. Prepared by Maximo M. Kalaw, Secretary of the Philippine Mission to the United States, Washington, D. C.

Economics

Economic Effects of the War Upon Women and Children in Great Britain. By Irene Osgood Andrews, Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation. New York: Oxford University Press.

A National Lumber and Forest Policy. By Henry S. Graves, Forester, Forest Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Proposed Tax Increases for the City of Chicago, the Board of Education, and Cook County. Statement prepared by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency.

A Casket of Pearls. Economic Truths from the World's Greatest Thinkers. Selected and arranged by J. Boundy, Adelaide, Australia: A. Chappell & Co.

Rural, Social, and Economic Problems of the United States. By Charles J. Galpin and Alonzo B. Cox. American Association for Agricultural Legislation. Madison, Wis.

The Single Tax and Its Opponents. London: The Single Tax Publishing Company, Ltd.

NEWS

Congress

—A bill authorizing the appointment of a permanent General of the United States Army was rushed through Congress in record time, and enabled the President to appoint General Pershing to the office.

—Hearings before the House Military Affairs Committee brought out several plans for army reorganization. Major General O'Ryan, Commander of the 27th, advocated the organization of a citizen army, which would in six years give the country a trained citizenry of 1,500,000 men ready for instant mobilization, with another great reserve of 1,500,000 ready to take its place in line when called. The Baker-March proposal provides for a regular army of 500,000 men and a system of universal training for young men from nineteen to twenty-one years. The Chamberlain-Kahn bill fixes the complement of the regular army at about half the strength proposed in the Baker-March bill, with a system of military training also.

—Up to September 7, Senatorial opposition to the Presidential plan of ratification for the Peace

Treaty and Covenant had divided itself into three or four discernible lines of attack. For several days considerable speculation surrounded the plans of the "Battalion of Death," headed by Senators Borah and Johnson, in the effort to induce the Senate to reject the Treaty altogether. The most significant opposition, however, was still coming from the majority on the Foreign Relations Committee, dominated by Lodge. On the 4th, the committee decided to report the Treaty with four reservations and four comprehensive amendments. The reservations provided for the withdrawal of the United States from the League of Nations without the judgment of the League; the relief from obligations on the part of the United States to guarantee the territorial integrity of other states to interfere by means of military or economic forces in the domestic or foreign controversies of other nations, and to accept mandates; exclusive jurisdiction over domestic disputes; and the exclusive interpretation and enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. The amendments included provisions to give the United States equal voting power with Great Britain; to exclude the United States from all international commissions except that for reparations; to return Shantung to China, and to prohibit interested nations from participating in League Council deliberations. It was clear, however, that these Treaty modifications were entirely too drastic for the "mild reservations," a considerable body of Republicans and Democrats who were in favor of reservations less radical than those of the Committee. Senator Lodge admitted the strategic position of these "mild reservationists" and expressed the belief that the Committee would probably lower the tone of the reservations sufficiently to harmonize its differences with this group. Meanwhile, the first wincings under the criticism of the President were visible, though the Republicans appeared to have agreed among themselves not to rebut them, at least for the time being. There was planned a follow-up speaking tour in the tracks of the President.

Political Parties

—Whether the Prohibition Party will function hereafter as a separate entity was left by the national committee, meeting in Chicago on the 1st and 2d, to be decided at a future conference to assemble after the convention of the Republicans and Democrats. A resolution was adopted urging individual members of the party to give "active assistance in the world prohibition work through the instrumentality of the prohibition foundation," an organization of party members.

—The emergency conference of the Socialist Party at Chicago during the week of the 1st, was characterized from the beginning by dissension. As a result of the ruling out from the conference of the "left wing" elements, a split took place, resulting in the organizing of several conventions meeting simultaneously at different places in the city. The "left wingers" promptly decomposed into three considerable factions: the first, the Communist Labor Party, a radical group of 800 delegates under the leadership of John Reed and Ben Gitlow, and with the aim of uniting American workers "industrially and politically in the struggle for the conquest of the state and the powers of the government in the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth;" the second, the Communist Party, a foreign-language group allied with Michigan labor men under the leadership of Denis E. Batt; the third consisted of those who were disgusted with the four conferences and "went all the way home." Friendly overtures from the Communist Labor Party to the Communist Party met in each case with failure, despite the sheaf of telegrams from constituencies of the Communist delegates that they would not tolerate failure to get the two Communist groups united. Meanwhile, the National Socialist Party issued its manifesto, taking the stand of the radical European socialists, condemning the pro-administration Socialists in all countries, flaying the League of Nations as the "capitalists' black international," and declaring its solidarity with the revolutionary workers of Russia in support of the Soviet Government. The convention wound up with a unanimous declaration in favor of Eugene Debs as the party candidate for President in 1920, and instructions to the national executive committee to appoint a committee to draw up a statement of principles and working platform for the party. The majority report of the resolutions committee repudiated both the Berne conference and the Moscow International and called for an International Socialist Congress, representing radical socialist parties throughout the world.

Railroads

—Senator Cummins of Iowa, Chairman of the sub-committee of the Interstate Commerce Committee, introduced in the Senate on the 2d a bill for government regulation of the roads, returning the system to private ownership, creating a railway transportation board of five members appointed by the President, enlarging the functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission in general supervision and in the power it exercises against unfair rates, granting a portion of the profits to the employes after an excess over a "fair return upon the value" of the railroad property has accrued, and providing against strikes by the creation of a compulsory arbitration system, wage questions to be settled by a joint committee comprising railroad workers and owners. The latter feature of the bill seemed particularly acceptable to Senators participating in the debate, Senator Underwood asserting on the 4th that the time had come when a Federal commisison should have the power to determine not only wages but also the hours of labor. Organized railroad workers

throughout the country, however, began a campaign against the Cummins bill. Opposition was voiced notably by Timothy Shea, speaking for the Brotherhood of Railway Firemen and Enginemen. Warren Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, said that the engineers' policy was embodied best in the Plumb plan. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, speaking for his organization, asserted in a Labor Day statement, that the A. F. L. was predominantly for the Plumb plan. Shortly afterward Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York, tendered his resignation to the Government in order to become executive director of the Conference on Democratic Railroad Control, a movement originated by the advocates of the Plumb plan for the mobilization of liberal thought in America in favor of nationalizing the railroads. The executive committee consists of Frederic C. Howe, Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina, Governor Henry Allen of Kansas, ex-Governor E. F. Dunne of Illinois, ex-Governor Joseph W. Folk of Missouri, Professor E. W. Bemis of New York, and Morris L. Cook.

Labor

—No representation of the United States in the International Labor Conference to be held at Washington on October 29, as provided in the Peace Treaty, could be arranged for, said Secretary Wilson in a recent statement, until the Treaty had been ratified.

—In spite of Commissioner Curtis's order forbidding members of the Boston police force to join any organization, club, or other body outside of the department, the patrolmen carried out their original plans and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, according to the *Artisan*, a labor paper of Holyoke, Mass.

—The Triple Alliance of British miners, railroad men, and transport workers decided to put off the decision for "direct action" to secure political ends, pending the meeting of the Glasgow Trades Union Congress of the 8th, representing the 5,280,000 workers in all types of British unions. Ex-Food Controller Clynes called on the unions to formulate a social program that would be acceptable not only to specific unions but to the nation as a whole.

—Over a thousand armed miners from districts in the vicinity of the Guyan Valley coal fields in West Virginia, made ready to invade Logan County in order to force unionization on the mine operators. Reports were prevalent that thugs were being hired by the owners and that mine guards were beating down women and children. Through the intervention of Governor Cornwell and C. F. Keeney of District No. 17, of the United Mine Workers, who is organizing the Guyan men, the march was averted.

—Efforts to secure the release on bail of the eight spokesmen for the Winnipeg general strike, who have been kept in jail without option of bail, though their trial has not taken place and the maximum sentence in each case is only two years, have been unsuccessful, and Winnipeg labor leaders have attempted to engineer a coast-to-coast general strike to take place on Wednesday, September 17. Requests went out from Winnipeg men for workers, whether they belong to the One Big Union or to the American Federation of Labor, to "take a holiday" on this date. The Borden government refused to take action to release the accused men.

—Samuel Gompers sent an urgent plea to the President to arrange for a conference between the Steel Corporation heads and the committee that is organizing the steel workers throughout the country. Judge Gary, chairman of the Board of Directors, twice refused to deal with the unions, and the Gompers communication emphasized the imminence of a nation-wide strike unless the corporation would change its attitude by the time of the meeting of the executive committee of the twenty-four steel unions in Washington on the 9th. John Fitzpatrick, who is the leader in the unionizing movement in the steel industry, said that up to September 8th, 15,000 of the workers were organized and predicted that in the event of a strike 400,000 iron and steel workers would walk out.

—James P. Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, has repudiated the report of the High Cost of Living Committee for recommending that the way to combat industrial unrest and the high cost of living was for labor to abandon its right to strike, and to call an industrial truce for six months. He said that he was not consulted before the report was given to the press and informed the two trade unionists who had drawn the report that they were removed from "any consideration so far as the State Federation of Labor was concerned." The rejoinder of the repudiated committeemen, John F. Pierce and Isadore Epstein, indicated that, despite the opposition of Holland, they intended to continue their efforts to induce the trade unionists of New York to heed Mr. Wilson's advice. The reply, while amply praising the past work of President Holland, expressed surprise at his attitude.

—President Wilson's proposal for a four cents an hour increase in the railroad shopmen's wages met with disfavor in several districts, notably in Chicago, where 96 per cent. of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy men were reported on the 1st as opposed to the Wilson-Hines plan of settlement; in the Cumberland district, where 1,500 Baltimore and Ohio shopmen struck; and in upper New York, where 900 of the 15,000 New York Central shopworkers walked out. By the 2d it was apparent that the strike vote then in progress throughout the country would indicate unanimity of officials and workers. Two days later Director General Hines in a message to the Regional Direc-

tors announced that the Railroad Administration would dismiss all striking employes who had not returned to their work by the 6th.

—Prior to President Wilson's departure for the West, a general meeting of the cabinet discussed the composition and important features of the joint industrial conference of capital and labor recommended by the President in his Labor Day message. Meanwhile, labor leaders expressed confidence in his proposals, Glenn E. Plumb, originator of the Plumb plan for partial control of the railroads by labor, asserting in a Labor Day speech that the President should have the coöperation of the workers in the wage conference. The President's note of invitation to the conference fixes its date for October 6, and apportions its composition among fifteen representatives of labor appointed by the American Federation of Labor, fifteen of capital appointed by designated national organizations of employers, and fifteen of the public appointed by the President himself.

—The North Dakota Workers' Nonpartisan Political Alliance, organized recently to coöperate with the Nonpartisan League, recommended to the National Labor Party the nomination of Governor Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota as the party candidate for President of the United States, this following the previous suggestion of the conference of farm-paper editors of the State. The newly formed Labor Party will hold its first national convention at Chicago on November 22. Organizations selecting delegates are asked to subscribe to the plan for a political party of hand and brain workers based upon political and social democracy and calling for the restoration of civil liberties, the national ownership and democratic administration of all monopolies and natural resources, and the abolition of excessive land ownership and the holding of unused lands for speculative purposes.

Professions

—According to figures submitted to the House of Representatives by R. L. O'Donnell, general manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad, freight engineers are now getting $4,704 a year, which is more than the salaries received by Governors in thirteen States. The highest salary on the list submitted to the House is $4,500 and the lowest $2,500.

—Salaries of all employes of the Binghamton (N. Y.) *Republican* were raised immediately the paper was purchased by George F. Johnson, wealthy shoe manufacturer, of that city. Johnson told his employes that as soon as the paper became profitable the profits were to be divided equally between owners and employes. The paper will change its name to the *Morning Sun*, and will become independent in politics.

—The actors and stagehands' strike, centering in New York and ramifying into the theatrical unions of Chicago, Boston, and Providence, ended after more than three weeks of bitter controversy with each faction claiming victory; the Actors' Equity Association, having won the recognition of the managers; the Fidelity League of actors, a new organization, loyal to the managers, satisfied that it would not be discriminated against; and finally, the managers, elated with the privilege of still keeping open shop. The theatrical workers agreed not to go on sympathetic strike during five years; a board of arbitration, representing managers and actors was created; and complete amnesty so far as personal discrimination is concerned, was declared. The chorus is hereafter to receive a minimum of $30 per week; full salaries are to be paid to actors after four weeks of rehearsal in the "legit" and five weeks in musical plays; and eight performances are to constitute a week's work. Augustus Thomas, who presided at the final getting together, said that it was neither the actors nor the managers who in reality won the fight. The true victors were the stagehands, who walked out on sympathetic strike in 680 of the theaters throughout the country. Meanwhile, in Paris the players, musicians, and stagehands, emulating the American precedent, organized in strong unions, and either walked out or were locked out, and the Madrid theatrical workers formed associations for the purpose of presenting demands for more favorable contracts.

Color Line

—The number of colored wage earners in Chicago is 54,557 in an estimated total of 500,000. The Negroes are tenth on a list of seventeen nationalities.

—Atlanta's board of education has voted by a two-thirds majority to turn one of the white public schools into a junior high school for Negroes on January 1, 1920, the first high school for Negroes in the city.

—The Chicago Federation of Labor recently issued a statement putting responsibility for race riots in that city squarely on the shoulders of the packers, who, ever since organized labor first started to unite the stockyards' employes, have fought with every weapon at their command these efforts of the workers. "Organized labor," declares the statement, "has no quarrel with the colored worker. Workers, white and black, are fighting the same battle. The unions met the action of the packers by starting to organize the colored workers."

—As a result of the failure of the local officials and the Governor of Texas to investigate the unprovoked assault by an Austin mob on John R. Shillady, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the organization is sending memorials to Congress and to the President requesting an investigating commission, and a petition to Governor Smith of New York, to

protect citizens of the State visiting Texas. A legal committee has been appointed to initiate proceedings against known members of the mob, and an appeal to the public opinion of the nation has begun.

—The "Reconstruction and Readjustment Conference" of the National Negro Business League, attended by 1,000 delegates from twenty-six States representing the Negro business world, met recently at St. Louis and elected as president Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute and graduate of Hampton, and as honorary president Hon. J. C. Napier of Nashville, Tenn., former Register of the United States Treasury and ex-president of the League. President Napier urged restraint during periods of race tension, deprecated sympathy for criminal action on the part of black or white, and indicated the bright business opportunities for Negroes.

Public Health

—The gradually decreasing birth rate in London since 1914 has received a check. Nearly 1,000 more babies were born in July, 1919, than in the same month last year; more were born in June than in May, and more in July than in June.

—Miss Florence Nesbitt, institute instructor in dietetics for the American Red Cross, has stated that in cities such as Chicago and Cleveland "it costs approximately $1,500 a year to buy the essentials for maintaining the average family of five—father, mother, and three children—at what we might consider a normal standard. Miss Nesbitt indicated the conclusion that only a minority of those comprehended by her investigation work have as much as this minimum income.

—More than 75,000 babies in the United States, in 1916, died before they had completed their first month of life. There is no indication that this loss—fourteen times as heavy as in the twelfth month of life—is being cut down. According to the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, prenatal care is necessary for the reduction of our high infant mortality rate in the early days of life, for the conditions which cause these deaths arise in large measure from inadequate care attending maternity.

—Every year 16,000 mothers lose their lives from conditions related to pregnancy and childbirth. In a list of ratings respecting maternal mortality for sixteen countries (1900-1910), the United States stood fourteenth, and in the year 1916 it was eleventh in rank among twenty-three countries respecting infant mortality. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor says that essential measures to cope with this deplorable situation include public health nurses, prenatal centers, proper care at confinement and during the lying-in period, prompt and accurate birth registration, child health centers, and general educational work in hygiene.

—According to an official document published in *Soviet Russia*, the Soviet Government of Russia provides by law that all food products given by the local provisioning organs to children up to the age of fourteen inclusive, are given free of charge at the expense of the state; that there is imposed on all provisioning organs the obligation to issue first of all children's food products; and that the right to receive food free of charge is granted to the children regardless of the category of the class ration of their parents.

Public Order

—Offenders who are given a "square chance" under the probation system as practiced in New York make good in a majority of cases, according to estimates of probation officers in the city.

—The establishment of "family courts" to meet problems connected with divorce, has been recommended by Chief Justice Charles W. Hoffman, of the Court of Domestic Relations at Cincinnati, at the Boston meeting of the American Institute of Criminal Law on the 3d.

—Social, economic, and industrial problems facing the New York State administration and the public, including food problems, the housing question in industrial communities, control of the milk supply, public health, distribution of hydro-electric power, highway development, rural and intercity motor express, and Americanization, are to be shown in motion pictures in every city and town in the State, under direction of the Chamber of Commerce of the various towns, by instructions of the State Reconstruction Commission.

Education

—The will of Benno Loewy, a New York attorney, gives the bulk of his estate of $250,000 and library, including valuable manuscripts and engravings, to Cornell University.

—Of the more than 2,000 candidates from American colleges for the Rhodes scholarships, less than half passed the entrance examinations, according to Dr. George R. Parkins, organizing secretary of the scholarship trust.

—Columbia University will conduct a home study curriculum to be accessible to all who give satisfactory indication that they are qualified to pursue the work. The tentative list of courses will cover the subjects of business, English, mathematics, philosophy, economics, psychology, sociology, history, French, and Spanish.

—Canada's labor managers are to receive a general course in employment management and industrial relations, under Professor Coss of the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University, at the University of Toronto. Professor E. K. Strong of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, will give a course in psychology as applied to business, and Professor Robert McIver one that takes up critical economic problems in industry.

Free Speech and Amnesty

—Forty thousand Italian soldiers sentenced to long periods of imprisonment during the war were recently granted amnesty by King Victor Emmanuel.

—The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. announced that six members of their organization died in California and Kansas prisons while waiting trial under a blanket indictment recently framed at Chicago.

—The Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, representing 350,000 organized workers, passed a resolution, now being widely circularized, urging government officials to release immediately "all political and labor prisoners whose religious, political, or economic beliefs formed the basis of their prosecution."

—Right of free speech and free assembly was asked of the Government on the 4th at a special meeting in Washington of the American Federation of Labor's national committee for organizing iron and steel workers. The petition resulted from the refusal of Mayor Lysle, McKeesport, Penn., to permit steel workers to hold meetings in that city.

Coöperation

—Large purchases of land by the British cooperative societies have been reported by the American trade commissioner of London. Upward of $800 per acre is being paid for farm land.

—The great trade union movement in Britain, with its 5,000,000 members, has decided to join forces with the Union of British Coöperative Societies, with a membership of about 4,000,000, in order adequately to influence production, consumption, and distribution in Britain.

—In his "Coöperative Comments" in *Le Monde Ouvrier* of Montreal, George Keen makes the interesting statement that "in the Old Land it is not an unusual circumstance for a working man, offered employment in another town, to take into account the amount of dividend paid on purchases in the local coöperative society, as well as the wage schedule, before deciding to accept. He is as much interested in knowing what his wages will buy as in their face value."

Public Ownership

—Government owned telephones paid a profit of $1,777,340 during the year 1917-1918, according to the official British figures.

—The municipal street car lines of San Francisco have recently granted their employes the fourth voluntary raise of wages since August, 1918.

—Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania vetoed the bill recently passed by the Legislature authorizing cities to own and operate street railway systems beyond their limits.

—Chinese government railways have introduced a collect on delivery system for freight or express shipments by which the railway collects the bill from the addressee and remits to the sender for a one per cent. commission.

—The International Railway, which has been under a lease to the Canadian Government since 1914, has been purchased outright by that Government and incorporated with the government owned Canadian National Railway.

—Ten thousand municipally owned and managed tenement houses are to be built and operated by the authorities of Osaka, Japan. Similar undertakings are in prospect by the cities of Kyoto, Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagoya. The capital is being furnished by the national government at a low rate of interest.

—The Bank of North Dakota, about which centers the industrial program of the Nonpartisan League, indorsed by the voters of North Dakota at a special referendum election on June 26, is in full operation at Fargo. Already public funds totaling $21,000,000 have been reported as deposited in the bank. Under the Nonpartisan plan, the bank will provide funds for persons desiring to build homes, and will finance the mill and elevator association, in charge of the league's marketing and distribution system.

Land Reform

—Great Britain, according to cable reports, has determined to invest $17,000,000 in a ten-year campaign to replant as forest area 250,000 acres of land to replace the timber used during the war in France.

—King Victor Emmanuel of Italy has determined to relinquish all the vast domains of the Crown for the benefit of the peasantry and of the soldiers, this in addition to the palaces and parks that have lately been handed over for the use of disabled soldiers. His private patrimony will hereafter be taxed equally with that of every commoner.

Cost of Living

—The Canadian Government has announced that it would buy and market the wheat crop of 1919. The crop will be sold at "prevailing world prices" and the proceeds will be divided among the sellers of the wheat. It is announced speculation and profiteering will be prohibited.

—The European food situation is still distressing, according to a statement of Herbert Hoover, made before his leaving for America. Wharves and warehouses in northern European ports are overflowing with foodstuffs, principally meats, fats, and dairy products, sent by merchants of the world who calculated on higher prices than the impoverished countries have been able to pay. Since the lifting of the blockade a perceptible decrease of prices has taken place in Germany, affecting chiefly porks and fats. In Switzerland beefless days have continued and even cheese is being im-

ported. Butter, milk, and eggs have been hard to obtain, and chickens are almost extinct. In France in order to keep down prices, the Government has begun a campaign similar to that now being undertaken by the United States, this meeting with notable opposition among the farmers in Western districts. At a meeting at Blois on the 4th, delegates representing 110,000 farmers protested against the "arbitrary measures to reduce the cost of living of which the farmers alone are the victims," and urged that on all committees charged with the fixation of fair prices the farmers be given equal representation with the consumers.

—At the end of two weeks' campaign against the high living cost, in which Federal, State, and municipal officials have been coöperating, Federal Food Commissioner Arthur Williams announced on September 1 that a consistent decline had taken place in the price of almost all grades and kinds of meat, the fall varying from one to two cents. The National Association of Attorneys General at their annual gathering at Boston on the 3d, resolved to coöperate with Attorney General Palmer in the drive and to plan concerted legislative action in all the States. A new plan of the Attorney General provided for the public exposure of names and addresses of those individuals found guilty of profiteering. A report from the sub-committee on clothing and shoes of the New York Fair Price Committee, attributing the high cost of production to the lack of raw materials and the high price of labor, and another report from the National Live Stock Association, urging the placing of 200,000,000 acres of grazing land under Federal control to increase meat production, and the enactment of legislation similar to the Kenyon and Kendrick bills now pending, were among the miscellaneous studies on the increased cost of living. During the week of September 1, 5,000,000 pounds of frozen meat, in storage in New York and Chicago, were offered by the War Department to the municipalities for resale.

Foreign

—By the recent parcel post agreement between this country and Spain exchange will include service to the Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, and possessions in northern Africa.

—Representatives of 300 commercial and financial establishments in the Mississippi Valley will visit Central and South America this fall and winter to determine how business relations can be best built up with the United States.

—Colombia has suspended the petroleum decree issued on June 20, which restricted the rights of foreign companies, contemplated the nationalization of oil lands, and was responsible for the holding up of the Colombian treaty in the United States Senate.

—*El Heraldo de Mexico* announces that General Salvador Alvarados has just published an important work analyzing the problems in Mexico and attempting their solution. The General has concentrated the public need and its remedy into one word—honesty.

—Germany's total financial liabilities, as finally fixed by the Reparation Commission, are $40,000,000,000, of which $15,000,000,000 is allocated for damage to individuals and the remainder to property. Germany has already returned to France 27,000 tons of material taken during the war.

—The Bulgarian Treaty was completed on the 5th and according to reports failed to include settlement of the Thracian question, which would be decided in the Turkish Treaty, then pending. The Austrian Treaty was voted upon by the National Assembly, which decided to sign on the 6th, not without protest against the "violation of Austria's right of free disposal of herself" and the placing of 4,000,000 Germans "forced under foreign rule."

—The order of the Supreme Council to Rumania demanding the evacuation of Hungary and the turning over to the Allies of the seized stores was recognized by the Bucharest Government only after repeated notices were sent. About September 7, General Marderaresco, commanding the Rumanian troops occupying Budapest, received orders from his government to recross the Tisza. Troops were being sent in increasing numbers to the Temesvar region, where hostilities with the Serbs were imminent as a result of the dispute over this district.

—In a letter to *El Heraldo de Mexico,* in response to a request by the paper for expressions of opinion by Americans resident in Mexico, H. T. Oliver, president of the Oliver American Trading Company, expressed the conviction that 90 per cent. of the Americans in Mexico would be opposed to military intervention. Mr. Oliver recognized Mexico's ability to manage its own internal affairs, but stated very frankly the country's need of foreign friendship, immigration, and capital. These could be had only by the Mexican people and Government having a hospitable and friendly feeling toward foreigners, and by respect for all financial obligations.

—England lifted all restrictions on imports on September 1, with the exception of certain articles, including dyestuffs, drugs, chemicals, and others belonging to the so-called key industries. Legislation was expected preventing the sale of goods at prices lower than those current in the country of their manufacture, and enabling the Board of Trade to check any sudden influx of imports. In line with the campaign for administrative economy that is receiving daily increased attention, Baron Fisher of Kilverstone, former first sea lord, advocated the virtual scrapping of the British Navy on the ground that a large complement is today unnecessary, and that the larger ships are almost entirely obsolete. Mr. Walter Long, First Lord of the Admiralty, calculated that naval appropria-

tions could be cut from £140,000,000 to £70,000,000.

—The Carranza Government announced that it was willing to negotiate with the United States on the subject of claims made against it for damages inflicted during the pre-constitutional and constitutional period. Records available in the United States seemed to indicate that the estimate made last month by Luis Cabrera, Mexican Secretary of the Treasury, that claims against the Mexican Government would not exceed 100,000,000 pesos, had probably minimized the damage. On the 4th, the Foreign Office expressed regret over sundry shootings and promised "a satisfactory adjustment." The American Federation of Labor Executive Council, meeting in Washington on the 5th, voiced condemnation of the frequent attempts that have been made to embroil the United States into war with Mexico. The Mexican President's message on the 2d indicated that the deficit of 1917 was fully made up, that reciprocal policing of the border would be acceptable to Mexico, and that the army had undergone a complete reorganization.

—Germany of today has still its separationist movements to contend with. Dr. H. A. Dorton of Bonn, busy with plans to erect a state including the Palatinate, but separated from Prussia, and included in the German Republic, was only restrained by the order of the American military authorities, who made it clear that no separationist activity in the American zone of occupation would be tolerated and that no territorial adjustments could be decided by the military. Dr. Ludwig Haas, Minister of the Interior for Baden, has been engaged, it is understood, in the attempt to divorce the Palatinate from Germany. The two movements are in no wise related or coördinated. The French have shown tolerance to these incipient efforts at division, but the American and British authorities have had little patience with them. The Supreme Council, whatever its views as to the propriety of separationist activity, determined that Germany was not to be augmented by the incorporation of the present German Austria. The German Government was informed that Article 61, providing for representation of Austria in the German Parliament, must be eliminated.

General

—The population of the Commonwealth of Australia was recently officially given as 5,080,000.

—The resignation of William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, has been accepted by President Wilson.

—The annual expenses of New York State are now about $90,000,000, its gross funded debt is $236,214,660, and its direct tax is 1.01 mill.

—King Albert and Queen Elizabeth of Belgium are to arrive in Washington about October 1 and will be guests of the President and Mrs. Wilson at the White House.

—An elaborate display, to be permanent and known as the International Exposition of Municipal Equipment, will be held in the Grand Central Palace, New York City, beginning October 15.

—Alexander Kahn, chairman of the People's Relief Committee, announces that a twenty-million-dollar nation-wide campaign for the relief of Jews in Eastern Europe will start on December 1, lasting one week.

—Charles M. Galloway of South Carolina, resigned from the Civil Service Commission because, according to his statement September 6, of his failure to "coöperate with Postmaster General Burleson in debauching the Civil Service and making a sham of the merit system."

—The National Security League plans a countrywide educational campaign against radicalism on Sunday, September 14. Governors of twenty-two States, mayors of 100 cities, and speakers, including Elihu Root, Job E. Hedges, Robert M. McElroy, and Charles E. Lydecker have promised coöperation.

—Charges that Secretary Baker, Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General, and Colonel John H. Wigmore "established a propaganda bureau to discredit critics of the existing military justice system and to defend the system" were made before a Senate Military sub-committee by Samuel T. Ansell, formerly Acting Judge Advocate General.

—The potash deposits of Alsace-Lorraine are the subject of a report by Trade Commissioner Redfield. The production of these workings, it is calculated, will supply the world's requirements of potash for 250 years on the basis of the consumption of the last pre-war year. They are the richest deposits in the world and are much more easily worked than those in the interior of Germany.

—Mrs. Joseph Fels and Justice Louis J. Brandeis returned from London to New York on the 8th, and proceeded to the twenty-second annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America to be held in Chicago, beginning September 14. Led by President Julian Mack of Chicago, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, the discussion at this convention will center on the status of the Jews in Europe, with especial regard to the prospect of their political emancipation.

—Beginning October 1 and continuing for a year the cost of telephoning in New York City will be decreased to subscribers eight per cent. and no subscriber will be required to pay more than five cents for a five-minute telephone talk within the five boroughs, as a result of the acceptance on the 4th of the report of the company's counsel by the Public Service Commission for the Second District. About $2,500,000 a year will be saved to the 600,000 listed subscribers.

—At the final session of the New York conference of the Zionist Organization of America on September 1, resolutions were adopted recommending that the next World Zionist Conference be held in America, previous ones having taken place in Switzerland, The Hague, London, and Berlin. The conference planned to take steps to unite into a General Zionist Organization the three Zionist parties of America—the Zionist Organization, with a membership of 156,000; the Poale Zion, the socialist body, with 8,000; and the orthodox wing of the Zionist movement, called the Mizrachi, with 11,000.

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Every other week the Urban League Special Bulletin Appears on this page

Unearned Wealth*

By ANDREW CARNEGIE

IMAGINE an honest, hard working farmer who finds himself able to give to each of his two sons a farm. They have married admirable young women of the neighborhood—no mistake about their virtues. The sons find farms, one in the centre of Manhattan Island, the other beyond the Harlem. They cast lots for the farms as the fairest method, thus letting the fates decide. Neither had a preference. The Harlem farm falls to the elder, the Manhattan to the younger. Mark now the problem of wealth—how it develops.

Their children grow up and are educated together. The growth of New York City northward soon makes the children of the younger son millionaires, while those of the elder remain simple farmers in comfortable circumstances, but fortunate in this beyond their cousins, still of the class who have to perform some service to their fellows and thus earn a living.

Now, who or what made this difference in wealth? Not labor, not skill. No, nor superior ability, sagacity, nor enterprise, nor public service. The community created the millionaire's wealth. While he slept it grew as fast as when he was awake. It would have risen exactly as it did had he been on the Harlem and his brother on the Manhattan farm.

The younger farmer, now a great property-holder, dies, and his children in due time pass away, each leaving millions, since the farm has become part of a great city.

. . .

Let population remain stationary, and so do values of property. Let it decline, and values fall even more rapidly; and this law holds in the whole of that vast and greatest field of wealth, real estate. In no other field is the making of wealth so greatly dependent upon the community, so little upon the owner, who may wholly neglect it without injury. Therefore, no other form of wealth should contribute to the nation so generously.

*Quoted from "The Gospel of Wealth."

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The Public alone of all the magazines dares to make clear cut issues, yet in a sane and judicious way. It is bearing the banner of liberalism, and all liberals should rally around it.—Stanwood Cobb, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.

I have read all the New York weeklies during the war. It is perfectly plain that *The Public* is now the most discriminating in its editorials and in its general policy.—William E. Dodd, Professor of American History, University of Chicago.

I am an editorial writer, and read many papers and magazines, but I find none which gives me such sheer satisfaction and comfort as *The Public*. Many times I feel disheartened by the thronging social and economic problems, and frightened and disgusted over the fearful ignorance and apathy regarding these problems. Then I read *The Public* and discover that others are watching and analyzing the currents of events as I try to do—that wiser and stronger heads than mine have a vision and a plan—and again I feel relieved and hopeful.—From a Special Writer for the Newspaper Enterprise Association.

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