THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

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The Country School

Herbert Quick

The President Did Not Fail

George Darien

The Crisis in Mexico

David Starr Jordan

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WHILE we are waking up to the significance of the country school, not only as a means of making good scholars and citizens out of boys and girls, but as a factor in forming the new civilization that is overspreading rural life, we are still liable to overlook the importance of the country newspaper as an organ of education. The utterances of the writers of the great metropolitan press are habitually discounted. The city daily is filled with material from the pens of men who, so far as the readers are concerned, are nondescript and unknown. High-sounding deliverances may come from the most inexperienced boy or the most unworthy ne'er-do-well on whom luck or nature has conferred the knack of expression. The newspaper of the great city lacks personality and human touch. To all intents and purposes, no one is responsible for its sentiments; no retribution can overtake its mischief-making. Its policy may be foreign or unsocial.

BUT the country editor lives in his community and is visible to his readers. They are his neighbors and friends. He cannot write for his paper sentiments that his community repudiates, and cover his traces with the impersonal and undecipherable smokescreen of the unsigned contribution. In the conduct of his paper he has the same restraints and stimulants that other men have in their private and public relations with their fellow citizens. Hence it is to the interest of the country editor to keep his paper up to the standard of the community's moral life. And as matter of fact, every State in the Union has a number of papers edited by men whose thoughtful expressions really carry weight and help to mold opinion in wide areas of population. The nation needs many more. Every editor should qualify himself for his work by careful consideration of social and economic truths. Our higher schools and our colleges should never forget, in their direction of students to their work in the world, that the profession of the country editor opens signal opportunities to the laudable ambition of men and women writers.

WHAT is behind the barrage of lies that seem to have superseded arguments in the treaty fight? Hardly a day passes without the opposition newspapers informing us that Senator So and So is reluctantly compelled to vote for certain amendments or reservations because he is unable to reconcile the treaty with his Americanism. The name of the Senator is changed daily, but the story is substantially the same. The New York *Tribune* published a fanciful tale the other day about Senator Ashurst's opposition. The Senator repudiated it the next day. The Washington *Post* has Senators Smith, Simmons, Shields and Overman overworked issuing denials of the *Post's* fanciful tales. Virtually all of the Senators have repudiated these oracles. But what is back of this persistence in publishing? Who is the particular individual responsible for the sudden unanimity of the Chicago *Tribune*, the Washington *Post*, and the New York *Tribune*?

EVERY day the New York *Tribune* and other facetious, not to say flippant, critics set up a new straw man, which they call the "Plumb Plan," and then proceed to knock it to pieces for the delectation of their readers. But they appear to take good care to give the real Plumb plan a wide berth. They have set forth the Cummins plan as all that the Plumb plan is not, but they have made no effort to compare the really essential features of the two proposals. Under the Cummins plan the Government fixes rates, regulates the income and the outgo, and leaves little for the owners to do but draw their dividends. Yet two things are to be noted. One is, that new extensions paid for out of the earnings of the roads will belong to the owners. The other is, that at the end of fifty years the owners will still own the roads, and the public will enter upon another fifty years of payments. Opposed to these two points, the Plumb plan proposes that extensions of roads shall be paid for by the territory benefited by the extension, and at the end of fifty years the Government will own the roads clear of all encumbrances.

PARTISANSHIP, discreditable as it often is to those who practice it, nevertheless may sometimes serve a good purpose. Fatuous opposition to the Administration, by certain Senators who are so eager to discredit the President that they oppose the treaty, has its good side in their obstruction to the plan for a large army. Had the Administration asked for an army of fifty thousand men or even one hundred thousand, opposition Senators would have been horrified and would have pointed to it as another evidence of Democratic inefficiency. But since an army of 576,800 officers and men has been proposed, coupled with a military establishment based upon compulsory training, the opposition Senators declare that less than half that number of men will be sufficient. Even that passed master of militarism, General Wood, says that 225,000 or at most 250,000 men will be ample. If only this blind opposition to everything emanating from the Administration could be carried to the point of opposing compulsory military training, it would atone in some degree for their obstructive tactics toward the only means available that will make large armies unnecessary.

ATTORNEY GENERAL PALMER is to have an able assistant in his investigation and prosecution of packers who are profiteering. John H. Atwood of Kansas City, who has been appointed special assistant in the packers' case, will bring to his work wide experience as a lawyer and politician, who, though a strong party man, has always been a pronounced progressive leader. His friends in Kansas City say that for twenty years he has stood the test, and that his appointment may be looked upon as a proclamation to the packers that they have got the fight of their lives on their hands. Whatever may be said against the proposed licensing plan, the packers must now face a searchlight that will lay bare the iniquities of the case, and will in the long run be conducive to economic health.

THE death of General Botha removes another great figure from the scene and brings back the memory of an even greater figure. General Botha's career was a surprising one, and contained no more surprising episode than the one that found him stepping from the leadership of the Boer armies to the Premiership of the subjugated Transvaal. Regardless of the other shortcomings in colonial administration that the British Government may have been guilty of, her administration in South Africa has been a success. The British statesmanship that preceded the Boer War was the direct cause of that war. Had it continued Briton and Boer would still be at each other's throat. It was the broad humanity of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that perceived that a harmonious South African state could only be founded upon just and equitable treatment of the Boer population. The military defeat of the South African Republics was in effect a defeat for British democracy. But the genius of Campbell-Bannerman turned it into a victory. His faith in democracy has been of infinite material gain to Great Britain. The substantial services rendered to the Allied cause during the war by the Union of South Africa under the Premiership of the man who fifteen years earlier was in arms against the British forces was a distinct material gain. Yet the most important advance was made in Great Britain itself, for that new conception of justice has been the principal nucleus around

which liberal British thought was rallied. Campbell-Bannerman cast bread upon the waters confident that it would return after many days. That is statesmanship.

ITALY has worked out one method of dealing with falling production. Absentee landlordism has had its effect in that country, with precisely the same result as in America. Speculative increase in the value of land has resulted in a decrease in her per capita production of foodstuffs. The particular shining example of absentee landlordism is in the Roman Campagna where the latifundia system still prevails. These lands have been of absolutely no value in the past to the people of Italy, having been leased principally for pasturage without regard to the agricultural development of the country. The desperate food situation produced by the war has forced the Italian Government to break up many a splendid pasture which has not produced a crop for a hundred years or more. While it was looked upon at first as a mere war measure, it is interesting to note that the Italian Government has finally come to the conclusion that the adoption of modern agricultural methods, together with the utilization of idle lands, will make Italy self-sustaining. While it would have been vastly better had Italy come to this conclusion without waiting to be convinced by the submarine, it is well that she has come to it at all. One wonders if it will be necessary for the United States to go to the same hard school.

IT is to the credit of Sir Auckland Geddes, Minister of the British National Service of Reconstruction, that he has denied the plea of certain manufacturers for an embargo on German goods. The Minister says bluntly that Germany must get her trade started or perish, and that trade with Germany will help not hurt Great Britain. If British trade is handicapped by conditions growing out of the war, German trade is still more handicapped, and if the British trade is to be revived without delay, German trade also must be revived. It would be absurd to expect Germany to meet her treaty obligations with the nations of the world if hampered by restrictions and embargoes of those nations, and it would be to invite common disaster to attempt to strangle such a nation. As soon as the little politicians at Washington have finished their moon dance over the treaty, the men of affairs throughout the world will set about restoring industry.

INVESTIGATION of Mexico by the subcommittee of the Senate begins under suspicious conditions. The chairman, Senator Fall, has been notorious as a Mexican baiter. The second member, Marcus B. Smith, is from the border State of Arizona, while the third member is Senator Brandegee of Connecticut. The first and third members are Republicans who bitterly oppose the President; the second is a Democrat, who might easily be expected to reflect the local border opinion. Should the investigation be conducted with the same animus that actuated the Foreign Affairs Committee during its treaty investigation, there is grave danger that it may lead to mischief. Though there is reason to believe that the general public is indifferent to the Mexican situation, there is a small body of financiers who have been tireless in their efforts to bring about intervention. If they are permitted to exploit the grievances of individuals and whet the friction between the border populations, the findings of the committee may lead to serious results. No committee has ever sat in Washington that needs closer watching.

SHORTER hours and higher wages, once the goal of labor, have left the working man as unsatisfied as before. The high cost of living appears to trouble him as much as ever. But he has not lacked for good advice. The committee of employes of the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company sets its face against higher wages at the present time, saying that the high cost of living is to be abated by "diligent, efficient, and conscientious labor, by thrift, and by avoidance of waste and extravagance." Similar advice comes from John Robert Clynes, British labor representative from Manchester, in the House of Commons, who says, the three great needs of today are "reduced expenditure, stricter economy, and greater output." All of which is true. But what troubles the discontented laborer is the fact that enormous fortunes have been made

during these very times of stress, and he cannot get quite out of his mind the charge of the demagogue that there is some connection between these fortunes and the high cost of living.

THE success of the Industrial Conference to be called by the President will depend largely upon the attitude of the delegates themselves. Whether any immediate gain will result from such a conference is problematical. It will require a high order of statesmanship to bring the opposing factions into anything that resembles accord. The chief reason for conflict is that the interests represented are really not clearly defined. Labor is a definite economic group, but the employers' delegates will in no sense represent capital as a clearly defined interest, except in the loose sense that capital means investment. The statesmanship of the next twenty years must be directed toward establishing a line of cleavage between productive capital and mere investment. If true capital can somehow be dissociated from privilege many animosities betwen employer and employe will disappear. The situation is analogous to that in England in the free trade fight. Cobden succeeded in dissociating the manufacturers from the landed gentry of England and the manufacturers found common cause with the common folk of England. Some such realignment is needed in America.

Can Public Servants Strike?

THE Boston police strike is likely to lead to some new definitions of terms in the economic struggle, and a restatement of principles. Collective bargaining, in spite of a few doubters, is now as well recognized as the right of self-determination. Judge Gary, speaking for the Steel Trust, is inviting a physical demonstration, and President Shonts of the New York subway appears still to think he can flout organized labor. But the general run of people realize that individual bargaining had to be discarded when the hired superintendent came between employer and employe.

Admitting the principle of collective bargaining, have we determined its scope and limitations? Granted that laborers in their several trades may unite in dealing with employers, and enforce their demands by means of the strike, does this right to strike extend to all labor without qualification?

The Boston police attempted to exercise that right, but President Gompers ordered the men back to their places. Matthew Woll, vice-president, declares that the Federation opposes strikes by policemen or other municipal, State, or Federal employes. But it does hold, he says, that all wage earners have the right to associate with one another collectively to improve their condition. President Wilson is even more emphatic when he says: "In my judgment the obligation of a policeman is as sacred and direct as the obligation of a soldier. He is a public servant, not a private employe, and the whole honor of the community is in his hands. He has no right to prefer any private advantage to the public safety."

The trouble has come from confusing public and private interests. The police are public servants in the same sense that a highway is a public utility. They are employed and paid by the whole community, and they should be at the service of all the people in the same sense that a roadway is. They should be as impartial as the judge on the bench. If strife were as common between Catholics and Protestants as formerly, a police force composed exclusively of either faction would be accused of partiality by the other. For the police to ally themselves as a body with the Chamber of Commerce, or any other employers' association, would create distrust on the part of labor. A similar doubt will exist if they are allied with any outside labor organization. Unless the law is above suspicion in all its operations it loses much of its force.

But the very fact that the police cannot consistently ally themselves with a part of the people in a way that divides their allegiance to all the people, makes it the more obligatory that other means be provided for redressing grievances. Boston is the victim of "politics." Its people have been particularly flagrant in shirking their civic duties.

In earlier days a tax of two per cent. on intangible property drove bond and stock holding citizens from Boston to the surrounding

towns where the tax rate was much less. The same people have ever since objected to being taken into greater Boston for fear their little immaculate towns may be overwhelmed by the rude politicians of the city. Hence, the people whom Dr. Holmes had in mind, when he spoke of Boston as a "state of mind" and not a place, live outside the city; while its affairs are dominated largely by foreign-born citizens within. To attempt to recapture control by placing the police force of a Democratic city under a Republican Governor was not a good way to repair the original blunder.

All things considered, the law and order people are presuming too much in assuming that all the fault lies with the police, and that they must be punished as deserters instead of strikers. The case is not unlike that of secession, which was discussed by good citizens of this country down to the Civil War. After that secession was treason. Where a right is questioned there is a difference in the moral guilt between the first and subsequent offenses. But the citizens and the police have blundered in this Boston strike. The police have learned their lesson. It is to be hoped that the citizens have learned theirs. Certainly no unnecessary obstacle should be placed in the way of the labor leaders who are striving so hard to bring order out of our industrial chaos.

Beggars on Horseback

THE steel strike seems inevitable. Compromise has failed. An industry that has been in the habit of going to Congress to ask for protective tariffs in order to protect labor has refused to deal with its own workingmen. Regrettable though it may seem, a widespread strike in the entire industry appears to be the only way out. The steel corporation itself has refused the most friendly overtures. The moral burden for the strike lies not at the doors of the unions that have declared war, but at the door of the steel corporation itself, which has refused peace. Doubtless, Judge Gary and his associates feel that they are being asked to consent to an unwarranted invasion of their personal rights. They should remember that people who accept public alms must necessarily surrender something of their personal liberty of choice. When Judge Gary and his associates come to Congress to ask for a subsidy, by way of a protective tariff, they come as beggars—truculent beggars, it is true, although subservience would become them better.

Not only the Director General of Railroads, but the Comptroller of the Currency as well, has recently called public attention to the enormous profits made by the steel company. The steel corporation owes it to the people of the United States either to devote that subsidy to the purpose for which it was intended, or to return it to the public treasury. No one who knows anything of the inhuman working conditions prevailing in that industry can have any tolerance for further procrastination. The President's plea to Mr. Gompers for a postponement of the strike until after the industrial conference was based upon the President's desire for peace. Had the President known that there had been seven murders of organizers within ten days preceding his telegram, it is doubtful whether he would have sent it. There seems to be no remedy but the test of endurance.

John Mitchell

JOHN MITCHELL is dead. His body is laid at rest in Scranton. Yet the crowds of simple-minded folk who thronged the Cathedral are ample testimony that John Mitchell lives. The value of men like Mitchell to the nation lies in their ability to communicate the spirit of democracy to others. It transcends any mere material contribution to society. A newspaper, in commenting upon John Mitchell's career, compares his services to society favorably with those of a captain of industry who preceded him by a few days. Somehow the spirit instinctively rebels from such a comparison. After all, what services has any duke of steel or prince of anthracite rendered which entitles him to the thanks of the world? The most that can be said of him is that he has striven for a great prize and obtained it. The fact that he has attained eminence may be a proof of ability, but ability is a common enough virtue. We smother enough of it annually in the slums to make hundreds of captains of industry. If the rich man has built his fortune honestly, it is well; but honesty is common

enough. In any event the captains of commerce and finance whom newspapers acclaim are well rewarded by the possession of the prizes. Not so with the Mitchells. The men who are of surpassing value to society are those who serve for the joy of service, the men who perform their day's work in the cause of democracy without hope of reward or fear of punishment. Such men are few.

Yet there should be many. John Mitchell came out of the coal mines, as Lincoln came from the cabin. The fact that more Mitchells do not come out of mines and more Lincolns out of cabins is due to no scarcity of potential material. Careful of our corn, we plant it only in fertile ground. But we sow our human crops in stony soil. What bountiful yields in men of service might we not enjoy if we would only wipe out those defects in human husbandry that permit us to snuff out high qualities and rare abilities by long hours, racking toil, and poverty? John Mitchell somehow won through these adverse, artificial circumstances. While he was alive his voice was always lifted to make it easier for others to break through the hard crust that shuts out opportunity. We can honor his memory best by making it easier for other men to serve as he served.

London Housing

ONE of the proposals for the solution of the street car problem is that the city operate the lines, charge a low fare and make up the deficit by taxation. A similar plan for housing is reported from London. It is announced that the London County Council will erect ten thousand houses upon which a deficit of £240,000 a year is anticipated. Another nineteen thousand cottages is to follow with a loss of £165,000. The whole venture as planned may entail an annual loss of $5,000,000 on the city. This implies social bankruptcy. It is a confession that a large part of the people cannot earn their own way.

It is unwise, the moralist says, to have population too much condensed; hence, there must be low carfares to encourage people to move away from the center of the city. The people must have decent housing because of physical and moral health; therefore, sanitary houses must be built even if the rental does not bring a commercial return.

Granted the premises this is sound reasoning. To permit housing that would result in moral or physical decay of the people would mean social suicide for the community. But is this the best way of meeting admitted failure? It is better that society give the unfortunate bread than to let him starve. But to give bread to a considerable number would be to undermine their moral integrity.

To confess that there are a considerable number of people who cannot pay their way is to admit social bankruptcy. All nature's creatures of the lower orders are self-sustaining. It is absurd to say that man who has subjected all forces to his will cannot support himself. The primitive savage fashions himself a shelter and obtains food for his family. Is it to be said that civilized man with labor multiplied manifold fails?

No one ever has claimed that there is not enough wealth for all. At the very time that the London County Council is framing its proposal men and women are living riotously on incomes that would have shamed kings and princes in earlier days. There are at the same time vast numbers of vacant lots within the confines of London. The Duke of Westminster alone draws in ground rents a sufficient amount to make up the deficit on the nineteen thousand houses that the County Council is to erect. Is there no connection between these two facts?

The Government of London renders many services to its citizens, but in order to enjoy them the people must pay all that the services are worth to men who own the sites on which London stands. And the Government, instead of drawing on these site owners for the cost of the service, levies taxes upon the people who have already paid all that it is worth to the site owners.

The same thing is true in regard to transportation. The projection of a car line into new territory is a service of government to the people. But any one who would enjoy that service must first pay to the owners of the land in that place, either in purchase price or in rent, what it is worth. Afterward, when the railroad is not self-supporting, it is proposed to

raise the fare; that is, it is proposed that the patron of the cars shall pay a second time for what he has already paid the owner of the building site.

If the owners of the land of London will pay into the public treasury annually an amount equal to the value that the County Council Government confers upon their holdings, it will not be necessary to tax improvements or industry, and the working citizens will not only be self-supporting, but they will have abundance besides. The same will be true regarding street cars. If the owners of the land through which cars run will pay to the city an amount equal to the value conferred upon their land by the cars, the company will be self-supporting on a fare of less than five cents. The whole question of rents for buildings and fares for street cars depends upon whether or not the Government intends to collect from its citizens for the service rendered to them.

Working Men and Working Women as Makers of Laws

THE age in which we live is marked by nothing more conspicuously than by the consciousness of self and the assertion of rights on the part of the world's workers. They have gone through an era of self-education by which they have found out what they want. They have had a long period of self-expression in which they have learned to define what they want in terms that the world can understand. They are beginning to obtain what they think they want. If they are to hold what they get they must be themselves the makers of the laws.

It requires no inborn genius to make a law. Statutory law is simply the expression of men's agreement to coöperate in conformity to certain rules. A collection of weavers, or typesetters, or shoemakers, or manicurists, endowed with common sense and properly informed, is competent to create the rules by which they should live; and working men need to learn that the idea of society is simply the union of all sorts and conditions of men and women living and working together for the common good. Workers, in the wide definition, are the great majority in any civilized nation; and it is of the essence of democracy that the majority shall rule. But democracy and the world are not safe for each other unless the majority is rightly educated and is competent to make the laws for its own self-rule.

Hitherto, under undemocratic procedure, it has been customary to leave the business of lawmaking to lawyers and to those who aimed at getting written into the statutes those things that supported and safeguarded the interests they believed to be identical with their rights. Laws were written for the bearers of titles, for the owners of land, for the possessors of special privileges, for the beneficiaries of inheritance, for those who wished to control natural resources and transportation. In our own Congress there are quite too many lawyers and representatives of special interests who are intent on framing precepts for other people to follow. Workingmen should get themselves represented by men with thoughts and emotions and points of view like their own. They should themselves know the laws they need and know how to get them. Then they would not be deceived by pre-election promises as a part of the game of politics played by professional tricksters.

It has been said many times that woman suffrage is a labor question. In this there is a deeper truth than is usually seen. Neither the average woman nor the average worker can be thought of as a public exploiter on a great scale. Their interest in immediate moral claims of family and community tethers them. They have given hostages to fortune. Their enlightened influence as lawmakers naturally would be social and beneficent.

But the greatest good that would spring from the workers making the laws would be the practical effect on their own psychology. The extreme radical labor man is flippant, inconsequential, and ludicrously lop-sided as long as he regards himself as an outside critic or as merely an agitator for new advantages. The moment he seriously realizes that it is for him to succeed or fail in the framing of workable rules for the larger form of society, he is perforce led to look at the points of view and rights of other members of the social body besides himself. In the measure that he is level-headed and instinctually social his egotism is thrown into abeyance, and he manfully studies difficulties

in order rightly to overcome them. Nothing like the police strike in Boston could occur if workers felt the dignity and responsibility of lawmaking for themselves and others. They would see that no law can be permanent that is not good for all concerned. They would realize that there are no rights without obligations, no just emoluments without responsibilities. We shall have the permanent assurance of a real democratic society only when our lawmaking bodies are made up of vitally representative men who are doing in very diverse ways the real work of the world, and are thoroughly quickened with the sense of their obligation not merely to themselves, or their so-called "class," but to society as a solidarity of the whole.

Education for Life

By Frederick J. Teggart

Of the History Department of the University of California; Author of the "Processes of History"

COLLEGES, not infrequently, commit crimes. They turn the hopeful face of youth backward to the past. They tax life in the interests of tradition. They bind men to the obsolete, and leave them unequipped for the present. It is true that youth finds means of escape,—by minimal conformity to requirements; by worship of athletics; by utilizing the degree as a badge of social distinction. Youth, however, cannot reform the institution. Colleges live on the testimonials of the successful. Were they alive to the world of today they would take counsel of their own who have failed.

The final aim of the college is not to educate men for life, but to maintain the succession of teachers. To the prospective teacher is revealed the wisdom that knowledge is partial and incomplete; to the undergraduate the knowledge imparted is final. The curse of colleges is the finality of professorial utterances.

Many successful men have never been to college,—they have escaped it. They have a vision of what they have lost, and devote themselves incessantly through life to repairing their misfortune. Those who enter by the back door often see more of the house than visitors who pay for admission at the front gate. Civilization has erected a palace in which every man may dwell. Colleges assume the guardianship of the palace, and take charge of the keys. To most men they display the keys without unlocking the doors of the chambers. To visit a palace, and to inhabit it, are quite different things. The first may be done in the brief period of four years; the second implies a lifetime of persistent activity. Finality in teaching locks the door of the room as the visitor is ushered out. Genuine teaching leaves the door open, that the new possessor may have continual access to his inheritance.

Three things a man must know,—how to make a living; how to find companionship in himself; how to get on with other men. No one can be of service who does not know these things.

An unemployed bachelor of arts is at the mercy of chance; a good shoemaker is free of the world. A diploma is not exchangeable for a breakfast, and a fraternity pin is not a substitute for a knowledge of bookkeeping. It is a moral obligation of the educator to insist that the first duty of man is to avoid a condition of dependence. The palace of civilization is not provided with a free-lunch counter. The university exists to equip men for certain recognized occupations requiring expert knowledge; it should survey the country and make provision for coming wants. Leadership presupposes initiative; the effective guide does not wait to be driven forward. The community should not be left to specify what the university may do for it. Every man who leaves the university unprepared for some vital service is a burden to the community, and a standing rebuke to the system of education by which he was produced.

A man's mind is his only constant companion. A bore is one who has nothing of interest to contribute. The bore you most frequently meet is yourself. Boredom is a confession that you have exhausted your own resources. "Movies" are, in large measure, the refuge of the intellectually impoverished. Multiplicity of cheap entertainment prevents the discovery of widespread mental emptiness. If you are to retire with a fortune at fifty, how, do you imagine, will you put in the deadly time? If

you are to have Saturdays off for the future, how will you escape weariness? To live in the palace of civilization a man must know the resources it has to offer. It should be the business of the guardians of the palace to display its possibilities. The years of youth are not enough to explore its contents; once surveyed the contents could not be exhausted in many lives. To live with himself in contentment a man must have grown accustomed to inhabiting at least an apartment in the palace of life.

A man must know how to make a living, and how to find companionship in himself, but he must also know how to get on with others.

The first requisite for getting on with any one is to discover some interest in common. When "business" as a subject is exhausted or debarred, we fall back on "politics." This has been our perennial source of argument and opinion. But the heated expression of party views has, of late, given place to a new type of serious discussion. Despite Republican Senators, we are now more interested in the problem of human welfare than in the success of party generalship. He is blind indeed who does not see that we have come to a crucial point in the progress of the ages.

The new seriousness springs from the presence of a new voice in the debate. The worker now occupies the floor. He has long been the subject of argument, but now he speaks, and the audience has become grave. He has removed the discussion from "politics" and "business," and has challenged our accepted conceptions of life. "Whosoever will not work, neither shall he eat," is an injunction that he has transformed into: "Neither shall he eat, who will not listen." Today we are brought face to face with old problems over which theologians, philosophers, and economists have vexed their brains in vain; but now we have come to a point where only practical solutions will serve our needs or be considered.

We have thus discovered an interest that all men have in common. We must solve the problem of living together in peace and quiet—or perish. The solution of this problem can only be reached by the acquisition of knowledge, and to acquire knowledge we must have education. What we want is not education to maintain tradition, but education for life.

We now face the necessity of reëducating the world. The object of this reëducation is to enable men to deal with our common problem. In this situation the old formal teaching will not serve. We cannot any longer argue from the theories of Aristotle, or appeal to the sentimentalities of Jean Jacques Rousseau. We cannot take refuge in what men, long since dead, have said, for we are confronted with an emergency in which living men must act.

Education for life must include all men. Wisdom can no longer be regarded as the privilege of the few. If the many vote, they must think. Today power rests with the many, and, if action is to be directed aright, they must be given the opportunity to consider. There can be no unity among us with a great gulf fixed between the "wise" and the "ignorant."

Education for life cannot be concentrated within a few years. There is no institution from which you can go forth "educated" once and for all. No finality of utterance will close the discussion on which we are now engaged. Education for life must continue through life. The college of the future may not close its doors. In the book of life there is no "finis."

To participate in education for life men must have time. Only through the utilization of time may knowledge and wisdom be acquired. We have tried the experiment of intrusting wisdom to the few, and have given them leisure that they might use it in the common interest. We have tried the experiment of maintaining superiors that they might tell men what to believe and what to do. We have tried the experiment of promulgating truth, and demanding acceptance of it. Now we are about to try the experiment of promoting wisdom by giving time to the many. The basis of the new order is time for all, that all may pursue knowledge and understanding.

Finally, with time to utilize, and a problem for all to inquire into, we must have unity of effort. We cannot standardize opinion, but we may agree as to how problems are to be approached. The essence of education is an understanding of method. The net result of the experience of the past is the discovery of how to approach problems with a view to their solution. This result is the one outcome of human experience that all men may utilize impartially. The hope of the future lies in a developed consciousness of scientific method.

The Country School

By Herbert Quick

Chairman of the Federal Farm Loan Board; well-known newspaper writer and author

"TELL a man how to do a thing, and he will not know how to do it; show him how by doing it before his eyes, and he still will not know how to do it. The only way for him really to learn is by doing it himself." This was said to me once by one of America's greatest teachers, Dr. Seaman A. Knapp—the man to whom more than to any one else we owe the present system of county agents who carry on the educational system of the Department of Agriculture mainly by demonstration work in localities. The work so done is the most important agricultural education in our present system, for it makes it possible for the people to teach themselves by doing things with their own hands.

The country school should be, far more extensively than it is, an agency for making such education universal. "Learn to do by doing" is an accepted educational maxim; but like other maxims, it is heard more often than believed, and believed more frequently than realized in action. In the main it is applied to such things as learning to read by reading, to write by writing, to compute by computation, to perform all sorts of educational tasks by performing them. It does not get down to the heart of things by making educational processes a part of life. It is easy to see the difficulties that are met with in relating the reading, writing, mathematics, geography, history, physiology, botany, chemistry, physics, natural history, and the like of city schools to the lives of the pupils; though with all its difficulty it is done with much more success in good city schools than in the rural schools. And yet, the life of the rural neighborhood and its physical surroundings constitute the most wonderful educational plant in the world. No city school can by any possibility acquire the paraphernalia for educational uses that every rural school possesses; and if it did, it would not relate to the lives of the pupils and their parents. It would be after all a false world in which the pupils were taught; but to the country child these things are meat and drink and their mothers' milk. And yet, in no schools, on the average, is the instruction so divorced from life as in the country. It reminds me of a wedding festival I once saw down on the Gulf Coast in a fishing village. The bride was decked out with artificial orange blossoms bought at Mobile; while on all the trees round about were real orange blossoms, rich with fragrance, to be had for the plucking. The same false notion is sometimes heard expressed by a certain sort of people on looking at a beautiful rose in the words, "It's almost as nice as an artificial one!" The real success of the average "successful" rural school is to be as near like a poor city school as it can be. It buys orange blossoms made by hand, and carries them to the groves; and it looks upon the artificial as better than the genuine.

And yet, most country people are obliged to learn the rudiments of the literature, the art, the science, the economics, the bookkeeping, the dramatics, and the social and business organization of rural life, after leaving school,—and most of them never learn them at all. The school district and, for that matter, each farm, *is* geography, political and physical and descriptive. The crops are multifold lessons in botany. Soil conditions lead to chemistry, geology, physics, bacteriology, and botany. The weeds alone are a course of study. The seeds in the grains make up lessons in easy mathematics for the little ones, and complex problems in proportions and business losses for the older ones. Why is it necessary that a certain field needs to be limed before it will produce a leguminous crop? Why does a leguminous crop when plowed down add fertility to the soil? What does it add that may be called fertility? Nitrogen. And what other chemical elements are usually found in the soil in such limited quantities that they must be conserved? Phosphorus and potassium. Where do we get phosphorus? In what form do we get it? Where do we get potash? Germany. Is there an ade-

quate supply of it anywhere else? Not so far as we know. How much is there in our soil of the elements nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium? Write and find out. Ask some one to come from the State College and tell us about it. Is there any way of getting nitrogen as cheaply as from the natural nitrate deposits from which the world is most largely supplied? Where are those deposits? Chile. Here we have the trinity of nations which as we now know the world control the fertilizer business—the United States for phosphorus, Germany for potash, Chile for nitrogen. We are plunged into history, geography, chemistry, bacteriology, botany, politics, both national and international, local marketing, freight rates, monopoly, geology, principles of nutrition, tariff, ships, history, and the organization of a world order—in studying the supply of fertilizer for next year's crop.

The profits of farming depend on a balanced ration for the livestock; and the principles of the balanced ration are the same with human beings. Sanitation is a single problem; and the sanitation of the farm home leads into easy problems in mechanics, chemistry, and bacteriology. The principles of breeding have their human implications, as well as their economic uses. In no *milieu* is there such abundant opportunity for the practical study of domestic economy as in the rural school district; and nowhere else is it left so barren of educational utility, or so unorganized. Nowhere is society so in need of organization as in the open country, and nowhere has the school so little competition in becoming the social center. If the school makes life its course of study—rural life—the whole neighborhood will be drawn naturally into the circle of its activities; and no life is so full of things that, if studied, are so truly educative, even in the sense in which the word is used by those who look askance upon anything "practical."

What becomes, some one will ask, of "culture" in this sort of school? Of music, of poetry, of the ability to write pure English, of the beginnings of intellectual life? Well, what becomes of them in the average rural school as things are? Nothing is so barren of these things as that rural school which I cannot refrain again from condemning as a bad copy of a poor city school. The really ruralized schools of the sort I am describing, and their number, either wholly or partly devoted to the ideal, is considerable and increasing, have the power of arousing the mind, awakening thought, and stimulating interest. Given these, and the natural tendency of the child to use the literary tools with which he is becoming acquainted will do the rest. And the rest should not be neglected. No life runs off into more avenues of literature and music than rural life. It runs from Milton's "Il Penseroso" to Joyce Kilmer's lines "On a Tree."

In the sort of school of which I am speaking books become secondary, as they should be. Every great genius in education has attacked the bookishness of schools, has won his victory; and then has seen the books come in to "teach" the bookless system. In the school of which I speak most of the written matter would be made by the pupils themselves, and printed matter would be used for reference Yet, the bookmakers keep coming in with new books for the purpose of making live teaching easy. It cannot be made easy. In the rural schools, even more than in those of the cities and towns, the teaching falls below the ideals of every educational thinker mainly because the profession of the teacher, and even more, of the superintendents, is not given that substantial recognition in emoluments, and even more, in standing and authority, which is necessary if minds of the right type are to be kept at work in it. The books come in to take the place of the human being. The system of rural schools merely hinted at in this article is capable of being tabulated and manualized. To some extent it has been; and to a very limited extent indeed, it should be perhaps; but I must repeat my favorite story in this connection. The home team was losing. The game was being thrown away by the pitcher. At last a changing voice from the bleachers croaked the sentiments of the crowd. "Take him out!" it shouted. "Take him out! The poor slob—he learned to pitch out of a book!"

The rural school constitutes one of the very great undeveloped assets of American life—of world life. One day, it will take advantage of its opportunities; and then people will emigrate from the cities to the farms in order that their children may have the advantages of rural educational facilities. For though the country may reject them, the city can never buy them.

The Ethical End in Education

By Horace J. Bridges

Leader of the Chicago Ethical Society

THE Ethical Movement in this and other countries is inspired by the conviction that education, regarded in its broadest meaning as a lifelong process of character-building and an agelong process of social regeneration, is at once the supreme interest of mankind and the sphere in which failure has hitherto been most lamentable. This truth, always obvious to thinkers, has been impressed by recent experience even on the most unreflecting. The insufficiency, the tragic inadequacy, of all extant systems of mental and spiritual discipline has been frightfully proclaimed, both by the war and by the inability of good and sincere men to agree upon even the first steps necessary to insure the world against a repetition of its horrors. The great educational failure of the race is also proclaimed trumpet-wise by the grievous social injustices that persist within every nation.

The tragedy of the world is not so much the lack of good will, which after all is fairly abundant, as the lack of insight into the nature of right; meaning by right the relations that ought to subsist between individuals, classes, and nations. With means and opportunities of well-being at its command such as were possessed by no previous generation, the world today is in a state of national and international chaos, unparalleled since the fall of the Roman Empire.

Such a state of affairs affords sufficient justification, surely, for every sincere effort—however modest in scale, and however conscious its undertakers may be of their own insufficiency for the task—to clarify the educational goal and to discover new and better ways of striving toward it.

The Ethical Movement is a religious and educational fellowship, inspired by a passionate and unswerving faith in democracy. Its fundamental tenet is that all human beings are equal, in virtue of their possession of a nature unconditionally precious and worthy of reverence, always to be regarded and treated as an end in itself, as the end, indeed, for the sake of which all the institutions and processes of society exist. This is not a sentimental conviction, neither does it involve any overlooking of the radical and ineffaceable inequality of gifts and capacities throughout the human race. On the contrary, the conviction as to equality of essential worth is based upon the perception of the uniqueness of each individual. It is because every spirit is unique that each is indispensable to the perfection of the whole.

Correlative to this conviction is the perception that there can be no true good for any individual or group of human beings that is not consistent with and conducive to the promotion of the good of all. And "the good of all" must be interpreted in spiritual terms. Man being a spirit, no so-called material good, whether of money, housing, opportunities of leisure, personal or national prosperity, can be for him a good in itself. These things are good only in the instrumental sense, as means to an end beyond themselves; and that end is none other than the imprinting upon human society of the pattern of perfection inherent in the nature of man as a rational and moral being.

Now, to the attainment of this end, the commonly prescribed principles of egoism and altruism have been found inadequate. Inadequate, mark; not wrong. It would be shameful to declare the conscientious seeking of the good of others wrong; nor would it be less than folly to deny the legitimacy of seeking one's own highest and best interest, especially when the conception of interest has been raised beyond the idea of material advantage. The further insight by which the Ethical Movement is actuated is the conviction that the one and only way for an individual or group or class or nation to achieve its own best self is by seeking to elicit the best in others. The leader of the movement, Professor Felix Adler, has laid down, as the first axiom of ethics, "So act to elicit the best in others, and thereby in thyself." This maxim has at least the advantage of transcending the opposition between egoism and altruism.

The Ethical Societies, thus interpreting the

mission, find themselves confronted with a twofold function. On the theoretical side their task is to elaborate the conception of democracy in the light of the fundamental principles just stated, to the end that the spiritual resources of human society may be developed to the uttermost. On the practical side, their task is to devise means by which the growing body of truth thus ascertained may be converted into a system of living motives that shall act upon the human will.

This twofold task the movement has been pursuing for somewhat more than forty years, in a thoroughly undogmatic and experimental fashion. Its leaders have always sought to learn by teaching, conscious that there is no ready-made science of education to be applied to the sovereign task of awakening the spiritual self in children and adults. They have likewise sought to place the fruits of their labors at the disposal of the educational world at large. The Ethical Culture School, founded by Professor Adler and conducted by the New York Ethical Society, is the movement's chief experiment station for the education of children in this country. The Civic and Moral Education League in London, founded by Stanton Coit, is the chief effort towards the same end in England. Different efforts in the same general direction have also been made in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Austria. These movements have resulted in the introduction of direct, systematic moral instruction in a great number of schools, and in the production of a literature of textbooks and material for such instruction by writers like Professor Adler, F. J. Gould, Professor Friedrich Foerster, and others. The Sunday platforms, maintained by the Ethical Societies, have for their object the application of the same principles to the ethical education of adults. For it is the deepest conviction of the members of this movement that education is a lifelong task, and that religion, in any worthy sense, is a part of education.

A Moral Safety Zone in the Balkans

By Grace Bigelow House

Every one who realizes that newspapers and schools as we know them do not exist in the Balkans will appreciate this note of concrete fact, with its illumination of national needs, from the pen of one long resident in that unhappy region.—EDITORS.

THE Near East has been called the "Danger Zone of Europe." One of the most perplexing problems before the Peace Conference will be to make this a safe zone—to satisfy the conflicting claims and interests of the Balkan peoples and to reconcile their century-long enmities.

After the Covenant of the League of Nations has assured them their freedom and equal rights and opportunities in the society of free nations, it must be through the long, slow process of economic reconstruction and Christian education that the bitterness, misunderstandings, and suspicions will give way to neighborliness and friendly coöperation, and this danger zone will cease to be a constant menace to the peace of the world.

There is need of schools like Hampton and Tuskegee in the Balkans,—schools that will not only teach the dignity of labor and give a thorough and practical training in agriculture and in the industries of the country, but schools that will develop leadership and give common loyalties and common ideals of brotherhood, and true democracy to the young citizens of these diverse races and nationalities.

With the thought in mind for the youth of Macedonia, the Thessalonica Agricultural and Industrial Institute was started in 1902 with the purchase of eighty-five acres of land about three miles from the City of Salonica (Macedonia). This city is ideally situated for such an enterprise, as it occupies a commanding position on the Ægean Sea, and would have a great future in the upbuilding of all that region.

In 1904 it was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York; and an *irodé* by Sultan Abdul Hammed, in 1907, authorized the school as an American institution, with exemption from taxes and customs due. After the Balkan wars the school came under Greek rule, and was recognized by that Government early in the year 1918.

Through years of insurrection, revolution

and wars, the school has steadily gone forward, gathering boys of seven different nationalities to study, work, and play helpfully and happily together, while their respective countries have been busy hating and fighting one another.

Never, during all these troubled years, have the doors of the institute been closed, although the enrollment has necessarily been small; for there has been no chance for adequate development at such a time.

Now, however, when the problem of eradicating the causes of war and bringing a permanent peace to the world is occupying the minds of all thoughtful people, they are turning with increasing interest and anxiety to the storm center of Europe.

Many people have visited the school during the war,—Red Cross workers, members of Relief Commissions and of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, and the belief has been repeatedly expressed that the solution of the Balkan problem lies in the development of schools like this throughout the country.

One of these visitors, Dr. H. S. Forbes, who has recently been working in that region writes: "I think that there is a big opportunity for just that sort of construction work all through the Balkans. It is worth more than ever so many expensive mobile hospitals thrown in for a short time, and then pulled out again."

Dr. John H. House, the principal and founder, who has lived and worked as a missionary in the Balkans for forty-seven years, feels that now that peace has been signed, it is essential to assure this peace by giving this agricultural country not only trained workers, but leaders with a vision, leaders who have an insight into the needs of their people and a practical training to meet these needs. To do this, the plant at Salonica should be increased; more land is needed, more buildings to house the many applicants, who have necessarily been refused for lack of accommodations, and an adequate teaching force.

For the sake of the peace of the world the problem of reconstruction must be worked out for the Balkans. But to be permanent it must grow from within, not be forced from without.

In this school, where boys of many different races and nationalities are drawn together for the development of character and leadership, is found a zone of safety; for here is fostered the spirit of sympathy and understanding for all their fellow men, of whatever race or creed.

The Crisis in Mexico

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus of Leland Stanford, Jr., University

ACCORDING to the press, the next number on our international program must be the pacification of Mexico. It is indeed regarded as our plain duty to bring order to that distracted country and it is agreed that the best way to do this is to extirpate the distractors, meanwhile taking charge of the national property. Fortunately this will offer little embarrassment as 47 per cent. of it (1,057,000,000 out of 2,484,000,000) is already in American hands.

It is moreover urged that we must act at once. The reasons for this policy I may set down as the "Ten Points."

1. It may be that the Covenant of Nations will come into operation. This would give the world at large the right to pry into our methods and purposes. That would be intolerable.

2. President Carranza goes out of office in 1920. His successor may be of a different type, which might prove very embarrassing. As it is, President Carranza can always be counted on to return an irritating answer in a crisis; by his friends he is described as a Spanish replica of the Senior Senator from Massachusetts. Nevertheless the Mexican President may as well learn from our experience that public property once deeded to a corporation is gone forever, and that all effort to regain it is energy altogether wasted.

3. At El Paso in 1916, when we proposed to police Mexico, "the Old Man put his foot down." But a change of administration is due

in 1921, and we must be ready for the emergency.

4. Now is the time to act. We may never again find a Congressional Investigation Committee so steadfast as today. We may trust the Senator from New Mexico and his colleague from Connecticut to deal most impartially with the rights of our land and oil holding corporations.

5. If we hesitate we may have to face the claim that a Treaty of Arbitration, signed in 1849, provides that all differences shall be referred to a world court, and that the Pious Fund dispute concerning the California Missions was composed under this treaty, Mexico accepting the adverse verdict and paying the sum claimed.

6. If we delay some one may compile a list of outrages on our side of the boundary, or even unearth the record of the El Paso "Holocaust" of March 6, 1916, which led three days later to the raid on Columbus. We may even find some one asking for the title deeds of the Standard Oil, Mexican Eagle, and other corporations devoted to the uplift of Mexico.

7. To be compelled to maintain a subsidized brigand in order to ward off unfair national taxes is a humiliation to these corporations and to the great nation under their control.

8. The boundary line from Brazos Santiago to Tia Juana, running chiefly through desert country, is unreasonably long, too long for us to keep in order, and its gulches on both sides are beset with horse-thieves and cattle-rustlers (locally known as caballeros and vaqueros) making them as unsafe as the edge of the black belt in Chicago or a San Francisco street at midnight. We must therefore blot out this line. To this end the boundary should be moved southward to the Canal Zone, in which case we should have less than fifty miles to patrol instead of 1,756 as at present.

9. We are the "Colosseo del Norte," and ahead of us looms the still more colossal figure of "Manifest Destiny." The "lesser breeds without the law" must be taught to know their place.

10. Only through wars and rumors of wars can we maintain universal compulsory military service, the only remedy we know to counter the self-determination of labor.

Is there not somewhere a proverb reading: "If we hold the money we care not who makes the laws"?

How President Wilson Did Not Fail

By George Darien

Well Known Dramatist and Editor; Now Resident in Paris

IN Paris there prevails a quite general impression that President Wilson's efforts have ended in failure. His adversaries are exulting and many of his best supporters, if not actually giving themselves over to despair, plead, as we say, the extenuating circumstances. Some who had pinned their faith to his endeavors can scarcely conceal their grief, and nickname him "the greatest illusion of the century."

Both adversaries and supporters assume, evidently without the slightest hesitation, that the President had come over to Europe with the set purpose of having his scheme—the famous Fourteen Points—adopted in its entirety and put in operation at once.

According to them, Mr. Wilson had taken no account whatever of the contingencies; he had not gone to the length of ascertaining, before leaving America, the mental state of the several countries he was going to or the frame of mind of the statesmen with whom he would have to deal. He had left for Europe headlong, neglectful of any information about men or things, cocksure of success, and certain that the plan that he was bringing ready-made from Washington would beautifully dovetail with the open wishes and the secret aspirations of Europe.

President Wilson, therefore, has been accused of *naïveté*. Now, even supposing that he had not, time after time, shown himself to be an overcautious man, how could it be for one moment admitted that the highest magistrate in the United States would ever have made himself justly chargeable with ingenuousness of such a degree? The taunt is evidently baseless; and it is in another direction that we must seek

the motives that have actuated the President and led him to play a part which, in the eyes of shallow people, presents him as a weak-minded man, not to say as a dupe.

Of course, we know that the United States is far from possessing, concerning European affairs in general, all the deep information that the new circumstances arising from the war will now render necessary. It will become imperative for the American Government to be carefully acquainted with all that is going on in Europe, with the currents and undercurrents of opinion, with all that concerns public affairs in every country, and men connected with them. Such a service, which requires clever and far-sighted agents seriously grounded in universal politics and in economics, as well as in all the ins and outs of never dying intrigues, did probably exist merely in an embryonic state at the time America entered the war.

Imperfect as it can be supposed to have been, it was nevertheless able to convey to the President a tolerably sufficient knowledge of the moral and mental state prevailing in every European country, and to enlighten him at least to some extent as to the character—or what could pass muster for it—of the statesmen he would have to deal with.

So, if to be forewarned is to be forearmed, it can be safely assumed that President Wilson could entertain no illusion whatever as to the ready acceptance of his Fourteen Points; from the first, he must have known that immediate and complete success was out of question.

Why, then, did he press them?

The answer can easily be found.

President Wilson had not come over to Europe with the aim of forcing his own views upon the nations. He had come to hand an ultimatum to the old order,—to give to that old order notice to quit.

The only way in which he could carry out his design was to present a set of propositions, every one of them of easy application should the slightest good will exist, and embodying the ideals extolled from long ago by the chorus of nations. Nothing in these propositions was to be of a revolutionary character; nay, they were to be framed in such a way as to offer, to the problems now stirring the world, not the social solution that many deem imperative, but merely a judicial solution. In fact, these propositions were to represent the minimum of what could reasonably be asked from well-meaning but very moderate statesmen.

President Wilson did his utmost to have his propositions accepted. But, all the while, he can have entertained no hope. He had been informed—however incompletely—before leaving Washington of the obstacles he would have to encounter; and, once in Paris, he had been able to see—and to judge.

He had been able to see that the people of Europe were estranged from their governments; that the governments did in no way represent the peoples; that they had imposed themselves upon the nations through force and fraud, through all the ignoble devices of the old tyrannies. He had been able to see that the peoples felt for their rulers only hatred and contempt.

He had been able to judge of the wordy emptiness of a Clemenceau, the peculiar honesty of whom he had surely been made aware of long before; he had been able to judge of the cheap artfulness of a Lloyd George. He had seen, with the quickness of lightning, through the Vendean pun-making leech and through the tricky Welsh attorney. He knew why France had been saddled with such a Premier, and why the land valuation had been stopped in Great Britain.

He could not help knowing much more. For instance, how the peoples, all along the war, had been made drunk with the grossest lies, how corruption had been fomented in every way, how calumny had been fed with the secret state funds; how secret treaties had been signed, and still more secret alliances entered into; how the governing bodies were tied, all over Europe, for the sake of gold, to the powers of money and of reaction.

One day, doubtless, we shall know what Woodrow Wilson has felt, thought, and suffered while representing in Paris the cause of mankind against men who represented—thirty pieces of silver.

In such a night as that created by the coalesced interests of the whole world where could he descry a glimmer of hope?

"In the peoples!" some one will say. "In the peoples!" Everywhere the peoples followed him, enthusiastic, eager for his words, cheering to the echoes his sentences about right and justice.

For them he was an apostle. Had he appealed to them there would have been but one answer: "Down with our wicked governments, and onward in Wilson's steps!"

That is highly probable. We must even go farther and say that, had he chosen to do so, President Wilson would have had a simpler way of reaching the same result. He would have had merely to ask the European Governments to give back to their peoples all the liberties withdrawn from them during the war, and to make free elections before the opening of the Conference. Who would have ventured to withstand his wish? Nobody.

Nobody, indeed. And President Wilson was certainly sure of it.

But a thing of which he was surer still is this, —a people upon whom justice or truth is forced cares not really for truth or for justice. It accepts them, more or less gladly, and reaps the benefits of them for a time; but it remains, in fact, indifferent to them. Of the accuracy of this French history offers many proofs. Having taken no trouble to conquer the boon, the people attach no price to it and allow it to be wrenched from their hands without resistance. On the moral plane only that is held dear that has been won, and the harder was the fight the more precious is the result.

President Wilson has pointed out the way. He could do no more. Let the European peoples march toward the goal.

CURRENT THOUGHT

The Cup of Knowledge

THEY brought me, tempting-red Life's richest wine.
The mad thirst four hundred years did create,
My soul was maddened with desire to sate,
At one draught, deep-drawn, vital and divine;
I lifted, with passionate haste and nigh,
The Cup of Knowledge to my famished lips,
Like hungry flames unchecked in stubble dry,
Athrough my veins red riot to the tips.
The aeons that my soul, like smothered flames,
Burned with fierce ardor wild and was restrained,
My soul in silence cherished mighty aims,
And longed to tread in fields then unattained;
At last enfreed I stood in manhood's peace
Full conscious of my soul's divine release.
—*Charles Bertram Johnson, in "Songs of My People."*

Wasted Opportunity

"VAST quantities of good farming land near the best markets in the world are not cultivated. In New England there are 30,000,000 acres of unused land that might be growing crops. There are 35,000,000 acres in the Middle States that might be farmed, but which are lying idle. In the Pacific Coast States there are 180,000,000 acres of unused but usable land. In all 500,000,000 acres or thereabouts are lying idle, to say nothing of that which is inadequately farmed."—*Senator Warren G. Harding.*

Land Speculation an Evil

SOME way or another, through some process or another, we have got to recognize the fact that while permanent tenure of land is good, and tends to the permanence of society, tenure should depend upon the highest possible use of that land, and society should demand that there should be no fee simple title, whereby a man is entitled to ruin his land and leave it barren. There should be no chance for unproductive land speculation.—*Hon. Wm. Kent.*

A Forward Looking Vision

A STATESMAN is a man who hews out of the future, out of apparent blankness and oblivion, huge chunks of events he wants to have happen. We call him or are apt to call him an idealist, but he should be called, more accurately, a visualist. He wants things in precisely the way other men do, by seeing the things; but he has a faculty of seeing the things the way a gardener sees his seeds—the way they are going to look.—*Gerald Stanley Lee, in The Saturday Evening Post.*

An Opinion from Big Business

UNDER the Singletax private ownership of land will not be abolished and titles will not be disturbed. Singletax is not socialism. It is not bolshevism. It is not anarchy. It is not confiscation. It requires no new government machinery. It will take nothing from any one which he now earns. The honest income of no one will be reduced. Wages and legitimate profits will be increased.—*Harry H. Willock, President the Waverley Oil Company, in Commerce and Finance.*

Teaching the Young Idea How to Shoot

"EVERY schoolboy ought to be taught to shoot, so that when the next trial comes we shall be found a nation in arms."—Reported remark made by General Douglas Haig, at Aberdeen University. Haig is a soldier, and, of course, cannot conceive of a world that could prosper without men of his vocation. But what a searchlight his remark throws on the professions of those who cantingly denounced Germany's military preparations as the cause of the war, and as "a constant menace to peace civilization"!—*The Australian Worker.*

Education and Opportunity

THE chief aim of the "free-high-school" movement has been not so much national efficiency as social democracy. Thoughtful Americans realize that, so far as possible, all should have an even chance to show what they can do in the race of life. Hence, society should adopt the policy of equalizing opportunities. We do not yet see just how to correct the inequalities arising from the inheritance of property, business, or family influence. At any rate, however, a system of public education which is free clear to the top will do much to open doors to the poor man's children. So, at least, it is working out in America. Probably nowhere else does the bright boy of the day laborer face such a prospect of rising. Nowhere else does the clever son of the farmer or the machinist have so good a chance of getting into a profession.—*Edward Alsworth Ross, in "What is America?"*

The Modern Smart Aleck

WHEN a new idea gets control of an unfurnished mind, it has the time of its life. There is nothing inside to molest it or make it afraid. I have pupils who are bubbling over with modernness. They are effervescing with contemporaneousness. But they are continually repeating the blunders of their great-great-grandfathers. They call old sins by new names, and they pride themselves on their up-to-date primitiveness. They have learned a few things that other people don't know; and they have never found out some things that the race found out long ago. They are pleased to think that they are original. So they are—aboriginal. These artificial aborigines are harder to civilize than the natural aborigines, because they think that civilization is a stage that they have gone through.—*Samuel McChord Crothers, quoting Dame Experience, in the Atlantic Monthly.*

The Lust for Social Surgery

CARRIERE, a notorious character and executioner in the French Revolution, declared that he experienced the most intense joy in seeing his victims suffer, and he said, "that he never laughed so much or experienced such pleasure as in watching the dying grimaces of the priests he killed." Such a wretch can explain his murders and his pleasure by the fact that the priests opposed the Revolution and were generally supporting royalty and the nobility. But we know that to wretches of this type it makes very little difference whom they are killing as long as they have a chance to give an outlet to their sadistic impulses. They would just as readily torture and murder in the cause of revolution as in the cause of counter-revolution. And they will join that cause in which they have the freest outlet for their cruelties. If we bear these facts in mind it will make many things clear to us. And this is one of the factors that make wars and revolutions and counter-revolutions so horrible. They afford the sadistic perverts, of whom there is a certain percentage in every nation and in every community, the opportunity to give free rein to their cruel impulses.—*Critic and Guide.*

Government and the Farmer

THE world will change. It's got to do so! What is the Government doing for us? Setting the price on wheat and sending us county agents to tell our husbands how to kill jack-rabbits, and women county agents to tell us farm women how to make a dress out of our flour sacks. That latter was all right during the war, but I wonder if that county agent didn't find out that we farm women, long before the war, were compelled to use our flour sacks for underwear because the middleman was buying silk underwear for his wife? —*Annie Pike Greenwood, in "Letters from a Sagebrush Farm," in the Atlantic Monthly.*

Education and Labor

OUR high school graduates and a very large proportion of our college graduates have been prepared for nothing but to continue school; so that they find to their surprise that they are fitted for nothing in particular; that there is no niche in everyday life that their education has prepared them to fill. Nothing is more discouraging and nothing leads to greater discontent and bitterness than for one to find that for which he has labored, and esteemed of highest value, worthless. So everywhere we are turning out malcontents—young men and women unprepared for anything but the most common manual labor, which they are ashamed to do. The false glamour thrown about great wealth makes their outlook dark. Observing men, without rendering any adequate service to society, accumulating colossal fortunes, they are overwhelmed with a feeling of dependence which ever engenders misanthropy. Hence, many of these become easy victims to the socialistic agitator, the demagogue, and other enemies of society. Labor itself must be intelligent and self-respecting, as well as honored and respected, if it makes permanent advance. The supreme purpose of our public schools should be the development of character. It is not the form of government, but the character of its people, which rules the destinies of a nation.—*William Stull, in "The Food Crisis and Americanism."*

The Man from the Crowd

AND where is the man who comes up from the throng
Who does the new deed and who sings the new song,
And who makes the old world as a world that is new?
And who is the man? It is you! It is you!
And our praise is exultant and proud,
We are waiting for you there—for you are the man!
Come up from the jostle as soon as you can;
Come up from the crowd there, for you are the man—
The man who comes up from the crowd.

—*Sam Walter Foss.*

BOOKS

The Rural School as a Civilizer

New Schools for Old. By Evelyn Dewey. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. 1919.

ONE phase of the new educational movement is given in this account of Mrs. Mary Turner Harvey's work in the regeneration of the Porter School. The Porter experiment is a case where Missouri not only is shown, but shows the rest of the world. The Porter School is in the northern part of that State, immediately neighboring the city of Kirksville. It was one of the worst in the country. Mrs. Harvey was the teacher of a model rural school in connection with the normal school at Kirksville, and most of her pupils had come from the Porter rural district, much to the discouragement of any efforts on the part of the community to improve their local temple of knowledge. In looking up the families of her pupils she got acquainted with the needs of the district in which the Porter School was located, and from her experience she became convinced that a city was not the place for her model rural school; that at best it would be but an artificial product that she could make with all the ready-made facilities of a city or normal school surrounded by nothing but urban influences; that each rural school would have to be formed in the midst of the conflicting conditions of the country. And the upshot was that she offered to transfer her work to the Porter School on condition that the community would coöperate in her efforts. Eventually Mrs. Harvey not only transformed the school itself and her own cottage into models of their kind, but by means that were evidently within the reach of not only that community but of any ordinary rural farming group. Everything that she did was done with the idea of carrying over the sanitary, the artistic, the educative influences of her home and her school to the community, with the result that not only the ideal, but the actual mode of living of the community was raised.

Education and Social Organization

Education and Social Movements, 1700-1850. By A. E. Dobbs, formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1919. Pp. 257.

THE hundred and fifty years covered by this book are replete with countless lessons and leads for the student of sociology and particularly of popular education in relation to social reorganization. Dr. Dobbs has studied the field with no narrow vision or professional prejudice. He has a distinct grasp on the influences of politics and environment that helped or hindered popular mental development, and of the reverse process by which advancement or decadence of mental habit affected politics and outward conditions.

The author has also a competent sense of the continuity of history, and sees the fruits of preceding centuries on the tract of time he is discussing; but better still he does not overlook the many heterogeneous elements that have worked and clashed and coalesced to make the remarkable composite known as the British people, especially the British working people. Climate, geography, immigration, conquest, foreign trade, invention, religious upheavals, political transformations, the striking contrasts in mental habit and folk traditions in different regions like Kent, Cornwall, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire,—all these are shown to have had an essential part in the production of working England. Thus is shown incidentally that all revolutions—including the industrial revolution—are the fruit of long, steady change and development in a community or nation.

In England it is impossible to ignore the influence of religious movements in popular education. The author has not overlooked Wyckliffe, the Reformers, the Huguenots, and above all John Wesley. All those connoted educational revivals as well as religious movements.

In the treatment of the first half of the nineteenth century Dr. Dobbs covers elementary education, mechanics' institutes and higher education, libraries and literature, and the new relation with government efforts. He emphasizes the significance of what has been called "education by collision." The political campaign, the listening to and discussing of speeches, the coöperation in unions for improvement of wages and conditions must be included among the potent forces in popular education.

All together, we have here a valuable book, which can be conscientiously commended to the serious student.

Education and the Triumph Over Hindrances

The Redemption of the Disabled. By Garrard Harris. Pp. 818. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1919.

The Vocational Re-Education of Maimed Soldiers. By Leon De Paeuw. Pp. 188. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1918.

ANY one who happened a few weeks ago to find himself in the Canadian National Exposition held in Toronto, would have been edified by the elaborate display of the results of the efforts at instructing soldiers incapacitated for ordinary employment by the mishaps of war. He would have seen in the first place a representation in life-size dummy show, with all the surroundings necessary to the picture, of the abandoned and hopeless vagrancy that overtook the wounded soldier after the previous glorious wars that England had waged,—the beggar by the wayside, the organ grinder, the peddler of insignificant wares, the wastrel of the tavern bench. All this was an

indictment of Great Britain's neglect after the Napoleonic wars, the Spanish war, the Crimean war, and down even to the Boer war, as virtually nothing had been done to make the helpless self-helpful. It was an object lesson of the pitiful story of debasement as the people's aftermath of national military achievement.

On the other hand, the visitor at the exposition would have seen many exhibits, amounting in themselves to a very respectable exposition, of work that had been done by soldiers, supposed to be utterly helpless, after they had been trained according to the principles of the various agencies that have taken on their consciences and hearts the responsibility of making accursed war not too heavy a curse for those on whom it weighs the heaviest. One is amazed at the things that have been done in various kinds of handicraft, in weaving and needlework, in woodwork and metal work, in the contriving of elaborate toys and skillful replicas. The Canadian Exposition may be said to tell the story of the British endeavor at human reclamation.

Mr. Harris, who belongs to the Research Division of our own Federal Board for Vocational Education, presents the subject of the redemption of the disabled to the American people, and in the light of American needs. He has considerable to say in regard to the nation's duty toward the individual, and appeals to the conscience of those who have suffered nothing from the war in behalf of those who have been incapacitated for normal activity and have paid the price that the average citizen might be spared. He gives an account of the Belgian efforts and of the work that was done in France, in the British Isles, in Canada and other British provinces, in Italy and even in the Central Empires. He not only champions the cause of the unfortunate soldier, but shows from the records the success that has been achieved, and maintains that all careers are open to disabled men, and that the individual has a large choice of occupations.

All agree that the credit belongs to Belgium for beginning this laudable task of justice. Mr. De Paeuw, who was inspector general of primary instruction and head of the civil academy of the ministry of war in Belgium, was deeply engaged in the practical work itself, and in this volume presents not only an account of what has been achieved in Belgium, but writes forcefully of the moral obligation of his country and of all others to do the utmost for the unfortunate victims of the conflict.

Nothing can make war in itself anything but a foolish and unscientific leftover of barbarism; but all can applaud and encourage the work that is being done for the reclamation of physical and nervous derelicts. So very successful has it been in many cases in the moral and educative reconstruction of young soldiers that they might well believe from certain angles that their disabilities were blessings in disguise.

Carleton Parker

An American Idyll. By Cornelia Stratton Parker. New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 1919.

CORNELIA STRATTON PARKER'S "An American Idyll" is more than a story of "love and achievement." In its pages the author writes of the life and work of her husband, Carleton H. Parker, whose clear insight into the labor problem won for him a national reputation as labor arbitrator and investigator. Extracts from articles contributed by Professor Parker to economic journals form the background of a number of interesting chapters. In an attempt to solve the question of labor unrest Carleton Parker made a careful study of the problem of the unemployed and the casual laborer. As Parker saw it, the underlying causes of labor difficulties had to be approached by an understanding of the guiding motives in economic life,—in other words, a study of social psychology is the first prerequisite to an ultimate solution of the labor problem. There is little doubt as to the validity of this reasoning, especially when applied to the problem of the unemployed, with its tremendous perplexities.

While the material thus far published by Mrs. Parker is fragmentary, it is most stimulating to read. We may indeed hope that in the near future other volumes will follow which will throw a clearer light upon the doctrine of social psychology which Professor Parker evolved.

The economist finds in "An American Idyll" much that is of interest in his particular field. It is, however, the story of the life of Carleton Parker, with its human sympathy, its undivided devotion to the truth and the ideal which absorbs the reader. We may well conclude that Cornelia Parker has written a story that ranks high for its purely literary qualities. FELIX FLUEGEL.

Out of Doors at Home

Vacation Tramps in New England Highlands. By Allen Chamberlain. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1919.

AMERICA, having discovered herself to the world by sending two million fighting men to Europe, is now being discovered by Americans at home. A few have long known that it was unnecessary to leave the country in order to find the equal of any foreign country's scenic wonders, and the war's interruption of travel has multiplied their number many fold. It is to meet the demand of these lovers of nature that the author has prepared this little volume with its charming illustrations of New England hills and mountains. More people doubtless would go hiking if they knew where and how. That is just what Mr. Chamberlain tells in this book,—where to go, when to go, and how to go. Extensive descriptions of the trails built by the Green Mountain Club in the Green Mountains, and by the Appalachian Club in the

White Mountains, are enough to turn any person's steps toward the wild who has not been robbed of his natural instincts by civilization. C.

Geography and Political Philosophy

Democratic Ideals and Reality. By H. J. Mackinder. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919.

THE urgent need of the present moment is the discovery of some sound basis for political reasoning. Heretofore, we have been compelled to put up with theories of government drawn from men's "inner consciousness." At this instant the world bids fair to be torn asunder in civil strife because of ideas put forward in response to dire needs, but put forward by the least informed part of the community. The reply of the men who are now formulating these incendiary ideas is simple and effective: Since the well informed neglect their responsibilities, the uninformed are forced to act. It has been and is the cardinal responsibility of the intellectual element in the community to bring something approaching scientific method to the study of the problems of government, but this has not been done. There are whole libraries of "political theory," and but an occasional book on lines that might be regarded as entitled to the designation "scientific."

There is no individual who thinks of matters political who will not have his opinions broadened and put on a new foundation by reading the chapters of this book entitled "The Seaman's Point of View" and "The Landsman's Point of View." Here is Geography made to serve the interests of thought. Here is scientific knowledge applied to the explanation of the part that the physical conformation of the earth has played in shaping the destiny of nations. Furthermore, "The Rivalry of Empires" gives an insight into the history of Europe such as is not readily to be found elsewhere.

There is one point brought out that no one will overlook at this time. The study of political groupings from the standpoint of the geography of the world emphasizes the cardinal importance of Russia. We must realize that German exploitation of Russia means German control of the world. How is this future prospect to be guarded against? Certainly not as Mr. Mackinder thinks by promoting the formation of ever smaller units of government. In union is strength. A united Russia-Siberia led by adventurous Germans will have little difficulty in dealing with a world broken into many separate states. The war just ended is nothing more than the prologue to the real drama. The fears of France for the future are well founded. The one vital question before all men at present is how security may be obtained for the future; but let it be understood that the harder conditions become in Germany the more will Germans of the adventurous type move on—into Asia! FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

A Clear-Cut Suggestion

After the Whirlwind. By Charles Edward Russell. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1919.

EXCOMMUNICATED by a section of the Socialist Party, Mr. Russell remains finely optimistic with the optimism of one who has thoroughly assimilated the essential doctrines of evolution and applied them to the forward movement of human society. He views the war as the Argentine gaucho views the pampero, that is, as a tremendous storm, nerve-racking while it lasts, but which clears the ground of much that is undesirable and restrictive of healthy growth. As he sees it, with peace has come a new age in which men will face facts fairly, refusing to accept anything in the way of economic life that does not make for human welfare. The enormous debt that has been created by the war cannot be met by taxation. In fact, the real burden of that has not yet been felt. When that problem comes to be considered, just one solution will appear, and that is the conversion of a capitalistic state into a socialistic state, in which all means of production, distribution, and exchange will pass out of private hands and be operated for the common good. All this is set forth in language that is simple and intelligible, and, be he a true prophet or not, be his offered cure a remedy or not, the author has given something to make the incoherent efforts of many to converge. Certain it is that there is no intelligent guidance or attempt to meet the changed condition on the part of our statesmen thus far. Russell, like Neilson, makes a clear-cut suggestion.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

NEWS

Congress

—The Versailles Treaty as reported from the Foreign Relations Committee came up for consideration in the Senate on September 15, to remain on the calendar until final ratification is reached, which may not be for two months. During the week of the 8th some marked transformations characterized the various factions in the Senate. The group of moderate Republicans who had desired somewhat less drastic reservations than those framed by Lodge and on whom the Administration had set such high hopes to withstand the Republican pressure for modification of the treaty, almost completely lost its identity, and the balance of power which it had seemed to possess was promptly transferred to the group of Democratic Senators, whose support of the treaty still remained in doubt. Only McCumber, McNary, and Nelson, of the so-called "mild reservationists," held out lingeringly against the drastic reservations

of the Foreign Relations Committee, but it was apparent by the 15th that rapprochement would speedily be effected between these last three Republicans and the Lodge faction. Already compromises were being drafted rewording the reservation dealing with Article X, which had hitherto been the sore spot to McCumber. Meanwhile, the majority party was counting on the defection of six Democrats from the Administration position of "no reservations." These were Reed of Missouri, Gore of Oklahoma, Smith of Georgia, Shields of Tennessee, Thomas of Colorado, and Walsh of Massachusetts. Undeterred, the minority of six on the committee gave out its report to the Senate on the 11th, urging immediate ratification and no reservations other than merely interpretative ones. It asserted that as a result of the delay as to the treaty, ferment had been caused in the industrial world, doubt had arisen in the financial world, and trade, especially export trade, was being halted. Senators Swanson of Virginia and Hitchcock of Nebraska, then took up the fight of the rank and file of Administration supporters. Perhaps the most sensational event of the week in the Senate was the testimony before members of the Foreign Relations Committee by William C. Bullitt, attaché to the American Peace Commission, to the effect that Secretary of State Lansing, General Bliss, and Henry White, all members of the Commission, were personally opposed to the signing of the treaty. Secretary Lansing was reported to have said that "if the Senate and the American people knew what the treaty meant, it would be defeated." Mr. Bullitt's testimony mentioned repeated offers for peace from Soviet Russia which he had transmitted himself to the Allied delegates, and their rejection after Lloyd George had advised the widest possible publicity for them, and despite their virtual approval by General Smuts, Lansing, Bliss, Balfour, and Orlando. Meanwhile, the "Death Battalion," composed of Messrs. Borah and Johnson, was beginning its "swing-the-circle" campaign in opposition to the treaty and League of Nations with speeches in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and other States of the Middle West. On the 14th a written appeal for ratification of the peace with Germany was submitted to every member of the Senate by 250 leading Americans, Republicans as well as Democrats. The text of the address, prepared by the League to Enforce Peace, was signed by ex-President Taft, ex-Attorney Wickersham, President Lowell of Harvard, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, Luther Burbank, Lyman Abbott, John Burroughs, Alton B. Parker, Oscar S. Straus, Jacob Schiff, Henry P. Davidson, Hamilton Holt, Carrie Chapman Catt, Talcott Williams, Alexander Graham Bell, William Allen White, John Lind, Thomas W. Lamont, Lynn J. Frazier, and many others, including Governors and former Governors, Senators, and men and women of national reputation.

—In a hearing before the Senate Military Affairs Committee on September 10, General Wood outlined a plan for army reorganization with notable differences from the Baker-March proposals. Instead of a complement of 576,000, General Wood desired one of not more than 225,000 officers and men; instead of the three-month drill period for those drafted under universal military training, the General wanted one of at least six months in time of peace and with a certain amount of industrial training. He urged strengthening of coast artillery defenses, development of railway artillery, a reasonable increase in the field artillery strength, and establishment of an independent air service, but without a new Cabinet officer at its head. Three days later, Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, the ranking Democratic member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, issued a statement condemning the Baker-March proposals, suggesting the impeachment of the Secretary of War, and charging the Administration reorganization bill with having set at naught "the laws passed by Congress which, it was stated, were enacted not only to protect the great staff corps and departments from despoilment of their proper functions, but also to place an effective check upon the evidently growing tendency toward the creation of a militaristic despotism in the general staff."

—Increases virtually doubling the monthly compensation originally provided by the War Risk Insurance act to disabled soldiers and sailors and members of their families were passed unanimously on the 18th by the House, with other amendments to the act liberalizing its provision and to eliminate red tape in administering the law.

Cost of Living

—Australian Government figures show an increase in the cost of living throughout the Commonwealth of Australia of only 46 per cent. since 1911. In June of the present year it required $6.98 to buy what had been purchased in 1911 at $4.76.

—The House Appropriations Committee refused to report favorably the Administration's request for increased appropriations for the financing of the program to reduce the high living costs. Original requests for $47,752,181.94 were cut down to $14,184,704.04, appropriations for the preparation of special reports on the increased living costs by the Department of Labor, Commerce, and Agriculture being omitted altogether. In general, the committee reasoned that the cost of living could be reduced only by the successful prosecution of the retail and wholesale profiteers. Accordingly, the entire amount requested by Mr. Palmer for his investigations and prosecution was granted. Profiteers were brought under a fine of $5,000 or two years' imprisonment. The sale of army provisions in the United States by the municipalities was frequently interrupted during the week of the

8th by discoveries that profiteers were procuring food purchased at army prices and reselling it to the public. Jonathan C. Day, Commissioner of Markets in New York City, reported on the 9th that he had found several wholesale dealers who were buying at the schools and reselling at profits in some cases rising as high as 50 per cent. Evidence that Chicago wholesale jobbers had also purchased surplus army canned goods designed to be sold to the public without profit, changed the labels on the goods, and sold them under their own trademarks for 80 per cent. profit, appeared in the first hearings of the new Municipal Bureau of Foods, Markets, and Farm Products. Commissioner Day added still another plan to the many now being tried to cut food costs by suggesting that housewives write on postal cards printed by a central municipal committee the prices of the various food articles, the results to be collected by the central committee. The plan was not welcomed by the New York press and was partly discouraged by the general apathy of the clubwomen supposedly enrolled in its prosecution.

Suffrage

—Now that Holland and Sweden have universal suffrage, northern Europe has become almost completely suffrage territory.

—After fifty-six years of parliamentary opposition to woman suffrage, the women of Italy have received the political and administrative vote. The reform was accepted in early September almost with unanimity by the present chamber.

—As yet only sixteen States have ratified the suffrage amendment to the Constitution. The number of States that are yet needed is twenty out of a total of thirty-six. Spokesmen for the National Woman's Party said recently that they would attempt to secure the ratification of the amendment in time to permit women in every State to participate in the Presidential election of next year. Victories within the next two months are fairly certain in Utah and Colorado. Only four States that have not ratified the amendment have regular legislative sessions before the Presidential elections. The immediate efforts, therefore, of the Woman's Party are directed toward influencing the Governors of States that have no regular sessions next year to call special sessions for the purpose of ratification.

Education

—By six votes in a poll of over 600, Greek remains compulsory at Oxford. An unopposed statute has been planned making Greek voluntary for certain students of natural science. It will remain compulsory for the historian, the student of English literature, and the philosopher.

—In order to assist domestic servants to become qualified cooks, the London (England) County Council is offering a free course of instruction under an experienced chef. During the course the servants will receive a maintenance grant of $25, and a meal will be provided on each day of attendance.

—A new movement in child education has been gaining ground in England to teach school children to print instead of writing their letters. The argument of the group of educators at the head of the movement is that if epistles will now take longer to write, this is more than compensated by the increased facility with which they probably will be read.

—Detailed accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the Young Men's Christian Association have been made public by the organization's National War Work Council Finance Committee. They show that $125,282,859 was received between April 26, 1917, and March 31, 1919. Total expenditures aggregated $97,817,005, leaving a balance of $27,465,854, a sum estimated to be sufficient to carry on the work here and abroad until next December 31.

—The Federal Board for Vocational Education has called attention to the four conditions that must exist before a person may be considered as eligible for vocational training under the vocational rehabilitation law. First, he must have been honorably discharged from the military service since April 7, 1917; second, he must have a disability incurred or aggravated during service, or traceable to that service; third, his disability must constitute a vocational handicap, and fourth, physically and mentally he must be capable of training.

Public Order

—Chautauqua audiences studied the "open forum idea" during the last two weeks in August. George W. Coleman, President of the Open Forum National Council gave instructions on publicity methods in the forum, the preparation and financing of programs, and the social possibilities of the open forum.

—The Amnesty Committee of Chicago is urging the public to write to Senators and Congressmen asking them to vote for Senator Chamberlain's bill "providing for the release of all soldiers, sailors, and marines, serving court-martial sentences in military prisons, excepting those who, if tried in the Federal Courts, would be convicted of a felony."

—Lord Chief Justice Reading of England will preside at the meeting of the International Law Association to be held at Plymouth, England, October 8. The association has not met since 1913. Makers of the program are providing for discussion, by jurists of all lands, of the war as it has altered prior principles and rules of law as between nations.

—The Disciples of Christ, of Illinois, repre-

senting 700 churches with 114,000 members in that State, in their convention at Charleston, September 4, put themselves on record as opposed to the "campaign of misrepresentation" that is being carried on to embroil the United States in a war with Mexico," believing that it is unfair to the Government of Mexico and to the people who are struggling toward freedom and civilization against great odds, and disturbing to every civilizing and uplifting agency now at work in Mexico."

Color Line

—Julius Rosenwald of Chicago has offered six scholarships of $1,200 each to especially qualified Negro medical students desiring to take up post-graduate courses in the sciences.

—Hampton's Principal, Dr. James E. Gregg, presents in the current *Southern Workman*, the school's monthly magazine, the following suggestions for preventing race conflicts: conference committees representing the best men and women in cities which have any considerable Negro population; full enforcement of the law against assassins and murderers, of black as well as white, and finally, the prevention by Federal or State action of injustices and exploitation in the courts, in buying and selling, in the conditions of labor and travel, and in the exercise of the right to vote.

Coöperation

—While America is already in dread of the threatened coal famine this winter, the Coöperative Coal Supply Association, representing 95 per cent. of the coal trade in all the Scandinavian countries, has contracted with American mine owners for their whole winter's supply.

—Brownsville in Brooklyn, N. Y., has two co-operative enterprises, a coöperative bakery, founded some time ago by the community, and a coöperative prepartory school, recently established for the purpose of preparing the young men and young women of the district for college and Cooper Union Institute, New York.

—Representatives of all the European coöperative wholesale societies have met at the invitation of the British wholesale societies for the purpose of establishing an International Wholesale Society to perfect an organization whereby an extensive international trade is to be initiated. This will mean that the factories of the British wholesale societies will be many times expanded, so that other countries may be supplied with British co-operatively manufactured goods, while these will pay for goods with raw materials and food products. Coöperative organizations in Russia, Canada, and even certain districts in the United States have hitherto done business with the English societies.

Taxation

—On account of the dates first selected for the Singletax Conference and celebration of the Quarter Centennial Anniversary of the Fairhope Singletax Colony, November 4, 5 and 6, interfering with elections in some States, in which Singletaxers are interested, the time has been changed. The Conference will be from November 7 to 10 inclusive with a reception on the evening of Friday, November 7.

Public Ownership

—The Australian Government is planning to construct 500,000 houses for returned soldiers.

—A great extension of government banking through the establishment of branch government banks is under consideration by the Australian Government.

—An elaborate scheme for the expansion of government railways is being prepared by the Colonial Government of the Dutch East Indies. The building of 10,000 miles of railways is projected.

—At a meeting of the Chicago Council on September 10, Mayor Thompson outlined plans for the taking over of the traction companies by the city, empowered to do this, as the Mayor said, because of recent increases in rates in violation of the contracts.

—The Belgian Government has been negotiating with the American Locomotive Company for the purchase of 400 locomotives, the cost of which will be approximately $20,000,000. This is the second large equipment order that has recently been placed by a European country with an American concern, the Baldwin Corporation having received an order for locomotives from Poland totaling $7,000,000.

—The State of Kansas has operated its own printing plant since July 1, 1905. The Legislature of 1913 appropriated $150,000 to purchase additional ground, enlarge the plant. The State now has a modern book-making plant valued at approximately $285,000, with a floor space of 58,460 square feet. The Kansas State printing plant is saving $90,000 each year on the State's printing alone. The school patrons saved $74,781.61 on textbooks, which they buy at cost of production.

Public Health

—In an article contributed to the New York *Medical Journal*, Dr. G. A. Soper urges the immediate creation of an international health commission the duty of which shall be to investigate, to supervise, and to coördinate protective measures the world over, not superseding local bodies of the same nature where they exist, but assisting them to whatever extent they can be helped, and bringing pressure to bear on lands that, by doing nothing to free themselves from infectious diseases, are a constant menace to all their neighbors.

Reconstruction

—Official estimates put the number of British, French, and German-born wives brought home by officers and privates of the American Expeditionary Force at 18,000.

—According to the *Advocate of Peace*, the War Camp Community Service is not to be "scrapped," but will coöperate with other altruistic and educational agencies of the country to aid soldiers and sailors in the permanent national force, men in the newly created and rapidly growing merchant marine, and detached individuals who find their way to large centers of population and need friendly contacts.

General

—Total casualties sustained by the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia up to August 31, 1919, were 162 out of a force of 8,477 officers and men, according to the official announcement.

—John Mitchell, chairman of the New York State Industrial Commission, former President of the United Mine Workers, and noted labor leader, died in New York on September 10th, at the age of fifty.

—Investigation of some fifty complaints of the sale of wildcat oil stocks in the Texas oil fields is under way by the Federal Trade Commission. The Commission has sent two of its investigators into the region with instructions to make a searching inquiry into the cases.

—Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, recently issued a statement, showing that 102,518 foreigners have left the United States since the armistice and a total of 128,522 during the twelve months ending June 30, 1919. For the five years ended June 30, 1919, 618,228 emigrants departed, as compared with 1,172,679 arrivals for the same period, an excess of arrivals over departures of 554,456.

—A decrease in the mineral output of the United States during 1918, together with an increase in its value, is shown by the preliminary report of the Geological Survey. Although the total amount produced was less than in 1917, its value was a half-billion dollars more. The quantity of petroleum marketed increased 4 per cent., but its value increased 32 per cent. Five per cent. more coal was produced, but its total value was increased 17 per cent.

—The Institut of France is to celebrate the anniversary of its foundation for the first time since 1914. Similar triumphal decorations to those that were hung in the Salle des Cariatides in the Louvre on April 4, 1796, at the inauguration of the Institut will be draped under the dome of that building. The Invalides has been invited on the plea of a very special occasion to lend all the flags which the French armies have captured during the war, German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish.

Foreign

—The War Trade Board has lifted the ban against importation of potash originating in Germany. It may be imported under a general license without individual permits.

—A report by the Federal Trade Commission states that stocks of food in storage this year were 20 per cent. greater than a year ago, despite the fact that prices of virtually all foods have shown an increase.

—The new German Army, which under the terms of the Peace Treaty must number not more than 100,000 men on next April 1, will be constructed by reducing the Reichswehr organization to one-third its present size.

—According to the New York *World*, if the agricultural interests in Congress succeed in a plan now being worked out to strip the United States Grain Corporation of its power to regulate exports of wheat, within a short time flour will sell at a minimum of $18 a barrel.

—Bulgarian oppression in Eastern Macedonia during the occupation of that territory resulted in the reduction of the population by nearly 100,000 and the death of 82,000 inhabitants in three years of hunger and ill-treatment, says the report of an inter-Allied commission just submitted.

—Figures recently issued as the result of investigations and conferences by Secretary Cabrera of the Treasury Department of Mexico, Sub-Secretary Salinas of the Department of Commerce and Industry, and Acting Secretary Fernandez of the Department of Foreign Relations, estimate the total capital of American concerns invested in this country as approximately $5,000,000,000, Mexican money, $2,500,000,000 in American.

—Several chieftains of factions opposing the Carranza Government of Mexico, including Felix Diaz, Manuel Pelaez, Guillermo Meixuerio, and Gildardo Magana, filed an appeal at the White House on September 9, in which they requested a hearing for their cause and the friendly coöperation of the United States for the settlement of the Mexican troubles. The appeal suggests that a conference of all organized factions in Mexico be called by President Wilson.

—Through an official commission sent to Washington, Santo Domingo has indicated to the United States its desire to be free from American military occupancy established three years ago. The delegation, through its chairman, Dr. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, Acting President of Santo Domingo at the time American rule was established, said that individual liberties were practically abrogated since the advent of the United States military forces, that there has been no freedom of the press, no right of assembly, and no provision for the people to take initiative in the modification of their situation—this despite the promise of the United States that "military occupation was meant to be transitory." On the same

day that this protest was made, September 11, a detachment of United States marines landed at Puerto Cortez, Honduras, for the purpose of "preserving order and protecting the lives of foreigners there," according to an announcement of the State Department. As nearly as could be ascertained, a revolution had taken place, and President Bertrand was deposed. President Bertrand had been the outstanding figure in the recent proposals to unite Honduras and Salvador with the ultimate prospect of forming around this nucleus a strong union of Central American states. One by one the supporters of this plan have fallen from power in the various countries affected, so that with the fall of Bertrand, President Melendez of Salvador remained the only one among the presidents of the Central American Republics in favor of the proposed international federation.

Labor

—The total amount of money given as unemployment donation from November 11, 1918, to May 20, 1919, by Great Britain, is said to be £21,420,000 ($104,240,000).

—A bill is before the Swedish Riksdag dealing with hours of labor. It is proposed that on June 1, 1920, a general eight-hour day shall become effective and remain provisionally in force until the close of 1923.

—The American Woolen Company of Lawrence, Mass., has formed a corporation called the Homestead Association, Inc., the purpose of which is to improve the housing conditions of employes and to assist them in owning their homes.

—A report compiled by the Department of Labor shows that in the last three years there have been 11,092 strikes, most of which occurred in the month of May each year. This is probably due, it is said, to the fact that most trade agreements terminate on April 30.

—A corporation calling itself Associated Industries of Seattle is being formed for the purpose of "stimulating employers and employes to develop and maintain the best possible conditions of employment, and developing by example rather than by precept a spirit of coöperation and fair play."

—The joint standing industrial council plan of representation has now been extended in the United Kingdom until it includes 2,488,500 work people. Joint industrial councils have been organized in forty-one industries, ranging from asbestos manufacturing, with 8,000, to building, with 553,000.

—After a four days' conference at Washington, the American Federation of Railroad Workers, comprising 50,000 men not in the brotherhoods and crafts, formally voted on the 9th to accept President Wilson's proposition on wages as presented to the shopmen and urged on Congress an employes' profit-sharing plan.

—Threat of the controlled papers of North Dakota to refuse to mention any progress made by the State in its new industrial legislation has given a great impetus to farmer-owned papers in this State and has led to the formation at Fargo of an independent newspaper association, The People's Press, which includes all papers not dominated by the anti-farmer and anti-labor interests.

—In an enumeration of facts on the economic and educational results of British rule in India, the India Labor Union of America lists the following: education, neither free, nor compulsory, nor universal; illiteracy, 93 per cent.; length of life, 23.5 years; death rate, 32 per 1,000; average income, $9.50 a year per capita; average taxes, $1.60 a year per capita; average wages, about 11 cents a day for unskilled labor.

—A dispatch to the Knoxville *Plain Dealer* from Hongkong, China, says that for the first time in the city's history an attempt is being made to regulate the employment of women and children and to prevent over-crowding in factories. The new child labor regulations provide that no child under fourteen shall be employed more than ten hours, excluding meal times, in any one day except by special permission of the sanitary board. The holiday allowance consists of two days each month.

—The Convention of United Mine Workers, meeting at Cleveland during the week of the 8th, appointed representatives to confer on October 1 with the Railroad Brotherhood heads on the subject of alliance for joint political and industrial action to bring about the nationalization of railways and mines and other economic objectives of mutual interest, to which the convention gave its approval. Some have hailed this move as a partial step toward the formation of a "triple alliance" to be established on the lines of that in Great Britain and to include railroad workers, miners, and freight handlers. Demands were framed to be brought before the mine operators on September 25. These include the cessation of the Washington wage agreement concluded during the war in the bituminous field, the six-hour day, the five-day week, and increases in wages. John L. Lewis, acting President of the United Mine Workers, recommended a nation-wide strike of the coal miners by November 1, unless a satisfactory basic agreement in the central competitive field is reached by that date.

—The Boston police strike, involving the entire force of 1,500 men and the unions affiliated with the Central Labor Union, which threatened to go on sympathetic strike, was as far from settlement on September 15 as it was a week previously, when the force walked out almost to a man. The repeated proposals of Samuel Gompers and American labor officials that suspension of policemen because of union affiliations should come to an end and all men be restored to their place in the force

without discrimination, pending the conference of labor and capital, which will be held on October 1 under the auspices of the President and at which the entire question of the status of policemen's unions would be settled, were rejected by Governor Coolidge, who insisted that the President's conference could not legitimately treat with such an issue as was involved in the Boston strike and left the entire question up to Police Commissioner Curtis. The latter in an order of the 12th suspended all striking policemen, disqualifying them for reinstatement in the department in their old positions and erasing their past records and chances for pensions. Meanwhile, the Central Labor Union under the direction of a committee of seventeen considered the sympathetic strike. Though it was at first believed that federal assistance would be necessary to cope with the violence that immediately set in as soon as the strike was called, 5,000 of the State's troops had the situation well in control at the end of the week. In Washington, D. C., as a result of the President's announcement that the status of policemen's unions would be determined at the conference, suspensions from the force because of union affiliation have been held in abeyance.

Foreign

—Rome has been deprived of newspapers for the last month as a result of the newspaper printers' strike, this despite the sitting of Parliament and nation-wide discussion of electoral reform.

—*El Diario* reports that the former German Minister to Argentina, representing a German colonization syndicate, is buying land to accommodate Germans who are coming to Argentina.

—The Returned Soldiers' Association in Australia has passed a resolution declaring the office of State Governor should be abolished. The resolution also says the Governor General should be an Australian.

—The Union of Democratic Control, Orchard House, Great Smith Street, London, S. W., has begun to publish a monthly journal of international understanding, which they have called "Foreign Affairs." In the first number the editor, E. D. Morel, publishes letters of greeting from G. Lowes Dickinson, F. W. Jowett, and many other well-known enemies of militarism, secret treaties, and the inevitable imperialism that goes with them.

—As general elections approach in New Zealand there are prospects for entire realignments among the parties. Neither the Reform (Conservative) nor Liberal body has an advanced program of reconstruction, and though the two groups have been at odds since 1912, when the Reform body came into power, there is much that suggests a possible coalition between the Reform Party and the Liberals against the fast-increasing Labor Party.

—Portugal desires to reorganize the administration of colonies, long characterized by the inefficiency of their governing bodies. This was suggested by General Sir Norton de Mattos, the former Portuguese War Minister, delegate at the Peace Conference, and now Colonial Administrator. The Government, he said, is now in stable condition and the country is prospering industrially and commercially with no prospect for the restoration of the monarchy.

—The Socialist and Syndicalist Parties within what were hitherto the separate countries incorporated within the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes have united into two great parties pledged to coöperate in political and industrial action with each other. The Socialist Party of Jugoslavia has refused to be represented in the Belgrade Parliament, as it believes that the body was constituted arbitrarily. Slovenia, as a result of the breaking down of communications and transport facilities, is the only district where the influence of the two new parties has been little felt.

—The four British socialist bodies have recently considered steps to amalgamate into one united Socialist Party. The British Socialist Party leaders have been conferring with the executives of the Socialist Labor Party, the Workers' Socialist Federation, and the South Wales Socialist Society, and the only difficulties in the way of unification were found to be matters of tactics rather than of principle. All bodies other than the B. S. P. were loath to consider affiliation with the Labor Party. A plan was agreed upon, however, whereby this question would not be decided until the four groups or as many of them as possible had merged their identities.

Railroads

—Many other cities of the country face such clashes as have come to Boston and Washington. Policemen's unions affiliated with the American Federation have been formed in thirty-seven cities, most of them, it is stated, with practically 100 per cent. membership.

—Mayor Hylan of New York indicated recently that the policemen of that city would have no strike for higher wages. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment was already favorably considering their request for increase pay. The Board has had before it, in addition, requests for wage increases from the firemen, the garbage and ash collectors, and the keepers employed in the city's penal institutions.

—Opposition to the Cummins bill, recently introduced in the Senate, returning the roads to private ownership and prohibiting strikes, continued among labor groups. The right to strike was insisted upon by the fourteen heads of the railway brotherhoods and unions that are supporting the Plumb plan for the nationalization of the railways in a formal statement issued on September 18 under the authorization of Warren Stone,

Timothy Shea, and E. L. Shepperd, the brotherhood chiefs. One sentence of the statement declares that with this law in effect "no leadership in the world could restrain the rank and file of American labor under such an imposition." Another asserts that "it will spell the birth of revolution." At the convention of the United Railroad Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes 2,000 delegates pledged themselves on the 10th to take active part in the effort to have Congress enact the Plumb plan into law. While the railroad employes have begun to protest against the reactionary aspects of the Cummins plan, the road owners have protested against what they believe its "radical" aspects, chiefly those that provide for the limitation of the amount which a railroad may earn and the public regulation of rates. Thomas De Witt Cuyler, Chairman of the Association of Railway Executives, which represents approximately 98 per cent. of the mileage and of the earnings of Class 1 American railroads, filed with the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on September 10 an argument against the proposal of the Cummins bill emphasizing that limiting earnings and taking any excess over them diminishes, if it does not entirely remove, the incentives to competitive effort and efficiency, and forecloses any hope of attracting to railroad expansion for the future the adequate capital which it needs.