

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE POST OFFICE?

THE PUBLIC

A Journal of Democracy

September 27, 1919

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A Journal of Democracy

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JUDGE GARY says, "The principle of the open shop is vital to the greatest industrial progress and prosperity," and proceeds to deliver a fine little homily on freedom and individuality. All that Mr. Gary says so well is true in and of itself, but when applied to present conditions it is misleading. Freedom is the natural state of man. No one would surrender his freedom of choice and follow the leadership of another save to escape a greater evil. No man likes to place his liberty in the care of others, nor would he need to do so under free conditions. But if the alternative is to stand helpless before a powerful antagonist he must yield the lesser desire in order to secure the greater. Judge Gary's statement that he seeks only to deal justly with the men begs the question. The lone individual standing before the Steel Trust is absolutely helpless. He must accept the view of the Trust. The agents who act for Mr. Gary are more eager to please him than to do justice to the working man. When the Trust has been deprived of its ore-mining privileges, and competition is as free among iron makers as among iron workers, then the men can consider the plea for individual action.

A MONTH ago the President addressed Congress on the high cost of living. Among other things, he called attention to the fact that it was very difficult for various Government Departments to ascertain the facts because, although Congress had been excessively liberal with regard to some Departments, it had

been exceedingly niggardly with others. The following day Mr. Mondell, the majority leader, "called the President's bluff," as the opposition newspapers termed it. He announced a willingness to supply the President with any reasonable amount of money for carrying out any reasonable investigations necessary. Estimates were promptly furnished. An illustration of what happened is furnished by the estimate of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which is the only Government body with the machinery for gathering information with regard to wages and retail prices. Its estimate of \$475,000 was promptly cut at Mr. Mondell's instigation to \$12,000. Here is a concrete illustration of the way Congress is making a political football of the whole cost of living problem. There may be some optimistic people who think that the present situation is hopeful, but we see nothing short of a new Congress.

A NEW party has been born in America preaching forcible rebellion against the political state, no matter how democratically chosen. There is nothing new in this theory. It was preached the same day by H. H. Merrick, President of the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, before the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Merrick's cure-all for high wages and strikes was to send strikers to the hospital or, "better still, bury them." A vote of thanks is due Mr. Rowland B. Mahany, who, speaking in the name of the Secretary of Labor and before the same audience, promptly labeled Mr. Mer-

rick as an anarchist. The war is over. A little plain speaking will do no harm. If anarchy of the violent type means anything it means resistance to law. It applies to the poor, crazed workingman whose rough experience with industrial inequality has given him a distorted idea of society, and it applies to the sleek, well-fed millionaire whose experience in warping public functions to private uses has bred in him a contempt for the fundamentals of law itself. Neither must be permitted to be greater than the law.

THE announcement that the immigration authorities will attempt to deport Emma Goldman on the expiration of her prison term for obstructing the draft indicates that the war hysteria has not entirely subsided. **THE PUBLIC** holds no brief for Miss Goldman, but those things in which she may be in error can be met far better by open discussion than by physical suppression. At a time when liberal-minded people throughout the country are calling for toleration and demanding a general amnesty for political prisoners, it is unfortunate, to say the least, that attention should be given to deporting people who differ from us on political and sociological questions. Democracy is not such a puny thing that it cannot survive criticism, even though it be ignorant or unfair.

JAPAN when she emerged from her seclusion and began to take on western ways appears to have been influenced more by example than by precept. Though Christian ethics extolled peace, justice, and international good will, the practical statesmen did not permit these virtues to stand in the way of the main chance. The question has arisen as to whether Japan would as readily adopt the new conception of international morals. **THE PUBLIC** has maintained that she would; and this belief is now fortified by the news that the Supreme Court of Japan has rendered a decision that guarantees the rights of the owners of foreign trade marks registered in Japan. Not only did the court recognize the technical points involved, but it made the broadest application of the principle governing patents and trade marks. This will tend to remove the friction caused by Japanese manufacturers who have taken advantage of the

good will of foreign manufacturers by imitating their trade marks. It will also increase the confidence placed in Japanese courts.

THE shock felt at the shooting of an American soldier in the neutral zone in Germany while deer hunting marks the change in attitude of mind from that of a year ago. It is less than a twelvemonth since man killing was going on at the highest rate in the history of the world. Armies were praised for their bloody deeds, and individuals were decorated with special orders for the number of killed to their credit. The airman who brought down his opponent had his name blazoned throughout the world. A general was excused for losing ten thousand men, provided he inflicted a loss of twenty thousand upon his opponent. That was during the open season, when there was no limit to the amount of game one might bag. Now that the closed season has come the killing of one man is a mortal offense against law and morals, and may be punished by death. It is not surprising, all things considered, that the eccentric Bernard Shaw should have exclaimed, "The longer I live the more I am inclined to believe that this earth is used by other planets as a lunatic asylum."

A REACTIONARY propagandist who has taken it upon himself to oppose the Pennsylvania law that exempts machinery from local taxes in cities of the first and second classes, which include Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Scranton, is trying to prevent its extension to third-class cities. The law, he says, will not bring a single industry to the State, nor will its repeal drive one away, for the reason that the tax is a fixed charge and enters into the price of goods. If the tax appears in the price of the goods, its removal should lower the price and thus give Pennsylvania manufacturers an advantage over those of all the other States. This strange economist also says that this exemption of machinery would necessitate higher taxes on real estate, which would prevent the erection of buildings for homes. If the critic will follow the same rule that exempted machinery and remove the taxes from buildings he will see a different result; for if higher taxes prevent the erection of buildings, lower taxes or

none at all should induce building; and if the taxes so removed are placed on vacant land, the gentleman may rest assured that the land will not leave the State.

MR. MONDELL, majority leader of the House, was once described by Mr. Roosevelt as among the Congressional assistants to those engaged in "stealing the public lands." His latest exploit is a scheme for parceling out the national forests to individuals under the guise of grants of lands for the purpose of establishing sanitariums for benevolent associations. It hardly seems defensible to parcel out the national forests to anybody, even to benevolent institutions. Whether or not it was Mr. Mondell's intention to include the national parks, we do not know. The bill, however, was drawn so loosely that there was some question as to whether or not it would have been possible to grab lands within their boundaries. Under the terms of this bill any group of persons might organize a benevolent society and acquire title to a square mile in an area apparently set aside forever for the national forests. There were no safeguards whatever. Under it a benevolent society organized for the purpose of acquiring the land might immediately proceed to be benevolent to themselves to the extent of a square mile of land. The guise of benevolence, however, did not fool Secretary Houston, who entered a violent protest. It is not surprising that Mr. Mondell should have been mixed up in a performance of this kind. He has been at it thirty years. It is disquieting, however, to find Mr. Lane lending aid and comfort.

A ROLL call in Congress consumes the better part of an hour. During that time business is suspended and members twiddle their thumbs. It is a long and tedious process, and sometimes members do not hear their names. Probably one-third of the entire time of Congress is taken up in answering roll calls. For more than twenty years there have been electric voting devices upon the market by which the same transaction could be accomplished in twenty seconds that now consumes an hour. A signal board behind the Speaker's desk, and a button on each member's desk is all that would

be required. Congress, however, resolutely sticks to the old method of laboriously calling 450 names. Each member listens while the other 400-odd vote. They might just as well vote simultaneously. The only effective argument that any Congressman ever has presented in behalf of this unconscionable waste of public time is the fact that the number of the employes of the House would be decreased and their patronage curtailed. In a single day Congressman Blanton recently demanded and received eight roll calls for the sole purpose of determining whether there was a quorum present. Everybody knew in advance whether or not there was a quorum. The cost to the people of the United States of Mr. Blanton's curiosity on that particular day was a trifle over \$17,000.

Conserving Natural Resources

BENTON MACKAYE'S report on employment and natural resources, issued by the Department of Labor, is just in time to be of great service to the people and to Congress—if Congressmen really wish to serve the people. A bill is now pending in Congress providing for the irrigation and reclamation of a tract of two hundred thousand acres in Southern California. This land, lying near the Imperial Valley, is so arid as to be worthless, but it can be made of great value by bringing water from the Colorado River.

Two plans are available. One is the bill now pending in Congress, the other is the application of the principle set forth in the report of the Department of Labor. The pending bill proposes to sell this useless land in lots of one hundred and sixty acres, and to use the money to pay part of the cost of reclamation. This means that the few cents an acre that may be got for arid land will be supplemented by millions of Government funds, and the result will be that the whole two hundred thousand acres will fall into the hands of speculators who will make fortunes out of the deal, and present the country with another rural community burdened by over-capitalized land. This has been the history of our land policy, repeated with each tract of public land opened for settlement. The precedent is too clear and the records too constant for any Congressman to blunder.

Yet this need not be. This arid land can be reclaimed as laid down by the Labor Department report. The whole tract can be prepared as a series of units complete and ready for the habitation of men. Preference can be given to soldiers as long as they care to go upon the land. But in doing this the Government must provide, as Secretary of Labor Wilson says, for the "elimination of everything resembling—even remotely—the speculation in, or private appropriation of, natural and community-made values." The adoption of the perpetual lease will guarantee the right to use the land without including the right to speculate in it.

Unless this land is restricted to users we shall see in a few years a repetition of another community in which high-priced land is worked by tenants, while the owner idles in neighboring cities and towns.

The report has a broader application. It would apply this doctrine to all natural resources—to minerals, forests, water power, and site values. Nor can Congressmen and publicists in general begin too soon to study the report and apply its principles to present conditions. These principles should be embodied in the water power bill, the oil land bill, and the California irrigation bill. Let Congress begin now to conserve the common heritage of the people. There is still in the hands of the Government an empire of wealth, and another vast amount, though in private hands, can be increased in value many times by the coöperation of the Government. It is time that the average citizen realized the extent of his heritage, determined what should be done with it, and saw to it that Congress took action. It should never be forgotten that democracy means the rule of the people, and if the people would have wise laws they must inform themselves.

Speeding Up Ratification

CHAIRMAN HAYS of the Republican Central Committee is earning his salary these days, no matter how much it is. Never before has a party manager had such a lot of irresponsible men to handle as the Republican leaders in the Senate. Mr. Hays has appealed to them by all the traditions of the party and by all the hopes of the future. He has called to his aid the Nestors of the party, who have labored long and

ardently with the willful Senators. But no sooner does he set them in the way they should go than they break out in some new manifestation of foolishness. Doubtless when they have passed the National Convention next summer and it has been decided which candidates are not to be the standard bearers, they will settle down for another four years. But as long as there is a possibility that any one may be chosen Mr. Hays will have his troubles.

Mr. Root has added the weight of his years and experience to the pleas of Chairman Hays. But the Senators still consider the question from their own individual points of view. To them it is a clever political trick to slap England and her self-governing colonies in the face by claiming that Great Britain has six times the representation in the League that America has. It is the kind of cheap politics resorted to by petty politicians for the purpose of securing the support of uninformed voters. It will win a little temporary prestige with ignorant men, but in the end it will leave the originators all the more discredited. They know, and every one of intelligence knows, that Great Britain has no more voting power than the United States, just as New York has no more voting power in passing a law than Rhode Island.

But Mr. Hays is not so much concerned with the fortunes of individual Presidential candidates as with the party as a whole. It requires money to run a political campaign, and the men who contribute to the party funds are for the most part men of affairs who are eager to open up business relations abroad and engage in new ventures at home, but who cannot move until they know under what conditions they are to operate. The obstreperous Senators may say they will win more votes by their course than they will estrange, but Mr. Hays wants to know who is to replace the liberal contributors who are threatening to leave the party. The petition of two hundred and fifty of the leading citizens of the country, urging the Senate to take speedy action in the ratification of the treaty, has now been reinforced by the popular demand of the people who have heard the President on his Western tour. His simple explanations of the provisions of the Covenant are reassuring minds that have been disturbed by the sophistries of the opposing Senators. He has shown the Irish that Article X in no way ham-

pers Ireland, while Article XI provides a special means of bringing her cause before the council of nations. China will not only recover her lost territory, which she could have done in no other way, but she will have the means within reach to square accounts with other nations that have encroached upon her sovereignty.

The more the terms of the Covenant are discussed the more trifling do the objections appear, and the more partisan the opposition of the men who are maneuvering for political advantage in the coming Presidential campaign.

Exorcising Devils

THE pet evils at Washington have all been deposed. Congressmen of the witchcraft school always have pet aversions of various sorts to whom are ascribed all the ills that the nation is heir to. Congressman Heflin for instance attributes the origin of all sin to the Negro. Mr. Sherman sees the Pope lurking in every corner, and Luther-like hurls torrents of printer's ink at him by way of the Congressional Record. Senator Chamberlain firmly believes that sin, disease, and political corruption are visited upon mankind through the incantations of Secretary Baker. The devil-cult par excellence, however, has been the Wilson cult. Innumerable Senators regard the President as a sort of super-devil through whose superior powers the lesser devils operate. They picture him as the source of the spells laid upon legislation that dies in committee, of the charms that bewitch voters into voting the wrong ticket, that blight the fortunes of pet corporations, and that sour the milk of Senatorial kindness. Yet of all these schools of demonology the loudest is the school that holds that Samuel Gompers is only an alias for Beelzebub. Mr. Blanton of Texas is its leader. Like many lesser sects in the theological field it makes up in turbulence what it lacks in numbers. Mr. Blanton, be it understood, is the Senator Sherman of the lower house. He is Senator Sherman's equal in vituperation and has the advantage of a better pair of lungs.

Mr. Blanton's state of mind may be imagined when the plan of the Railroad Brotherhoods for government ownership was proposed. Instantly his temperature arose to such alarming heights that the pent-up winds within his oratorical

apparatus expanded and swirled around the halls of Congress in a mad blast against the "radicals who want to take \$20,000,000,000 of private property from widows and orphans and little minor children whose ancestors have probably acquired it through a lifetime of thrift." One of the ancients straying into Congress might well have imagined that he had stumbled upon one of the fabled caves where Æolus confined the winds. Under such a hurricane no competing devil could stand upright. Before the day was over Mr. Blanton's demon was supreme. Great is Blanton of Texas! Henceforth let no one hint that organized labor is not the moving cause of warts, bolshevism, woman suffrage, or race riots. Let those who think otherwise restrain their speech lest the winds be again unleashed. The Devils are dead. Long live the Devil!

Living Wages for Women

THE general testimony before the minimum wage commissions everywhere indicates that \$15 to \$18 per week is the lowest permissible wage for women if a standard for reasonable health and comfort is to be maintained. If this be true, and there is no reason to doubt it, there are many industries in America where an American standard is not maintained. How far we fall below it is shown in a report upon the candy trade by the Women in Industry Service of the Department of Labor.

This is a women's industry. Sixty per cent. of the people engaged in it are women. Eighty per cent. of the women employes are receiving less than \$15 per week. The average wage paid in nineteen large factories is found to be \$9.76 per week. In the case of a single typical factory it was shown that only one employe in fifty receives as much as \$14. An analysis of the wages and experience of the workers shows that five out of six must work at least two years in order to have a one in three chance (35.6 per cent.) of getting as much as \$14. It is apparently a fine trade for an ambitious girl. Yet the facts show that many of these low-wage employes have followed their calling for more than twenty years. The natural tendency, of course, is to rebuke the employer, yet when all is said and done he pays wages on the same principle that the average housewife does.

"We pay the market price for labor," says one. "We pay what we have to," says another. "We pay the same wages as our competitor," says a third.

The situation opens up two schools of thought, one of which insists that minimum wage legislation is mere stop-gap legislation. The other school maintains that something must be done at once, and that we are confronted by a condition and not a theory. The thing to do is to adopt both principles. Let us have the minimum wage at once by all means. Let us not delude ourselves into believing that a crutch is a cure. Let us not relax our efforts to abolish land monopoly, which is the basis fundamentally of all low wages.

Goods for Goods

IT is most gratifying to see the official publication of a great concern like the National Bank of the City of New York advance sane ideas regarding international trade. The American public has been so long regaled with the theory that the more a nation sells and the less it buys the richer it becomes, and the more prosperous its people, that they have lost all sense of real conditions.

The United States last year exported \$7,225,000,000 worth of goods, and imported only \$3,096,000,000 worth, leaving a "balance in our favor" of \$4,129,000,000. The balance in our favor during the twenty years from 1895 to 1914 was \$8,981,000,000; to this should be added the \$9,843,000,000 balance in our favor during the four years of the war. This indicates that during the last twenty-four years we have sold \$18,774,000,000 more merchandise than we have bought.

But this comforting doctrine that we can get rich by sending away more than we get back has its limitations. Our great riches make us a creditor instead of a debtor nation, and we shall now suffer the fate of other creditor nations. England is the richest nation in Europe. Yet for years her imports have exceeded her exports. In the year 1918, the last year before the war, the balance against her was \$669,000,000; on the other hand, India and Ireland exported more goods than they imported, the balance in favor of India being \$136,265,594, and in favor of Ireland, \$1,065,000. It is quite apparent

to the reflecting mind that England receives more goods than she sends because she is a creditor nation, and the excess represents the profits of her investments abroad. Ireland and India send away more goods than they receive because they are debtor countries, and are paying the profits on the investments of foreigners within their borders. What protectionist will say that India is being enriched by her "favorable" balance of trade?

The balance of trade in favor of the United States, which has been the boast of high tariff advocates, is in reality a balance against us, and would have overwhelmed the country had it not been for our enormous natural resources. Europeans investing in our lands and other natural resources in early days have seen their property increase in value through the growth and industry of our population. And up to the time of the war the enormous excess of exports over imports has represented the profits we have paid on these investments.

But the war has brought about new conditions. Henceforth we are to play the part of a creditor nation. Our capitalists will invest in new countries as European countries once invested in this country, and as their profits begin to come in we shall have larger imports than exports. Will protectionists say that this means a balance against us? "Before the war," says the *City Bank Bulletin*, "when we owed the rest of the world \$500,000,000 per year for interest, freight charges, etc., they could take that amount of our products and simply give us credit on account; now, when they owe us \$500,000,000 for interest, they have to dig up that amount before they can make any purchases."

When one realizes that trade is not between nations but between individuals, and that it consists of exchange of goods for goods—except where monopoly interferes—it will be seen how short-sighted is the policy of any nation that tries to enrich itself at the expense of any other nation. If goods come into a country goods must go out of that country in exchange, unless the incoming goods are the fruits of monopoly. The remedy for unbalanced trade is not a protective tariff, but the abolition of monopoly. The world will never have permanent peace until there is the same freedom of trade between nations as there is among the States of the American Union.

What's the Matter with the Post Office?

By Hugh Reid

THIS is not a defense of Mr. Burleson. He has plenty to answer for, and I have neither the intention nor the inclination to defend him or his antediluvian policies. Nevertheless, he is not primarily responsible for the Russianization of the Post Office. If any one individual is responsible, that individual is dead. He has been gathered to his fathers, but his soul goes marching on—largely of late, it is true, to Mr. Burleson's music.

In the later 'seventies there flourished in New York a young man with a zeal for the uplift. He was a Christian and of a most austere variety. He read both the Law and the Prophets and read them literally. He was undoubtedly sincere, but after a puritanical manner. Likewise he was a thrifty soul. Somehow thrift and austerity seem to go together. Your jovial souls are ever easy spenders. It was of a Scotchman and a Calvinist, let it be remembered, that it was said, "He kept the Ten Commandments and everything else that he laid hands upon."

The New York of that generation was very literally no place for a minister's son. Like the New York of today it was an ungodly place. Its ungodliness, while perhaps no more wanton than that of today, was, however, much less respectable. It was a freer, easier era, when the gambling house and the brothel were wide open. The Astors still collected their rents at first hand in New York instead of from the smug respectability of a British peerage. The confidence man had not yet moved to Wall Street. Burglary had not yet been superseded by stock-broking. Holdup men still used pistols in lieu of high finance.

Upon such a world was young Anthony Comstock released. Naturally he revolted against it. Young, puritanical to the point of fanaticism, what more natural than that his energy should be turned to crusading? Your fanatic is a great crusader. A fanatical devotion to a cause betokens a great sincerity, and there is nothing like sincerity to insure thoroughness, whether it be in a Peter the Hermit leading toward the Holy Sepulcher or in a Judge

Jeffreys at the Bloody Assizes. So Anthony went a-crusading.

As a crusader Comstock was a success. He was also a very useful citizen. Give the devil his due. The puritan's zeal against Sabbath breaking may inconvenience us, but we can share his zeal against burglary. His attitude toward law is primarily sound, but his roll of crimes is too long. The puritan's position is aptly paraphrased by the Italian barber's explanation of the President's position with regard to Fiume: "This Meester Wilson, he ees all right so far as he go; the trouble ees he go too far." Anthony Comstock may have gone too far, but he accomplished much good.

Among the services he rendered was that of wiping out the traffic in obscene literature. At that time it was the custom for such material to be sold openly on the streets and sent through the mails. All of it was disgusting and much of it was of such a character as to appeal only to sexual degenerates. The credit for wiping out that sort of thing belongs to Anthony Comstock. But his very success is what got the American people into trouble.

Comstock, it must be remembered, was a man of one idea. Had he been otherwise, his energies would have been speedily diverted to another field when the first was exhausted. But he turned quite naturally to the smaller and less flagrant forms of indecency. He has his counterpart in those zealous persons who having laid low King Alcohol are casting a menacing eye upon tobacco and overstrong coffee. When the last bootlegger shall have perished from the earth there will still be good but suspicious souls that will go around smelling their neighbors' breaths for the odor of hard cider. Comstock was of this sort.

The direction of his further efforts was quite natural. Driven from the grosser forms of the trade, the former venders of salacious literature took to the suggestive instead of the obscene. But the relentless Anthony still pursued them. Finally the world became comparatively pure.

Did we say pure? Hardly had that point been reached when Mr. Comstock found an

advertisement openly, blatantly offering five "rich, rare, and racy" books with highly suggestive titles at five dollars apiece. His twenty-five dollars was in the mail instanter, and in due time the books came. But the contents belied the suggestive titles. They were as chaste as Anthony himself and as austere as the Shorter Catechism. Anthony was swindled. We have already implied that he was thrifty. That episode was the origin of the postal statute against fraud. Comstock is the godfather of that statute. He became a Post Office inspector under it. The statute provided both fine and imprisonment for violations. There was also, however, another provision which was the germ of the present evil system of wiping out the mailing privileges of individuals and publications at the whim of the Postmaster. It was that fraudulent matter should be "unmailable under such regulations as the Postmaster General shall prescribe."

There was a distinction between this and the other penalty provision of the act. A violation of the act itself had exactly the same status as any other violation of law. The offender was in turn indicted, tried, and sentenced. But when it came to determining the mailability of publications, or the right to mail service, the enforcement provision was, as the act directed, "under such regulations as the Postmaster General shall prescribe." This on the face of it was not a very serious matter, nor would it have been if the discretion of the Postmaster had been used only in cases where actual convictions were had. But this was not the case. It became the Post Office practice to decide mailability without reference to conviction or anything else. In doing so they were aided by a fundamental American theory of law. Theoretically, at least, the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of the Government are separate and coordinate. Neither one, in theory, encroaches upon the other, although the courts have been accused of doing so in fact. It is nevertheless our fundamental theory that the Executive, the Legislature, and the Supreme Court are alike creatures of the Constitution and not responsible to each other. The acts of the Executive, when within his own proper jurisdiction, are not subject to review by the courts. And since the Postmaster General is merely an arm of the Executive, he is not subject to judicial review.

Here is the fundamental trouble with the Post Office. It is also the fundamental trouble with the Immigration Bureau. It is, for that matter, the fundamental trouble with the Courts Martial. Administrative methods are excellently adapted to the purchase of supplies, to buying and selling, and to all property transactions that do not incidentally involve human rights. But when human rights are involved the court and the jury alone are adequate.

How does the administrative theory of law enforcement work out in practice? Precisely as it did in ancient Persia. The subject matter of the particular act to be enforced is allotted to some section of an obscure bureau. This means that the facts are passed upon by some underpaid clerk.

In the course of the past forty years hundreds of persons within the United States have been denied the mailing privilege in utter violation of the spirit of the Constitution. Yet, strangely enough, that same Constitution is the very source of this arbitrary power. The courts, let it be noted, have added nothing to the cause of the public by declaring that the access of a citizen of the United States to the mail service of his own Government is not a right but merely a privilege.

The theory of unmailability, like every other theory, has been extended from time to time. It has become the fashion to tack the unmailability clause upon all acts specifying penalties for misuse of the mails. So with each new law more and more publications and periodicals are brought within the menace of the Postmaster's "discretion." During the war in particular this clause became very popular with lawmakers. The Neutrality Act, the Trading with the Enemy Act, the Espionage Act, and a host of others all bear it.

Under the law in the United States one cannot collect a debt against a publication without first submitting the merits of the dispute to a fairly selected jury or at least to a properly established court. Yet if one had the proper political pull it would be quite conceivable to wipe that publication out at the mere whim of a politically inclined Postmaster General. Or let us assume the case of a business that comes in conflict with the views of certain business men who have the ear of compliant persons at Washington. It would be quite possible to wipe

out that business. Indeed, it has been done. There is the well-known case during Roosevelt's administration of a St. Louis business man with a million-dollar business who committed no offense except to inconvenience a powerful banking ring. His business was wiped out merely by arbitrarily excluding him from the use of the mails.

And what are we going to do about it? The superficially obvious thing, of course, is to fire Mr. Burleson. Such a course, while salutary and much to be desired, would have about the same effect that the good old Irish sport of

shooting landlords had upon the Irish land system. Mr. Burleson, it is true, is probably in harmony with the law. The real work of determining the facts, however, is done by a few undereducated and badly underpaid Government clerks. If Mr. Burleson should be gathered to his fathers tonight, or if the final stages of petrification should overtake the already fossilized Lamar, the system would still go on. We shall never have a free press in America until we wipe out the whole system of handling judicial questions by purely administrative procedure.

High Cost of Living—Basic Principles

By Louis F. Post

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

IT is by practical methods that the high cost of living problem must be solved. Basic principles alone cannot solve it. No principles are effective until reduced to practical methods.

But just as principle without method is valueless, so is method without principle. The two are correlative and must coordinate.

Yet coordination of principle and method appears to be wholly lacking from current controversies over the prevailing high cost of living. Though methods are abundant, there is no effort at coordinating them with basic principles.

Natural law is what is meant by basic principles.

That there are laws of physical nature to which every physical phase of any method for solving the cost of living problem must conform, no one doubts. Food, for instance, can be produced only in conformity to natural laws of fertility, growth, and mechanics.

It is equally true that there are laws of human nature to which every humanistic phase of any method for solving the problem must conform. If it were not a natural human trait, for instance, to prefer palatable to unpalatable foods there would be no difference in cost between them. Just as physical science proceeding from its stages of superstition to its stages of demonstration has discovered and formulated laws of physical nature, so social science proceeding along the same pathway is beginning to discover and to formulate laws of

human nature. Fortunately, the laws of human nature are not venomous serpents. If they were, social science cults would have died of snake-bite long ago.

It is to one of the less obvious laws of human nature that Irving Fisher appeals when he urges stabilization of the dollar. Whoever thinks of the high cost of living is naturally prone from force of habit to think of it only in terms of dollars. But high cost of living in terms of dollars would make no difference if all prices rose and fell alike. Who would care if his outgo in dollars doubled, provided his income in dollars also doubled? Were the increase of dollar outgo without a corresponding increase of dollar income the only phase of the cost of living problem, it could be completely solved by stabilizing the dollar as Professor Fisher had planned to do. A given rate of wages would then buy approximately the same quantity and quality of goods at one time as another, for income and prices would rise and fall constantly together.

Stabilization of the dollar is, indeed, indispensable to a solution of cost of living problems. No matter how perfect the solution in other respects, the problem would not be solved if laws of human nature that affect mediums of exchange were ignored. But neither would stabilization of the dollar be a solution without conformity to laws of human nature that lie beyond the stabilization horizon. Although dollar stabilization would enable a wage-earner

to get as good a living as his contract of hire calls for, it would not help him to contract—whether individually or by collective bargaining—for as good a living as his work might fairly entitle him to. In this phase, the problem can be solved only through considerations more fundamental than those which bear upon money prices alone.

What, then, are the causes of high cost of living that lie beyond fluctuations in the purchasing power of the dollar? In a single word, the answer is Monopoly.

This can be demonstrated by thoughtful consideration of a few self-evident, not to say universally familiar, natural laws of individual and social life.

That continuous human life depends upon continuous human work is clearly one of those basic laws. Everybody lives by work—his own or another's. No one lives or can continue to live upon the stored-up products of past work. Let the workers of the world strike work today and the world begins to starve tomorrow. If demonstration be necessary, it may be evolved from experiences of the great war as from experiments in a social science laboratory. For every destructive soldier half a dozen productive workers were necessary to keep up supplies.

Related to that basic principle, which may be put in the category of physical natural law, is a familiar law of human nature (also of all other animal nature) which prompts each individual to conserve his own life.

One step farther and we face another law of human nature. From its influence no one is any more immune than from the natural law of life conservation. It is this, that inasmuch as everybody would conserve his life, and as that can be done only by work which in many of its forms (in any form if prolonged) is irksome, everybody tries to do it with the least work of his own. In one direction, this human impulse to seek the industrial line of least resistance leads on to labor-saving invention, thereby proving the law to be wholesome and beneficent. But in another direction it leads on to high costs of living for honest folks through various forms of robbery, from picking pockets and cheating to wars of conquest and chattel slavery, thereby proving not that the natural law is bad, but that in spite of being

wholesome and beneficent it is subject, like all other natural laws, to human abuse. One of the beneficial outcomes of this law of human nature is specialization in industry, whereby incalculable work may be saved without robbing any one, but to the enrichment of every one.

Finally, we have a physical law with reference to which the law of human nature noted above, which was formulated by Henry George and is here distinguished as the law of least industrial resistance, is vital. This physical law makes man dependent for his life and for the work that sustains his life, upon access to the resources of physical nature. All work is thus conditioned, whether it be that of an isolated individual—a Crusoe alone upon his ocean island—or the intensely specialized work of millions on our planetary island in space. Without access to those resources there can be no human work at all, and consequently no human life; and to the extent that access is obstructed work is obstructed and life narrowed.

It is at this point that abuses of the natural law of least industrial resistance operate in the direction of high cost of living. By monopolizing natural physical resources monopolizers get products of work without themselves working. They sell working opportunities. To persons that do work, therefore, the cost of living is higher in terms of work than it otherwise would be.

The same law of human nature that induces monopolization of natural resources in order to levy tribute upon workers' incomes, induces monopolists to withhold those resources from all use in expectation of forcing better bargains for tribute takers. This process checks production, which in turn develops still higher working costs of living. The process is made possible by legislation or ancient institutions which perpetuate monopoly by a few at the expense of the many of what, by a natural law, as obvious as the natural law of democracy of which it is a part, is the heritage of all.

Being one of the most effective causes of high cost of living, this fundamental cause would also take over to itself every other cause if every other cause were displaced. It is the primary cause of the constantly increasing high cost of living as measured by work.

Most effective among the other causes of high

cost of living that are rooted in basic principles is highway obstruction. Since industrial specialization follows the natural law of least industrial resistance, interchange of products also follows that law of human nature; for, without trading there would be no specialization. But effective trading requires unobstructed highways on land and sea. Whether highways be obstructed by lawless highwaymen as in the days of Jack Sheppard, or by legalized highwaymen as in these days of railway financing and protective tariffs, is all one in principle. In practice, the Jack Sheppards were mere babies at the game. What those despised chevaliers of industry did in a small way at the joint of a muzzle-loading pistol, is done now on a gigantic scale by honored captains of industry who are armored with legal authority and armed with poisonous political gases.

Monopoly of highways, monopoly of water fronts, monopoly of railway terminals, monopoly of lumber forests, monopoly of mineral

deposits, monopoly of subterranean oil lakes, monopoly of the unbuilt upon sites of cities, monopoly of especially advantageous business locations, monopoly of whole kingdoms of agricultural areas in part rackrented and in part kept out of use to make the rackrents higher,—these are the forces by which high costs of living are forced up and kept up.

Nothing will bring down high costs of living, measured by the irksomeness of productive labor, but an intelligent recognition of the power of monopoly and an effective minimizing of that power by practical methods in harmony with basic principles. So long as the highways of trade are blocked by obstructive tariffs, whether railway tariffs or protective tariffs, and so long as monopoly of natural resources is permitted as a part of legitimate business instead of being stopped as obstructive to legitimate business and as inexcusable robbery, just so long will useful producers suffer from high costs of living.

How President Wilson Has Succeeded

By George Darien

Well-Known Dramatist and Editor; Resident in Paris

PRESIDENT WILSON said (Boston, February 24, 1919): "I do not speak of the governments of the world. I speak of the peoples who constitute the nations of the world. They are in the saddle and they are going to see to it that, if their present governments do not do their will, some other governments shall. And the secret is out, and the present governments know it."

When he uttered these words President Wilson had acquired ample proofs of what he had already guessed several months before, namely, that there was no trust to be put in European governments.

Thanks to him the secret was out, and no illusion on the point was henceforth possible. But had the peoples drawn the logical consequences of the uncontrovertible facts? Were they now alive to the urgency of their needed action?

President Wilson did not say so. He simply said that the peoples "are in the saddle and that they will see to it."

They will. That is in the future tense. When will they?

To ask that question is to raise the whole problem of democracy.

Is democracy a self-determining force, efficient simply because it exists and needing no outside guidance in order to forge ahead? Or is it merely a virtual force, whose efficiency is measured by the superiority of the principles that direct it, and which must find above itself the criterium of its actions?

It is clear that President Wilson answers the first question in the negative, and the second in the affirmative. No utterance of his is needed to prove the fact. Had he been a believer in democracy considered as a power capable of reaching results without any preparatory study and out of the sheer force of numbers, he would have insisted upon the governments for the immediate suppression of the war regulations curtailing popular liberties. He carefully refrained from doing so.

We are therefore on safe ground when we hold that the President, while knowing that no trust is to be put in the governments that be, has no faith in a democracy lacking the moral

courage of asserting itself, of probing its rights and of vindicating them.

To have those rights given back to it through an external agency would only sink it more deeply into the ooze of apathy.

Democracy must rise, of itself, out of the mud.

That is what Woodrow Wilson has done,—he has cleared the ground for action. Thanks to him, not only have the autocracies been thrown to the dust, but the sham democracies have been exposed to view in all the horror of their lies.

The so-called free peoples have become able to measure the length of their claims and to see that their leaders, while endlessly prating of right, justice, and liberty, are led all along by the basest greed and march hand in hand with the eternal foes of mankind. They have been enabled to realize that they have been shamefully befooled, and that if they want to live they must take their salvation in their own hands.

Not only has President Wilson cleared the ground for action, but he has furthermore demonstrated the necessity of immediate action.

“We stand at the crossroads, however,” he said in his last European message, “and the way is only pointed out. Those who saw through the travail of war the vision of a world made secure for mankind must now consecrate their lives to its realization.”

The men he alludes to must indeed strike hard; but, above all, they must know where and how to strike. They must have a well defined aim to choose carefully the road that they will follow. In other words, they must have a complete and strict program.

Will the Fourteen Points constitute that program?

Most emphatically, no.

Let us brutally state the fact,—the Fourteen Points are played out.

They have served their purpose, which was to demonstrate that the present governments of Europe will shrink from the most moderate proposals, should they but attempt to concretize in the slightest degree the ideals of freedom and justice. The experiment has been carried out, and the matter cannot be reconsidered. Besides, the President has been careful never to express any hope of seeing either statesmen or nations coming back to his conceptions.

He knows well that the Fourteen Points, by

ceasing to exist as a vital issue, have taken away with them, first, the possibility of a judicial and national solution of the present problems, and, second, the possibility of a settlement on the purely political ground. These two contingencies have been disposed of at a stroke. And the problem presents itself today in its true figure under its social aspect, insisting upon an *economic* and *international* solution.

Now, it may well be asked: Are the peoples aware of this? And when will they begin to act?

President Wilson has not left these two questions unanswered.

As to the first: he has sent the nations to the hard school of facts; he has unmasked the leaders, and shown to the herds that, after the long rule of death on the battlefield, they will have to face starvation on their hearths. He has left them no hope, no possibility of illusion. He has cut the bridges behind them.

He has thereby been instrumental in quickening the radical change that is needed, in nipping in the bud endless squabbles and quibbles about nothingnesses, in enormously hastening the advent of a new world, in exalting the glorious life of Vision above the dry bones of Tradition.

When will the peoples begin to act? “The permanent things,” said the President (June, 1916,), “will be accomplished afterward when the opinion of mankind is brought to bear upon the issues.”

The moment predicted by President Wilson is not far off.

The situation that has been created by tearing off the masks is beginning to tell. Europe is spurred on by necessity. An incessant and earnest mental work is going on. Day by day opinion is forming and sharpening itself. Deeds will follow like thunderbolts.

In their march forward the peoples want a great idea to illuminate their path, and a powerful instrument to remove the obstacles.

The instrument has been handed to them by President Wilson. It is the League of Nations. Verily did he say of it: “The League of Nations is not only an instrument to adjust and remedy old wrongs under a new treaty of peace; it is the only hope for mankind.”

The League of Nations has introduced into the world a new form of power; it has brought international comprehension and solidarity into

the realm of practical politics. The League of Nations is not a replica of the powers that exist; it is a curb on them; it places all their fabric under undying suspicion and under effective control. It is not a prop of the governments in existence; it is their very negation. It puts light and friendship where darkness and hatred were ruling.

How daring that new formula which at once sets at naught the old ones! How audaciously—and simply—it breaks off with the atrocious pageant of the past!

An indispensable instrumentality, indeed, “for the maintenance of the new order,” for ringing the knell of the “days when might and right were confused,” for the final rejection of the “old policy which never meant anything else but force, force, always force.”

Of course we know that a tool can always be bent or broken; but we are sure that now the nations will have learned the price of vigilance,

and will watch over their League with a jealous care. That League will be what they want it to be. Let them trust themselves, have the pluck to begin and the energy to go on.

Woodrow Wilson has plowed the field. He has sown the seeds of the universal new life. Let us scare away the ravens and the harvest is ours.

No, President Wilson did not fail. Had he achieved but the work that I have attempted to sum up—had he but demonstrated, as he has done, that the will of a single straight-minded individual is in the long run stronger than all the knavish tricks of a crowd of malefactors—he would have won the day. But he has done more. By ushering into the political conscience the idea that laws have existed from all eternity, that they have not to be made, but discovered, he has heralded the dawn of the great day that will see the triumph of continuous peace.

Israel Nearing Home

By Louis Wallis

AN atmosphere of democratic idealism and a deepening sense of national destiny characterized the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of American Zionists at Chicago last week. The movement to reestablish Israel as a national entity, and restore Palestine to the Jewish people, has now assumed a breadth and force that are attracting world-wide attention. The Chicago gathering marks a new phase in the modern history of the Jew.

Although the present Zionist movement is of recent origin, the Holy Land has appealed to the heart and hope of the Hebrew people for many centuries. But a new outlook has now opened as an immediate and unexpected result of the war. The Turk has been driven out of Palestine; and Great Britain is to be a mandatory under the League of Nations, whereby the Jewish people may exercise the right of self-determination, and set up once more an objective political organization among the peoples of the earth. The resettlement of the ancient homeland will be mostly by the oppressed Jews of eastern Europe, while at the same time the Jews of the Anglo-Saxon world are expected to furnish most of the organization and capital for the great enterprise.

The Chicago convention was a large and enthusiastic gathering, stimulated by the vivid consciousness that the ancient Jewish hope is on the eve of actual realization. A detailed report is not called for in these columns. Zionist committee organizations are already functioning in Palestine. Provision is under way for an extensive program of engineering and sanitary work. Warm discussions and passionate speeches on the floor gave rise to misleading newspaper reports of a split in the convention, when, as a matter of fact, the gathering manifested a notable spirit of harmony in regard to all questions and policies bearing on the reestablishment of the national state in the ancient fatherland.

The democracy of the meeting was expressed in repeated affirmations of the ideal of social justice, which came out in speeches, resolutions, and debates. Nothing is more certain than that the Jewish masses all over the world are determined that the new Zion shall be established in the light of those principles which are laid down in the sacred Torah and the mighty prophets of Israel. While the Bible does not put forth a concrete platform of political and economic action adapted to conditions in the

twentieth century, the Biblical spirit of justice, which denounced land monopoly and concentration of wealth under the Kings of Israel, has been strikingly embodied in the land reform program adopted by the last year's Zionist convention at Pittsburgh and reaffirmed this year in the Chicago gathering. Great enthusiasm was shown when Rabbi Stephen A. Wise, of New York read the statement of the present land situation in Palestine prepared by Mrs. Joseph Fels, from which the following quotations will be of special interest to readers of THE PUBLIC:

"With the full ideal of democracy before us, we must proceed carefully and without undue haste in the application of progressive principles to the land situation of Palestine. It is now generally agreed that the highest interests of the new Jewish nation would be compromised by private speculation and monopoly in the soil. As the process of setting up the new government goes on, the establishment of law and order, with all the benefits of modern civilization, will at once be reflected in a tremendous rise of land values, which must not be permitted to fall into the grasp of commercial exploitation, but must be preserved for the good of the whole community by a wise and cautious statesmanship.

"The danger of too hasty action is illustrated in the case of the native Arabs of Palestine. These elements of the population hold about one-half the soil. More than ninety-five per cent. of the Arabs are illiterate, and cannot be quickly adapted to a new system of land tenure and taxation.

"For this reason it is proposed temporarily to ignore the Arabic real estate, and to apply progressive principles to the Turkish crown lands acquired by the British conquest and to the property of the non-Arabic part of the population. In reference thereto, we propose to exempt improvements from taxation, and in lieu thereof to take the ground rental value for government purposes.

"This plan of action will at once free the non-Arabic land from the evils of private speculation, and by assuring a reasonable supply of land for immediate bona fide settlement, will prevent the Arabic land from acquiring a speculative, monopolistic value. This Arabic land can then be either purchased at a low price and nationalized, or, as the Arabs gradually come to

understand our good faith and purpose, it can be organized under the same rules of taxation and tenure previously applied to the non-Arabic land.

"By taking such precautions we shall avoid friction and possible conflict with the native elements, and in shaping our course with a view to the actual conditions we shall move steadily toward fundamental democracy."

The outstanding figure of the convention was, of course, the great leader of the Zionist movement, Justice Louis D. Brandeis, just returned from Palestine. The mere mention of him at any session was sufficient to bring forth enthusiastic demonstrations. His appearance in person was hailed by a very storm of applause, every one rising, while the audience, with tear-dimmed eyes, sang the national anthem, "Hatikvoh" (Our Hope).

This remarkable meeting gives fresh proof of the enduring vitality of Jewish nationalism. It shows that a people whose traditions and culture go back to ancient times are in harmony with the ongoing currents of progressive modern civilization.

Militarism

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Emeritus of Leland Stanford, Jr., University

THE animating spirit of the war system, known as "militarism," may be defined as the glorification of force and of the machinery that supports it. It is the philosophical expression of dynastic government. Its theory is trust in superior might; its practice is "military necessity." Militarism may thus be considered either as a mental attitude or as an objective fact. As a mental attitude it stands in direct opposition to the spirit of "live and let live," which is the basis of law. It considers all public questions in terms of force rather than of equity. As an objective fact, it is measured in part by excess of army or navy, but more exactly by the degree of national reliance placed on these and other agencies of the war system. "Military necessity" is the best touchstone of militarism. The term is held to mean that ends achievable by force outweigh in importance all other forms of effort. As a matter of fact, the most heinous crimes known to modern history have been inspired by "military necessity."

Militarism to those reared under its discipline is like the pressure of the atmosphere, everywhere present and therefore not recognized. The one people of modern times most thoroughly subject to it have often vehemently denied its existence.

Professor von Treitschke asserts (in words here slightly condensed):

The essence of the state is power, and it is to be found in a well equipped and well drilled army. It is only in war that a people becomes a people. . . . The state exists above and apart from the individuals which compose it, and it is entitled to their utmost sacrifices; in short, they exist for it, rather than the state for them. A nation's military efficiency is the exact coefficient of a nation's idealism.

Militarism is, in brief, the political and social creed of the war system. It furnishes the dynastic ruler and the privileged groups a natural bulwark of defense against the rising tide of liberalism. In time of war all members of a belligerent nation are beset by common danger; minor equities are forgotten, and a definite halt is called on all kinds of social reform.

CURRENT THOUGHT

Of One Self-Slain

WHEN he went blundering back to God,
His songs half written, his work half done,
Who knows what paths his bruised feet trod,
What hills of peace or pain he won?

I hope God smiled, and took his hand,
And said, "Poor truant, passionate fool!
Life's book is hard to understand:

Why couldst thou not remain at school?"
—George Hanson Towne, in "A World of Windows."

Motion and Thought

THE world is full of creatures that are doing things without asking why. You can't educate a grasshopper. He's too busy hopping. The peculiarity of man is that sometimes you can induce him to stop and think.—Samuel McChord Crothers, in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The Woman Vote

WOMEN care for their families. They know that it is not right for the father to toil unceasingly while the family barely subsists. Women are saying: "If the political parties as now constituted cannot be divorced from beef and steel without dying, then let them die." Let us get a new party, one that is not afraid. The new woman voter is all dressed up and nowhere to go. The ques-

tion is: "Is any one wise enough to prepare a place for her?"—Harriet Taylor Upton, in the *Ohio Suffrage Bulletin*.

The World as a Lunatic Asylum

I WAS rather startled at George Bernard Shaw's reply when I asked him why governments pay pensions to war widows and orphans and do not pay pensions to industrial widows and orphans. Shaw said: "I do not know why governments pay pensions to war widows and not to peace widows. Nor do I know why they force every man to fight, no matter how rich he is, but do not force him to work on the same terms. Why a man with a conscientious objection to killing his fellowmen should be persecuted with murderous ferocity and a man with an unconscientious objection to helping them to live and pulling his own weight in the commonwealth boat at the same time should be exalted and pampered and flattered is another conundrum which I give up. The longer I live, the more I am inclined to the belief that this earth is used by other planets as a lunatic asylum.—Judge Henry Neil.

BOOKS

The International Responsibility of Good Women

Women and World Federation. By Florence Guertin Tuttle. With a foreword by Honorable William Howard Taft. Pp. 250. New York: Robert M. McBride and Co. 1919.

THIS book is based on the belief that women have a great part to play in making possible world organization. They have contributed little directly to the work which has brought into being that "vehicle of life," the Covenant of Nations, but they are to bear a great part in producing that milk of human kindness upon which the new-born infant must be nourished if it is to grow.

The whole tone of the book is excellent and displays an intelligent, sympathetic attitude toward vital world problems and an earnest effort to arouse the uninformed and privileged classes to study how the other four-fifths live. The author perceives that the primary problem is justice, and that at the root of the international problem is social justice. The war did not originate but has only accentuated that universal social unrest to allay which the stabilizing influence of intelligent womanhood must bring itself to bear. "The cheapness of life," she says, "has indeed been every day's tragedy. The whole edifice of government has been erected upon the sacred conservation of property. What is now needed is a new decalogue of values with the emphasis laid first and foremost upon the necessity for the sacred conservation of life. . . . Women must end wars by organiz-

ing constructive peace. They must not only give life but must *guarantee* it."

The author discusses the various forms of international coöperation already existing; the old balance of power; the alternative to a League of Nations; America and the new order, and her former great achievements for peace—the unfortified Canadian border line, her peaceful extensions of territory, her policy with China, etc.; industrial democracy; program of world peace, and women and revolution.

She perceives the danger from our own prosperity and the need of guarding against the Junker within our gates. "From the American militant and the American imperialist, out for the markets of the world and determined to have the army and navy to enforce economic domination, the American people must pray and work for deliverance." She is wholly opposed to universal military training, and shows how adequate physical training and team work and loyal spirit can be developed without it. She urges the immediate admission of the Central Powers into the League of Nations, and claims that the essential test of any state's fitness for the League is that it desires to submit to its conditions. She looks upon the creation of a labor board as probably the most potential agency for world stability, and she discusses with great sympathy the attitude of the British Labor Party and its recent economic program. She finds no such toleration of liberal thought in America as exists in England. "When our soapbox orators (Hyde Park is full of them) dare to question authority in Madison Square, we clap them into jail, thus attracting more sympathizers to their cause than if we had left them alone, and in the name of liberty restrict the people's civil liberties. . . . True Americanism will not meet bolshevism with foolish prohibitions and the restriction of civil liberties that only promote further ferment. True Americanism will meet bolshevism with the only principle that may disarm it: 'Thy land is my land, thy people are my people, thy God is my God.' True Americanism stands for the spirit of liberty everywhere, liberty restricted in the interest of all."

The book is to be recommended to the vast number of women just waking to a consciousness of their new obligations and the fact that their own pocketbook and their son's future are largely bound up with the success of a League of Nations. Written by the president of a large woman's club, it should do much to arouse clubwomen who have hitherto grossly neglected the study of vital world interests and have annually sandwiched into their programs, at the most, only one or two interpretative lectures during this period of world cataclysm. The author deplors the fact that so many women, educated in languages, art, and literature, have "not even a bowing acquaintance" with economics and sociology. But she has faith that when women once perceive the vital nexus between the League and their own life they will realize that

it is their function to organize the friendship of the world.

The book is sometimes faulty in diction and inaccurate in minor details, but with its useful appendices it serves well as a first book to acquaint American women with the part which they must play in a world that is becoming organized.

LUCIA ANNA MEAD.

A Disease and Its Cure

A Century of Negro Migration. By Carter Godwin Woodson. New York: Published by The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. 1918.

THE author has traced the shifting of the colored population in recent years, without attempting to speculate upon the effect the exodus might have upon either North or South. The history of the various attempts made by philanthropists to colonize the Negro in Africa, Mexico, and in several places in the United States is contained in a very interesting and valuable chapter. There is also set forth, without bitterness and quite dispassionately, the tale of attempts at driving Negroes from certain communities without just cause.

In a way the little book diagnoses what may be called a social disease, for it is nothing short of that when, in a wealthy country where there is room for all, a valuable class of its population is more or less nomadic, homeless. Accepting the condition as a disease, the author and others interested are offered the following:

Treatment—Prompt application of the Single-tax. This, by way of setting free for occupancy land out of use, will give men, colored and white alike, a foothold. It will make labor of all kinds a scarce commodity, and no man then will be a menial.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

Concerning America

The New America. By Frank Dilnot. New York. Macmillan Company. 1919.

The Valley of Democracy. By Meredith Nicholson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1919.

JUST as there are certain types of porcelain which somehow are very much better made in England than in America, so there are certain types of literature much better done there than here. One of them is the chatty sort of book intended to make the reader see a people in its homely ways. This may be the reason why Mr. Dilnot's book about Americans is much better than Mr. Nicholson's. At any rate it is better—spontaneous, informal, illuminative. Mr. Nicholson's volume sounds as though it were written to order for a magazine. "The Valley of Democracy" needs Mr. Little's excellent illustrations. Mr. Dilnot's good wine needs no bush.

BERNARD IDDIGS BELL.

The Philippine Desire

Self-Government in the Philippines. By Maximo M. Kalaw. New York: Century Co. Pp. 210. 1919.

THIS is eulogy of the Filipino set forth to influence American public opinion in favor of granting the islanders their complete independence. The United States having withdrawn about everybody from the islands except Mr. Harrison, the Filipinos would like to send him home also.

In 1916 Congress promised to grant independence to the islands as soon as a stable government had been established. The Filipino Government assures us herewith that the conditions have been fulfilled. The book is so palpably propaganda that it will excite no enthusiasm. It is for Congress to determine whether its requirements have been met.

F. J. T.

NEWS

Congress

—The Bullitt testimony before the Senate Foreign relations committee to the effect that members of the American Peace delegation were opposed to the Treaty and Covenant, and that repeated peace offers from Soviet Russia to the Allies were rejected by the Allies even though approved by many of the Allied statesmen, was not commented upon individually by Mr. Polk, Colonel House, and other delegates in Paris. A statement, however, was issued by the mission on the 16th stating that "the American Peace Commission in Paris has declined to be interviewed on statements made by irresponsible and prejudiced persons in regard to varied and varying reports about the Peace Treaty while these opinions were in process of crystallization into final, deliberate form."

—The debate in the Senate on ratification of the Treaty and Covenant hung fire during the week of the 15th, pending the decision of anti-Administration Senators on speaking tours to return to Washington to participate in the first test votes on the amendments. The storm center of discussion and Senatorial controversy again shifted—this time from a consideration of the reservations and from the efforts of Administration leaders to get Republican "mild reservationists" to their support, to a consideration of the very first of the thirty-odd amendments proposed by the anti-League groups headed by Lodge, the amendment of Senator Johnson giving the United States six votes instead of one in the Assembly, thus equalizing its voting strength with that of Great Britain and colonies. Senator Hitchcock, leader of the Administration group, contrary to the desire of the majority leaders, forced a reading of the entire Treaty, which began on Tuesday, September 15. The Johnson amendment happened to be the first point reached in the reading where the two main

groups of Administration supporters and anti-League Senators found themselves at loggerheads, and the Republican forces vacillated at first between decisions to postpone the test vote the Administration forces desired either by filibuster or by securing the consent of the Treaty supporters to await the return of Johnson from his speaking tour in the West, and also that of Borah and Poindexter, who were likewise stumping against the President's program. The first course was opposed by leaders of the majority apparently on the ground that it would encounter the prospect of the country's disapproval and would add to the difficulties of an anti-Administration program. So that at the end of the week, Poindexter and Borah having already returned, it was announced that Johnson had given up his intention to trail the President in California and the States of the Far West, and would return to Washington prepared to lead the contest preceding the test vote on his amendment.

Political Parties

—The National Conference of the Committee of Forty-eight in its effort to synchronize labor, liberal, and reform movements in the United States, will hold a national conference in St. Louis December 9. The conference, according to the statement of the committee, proposes to "determine and specifically set forth the fundamental principles for dealing with the political, social, and economic facts and problems which affect the lives, liberties, and responsibilities of America today." Also, the question of political action and method of affiliation with farm and labor organizations now in existence is to be considered.

—The manifesto issued by the Communist Convention, recently terminated, at Chicago, emphasized the revolutionary nature of the class struggle, renounced coöperation with industrial and political groups not committed to it, "such as the Socialist Party, the Labor Party, Nonpartisan League, People's Council, Municipal Ownership Leagues, etc."; announced its intention to affiliate with all other revolutionary organizations toward the formation of "a general industrial council, embracing the I. W. W., the W. I. I. W. (Workers' International Industrial Union), independent and secession unions, militant unions of the American Federation of Labor, and the unorganized workers," and condemned parliamentary action except for purely "agitational" purposes. Parliamentary representatives of the Communist Party are pledged "not to introduce or support reform measures"; but their function is on the other hand to "expose parliamentarianism and parliamentary democracy as a means for deception of the workers." The manifesto asserts that the unorganized and unskilled groups of workers constitute the bulk of the working class and pledges the party to carry on agitation among unskilled Negroes for the purpose of uniting them "with all class conscious workers."

Suffrage

—Five women are members of the Amsterdam Municipal Council. Their party affiliations are varied. Two are Social Democrats, one is a Roman Catholic, another is a Communist, and another a Free Democrat.

—Mrs. James Wadsworth, Jr., noted anti-suffrage leader, has resigned the presidency of the National Association opposed to Woman Suffrage. Anti-Suffragists are still contemplating continuance of activities, concentration of effort to be placed upon the Southern States.

—Mrs. Annie Besant, in addressing a meeting of the Women's Freedom League of England urging the enfranchisement of the women of India, said that in many ways Indian women had less to complain of in their national life than their Western sisters. There is no University in India that refuses a woman her degree if earned. In competing with men they are welcomed rather than ostracized. Indian men have never opposed the question of medical degrees for women, and women's enfranchisement has never been opposed by them.

Commerce, Trade, and Finance

—An air postal service is to be inaugurated between Tokyo and Osaka under the direction of the Japanese Department of Communications.

—The inauguration of aerial mail service between the United States and the West Indies will take place in the near future, according to Otto Praeger, Second Assistant Postmaster General.

—A conference attended by business men and bankers of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, for the purpose of discussing the foreign trade situation and industrial problems of reconstruction, will be held in Washington on September 30.

—The first commercial treaty to be concluded by France since the blanket lapse of all then existing treaties on September 10, was concluded with Japan, renewing the agreement of August 19, 1911, and providing for unconditional most favored nation treatment and for one year's notice on the part of either country before abrogation.

—The London *Press* states that Germany has now several air routes in operation under the management of the Deutsche Luft Rederie, a combine of German aeronautical concerns. The routes from Berlin are to Weimar, Frankfort, Leipzig, Hanover, Westphalia, Hamburg, and Breslau, with subsidiary service from each of these cities. Return tickets are issued and are valid for thirty days. Flying kit and motor transport to and from the airdome are provided and are covered by an inclusive charge. For \$108 in American money at the present rate of exchange one could purchase a serial ticket for ten flights on any of the routes operated by the combine.

Free Speech and Amnesty

—President Townley of the Nonpartisan League and Joseph Gilbert, former organization manager, convicted on July 12 under charge of conspiracy to teach disloyalty, were sentenced to three months in Jackson County jail, Minnesota, by Judge E. C. Dean, who presided at the trial.

—Helen Holman, secretary of the Kate Richards O'Hare Committee of New York, announced that September 28 would be observed throughout the country as Kate Richards O'Hare Day, on which many thousands of telegrams would be sent to the President urging the release of Mrs. O'Hare and amnesty for all war prisoners.

—Fifty-two international labor unions and many others of political and beneficent character, such as the Tri-State Conference of the Committee of Forty-eight, and the Northwestern Conference of Baptist Churches, formed the plan of a convention to be held from September 21 to 28 inclusive, under the direction of the National League for the Release of Political Prisoners for the purpose of urging the "reestablishment and maintenance of American political and civil rights" and the "immediate release of all persons prosecuted or in prison for political opinions, industrial activities, or religious beliefs.

Public Ownership

—Public ownership of the water works in Omaha, Neb., has reduced rates over fifty per cent. since the city acquired the plant in 1912.

—By a referendum vote of nearly three to one, the people of Racine, Wisconsin, decided on September 2 to take over the gas, electric light, and street car lines of that city.

—Charles S. Mellen, until recently president of the famous New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, has announced himself in favor of the public ownership of railways and in fact of all public utilities.

—After trying every other conceivable plan for the solution of their transportation problem, including the "trustee" plan, the city of Boston has ordered the municipal ownership of its surface and elevated lines.

—The railways in the Federated Malay States are owned and operated by the Government. The service is reported by the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce to be very good. All the principal trains are equipped with dining, restaurant, and sleeping cars, which are electrically lighted.

—Columbus, Ohio, a city of about 250,000 population, has public markets attended by 125,000 people a week. A new building is in contemplation to replace the Central Market House, which was built in 1848. The rentals of the city's markets for the past seven years amount to \$247,841. The annual net profit during this time has amounted to \$15,982.

Education

—Dean Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago Divinity School, has been elected a director of the Universal Military Training League. The idea of the league is primarily to train for citizenship and secondarily for military service.

—Ratification by the government of Chile and the University of Chile of plans for the exchange of professors and instructors between the United States and the South American republic formulated by the University of California Committee on Hispanic Relations has been effected by official decree of the government of Chile through its minister of public instruction, Pablo Ramires.

—In the desire of helping to meet the need for trained and informed workers who will be able "to do something really constructive in Americanization, the College of the City of New York is offering two courses to begin early in October, for those who work either as teachers, librarians, social workers, etc., whose work lies largely among the foreign born of the sixty-five races and nationalities represented in this metropolitan city,—one on the social and cultural backgrounds of the peoples of Greater New York, in which lectures will be given by the supervisor, Dr. Louis S. Friedland, and by noted scholars, editors, and writers, who will speak for the various nationalities and races; the other, in field work for social workers.

Labor

—The eight Winnipeg labor leaders whose imprisonment without bail was responsible for the threat of Canadian unions to organize a general strike were released on the 17th pending their trial.

—Longshoremen on the Seattle wharves, with the approval of the Central Labor Council, recently refused to transfer twenty-one carloads of munitions to ships about to sail for Siberia for use against the Bolsheviki.

—The police in Macon, Ga., have forced the resignation of the Police Commissioner opposed to unionization, and the Civil Service Commission in that city has rescinded an order prohibiting the establishing of police unions.

—President Wilson made public the names of the twenty-two men who will represent the public in the conference on October 6 which is to consider plans for the formulation of new relationships between employer and employe. Among the names are Bernard M. Baruch, Robert S. Brookings, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Judge Elbert H. Gary of New York, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Charles Edward Russell of New York, and John Spargo of Vermont.

—The Cigar Makers' strike, lasting since July and involving 100,000 workers in many large cities of the United States, had not reached a settlement by the 28d. An appeal to organized labor was issued by the Executive Council of the A. F. L. at

Washington and signed by President Gompers and Secretary Morrison. It urged financial support for the cigar strikers, who have demanded a fifty per cent. wage increase, a uniform bill of prices permitting a standard rate of pay, a forty-four-hour week, and union recognition.

—The appointment of an arbitration board of nine members for the settlement of strikes and lockouts was agreed upon at the conference between representatives of capital and labor held in Albany on September 16, following the suggestion of the New York State Reconstruction Commission. The board, consisting of three representatives of capital, labor, and the public respectively, appointed by the Governor, while not possessing statutory sanction, will have "every moral resource of the Governor's position and the State behind it," according to Governor Smith's statement.

—Striking policemen of the Boston force were locked out by order of Commissioner Curtis and recruiting for the new force from candidates from all parts of Massachusetts was announced. Meanwhile, though several of the unions affiliated with the Central Labor Union of the city (such as the garment workers and the telephone operators) had voted for a sympathetic strike, most of the unions were opposed to such action, and the report on the 21st from the committee of seventeen in charge of the situation indicated that, while the sympathy of organized labor in the city was on the whole on the side of the strikers, nevertheless the time was not opportune for a general strike.

—The United Mine Workers of America in their convention at Cleveland indorsed nationalization of the mines, and made recommendations for the representation of the mining force on bodies charged with the fixing of wages and regulating the conditions of employment. Support of the Plumb plan of government ownership of the railroads was pledged, but this with the proviso that railroad men were expected to back the demands of the miners for nationalization of the mines. Resolutions were also adopted urging immediate severance of all ties between individual members and the radical labor organizations such as the I. W. W. and the One Big Union.

Color Line

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

—Knoxville, Tenn., has added another to its several public schools for Negroes, the local board having erected a school building at a cost of \$20,000 containing full modern equipment.

—The National Urban League for social service among Negroes will hold a conference October 15-19 to consider problems of minimum standards of living, work, and wages, with their special bearing on Negro life in all parts of the United States.

Agricultural

—It is estimated by the Grain Growers' Guide of Winnipeg, the official organ of the grain growers, that the Canadian tariff added \$230,000,000 to the cost of equipping with machinery the farms of Western Canada.

—The 1918 cotton crop, lint and seed, was worth \$2,067,000,000, a computation by the Bureau of Crop Estimates of the Department of Agriculture shows. This is about three times the value of the 1914 crop and twice the value of that of 1913, which had the highest value of any crop on record.

Public Health

—Pressure from landlords and consequent migration of large families is one of the principal reasons given by the London County Council Education Committee for a decrease of 41,994 in the number of London Children of the elementary school class. The other reasons given are a decline in the birth rate and an increase in the death rate.

—A considerable increase in vivisection in Great Britain is shown in a White Paper issued by the British Home Office covering 1918. According to the White Paper, there were over 22,000 more experiments in 1918 than in 1917, and in the former year 23 new places, mostly laboratories, connected with military hospitals, or municipal establishments, were registered for these experiments.

Foreign

—At the recent elections for members of the upper house of the Swedish Riksdag, or Parliament, the Socialists secured a larger representation than any other group. The results were as follows: Social Democrats, 48; Liberals, 41; Conservatives, 89; Farmers' Union, 10; Imperial Union, 8, and Left Wing Socialists, 4.

—Captain Gabriele D'Annunzio, who at the head of a large force of "irregular" and mutinous Italian troops invested the city of Fiume during the week of the 8th and entered it in the name of the Italian Government, following a false report that the Peace Conference was unwilling to turn the city over to Italy, refused up to September 23 to be persuaded to surrender his position despite two ultimatums from his government, the official condemnation of the Premier, and the dispatch of General Badoglio, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Italian Army, to the scene of the coup d'état armed with discretionary powers of coercion. Meanwhile the forces under the aviator poet were reported to have increased to at least 10,000, and the French, British, and American military forces in the armistice zone territory in the vicinity of the city were said to have been forced to depart. The Peace Conference showed a disposition to treat the matter as a local question to be settled by the Italian Government.

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TALK 13

Why an Educational Secretary!

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

An Advertisement for The Public

By Alfred A. Kunz

General Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Fort Hancock, N. J.

NATIONAL WAR WORK COUNCIL,
DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST,
New Jersey District.

FORT HANCOCK, N. J.,
September 13th, 1919.

THE PUBLIC,
Fifth Avenue and Thirteenth Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Copy of THE PUBLIC, issued under date of September 13th, reached me today, and I have just finished reading Mr. John Haynes Holmes' article on "The New Application of Religion to Life."

As, judging from other articles along a similar line of thought in the same issue, you evidently are fully in accord with the views of Mr. Holmes, it would probably be useless to enter into a discussion of the article in question. Suffice it to say that if I were dependent for Salvation on such an essentially man-conceived and man-developed institution as Mr. Holmes' so-called "social religion" appears to be, "I would be of all men most miserable."

Thank God we have something better than this poor man's conception of what *ought* to be!—that Word of God, the Bible, which you and Mr. Holmes undoubtedly consider woefully out-of-date. When I read such a blasphemous piece of work as this article is, I cannot but wonder whether you really believe that God is running this universe in accordance with what *you* think it should be. I suppose God (I say it in all reverence) comes to you every morning to get His orders as to how to conduct His business for the day?

Ah! no, my dear sir, it would do you and Mr. Holmes a great deal of good to stop searching your own human brains, with all their faults, and search the Book which God has furnished us in order that we might have Life and Light and Truth.

My advice to you would be to get out your Bible, blow the dust off it, and "search the Scriptures daily" to get right with God yourself before you try to influence the thought and destiny of others.

In conclusion, kindly cancel our subscription to THE PUBLIC, to take effect immediately.

Yours truly,

ALFRED A. KUNZ, General Secretary.

The copy of THE PUBLIC to which Mr. Kunz refers was one of several hundred that have been going, at our expense, to Y. M. C. A. reading rooms in the camps.

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