

# The Public

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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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## EDITORIAL

### Planting the Tree of Liberty.

A few enthusiasts may overturn Despotism; but it takes an intelligent and justice-loving people to maintain Liberty.

S. C.



### Only Fifty Cents a Year.

Admiral Richard Wainwright, in urging a four-battle-ship-a-year program for the navy, is reported to have said: "It will only cost each inhabitant fifty cents a year." Fifty cents a year for each inhabitant is two dollars and a half for the average family, which means that in the case of some families, who could ill afford it, the cost will be five dollars and more. At the same time these families will not get five cents' worth of benefit out of the expenditure, while their young men will be the ones who, in case of war, will have to risk their lives in battle.



Admiral Wainwright coolly assumes that it is all right to take fifty cents a year from each inhabitant regardless of what their feelings or desires on the matter may be. Those who see no need of a big navy and who are opposed to warfare will be compelled to contribute along with those who want it. Evidently long exercise of the despotic power conferred on naval officers does not improve the quality of their citizenship.

S. D.



### More Signs of Peace.

The old idea that rulers rule, that leaders lead, and tyrants tyrannize over the people is receiving some severe jolts, and it becomes every day more and more evident that the people of each country are responsible for conditions in that country. No form of governmental oppression can long maintain itself without the backing of the army, and the army is of short life without the support of the people. The great military establishments of

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European countries have their basis, not in the ambition of kings and emperors, nor in the greed of armament manufacturers, but in the stupid international jealousy of the people. There are powerful interests that make for standing armies and great navies, it is true, such as gun manufacturers and shipbuilders, and a nobility seeking places for its younger sons; but these would be unavailing if opposed by the people who pay the taxes. But so long as those interested in maintaining great military establishments are able to persuade the taxpayers of France that except for their army they would be subject to the German yoke; or to convince the Germans that only their stupendous army stands between them and annihilation; or to make the Englishman believe his bread would be shut off but for his monster navy, anything grotesque in the way of militarism is possible.



by a combination effected by M. Caillaux, the Radical leader, who declared emphatically for the gradual reversal of the law extending the service from two to three years.



These are wholesome signs. When the representatives of the taxpayers dare to stand up and defy militarism, there is hope of a speedy dawn of reason. Many things are transpiring to bring about a better acquaintance between the French and the German peasantry. Closer relations mean a better understanding of motives and purposes; and to be understood means to be appreciated. As soon as the people of these two nations surmount the stupid international prejudice, which they mistake for patriotism, and grasp the fact that they should consider their interests along economical, instead of geographical lines, there will be an end of militarism.

S. C.



#### **The Right Philippine Policy.**

We are all confident of our own ability to govern ourselves. Whatever doubts exist concerning the advisability of democracy relate entirely to some other fellow. If it were necessary for each nation to wait for self-government until all other nations considered it fit, we would wait for democracy in vain. Failure to realize that fact accounts for the refusal of some who are democratic in most things, to favor institution of democracy in one or two instances. An example is furnished by a certain able exponent of democracy who nevertheless lacks confidence in immediate application of democratic principles to the Filipinos, and says regarding criticism of President Wilson's policy of delay in withdrawing from the Philippines: "Do you condemn compulsory education? Would you abolish the board of education and the truant officer and allow all children to govern themselves 'for better or worse'? Would it really be undoing a wrong for us to suddenly decamp and leave these unruly, untrained children to their own devices and in possession of all the costly machinery of government which we have built there and which it will take a generation or two to teach them to use? If you had studied the Philippine problem on the spot you would hardly advise defeating the object of American occupation by abandoning our half finished job."



Whatever views one may hold concerning compulsory education, the truant officer and the board of education, they relate primarily to the natural

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responsibility of parents for the welfare of their children. This is not the question involved in the Philippines. Assuming, for argument's sake, that the object of American occupation is an unselfish one sure to have beneficent results if undisturbed, it is none the less our duty to withdraw. There is in the first place no argument advanced in behalf of compulsory education, which favors its application to residents of foreign countries, nor would the shooting of refractory pupils be endorsed by any of its advocates. So even if we were to assume all the Filipinos to be merely children, the compulsory education argument will not apply. Spain—or, more correctly, the Spanish ruling classes—offered the same excuse, not only for exercise of authority over the Philippines but over Cuba and Porto Rico. The Czar of Russia excuses his despotism the same way. Despots have usually urged such a claim everywhere and in many if not in all cases, superficial justification has not seemed altogether lacking. We cannot consistently criticize despotism anywhere as long as we insist on governing the Philippines.



It happens moreover that the Filipinos are not all children. The proportion of mature-minded adults is as great among them as elsewhere. They have the same natural rights that grown men and women everywhere possess. Government among them cannot derive just powers from any other source than it does elsewhere. The plea that we must stay in the islands in order to force an undesired government on the inhabitants for their own good ignores fundamental natural rights, which must first be considered in passing upon the merits of any question. No American community would consider boss rule justified even if the boss gave—as some actually have—better government than exists in some unbossed communities. Still less excusable is our legalized boss rule in the Philippines.



To our relations with the Filipinos as well as with ourselves applies the Truth, so eloquently portrayed by Henry George regarding Liberty: "She will have no half service," and "we must follow her further, we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay."

S. D.



### Consistency of Taft.

At a dinner on December 19 in New York to ex-Governor Forbes of the Philippines, ex-President Taft criticized President Wilson's Philippine

policy. Independence, he declared, would put control of the government in the hands of the educated classes, leaving the ignorant at their mercy. When did Taft discover that self-government means rule by the educated? And how long has he been opposed to such rule? He has opposed the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in this country on the ground that "mob rule" would be instituted. Yet he opposes Philippine independence lest the educated classes rule. But perhaps he is not as inconsistent as he appears. He opposes both here and in the Philippines any change that may disturb privileged interests. Is that the real standard by which he judges reforms?

S. D.



### To "Give Business a Rest."

Perhaps Vice-President Marshall was not correctly quoted in the press report in which he is made to express the opinion that Congress should now give business a rest. For his own sake it is to be hoped that he was not. If correct it would indicate that he considers as an attack on business whatever effort to interfere with privilege the present Congress has made. That implies too deep a misunderstanding of both the nature and needs of real business to be held by one in his position. Nothing has been done by the present Congress to impede any useful business. What little it has done has been in the way of removing obstructions to business and of interfering to a slight extent with the powers that prey on business. Does Vice-President Marshall believe that enough of this has been done?

S. D.



### Forcing Railroads Into Bankruptcy.

"Urging the government to force the railroads to a point where they could be bought at bankruptcy prices," is how a correspondent defines opposition to allowing the proposed increase in railroad rates. The definition does not appear accurate. The Interstate Commerce Commission is not considering any proposition to deprive the railroads of any power which they now possess. But the railroads are asking for new and increased power. Refusal will leave them in the same condition they were in before. If that is a condition leading to bankruptcy it is not one forced on them by the government but due to the mismanagement of their own officials. They are not asking for anything that belongs to them but for power to levy additional tribute on the people. This power may rightfully be withheld and ought to be withheld. The withholding of what one is not obli-

gated to give cannot be correctly defined as an exercise of force. If railroad corporations are on the road to bankruptcy it is a road on which they have voluntarily entered. If they did so in the expectation that the government would help them out they gambled on an assumption that may be wrong.

S. D.



### **John Z. White for Public Utilities Board.**

The Chicago Inter-Ocean protests against the suggestion that Governor Dunne appoint John Z. White to the newly-created Public Utilities Board of Illinois. That was to be expected. The Inter-Ocean represents all legalized predatory interests, including franchise monopolies. So Mr. White is not to its taste. It prefers men who are not likely to interfere with what frenzied finance requires. It does not want anyone whose knowledge of fundamental principles enables him to distinguish wrong from right. It dislikes to consider the possibility of a member of the board able and willing to correctly analyze specious pleas in behalf of privilege. If additional evidence were needed of Mr. White's fitness for the place the Inter-Ocean furnishes it. But its evidence is superfluous. John Z. White has for many years been before the public and his thorough knowledge of all that an efficient member of the board ought to know has long been demonstrated. What Franklin K. Lane was to the Interstate Commerce Commission John Z. White would be to the Public Utilities Board of Illinois. While regulation by boards remains the policy of dealing with franchise monopolies the appointment of men like White should be everywhere urged.

S. D.



### **Trusts and Privilege.**

An object lesson is furnished by the sudden surrender of the Telegraph-Telephone combination. A suit under the Sherman law has for some time been pending against it, which certainly could have been fought in the courts for years. Appearances indicated that the combination was ready to fight. Then suddenly Postmaster General Burleson recommended that all wire lines be made public property. That was hitting the combination in a vital spot. That was an attack on its privilege. Two days later its surrender was announced. There may be no positive proof that the surrender was forced by Mr. Burleson's recommendation and Congressman Lewis's resolution to put it in effect, but appearances indicate that it was. It is interesting furthermore to note

that the President has since been able to say that other combines will voluntarily dissolve also. It looks as though they feared lest anti-trust effort might actually be directed against underlying privileges of other monopolies than the wire lines.



Of course, the dissolution of the telegraph and telephone combine is but a barren victory. Telephone and telegraph are both natural monopolies. They occupy fields in which such competition is impossible as exists—say—in the retail grocery business. There is no public gain in their dissolution. Neither is there any public gain in compulsory dissolution of trusts of any kind. Competition to be beneficial, must be voluntary and be the result of natural business conditions. It can not be forced. When government confers privileges on some the unprivileged can not compete with them, while the privileged ones will not compete with each other even though there be no formal combination. For this reason alone all efforts to force dissolution through litigation or through criminal proceedings can not restore competition. Neither can dissolution when it has no other object than to ward off some action that the combine fears. Nothing short of complete abolition of privilege can settle the monopoly question.

S. D.



### **Out of the Whirlwind.**

Ella Flagg Young has returned to the superintendency of schools in Chicago. Impelled by an avalanche of public censure Mayor Harrison stirred himself and succeeded in effecting her prompt re-instatement. The stormy two weeks' period of Mrs. Young's exile has blown the fog away from several carefully enveloped men and affairs, and sharpened the political and educational vision of many Chicago citizens. There is left from the occurrence ample food for deliberation, much matter for counsel that shall lead to a more determined and vigilant defense of the true democracy in education which Mrs. Young champions.

A. L. G.



### **A YEAR OF PROGRESS.**

Time, philosophically considered, may have no beginning and no end, but for purposes of comparison it has become customary to reckon the changes in human affairs by years, decades and centuries. Looking back over the year just closed, the question arises: Has there been progress or retrogression. To the pessimist, who sees only what remains to do, and forgets all that has been

done, it may look as though we had merely been marking time; if, indeed, we have not gone backward. But to the man who has his face to the future, and his feet set in the way of wisdom, there is a feeling of exultation. He rejoices in what has been done; and he is eager to go on. For he knows that the fight is worth while, and that victory—even though he may not live to see it—is certain.

It would be idle to enumerate the accomplishments of the year. One fact alone will serve to mark a great human achievement, for it is nothing less than a radical change in public opinion. Twelve months ago we were wondering what the new year would bring us. While on the whole there was confidence, there also was doubt and uncertainty. The political upheaval that had rent the Republican party, had given power to one notorious for Bourbonism, led by a comparatively untried man. The leader had expressed some advanced ideas, but would the old bottle hold the new wine? Would the party rise above its chronic incompetency and address itself resolutely and aggressively to living issues? Such a result could come only by setting aside the old leaders. Was the new aspirant for leadership equal to the opportunity? Could he, in a word, make the Democratic party democratic?



It is not necessary to go into the details of the work and accomplishment of this first year of the administration. The tariff bill, radical and destructive as it seemed to the ultra conservative, was in reality a very mild attempt at restoring commercial freedom. And the currency bill, while it may serve as a temporary expedient, is yet a long way from the solution of the money question. It is not the actual concrete things done that are to be considered, but the state of mind that preceded their accomplishment. Slight as was the degree of freedom vouchsafed to trade in the new tariff, it is incalculable when we consider the principle upon which it was done. For fifty years it had been customary to let the beneficiaries of the tariff write the schedules. Ever since the Civil War it had been recognized as an Americanism that the manufacturer, and not the consumer, should receive the first consideration. When the consumers grew restive with the passing years, various clever expedients were devised to bolster up a vicious principle. "Establish Infant Industries," "Protect Labor," "Maintain the American Standard of Living," and other seductive sounding phrases had been dinned into the people's ears so assiduously that belief in the absurdity had be-

come a fixed state of mind. To question its truth was to arouse a suspicion of one's integrity, sanity or patriotism.

The same thing was true of the money question. Who but bankers understood the currency question? Who but money changers comprehended banking? It was another phase of the protective spirit, another form of the idea that one set of men have a right to the enjoyment of a social force, or value, created by all. So long as that idea remained inviolate, that is, that a part of the people, acting under the forms of government, could levy tribute on the mass of the people, there could be no real political progress. Changes might be effected, and forms altered, but the substance would remain. And the strength of this position lay, not in the able men who led in the spoliation, but in the state of mind that caused the people to think they were themselves benefited.

It was in the face of such untoward conditions that an old party, steeped in Bourbonism, and weighted with a record of decades of incompetency—but under a new leadership—came into power. Immediately, in response to this leader's trumpet call, there came a rallying of the forces of freedom. And so pronounced was this response that even the Democratic party felt its force, and was constrained to heed the command of the people to live up to its own declaration of principles. It is not that the tariff has been reduced, or that there has been a limitation of the power of the bankers, but that there has been a definite acknowledgement of the fact that human liberty is incompatible with special privilege. Once this truth has been established, those recognizing it can no more stop with a partial application than a child who has learned to figure the number of feet in an acre can refrain from applying mathematics to other things.



People are asking, Does the President see further than he has declared? Will he continue on the way to freedom? The answer, in all probability, will come in deeds and concrete propositions, for this new leader has learned that in the minds of the people things are not always the same as the words that stand for them. It would seem incredible that a man could go as far as the President has gone, and then stop. But granted that he will go no farther. Neither he nor the Bourbons who have so long controlled the Democratic party can stop the hosts of freedom any more than the Mississippi can be turned back when the levee gives way. The people are awaking to political

truths, politicians are eager to do their bidding, and the new year is full of promise.

S. C.

## **INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS**

### **OUR PATENT LAWS.**

A Letter to President Wilson.

New York, July 2.

I have seen occasional references in the press to proposed changes in the patent laws, as well as in the organization of the patent office, and I would like to lay before you some suggestions which would, I believe, correct the most serious evils of the present patent system, which evils group themselves, as far as the public is concerned, under the following heads:

(1) The retardation of industrial progress through the dog-in-the-manger privileges which the patent laws permit.

(2) The bulwarking of monopoly which the present patent laws make possible.

(3) The inhibitive legal processes which make a patent almost worthless to a poor inventor.

The first evil is to my mind the worst of them all, for we have no means of measuring the extent to which industrial progress is hampered by the innumerable interferences which it meets through patent privileges or claimed infringements. I fully believe that the patent laws as they now exist, far from promoting initiative, are a distinct hindrance to it.

Aside from the evils of patent law and court procedure, the other evils can, I believe, be corrected simply, easily and effectively by the following means:

(1) By compelling the patentee, when he takes out his patent or at any time within three years thereafter, to make a declaration of its value, which declaration becomes a matter of record and is conclusive evidence against the patentee in any litigation or proceedings.

(2) That upon such valuation a Federal tax be imposed, sufficiently burdensome to compel the patentee either to use or to forfeit his patent right, such tax however not to be imposed until three or five years after the issuance of the final papers to the patentee, in order that he may have an opportunity to find a market for his invention. That the tax be at a progressive rate, so as to prevent powerful corporations from placing a prohibitive value upon their patents as a means of preventing their use.

(3) That any individual may use such patent upon the payment of royalties to the patentee based upon the valuation so fixed by the owner.

(4) That this law be made retro-active as to all existing patents.

The first result of such a law would be to clean the decks. Thousands of patents would be forfeited. I know by my slight patent law experience that such dormant patents are used in a great variety of ways for blackmailing purposes; they are brought forward by some powerful interest to prevent the development of some device or commodity which is a substitute for, or will compete with, an existing product.

The opening of all patents to use by everybody will free the minds of manufacturers of the fear of being ruined after they have expended large sums of money in the development of an idea to its marketable stage. I have known this to happen in a number of cases. It is not improbable that industrial liberty is greatly thwarted by such fears and interferences.

Under such a plan the government would derive a revenue from a source which is not now taxable by the States, and upon which the Federal government levies no impost. Yet the patent rights of corporations are included in their assets; they are of great value, and in the case of many large corporations constitute a large part of their assets. Certainly they form the bulwark of monopoly in the larger electrical plants, in machine and tool industries, in the shoe business and probably in hundreds of other industries. Independent telephone development, with the great improvement which followed, had to wait for the termination of the telephone patents, by which time the Bell Telephone Company enjoyed practically a monopoly of the nation. There has been almost no advance in the whole field of telegraphic transmission by wire since the invention of the Morse instrument, which is still used by both the telegraph companies in face of the fact that scores of known inventions would have revolutionized the business. Further, the tax would not only produce a large revenue, it would establish the same basis for royalties as that existing for taxation; it would tend to prevent fictitious values and would establish outside of court proceedings the basis upon which all royalties should be paid.

Under this suggestion patents would become public property, subject to a royalty for their use. There would still remain every incentive to the inventor, and, I believe, far greater protection than he now enjoys. For in actual practice the individual inventor is no longer protected by the patent laws of the country.

New Zealand offers an analogy to this in her taxing system, under which the owner himself makes a return of his property, subject, however, to the right of the government to buy upon his valuation. Germany, too, has worked out a system of fees and taxes which is far in advance of our own.

FREDERIC C. HOWE.



## **PRIVILEGE THE EVIL FACTOR IN BUSINESS.**

Center Bridge Pa., October 31.

At a meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute held at Chicago, October 25th-26th, President E. H. Gary of the United States Steel Company discussed the subject of "Why Does Business Halt?" He is quoted as saying that "the people of other nations are asking this of us, especially those foreigners who have money for investment. . . . That while there are exceptional cases in which mismanagement of American enterprises has caused distrust or dissatisfaction among foreign capitalists, this is not their principal reason for hesitancy at the present time. But that the principal reason that there is so much unnecessary agitation and ill-considered criticisms by those who

have not the nation's best interest at heart. There is too much demagogery, too much mud-slinging. In public speeches and magazine articles the authors are influenced by motives of selfishness or cupidity. Appeals are made for the purpose of creating a feeling of dissatisfaction and unrest when this is unnecessary and unjustified. It is not uncommon, in public discussion, to treat success as an offense; to consider the possession of wealth, however honestly acquired, as wrong."



It happens that just about the time that Judge Gary was making this speech a merchant-prince of the city of New York passed away. This man was a quiet, modest gentleman, who had started with nothing as a retail merchant in the city of New York, and had died possessed of very many millions of dollars. So far as we have observed, there has been no criticism of Benjamin Altman, and no disposition upon the part of anybody to consider his success as an offense. In other words, it has been recognized that he was engaged in a business which was entirely open to free competition. He made his money by the buying and selling of goods in a superior manner, or at least in such a way which so appealed to the citizens of New York that his business grew to very great proportions, and in so growing rendered a service to the city and its citizens, the door being all the while wide open for entrance of others into the same business, many of whom did in fact enter the same business during Mr. Altman's career.



Other instances of a like nature could be cited to show that there is in this country no general disposition to criticize people who make money in ways which are economically and socially justified, and that success is not, among any considerable portion of our people, regarded as an offense. True, many of the operations that have been carried on under the name of the United States Steel Company under the direction of Judge Gary, are regarded by many people as an offense, and the same is true of many other monopolies, but this is not based upon any objection to success in manufacturing or commercial enterprises. It is based upon a general and growing objection to monopoly; and the sooner business men recognize this fact and the distinction between what people generally do object to and what they do not generally object to, the better it will be for business men and everyone else concerned.

F. J. M.



## **BRITISH SENTIMENT ON THE LAND QUESTION.**

San Francisco, December 1.

For the last thirty years I have given close attention to the course of events in Great Britain, particularly with reference to the development and progress of the Singletax movement there, and I have reached a widely different conclusion from that expressed in *The Public* of November 21, in the editorial entitled, "Is Lloyd George Fundamental?"

I cannot accept the classification of the British

people with the Hottentot. Nor can I believe that it is necessary to trick them into defending their own rights, or to coax them into doing what is for their own good. I am unable to accept the conclusion that the history of the British people shows them to be so sluggish and backward as this would imply. I recall the fact that Francis G. Shaw, one of the first eminent Americans to accept the great message that Henry George brought to his fellowmen, advised Mr. George to take his message to London and publish it there, telling him that, in his opinion, his own countrymen were not yet ready to accept it. I know that Henry George was not discovered in San Francisco, where he thought out and published to the world his great plan of social redemption. He left here having a few followers whom, as he himself said, he could count on his fingers. He went to New York and was discovered there by a score or two more; but it was in London and in Glasgow that his real discovery and recognition took place. When he returned from his first lecturing tour in Great Britain he was hailed as a distinguished American and dined at Delmonico's by the men of light and leading in the metropolis of his native land, most of whom, however, fell away from him when he returned next year.

Eleven years ago, David McLardy of Glasgow, one of the most careful and profound observers I have ever met, told me that he believed that the people of Scotland were then more deeply imbued with Singletax principles than the people of any other country in the world; that Glasgow was a Singletax city; and that it would be almost impossible for any candidate to be elected to Parliament from a Scottish constituency who did not declare himself in favor of the taxation of land values. Everything that has happened in Scotland since most emphatically confirms these statements.

Scotland still stands at the head of the class in knowledge of Singletax principles, but England and Wales stand not far below. The last thirty years have wrought wondrous changes in Britain. And those changes have not been brought about "by noise and shouting; by complaints and denunciation; by the formation of parties, or the making of revolutions; but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas." They have been effected by the long endeavor of such a body of able, earnest and devoted men and women as the world has never before known. There is not a nook or dell on the island from Land's End to John O'Groat's, or from Yarmouth to Holyhead to which they have not penetrated. By discussions in Parliament and on the hustings; by addresses in halls, schoolhouses, lodges and churches; by open air meetings on the streets, in squares and in parks; and by instruction in political economy classes in which "Progress and Poverty" was taught by able and learned instructors, and examinations held and prizes awarded at the close of each term—twenty-one such classes were conducted during the year 1912;—by red van and automobile campaigns, and by the distribution of immense quantities of the most instructive and effective literature, the people of Great Britain have been educated upon the land question as no other people have ever before been educated anywhere in the world upon any public question. Has all this endeavor proved fruitless? Has all the seed thus

sown perished? I cannot believe it; nor do patent facts permit me to do so.

That the personnel of Parliaments and Congresses does not accurately show the true state of public opinion on the part of their constituencies I freely admit. But it does give some indication. We American Singletaxers are elated over the fact that some ten or twelve men in our Congress are favorable to the movement. But the British House of Commons has 173 members, known as the "Land Values Group," who, on May 18, 1911, signed a memorial to the Liberal Ministry urging it to levy a Budget Tax on all land values. And the municipal authorities of more than 500 cities and towns in Great Britain have petitioned Parliament for the passage of an act granting them power to make land values the basis of their local taxation. That the British electorate has been ripe for the practical application of land value taxation for the last decade at least, is shown by many indubitable proofs. Every one of the numerous seats won from the Tories during the last two years of the Balfour Government was won on the issue of the taxation of land values. A bill for the taxation of land values, introduced in 1904 by Trevelyan, an earnest and active member of the Land Values Group, passed to second reading in that Tory House by a majority of 16, and in 1905 the same bill passed to second reading in the same House by a majority of 90. And Balfour did not dare to make opposition to the measure a Ministerial question in either year.

The unprecedented victory won by the Liberals in 1906 was largely due to the prominence given to the taxation of land values by the Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, during the campaign. And the great popularity which he enjoyed as Premier down to the time of his death as undoubtedly due very largely to his firm, unwavering stand on that question. This was shown by the intense enthusiasm with which his views on the subject were received at several immense public meetings addressed by him while he was Prime Minister. After his death there seemed to be a slowing down of the campaign for the taxation of land values, and a good many began to fear that Premier Asquith was going to disappoint the high hopes raised by his illustrious predecessor. The popular feeling manifested itself in the bye-elections which began to show a strong anti-Ministerial drift. Then came the introduction of the Lloyd George Budget, which immediately changed the aspect of things and turned the tide of public sentiment strongly in favor of the Government. The results of the two general elections in 1910 leave no doubt as to the state of the British mind on the question of the taxation of land values. And the bye-elections in the summer of 1912, in Northwest Norfolk, Holmfirth and Hanley, where that question was made the paramount issue, demonstrate the fact that the rural constituencies of England are as ripe for its settlement as are the urban.

At a little country town about twenty miles north of London, during the Budget campaign, the opponents of the measure called a public meeting for the purpose of denouncing it, and 400 people attended. One of the promoters of the meeting offered a resolution strongly condemning the Budget. Whereupon a Liberal in the audience offered an

amendment approving the Budget and thanking the Ministry for introducing it. The amendment was put to the meeting and twenty-two persons voted against it and all the rest voted for it. The mover of the original resolution goodnaturedly admitted that he was fairly beaten. I do not know how many more such towns there are in Britain, but I believe there are some others.

No good purpose can be served by minimizing the magnitude and importance of what has already been achieved in the struggle for the industrial emancipation of mankind. For the words of profound wisdom uttered by the immortal Lincoln during the struggle for the abolition of chattel slavery are as applicable to the greater conflict in which we are engaged as they were to that in which they were first spoken: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it."

The recent history of the English people shows that they are not now where they once were, and where many Americans still imagine them to be. The conduct of the English electors at political meetings during the Budget campaign rather took the edge off the witty American aphorism that an Englishman dearly loves a lord. Lloyd George was rapturously applauded when he held up the dukes and landlords to contempt and ridicule. Sixteen years ago John Morley predicted that the House of Lords would continue to be an impregnable barrier to progress until on some fundamental proposition substantially all the people came to be ranged on one side and all the lords on the other. His prophecy came to pass in 1910, and he was cup-bearer when their lordships drank the hemlock.

I believe Lloyd George is fundamental, but that he is bound hand and foot by the Whig landlord contingent in his cabinet and party. They permit him to talk, but they will not let him do anything worth while. But I am more concerned to know that the British people are fundamental. If they are, they will find leaders to give effect to their wishes.

JOSEPH LEGGETT.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Monday, December 29, 1913.

### Currency Bill Becomes Law.

The conference committee of the House and Senate came to an agreement on the Glass-Owen bill on December 22. The report was submitted to the House the same afternoon and passed by a vote of 298 to 60. All of the Democrats voted for it except Witherspoon of Mississippi, and Callaway of Texas. Thirty-six Republicans, thirteen Progressives and the Independent member, William Kent, voted with the majority. On the fol-

lowing day the Senate passed it by a vote of 43 to 25. It was sent at once to the President and signed by him. On signing President Wilson declared the bill to be "the first of a series of constructive measures by which the Democratic party will show that it knows how to serve the country." [See vol. xvi, p. 1228.]



The new law provides that the Secretaries of the Treasury and of Agriculture and the Comptroller of the Currency compose an organization committee which shall select no less than eight or more than twelve cities to be federal reserve cities in which will be located the federal reserve bank of the region. They will divide the continental United States, exclusive of Alaska, into eight to twelve districts, each containing one federal reserve city. Each national bank in each district must subscribe to the capital stock of the federal reserve bank a sum equal to six per cent of its paid up stock and surplus. National banks failing to do so forfeit their charters. At least four million dollars must be subscribed before the federal reserve bank of any district may begin business. Should the amount subscribed by the individual banks be insufficient, stock may be sold to the public. The federal reserve bank will transact business only with banks and the federal government, from which it will accept deposits. It may rediscount the paper of the member banks. These federal reserve banks, also spoken of as regional banks, will be governed by boards of nine directors, three of whom must be bankers, three engaged in some other occupation, but who may be stockholders of a bank, and three to be appointed by the central Federal Reserve Board. These three classes of directors will be known as directors of Class A, B and C, respectively. The organization committee will divide the banks of the district into three groups and each group will be entitled to be represented on the board by a director of Class A and of Class B. Each bank will choose an elector. The electors of each group will meet and elect the directors to represent their group by a preferential vote. The central Federal Reserve Board will consist of seven members, including the Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller of the Currency, which shall have control of the whole system. The President will appoint the other five members. A new form of paper currency is provided for by the act consisting of treasury notes to be issued through the regional reserve banks. To issue these notes the bank must deposit a gold reserve of 40 per cent of the amount received and commercial paper equal to the full value of the notes. National banks will be permitted to loan on farm mortgages. Banks have sixty days in which to comply with the terms of the act.

#### **Secretary Lane's Policy.**

The Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, in his annual report to the President published December 23 urges the establishment of a board of directors to control disposition of the natural resources of Alaska subject to Congressional supervision. He urges government construction of railroads in Alaska with charges fixed at a lower rate than would justify private investment. The coal fields, he says, should be leased to operators and a similar policy followed with other mineral deposits and with petroleum. He declares that he would not "willingly surrender to a demand for exorbitant prices for coal because of a fear that some day the coal supply may be exhausted." He furthermore points out that in the development of water power a substitute for coal has to a large extent been already discovered. He criticizes the present method of homesteading timber lands and says that in future conveyances of title to such lands the government's right to the timber be reserved for separate disposal. [See vol. xvi, pp. 612, 753, 851, 853, 1140.]



#### **Commerce Commission Seeks Information.**

The Interstate Commerce Commission addressed on December 27 a series of questions to the railroads seeking permission to increase rates. The questions are for information to better enable the commission to arrive at a decision. Answers are required to be in by January 31. The questions are framed to secure information on the following matters:

Returns received from transportation of various commodities and practices of carriers in granting to shippers special service and allowances.

The purchase of equipment and supplies and the uses made of them.

Financial history of the roads, inquiries to develop information regarding the actual interest of directors, officers or employes of the roads "in the business of parties to transactions in which the roads also are parties."

Sleeping car contracts and parlor car service and results of such operations.

Relations with terminal companies, free switching lighterage, warehousing.

Passenger rates in relation to expenses of service rendered.

Influence of "interlocking directorates" in increasing costs.

[See vol. xvi, pp. 1162, 1231.]



#### **Army and Navy Officers Rebuked.**

President Wilson on December 22 published his letter addressed to the Secretaries of War and of the Navy urging a reprimand of the officers who attended the recent dinner of the Military Order of the Carabao. His letter follows:

The officers who were responsible for the program

of the evening are certainly deserving of a very serious reprimand, which I hereby request be administered; and I cannot rid myself of a feeling of great disappointment that the general body of officers assembled at the dinner should have greeted the carrying out of such a program with apparent indifference to the fact that it violated some of the most dignified and sacred traditions of the service. I am told that the songs and other amusements of the evening were intended and regarded as "fun." What are we to think of officers of the army and navy of the United States who think it "fun" to bring their official superiors into ridicule and the policies of the government which they are sworn to serve with unquestioning loyalty, into contempt? If this is their idea of fun, what is their idea of duty? If they do not hold their loyalty above all silly effervesences of childish wit, what about their profession do they hold sacred? My purpose, therefore, in administering this reprimand, is to recall the men who are responsible for this lowering of standards to their ideals; to remind them of the high conscience with which they ought to put duty above personal indulgence, and to think of themselves as responsible men and trusted soldiers, even while they are amusing themselves as diners out.

WOODROW WILSON.

[See vol. xvi, p. 1229]



#### Mexico and the United States.

To save the Bank of London and Mexico, President Huerta proclaimed a legal holiday extending from December 22 to January 2. The bank continues to do all business except pay depositors who wish to withdraw their accounts. An examination is being made by the directors, with a view to restoring confidence, but thus far the panicky fear continues. [See vol. xvi, p. 1229.]



Conflicting reports regarding the movements of President Huerta continue to come from Mexico City. It has been announced that Enrique Genustia, Minister of Justice, will succeed Huerta early in January, and that the latter will take the field against the Constitutionalists. On the 23d President Huerta revived an old custom by giving an elaborate and formal banquet in honor of his own birthday, at which some violent speeches assailing the United States were made.



The long-delayed Mexican thanks to Japan for its participation in the Mexican centennial have been delivered by Special Envoy, Francisco de la Barra. The Japanese government received the Envoy with circumspection calculated not to offend the United States, but the opposition leaders, and several thousands of the people, made a demonstration in honor of La Barra and embarrassing to their own government.

Great Britain has adopted the watchful waiting policy of the United States, by establishing a patrol along the border between British Honduras and Mexico and between Honduras and Guatemala. It is surmised also that Great Britain's action in landing marines at Belize for this patrol duty has in view the restraint of the activities of General Manuel Brito, ex-governor of the state of Campeche, who last June sacked the bank of Yucatan of \$300,000.



General Villa remains at Chihuahua, confiscating big estates, issuing blood-curdling pronunciamientos, and despatching troops to the various federal posts. He sent 4,200 cavalry, with ten cannon and six machine guns on the 24th to attack the federals at Ojinaga on the border opposite Presidio Texas. Villa's orders were "Sweep the border clear of federals, and do not take any prisoners." Constitutional forces are reported to have bottled up the federals in Torreon, and to have captured the adjoining towns of Lordo and Gomez Palacio. General Villa expects to remain at Chihuahua until the federals at Ojinaga are destroyed, which will leave him in possession of all the territory north of Torreon and west of Monterey.



#### English Affairs.

Politics generally were ignored during the holidays; but even through the merry-making season the land question continues to attract attention. Premier Asquith's unqualified endorsement of Lloyd George's land program brings the question to the fore in political discussion. That the Government's land policy is producing practical results, is evident from the effect on the real estate market. There is a decided movement among the land holding nobility and gentry to part with family estates. These owners believe the new land policy, added to the land-tax of the Lloyd George Budget, will depress the price of land, and are hastening to sell while there is still a market. They find buyers among the new-rich who seek the distinction of land holding. [See vol. xvi, p. 1229.]



#### Re-election of Mrs. Young.

Mrs. Ella Flagg Young was re-instated as Superintendent of Schools by the Chicago Board of Education at its regular meeting on December 24, the Board having reconsidered its action of December 10 in electing Mr. John D. Shoop to the superintendency. Mayor Harrison had on December 22 filled the remaining two of the five vacancies on the Board by the appointment of Axel A. Strom, to take the place of Charles O. Sethness, and the re-appointment of Harry A. Lipsky whose attitude toward Mrs. Young was

stated to have been misconstrued as hostile. The four new members took part in the Board meeting of December 24 against the protests of the members whom they succeeded, and all voted for the re-election of Mrs. Young. The final vote—an open roll-call—stood 13 for Mrs. Young, 7 not voting and one absent, the non-voters having made clear their opposition to Mrs. Young. The deposed four members were present but were refused recognition by the president and secretary; and Mr. Sonstebey—one of the two most prominently active opponents of Mrs. Young still remaining on the Board—objected to the proceedings throughout as wholly illegal, and announced that the matter would be carried into court. Mr. Shoop was at this same meeting by the same vote as Mrs. Young elected to his former position of first assistant superintendent. [See vol. xvi, p. 1230.]



On December 26 Mrs. Young, who had been in North Carolina when notified of her re-election, returned to Chicago and announced to President Reinberg over the telephone her acceptance of re-election and her intention of resuming her duties the next morning. She was called upon in her office next day by Mr. Shoop and after an unreported conference, each spent the day at work as if nothing unusual had happened between December tenth and twenty-seventh.



#### **The Illinois Woman Suffrage Law.**

A suit questioning the constitutionality of the Illinois woman suffrage law was entered in the Superior Court of Cook County on December 10. Attorneys Levy Mayer and Alfred S. Austrian—who have often been employed as counsel by the liquor interests—brought suit in the name of William J. Scown, a contractor, who denied that his case had any connection whatever with the saloon interests. Members of the board of election commissioners are made defendants in the suit, which demands that an injunction be issued to prevent the board from buying separate ballot boxes and ballots for the new women voters. The restraining order also is asked to prevent women participating in the questions of public policy to be passed upon at the next election—which includes the saloon issue in many districts. The grounds on which the appellant's case is based were summarized in the press as follows:

(1) That permitting women to vote in Illinois will cause an expenditure of \$200,000 for extra judges and clerks of election, and \$60,000 for ballot boxes and ballots.

(2) That the equal suffrage act is a direct violation of Section 7 of the State constitution.

(3) That the granting of the right of women to vote on special questions to come up at the 1914 elections, is a violation of the constitution.

(4) That the naming of specific officers for which women may vote, as is done in the act, is unconstitutional.

(5) That the suffrage act does not specifically name the bill or bills that it is intended to amend.



After hearing brief arguments on the 13th Judge Foell of the Superior Court sustained the demurrer of the defendant and dismissed the suit, that is, judged the law constitutional. Appeal was immediately taken to the State Supreme Court and final decision is predicted for February. Charles S. Cutting and John J. Herrick have been retained by the suffragists to assist the regular attorney for the election board in defending the law.



The citizens of Pekin, Illinois, who on November 19 entered suit to enjoin the bond issue carried under the woman suffrage law, withdrew their petition with the statement that they had signed it under a misapprehension, and the case was therefore dropped from the calendar. [See vol. xvi, p. 1162.]



The Illinois "High School Act" was on the 17th adjudged constitutional by the State Supreme Court, a reversal of its own decision a month ago. This case not only involved the existence of 36 township high schools, but was further of interest because it sought to invalidate this school law on the same technical ground as the woman suffrage law is being questioned, namely, that it violated the provision of the State constitution which reads:

No law shall be revised or amended by reference to its title only, but the law revised or the section amended shall be inserted at length in the new act. The court held that the school act was not an amendment to the act of 1909 and therefore need not include that statute in its text.



#### **The Labor War.**

The report of shooting of three strike breakers at Calumet, Michigan, on December 7, was incorrect in some details. The affair occurred at Painsdale, not Calumet, and the victims were not strike breakers, two of them having but come to town for a brief visit. These two, Arthur and Harry Jones, were stopping at the home of Thomas Daley. During a fusillade outside of the house the two visitors were shot while in their beds and their host struck by a bullet while endeavoring to ascertain the cause. All three were killed. The Citizens' Alliance places the blame for this on the agitators of the Western Federation of Miners, while the latter declare it to have been the work of "gun men" employed by the mine operators. [See vol. xvi, pp. 1188, 1229].

At a Christmas Eve entertainment at Calumet, Michigan, for the benefit of children of strikers, a false cry of fire caused a panic, resulting in the loss of seventy-two lives. All but five of the killed were children. The identity of the person responsible for the panic is unknown. Union officials place the blame on agents of the Citizens' Alliance, which is denied by that organization. Measures for relief of the stricken families were started by the Western Federation of Miners and by members of the Citizens' Alliance. The relief committee of the Federation urged its members to refuse acceptance of any aid from members of the Alliance. Although \$25,000 was collected by the Alliance the sufferers refused to accept any of it.



Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, arrived in Chicago on December 27 from Hancock, Michigan, with a bullet in his back and otherwise injured by an assault. He was accompanied by Charles Tanner, auditor of the federation, who was also badly battered. Moyer's account, corroborated by Tanner, is that on December 26 he was visited at his hotel at Hancock by a delegation of the Citizens' Alliance, who demanded that he retract a charge he was reported to have made that a representative of the Alliance had raised the cry of fire at the Christmas eve celebration. They also demanded that he urge the bereaved families to accept aid from the Alliance. He refused, and the delegation left. Immediately thereafter a mob entered his room seized him and Tanner, who was also present, beat them up, dragged them to the street and to the railroad station at Houghton. During the struggle Moyer was shot.



They were put on a train for Chicago. Moyer declares he recognized in the mob a mining company official and a deputy sheriff. The latter, he says, bought the tickets and handed them to the conductor. On the train Moyer was put into a berth and two men, he declares, wearing deputy sheriff's badges accompanied them to the Wisconsin line, having told the conductor that they were protecting their prisoners from a mob. On arrival in Chicago he was taken to St. Luke's Hospital. He says he had asked Sheriff Cruse of Houghton County for a guard several days before, in anticipation of such trouble, but his request had not been granted.



Some denials of Moyer's account are reported from Hancock. James McNaughton, the mining company official charged by Moyer with having been one of the mob, is said to have denied it and to have produced evidence of an alibi. Sheriff Cruse of Houghton County, declares that Moyer

and Tanner went to the station alone. Governor Ferris telegraphed the sheriff to call a special session of the grand jury for an immediate investigation and the sheriff has complied. But lack of confidence in the grand jury is reported to be felt by members of the union since among its members are said to be railroad and mining officials and persons subject to their influence.



Moyer declares that he had on December 25 presented to the general managers of the mining companies a basis of negotiations for settlement of the strike as follows:

That the President of the United States and the Governor of the State of Michigan together select a committee of arbitration composed of five or seven members; that all matters in dispute be submitted to said board, and that upon the acceptance of this medium of arbitration the miners on strike shall be re-employed by you without discrimination, and that all at interest shall be bound by the findings of this board.



John B. Densmore, agent for the United States Department of Labor arrived at Lansing, Michigan, on December 28, to confer with Governor Ferris before proceeding to Calumet to make another effort to settle the strike. Senator Martine of New Jersey, has asked the Department of Justice to institute an investigation of the Moyer affair. A resolution for a congressional investigation of the strike was introduced recently by Representative McDonald of Michigan. No action has yet been taken thereon. Mr. McDonald declares he will endeavor to push it on reassembling of Congress.



A threatened strike of telegraph operators on the Frisco railroad system seems to have been forestalled by the company which is reported on December 28 to have substituted the telephone for the telegraph and discharged the telegraph operators.

## NEWS NOTES

Judson C. Clements was reappointed by President Wilson on December 23, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Puck, the comic illustrated weekly, was sold on December 26 to Nathan Strauss, Jr. No statement as to the future policy of the paper has yet been made.

More than 800,000 horsepower has been developed from streams in national forests under government regulation. This represents the output under conditions of lowest stream flow.

The city commissioners of Springfield, Ohio, on December 27 elected as city manager Charles E.

Ashburner of Lynchburg, Virginia. Mr. Ashburner had been city manager of Staunton, Virginia. [See vol. xvi., p. 1213.]

—The United States Senate on December 22 confirmed the appointment of Brand Whitlock, former mayor of Toledo, Ohio, as Minister to Belgium and George Fred Williams of Massachusetts as Minister to Greece. [See vol. xvi., p. 1189.]

—Jacob Broennum Scavenius Estrup, one of the leading politicians of Denmark, and from 1875 to 1894 prime minister in the Danish Cabinet, died on the 24th. Estrup was an absolutist, and defied parliament for years, when the majority was against him.

—Reports of business depression continue to come from Berlin. Holiday shopping is said to have been lighter than for many years past. One reason given is the impending call for an emergency military expenditure of \$83,000,000 immediately after the new year opens. Approximately 100,000 persons in Berlin are reported out of work.

—Madame Curie who, before her marriage with Professor Pierre Curie, was Marie Skłodowska, has been given high honors upon her return to her native city Warsaw. Madame Curie, working with her husband, a French chemist, discovered the new metal radium in 1898, and now ranks as one of the foremost scientists of the age.

—The Supreme Court of California decided on December 20 that the State has no right and never possessed the right to part with title to its submerged and tide lands. Unless an appeal to the Federal courts will be taken the decision restores to the people of the State tide lands now claimed by the Southern Pacific Railway and other corporations.

—Differences among the American delegates to the International Conference on Safety at Sea, have grown to such a degree that Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union, has cabled his resignation to President Wilson. Furuseth's action is due to a difference in views on the manning of life boats. He contends there should be sufficient men of three years' sea experience to take charge of the boats in case of accident. [See vol. xvi., p. 1114.]

—An agreement has been entered into between the Chinese Government and the German Minister to China, for the construction of two railways, to be undertaken by German engineers, and to be constructed of German materials and by German capital. The estimated cost is \$20,000,000. Both these roads will be valuable feeders to the German harbor at Tsingtau, which, aided by the Shantung railway, has jumped since 1900 from twenty-sixth to sixth among the Chinese ports. [See vol. xvi., p. 827, 1114, 1179.]

—King Menelik, of Abyssinia, died on the 22d. The king, who was seventy-one years old, claimed to be a direct descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. He professed himself a Christian, but his Church was a combination of Christian and heathen doctrines. His greatest achievement was the defeat of the Italian troops in 1896, when he inflicted such losses on the invading forces that he was able to dictate his own terms. The empire of Abyssinia occupies 432,432 square miles in the east central part of Africa, and contains an estimated population of eight millions.

—Italian Premier Gioliti debated in the Chamber of Deputies the problem of unemployment and emigration. One means of relief proposed is the expenditure of large sums of money on railroad building. Exceptions are taken by the Italian government to the proposal of the United States to enforce its immigration health tests by placing health officers on board the Italian emigrant ships.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### What Pueblo Has Done.

Harper's Weekly, December 17.—The singletax means everything or anything from the full demands urged by Henry George, in "Progress and Poverty," down to the shortest practicable step in the direction of those demands. George agitated the socialization, not of land as is sometimes said, but the annual values of land. In order to secure that result he proposed that all taxes on personal property and real estate improvements be abolished and that public revenues be derived exclusively from a tax measured by land values. In order to carry out that program he proposed to begin by abolishing all taxes except on land values. In practice, frequent proposals have been made to start at points still further away from the goal proposed by George than the immediate abolition of all taxes on land values. This is the reason that any movement for the abolition in any degree of taxes on improvements is called the singletax. It is the reason, for instance, that movements like those in New York for reducing taxes on improvements without reducing those on land values are called singletax movements. Of this kind was the proposal adopted last month in Pueblo, Colorado. The referendum proposed to exempt improvements beginning with 1914 to the extent of 50 per cent of their valuation; and in 1915 to the extent of 99 per cent; whereas land is to continue to be valued for taxation at 100 per cent of its true value. This is equivalent substantially to abolishing, for local purposes, all taxes except on land values.



### What It Means.

Sacramento (California) Bee, December 13.—With the announcement by President Wilson, in his recent message to Congress that the United States intends to withdraw from the Philippines in the not distant future, this doctrine that in the struggle of the Nations for existence the strong have an inherent right to rule the weak has received its first real setback. . . . Fifteen years ago this country came into unexpected possession of those islands. The natives welcomed the Americans as representatives of a self-governing people. No thought was entertained but that the visitors had come to assist them in completing their almost-won war for independence with Spain. . . . But months passed and the American troops evinced no haste to retire. Distrust arose. Shots were exchanged, and a war en-

sued which is still in progress in some parts of the archipelago. . . . There is not an objection against Philippine independence which cannot be applied to the United States. Caciqueism, or the rule of the more ignorant portions of the populace by keen and unscrupulous individuals is frequently alleged as a reason why the United States should retain control of the islands. . . . But the chief of Tammany Hall rules with a more iron hand than any Presidente in the jungles of Luzon, and the career of Abe Ruef as a cacique has never been rivaled in our Asiatic dependency. . . . Above and beyond all, is the moral question involved. President Wilson has smitten with a deadly blow the pernicious doctrine that "they shall take who have the power and they shall keep who can." America's withdrawal from the Philippines, in addition to establishing a new standard in natural ethics, will enshrine us forever in the affection of the 900,000,000 yellow peoples who inhabit the world's largest continent, and who, in days to come, will furnish a tremendous market for the products of Occidental Nations.



#### Catching Up With Europe.

Sacramento (California) Bee, December 13.—The telegraph and telephone are natural monopolies, and for that reason they should be owned and operated by the government. This is the rule throughout the world. In Europe generally they are branches of the general postal service, and there the charges are much less than in this country. More than that, the restrictions as to the number of words in an ordinary telegraph message are much less narrow than in the United States.



#### Crimes Against Criminals.

La Follette's Weekly (Madison, Wis.), December 13.—A recent headline in the New York Press announces: "End of torture for women in penitentiary promised." Isn't there volumes of commentary in that brief line upon our dark ages attitude toward the treatment of wrong-doers?



#### How Public Ownership Works.

Cleveland (Ohio) Press, December 13.—A little ticket, just a slip of pasteboard, . . . A. M. Todd of Kalamazoo bought it in Switzerland for \$27 . . . Todd was over studying the initiative and referendum. Todd wanted to travel throughout the cantons; to go by rail and also by boat. He wanted to be spared the bother of buying a new ticket every time he started for the next place. So Todd went to the government-owned railroad; to the costliest-per-mile roadbed in the world—costliest, because of two great tunnels driven through the granite heart of the Alps—and said: "I want a wholesale price." And they made him one—\$27 for 42 days, the ticket good on any Swiss conveyance and good as many times within that period as Todd wanted to use it—he might have traveled 42 days and 42 nights! The Swiss railroads are good roads. They give a good service. They also give a cheap service. And they serve the public first.

## RELATED THINGS

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### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### A LOVING LIFE.

By Augustine Duganne.

Let Love inspire thee, and thy life shall be  
A daily prayer to Heaven for sinful earth:  
For by true Love hath all true virtue birth;  
And He Whose life was Love, shall strengthen thee.  
For Love, like perfume in the floweret's cup,  
Its balmy influence still rendereth up,  
To fill each breeze with sweetness like its own:  
Thus by our loving lives a sway is thrown  
(Even though that sway to us be all unknown)  
O'er many a wanderer in this world of guile;  
And thus a soul may cost us but a smile!  
Let then our Love in loving deeds be shown;  
For, as their fragrance lifts itself alone,  
Be sure that many a heart is lifted thus by Love.



#### THE SOCIAL UNIT.

From Responsibilities to Rights.

An Address Delivered by Alice Thacher Post Before the Women's Single Tax League of the District of Columbia, December 8, 1913.

I have not come here tonight to make an argument to you; I have not come to try to teach you anything. I am going simply to ask you for a little while to leave behind you the busy matters of daily living, the complicated things, the troublesome things. Let us come to some of the very simple things, as if we were very little children once more.

Come for a little and let us walk in our gardens—yours and mine;—those gardens of our souls where we seem to remember having been when we were very little children—where the flowers grew out of the brown earth, and the little fruit-trees blossomed, and the little animals of the children scampered about; those gardens whither we go now when we want to feel after the simple, elemental laws of life, and obtain visions of their fruitions.

What do we find in these gardens of memories as to the factors which make up our common human life?

We find pleasant human things—little groups, mostly family groups, in which we received protection and comfort. And it seems to us good that family and group responsibilities should exist, covering the weaknesses and errors as well as the immaturities of the younger members, with the strength and wisdom and high purpose of the able and mature.

It is good; let us not decry it. The ideal of it comes from the love of the neighbor—the second great commandment laid upon men. It has come

down to us from immemorial time—the family grouping under a patriarch; the tribal grouping that developed out of it; the civic groupings of the “hundreds” among the Germanic peoples, with their responsibilities to prevent crime in their own “hundreds,” or to recompense for committed crime.

Group responsibility—it is an excellent thing. But where do the fine edges of it come? How do we differentiate out the individual? How protect him from being engulfed in his group?

We are variously sensitive to such engulfment. It has been regarded as a trait of the Germanic peoples that they are sensitive to the need of preserving the rights of the individual as against the state, while the Latin peoples regard the right of the individual as against the state as a matter of small importance. But the right of the individual as against the smaller group is not always clear, partly because the smaller group is usually so beneficent in its administration of the common welfare, and partly because we have advanced only a few steps in the development of a great human political life, and have hardly taken our first step in developing a great economic common life.

Group responsibility, as I said, is an excellent thing. Fundamentally it is a development of love of the neighbor. Gone wrong, it becomes love of dominion over others. The family is its chief minor expression in our modern life. And the family has been regarded, and is still very generally regarded, as the unit of the social life. Now this view of the family is really at the base of all the objections to woman suffrage. The family the social unit—how reasonable! how satisfactory! The family group furnishes a complete whole—the fighting force, the rearing force, the exterior social service, the interior domestic service, the protection of the generation to come. We need find no fault with a social development which took this as one step in its course. It is humane and constructive, and is one step in the long progressions of democracy.

But we are restive. We ask to take another step. How far and how deep may we go for our fundamentals for another step? That first step was good; the love of a man for a woman, and the love of a woman for a man, and the love of both for little children, made the group. And the group was a social unit, having one vote in the social organization of which it made a part—one vote, the man's vote, covering, protecting and expressing the others.

Certainly we found the elements for that group unit back in our memory gardens.

But let us wander back farther and farther, into our old and oldest garden of twilight beginnings. Back in the old Wonderbook we read of it in our childhood. And it is the same garden—the soul of the same garden—that your own memory calls up to you. For the race it lay “eastward in

Eden.” There were folks there—“male and female created he them.” The man and the woman, both were units in the sight of their Maker.

I have said that the group idea was born of the love of the neighbor. What is that love linked to? When it was enjoined upon that ancient democratic people that went up out of Egypt into a garden country, the love of the neighbor was declared to be “like unto” the love of God. And it is to the love of God that we are now getting back.

Now do not for a moment think that when I speak of God I am thinking of a formal autocrat, of a high potentate, of a far-off great person. I am not here to sermonize, but I beg of you that while wandering with me in the gardens of our souls you will each of you look there for whatever there is of God to you in the universe—whether that be the Force which impels all things, whether it be the Life which vivifies all things, whether it be a transcendent Wisdom and a glorifying Love, whether it be a personality which the essence of all that is Divine and all that is human. See this vision of God in your garden, and you will find—as the quaint old story tells—that the very Lord God Himself is walking in your own very garden, “in the cool of the day,” when it is still, and the birds cease calling, and the winds hush among the leaves.

And why do we care to come to the Lord God in our quest?

Because now we want to get even farther and deeper into the heart of things than the love of the neighbor by itself can carry us.

For one thing, we may remember that God knew us as individual units—individual human souls—at the creation, and He knows us so now. However we group ourselves in families in the sight of men, before God we are separate naked souls, each with its own responsibilities.

For another thing, God put the man and the woman who represent the infant life of the race, in the garden, to till it and keep it. Is this an old fairy tale? But it exactly tells the everlasting law of birth into this world. Every unit soul is born upon the earth upon which it must live. Each one of us—born upon this green rich earth, with no differentiation of titles from the Maker of us. With what impudence do we flaunt paper titles in the faces of brethren of common birthright!

But there is no need of harsh words over this matter. Slowly we have to make progression. Remember that just as all the men now on the earth are your brethren, so also all the men from the beginning down through the sequences of the years have been your brethren. They have been no more evil than you. Land ownership has grown up with civilization, and it was not all born of evil. Greed, love of dominion, love of getting the results of labor without laboring, have not been the only causes of the monopolization of the earth

by a part of its inhabitants, as against an increasing army of the exploited landless. There has also been the recognition that enterprise, pioneer work and faithful industry upon the land should give some permanence of title. And so came confusion as to where justice lay. Now, however, vision is clearing. Now we know how to preserve permanence of tenure and private ownership of the results of enterprise and labor, while preventing monopolization of land—all through a simple use of the taxing power as if it were a rent-collecting agency—taking bare land values for public use, and leaving all else to the labor which produced it. Thanks to Henry George we now know how to do this. And thanks to Henry George and to the remembered words of many of the greatest humanitarians, from Tiberius Gracchus, through church fathers, and the French Physiocrats, and Thomas Carlyle, and our own Emerson, the wrongs involved in the monopolization of land, whether as to its fertile soils and its mineral wealth, or as to its social advantages for business, manufacturing, transportation and habitation, are being generally recognized. With the tools for abolition at hand the end of monopoly of the common inheritance of us all must necessarily follow the recognition of its unrighteousness, as day follows night. The dawn of the day is here; the laborers are already in the fields. The songs of achievement already echo from afar to listening ears.

Now, while men believed that individuals held the right to own the earth as against all *other* individuals, there was nothing in the field of economics to suggest the individual soul as the unit of society. But how different is the case when we recognize equal rights in the earth as our common birthright. Think of it. Every man, every woman, every child, born anywhere on this globe of green earth and blue waters—every child—white, or red, or yellow, or black—equal co-heirs with all others in the earth which was given to the children of men! A foolish little child—girl child, if you will—whose mind has never waked up, has the same rights here as you have and as I have. And we must look to it about that mind that does not wake up. Was its brain starved before it was born? Does not its birthright in the social values of the world, that rest upon the land values, entitle it to the best of surgical and medical inquiry and attention, and pedagogical care, for whatever development science and devotion can induce? What fields for glorious human service in the cause of justice, rather than charity, lie spread out before us!

So far for the vision of economics we find in the gardens of memory, personal and racial, as we get back to those cool, dim alleys where we find our God.

How is it in the fields of political and civil life?

Why, once we see clearly the individual soul as the economic human unit, we cannot see any *other*

citizen unit. The individual, literate or illiterate, wise or foolish, rich or poor, man or woman, is the citizen—one citizen, one vote.

Does this seem startlingly inclusive? Does it break down established and respected safeguards? Lest the timid still feel that such a vision can only be hoped for in a millennium, let me remind you of some considerations:

1. Under our advancing initiative and referendum electoral forms we vote more and more for principles and laws, and less for men; and under these methods the illiterate and the stupid are automatically disfranchised—not knowing how to vote, they either don't vote, or their votes pair off. Moreover, with no monopoly left—and we look for this state soon—and with no resultant impoverished masses, and degraded classes, how long will there remain a considerable number of stupid illiterate, or brutalized literate, to menace us?
2. Unsocial citizens who for the safety of society we are obliged to segregate, by the fact of their detention, just as now, will be unable to cast their ballots, which probably would not be so very dreadful if they could be cast. And so also with the feeble-minded and the insane. And, thank God, when "poverty and the fear of poverty," and debauching wealth, are swept away, there will not be so many of these sad citizens in our social world!
3. And the same thing is true of our infantile children—that they cannot go to the polls and cast their votes; that temporarily disfranchises them; but they are potential voters—just as the absentee voting citizen or the sick voting citizen is at present. And, of course, we can make a good argument for a fixed age at which potentiality shall be merged in actuality, as it is at present with our male children. But if we do not care to, we need not bother with that. We might let each child citizen—boy or girl—who is old enough to go alone into a booth and mark and cast a ballot, do this upon expression of the desire. Would not such participation in public affairs tend to develop on the part of our children civic intelligence and civic responsibilities? If the energetic boy of twelve or fifteen felt that his vote helped make the government of his city, do you think he would be so apt to regard the policeman on the corner as his natural enemy? Public playgrounds and citizenship responsibility may end the hoodlum gang terror long before the millennium, and might save many a powerful, resourceful, capable youth from a life of crime.

And who are left after eliminating the classes I have enumerated? Just plain men and women. I do not here need to urge the greatness, and breadth, and power of an electorate composed of the two elements of the human race—men and women—"male and female created He them."

I have been simply looking with you to find upon what the rightness of such an electorate bases itself. We have gone down the way from the group responsibilities having their righteous root in a love of the neighbor, to the individual responsibilities having their root in the facts of our creation by the God back of all things. But do not think for a moment that I wish to imply that group responsibilities are lost as we act under the impulse of the profounder vision. They assume deeper and finer forms as each member of the group becomes more powerfully individualized. Compare for a moment a family of the old type—the father earning the family living and doing his little political stunts, telling his wife nothing about business or politics because of course women could know nothing of such things; the wife running the house and talking gossip and playing off her petty accomplishments—compare such a family with one we would like to know here in Washington a few years hence, with father, mother and children living and sharing a common intelligent life, discussing together public affairs, and, as far as practicable, business affairs. You can imagine a grave-eyed little boy asking his father or his mother: "But why are you going to vote for that man, or that measure?" Can you imagine either of them telling him or telling each other that the vote was to be cast at the dictation of a boss? Is not this group greater as a group than the first?

And now in closing let us come back together to our gardens, that are in part of our own memories, and in part of the quaint old story of beginnings—the garden which is at the *end* as well as at the *beginning* of things—where the tree of life grows on the banks of the river, with fruits amid its healing leaves;—the garden where our own tender vague memories of childhood cluster around the dear fact of family protection and service; and the soul of that garden which is the garden of the race's childhood, where dwells with us the Lord God, speaking as conscience. There our individual life of responsibility for right and wrong is born. There we receive our birthright. There we must take up our separate, different, individual, sacred functionings for the common welfare; and for the necessary furtherance of these functionings we must each protect for ourselves, and for all others, our rights of existence upon the earth, and our individual unit rights of participation in the great organic social life of the world.



The bread line is a charity that should make civilization hang its head with shame for its own philanthropy.—Chicago Evening Post.



Poverty and ignorance are the chief destroyers of child life and child health, and from these two sources flow, in swelling streams, the injurious conditions which sweep the young to destruction.—Adolf Baginsky.

## BROTHERHOOD.

John D. Barry, in "Harper's Bazar."

Not to be different, Lord,  
I ask, from those that fare  
Beside me on life's way;  
But that my spirit shall accord  
With their great purpose, that my share  
Wholly I may fulfill,  
In thought and will,  
And that the simple creed  
Of all men's right  
Within Thy sight,  
I may affirm  
By word and deed.

O, save me from the blame  
Of those who have forgot  
Their brotherhood, and vaunt  
Their birth or merit, and feel shame  
For such as bear the common lot.  
Make me, each day, to see,  
If aught through me  
Find favor in Thy ken,  
'Tis but in part  
The grace Thy heart  
Pours richly on  
My fellowmen.

## BOOKS

### President Lowell and Popular Government.

**Public Opinion and Popular Government.** By A. Lawrence Lowell. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1913. Price, \$2.25 net.

Had President Lowell of Harvard been writing of government and politics during the last quarter of the 18th century, something like this undoubtedly would have issued from the depths of his library:

... but it is open to serious doubt if this action of a small minority of the people of Boston in throwing the tea into the harbor represented a mature and adequately formed public opinion on the part of a majority of the colonists. A large number were totally indifferent and a very considerable proportion of our most intelligent citizens disapproved of it. Nor does it appear that the plan by which this unprecedented act was executed had been approved by an official board of competent experts. Some good is alleged to have come of it, but the possible danger of permitting a small fraction of irresponsible persons . . ."

At any rate this is the fashion in which the President of Harvard University holds forth upon the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, the Direct Primary, Commission Government, and so forth—in short, upon the great democratic movement of his own time. His latest book, "Public Opinion and Popular Government," contains two valuable contributions to the literature of his subject—an

appendix containing tables of the Initiative and Referendum votings in the cantons of Switzerland, and in the States of our own country where direct legislation is in force.

On reading the book one is reminded of Gladstone's statement, made near the close of his life, to the effect that in his time every great accomplished reform had been opposed by the English universities. But, thank heaven, there is developing in America a democratic scholarship which is becoming a potent influence for industrial and political justice. It is composed of men who have caught the splendid vision of Wendell Phillips' great oration, "The Scholar in a Republic"—delivered, by the way, at Harvard University and promptly repudiated—and who, with Emerson, "are ashamed at how easily we capitulate to badges and names, to large societies and dead institutions," and who, again with Emerson, believe that "we too now are men—not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but guides, redeemers and benefactors, obeying the Almighty effort and advancing on Chaos and the Dark." To this scholarship—a minority though it still is—the people are giving a glad welcome.

Professor Lowell's book is approved by Professor William Howard Taft, of Yale University, who finds it "valuable and interesting" and is glad to find that the workings of popular government have been discussed by Mr. Lowell "in a most satisfactory way" and "in general accord with my own conclusions."

JUDSON KING.

## **BOOKS RECEIVED**

—Sunshine Comes to Omaha. By Laurie J. Quinby. Published by the Author, Omaha, Neb. 1914. Price, paper, 25 cents.

—Income Tax Guide. By Walter A. Staub. Published by Lybrand, Ross Bros. & Montgomery, Philadelphia. 1913. Price, 50 cents.

—Tammany's Treason: Impeachment of Governor William Sulzer. By Jay W. Forrest and James Malcolm. Published by J. H. Forrest, Albany, N. Y. 1913.

—A History of Socialism. By Thomas Kirkup. Fifth edition, revised and largely rewritten by Edward R. Pease. Published by Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London. The Macmillan Co., agents, New York. 1913. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Progressive Principles. By Theodore Roosevelt. Being selections from addresses made during the Presidential campaign of 1912. Edited by Elmer H. Youngman. Published by the Progressive National Service, 30 E. 42d St., New York. 1913. Price, \$1.00.



The meek shall inherit the earth, but the Rockefellers and Morgans shall have the administration of their estate.

F. R. H.

## **PERIODICALS**

### Madame Breskovsky.

The news of Madame Breskovsky's escape from K'rensk—the place of her exile in Siberia—and of her recapture after five days, many miles away, was one of the saddest stories that came over the world-wires in December. Extracts from her recent letters which have been gathered into the New York Survey of December 20 by Mabel Barrows Mussey will be to Madame Breskovsky's many American friends a deep draught of her indomitable spirit that at seventy, in sickness and all the horrors of arctic exile, can speak buoyantly across a hemisphere into the heart of mankind.

A. L. G.

## **PAMPHLETS**

### Pamphlets Received.

Industrial Disputes: Speech of Charles Sumner Bird, at Athol, Massachusetts, September 29, 1913.

"Jersey Justice" at Work. Anonymous. To be obtained at Room 1614, 27 Cedar St., New York. Price, 10 cents.

Constitution of the Singletax Society of Delaware. Copies may be obtained from F. I. du Pont, Wilmington, Del.

Open Air Schools. Published by the Division of Education, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22d St., New York City. 1913.

Cincinnati Department of Charities and Corrections, Annual Report, 1912. Published by the Department of Public Safety, Cincinnati, O.

Fire Protection in Public Schools. Published by the Division of Education, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22d St., New York City. 1913.

Industrial Unrest and Trade Union Policy. By Charles Booth. Published by Macmillan & Co., London, and the Macmillan Co., New York. Price, 10 cents.

Philippine Independence. Reprint of "The Democratic Party and Philippine Independence." By Moorfield Storey. Senate Document, Number 159. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1913.

Report of the Committee of the Oregon Bar Association on Costs in the Federal District Court and Circuit Court of Appeals. Room 802, Title and Trust Bldg., Portland, Ore.

Wages and Hours of Labor in the Cigar and Clothing Industries, 1911 and 1912. Bulletin whole number 135, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1913.

The Office of County Treasurer of Cook County, Illinois: An Inquiry into the Administration of its Finances with special reference to the Question of Interest on Public Funds. Report prepared by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

Vocational Conference for Women, and Vocational Preparation: Papers read at the Second Vocational Conference held at the University of Wisconsin under the auspices of the Women of the University. 1913. Bulletin General Series Number 414, Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 10 cents.