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EDITORIAL

A New Note in Politics.

Between the flourish of the "Big Stick" and the appeal of "sweet reasonableness," lie ages of progress. At just what point the use of force yields to the plea of justice as the more effective means of guiding human conduct, it may be impossible to determine. But that there is such a point in social evolution, and that we have long since passed it, must be evident to those who will carefully weigh the evidence of history.



President Wilson approaches the trust question from the same point of view that he considered the Mexican problem. As some impatient persons would have had him summarily pacify our troubled neighbor, so others would have him wipe out trusts and monopolies. But the problem is not so much one of suppressing monopolies, as it is of establishing competition. There is all the difference between prohibiting combinations and establishing competition that there is between a God who punishes sin and one who rewards virtue. The President's appeal to the captains of industry is not so much to avoid the penalty as to enjoy the reward of right doing. It is easier to maintain law and order where men look upon the law as a friendly guide, than where they see in it only brute force.



But, the fundamental democrat may say, the President has not gone to the bottom of the question; his specific proposals will merely lead to a change in form without really destroying the substance of monopoly. That is not a fair estimate. This message will do more to establish a fellow-feeling, and a human accord among the warring factions in the economic and social world than any other state paper for a generation. Men are unreasonable only when they are angry; then they yield only what they must. Take from a man a penny, and he will strike you; give him a dollar

and he will return ten. Our people are awakening from a great financial debauch to find that the "Almighty Dollar" is one of the feeblest of all forces.



The state cannot live by taxes alone, but by the good will and kindly fellowship of its citizens. If sentiment, by awakening men's better selves, will send them down to death in the shock of battle; so that same love of an ideal will make them strive to establish justice. And just as passive resistance is overcoming the Mexican Dictator, so will President Wilson's appeal to the business man's better self pave the way for social justice. Even should he himself fail to go the whole way, the awakened people will.

S. C.



Two Conferences.

The Washington conference of Singletaxers offered a striking contrast to that of 1912. The Boston conference came immediately after an election in which Singletax measures had been defeated, and fond hopes had been buried. But there was no feeling of despair. Upon every face was written the grim determination that ever turns temporary defeat into final victory. Men and women counselled together soberly and earnestly, but none the less confidently, as to the next step. And they parted with confidence in their hearts.



They came together in Washington this month with that confidence vindicated. Not that one year had seen all their hopes fulfilled, but they had seen a demonstration of the irresistible power of truth, and realized by specific example the practical wisdom of the plan of campaign. And while appreciating fully the fact that the fight had merely begun, and understanding the lengths to which Privilege will go when driven at bay, every one at the conference was eager to go on with the work. The fervor and enthusiasm, indeed, recalled the spirit of the early eighties; and these men and women have consecrated themselves anew to the cause, with a zeal tempered only by the wisdom gained of experience.

S. C.



Cause, Effect and Cure.

Only twenty-seven per cent of the potential tillable area of the United States is under cultivation according to the preliminary estimates of the Department of Agriculture made public on January 18. Then what excuse is there for the scarc-

ity of food products to which the high cost of living has been attributed? Only this, the producers can not get at the land. Much of it is held by speculators at impossible high prices. The remedy? Make the speculators let go. How? By taxing land values high enough, that's all.

S. D.



Does the Civic Association Approve?

What kind of a reform can it be that the American Civic Association—formerly League of American Municipalities—stands for? Congressman Crisp of Georgia has introduced a bill to abolish the arrangement by which the federal government pays half the expenses of the local government of the District of Columbia. That is an arrangement which should never have been made. People who do not live in the District or who own no land within it get no benefit from the local government. Why should they be taxed to pay half of the expense? The arrangement benefits only a few land speculators in the District. Low taxes increase land values. Therefore, every tenant in the District pays higher rent on account of this division. Every person desiring to buy a home must pay more for his lot on that account. Now when it is proposed to abolish this iniquitous arrangement, the leading officers of the American Civic Association, instead of encouraging the reform, raise an outcry against it. Why?



One reason given for opposition is that Washington is denied its own city government but is governed by committees of the House and Senate. But who is most to blame for that? Who has always objected most strongly to giving the city a government by its own citizens? Why, the big land owners. Is it not rather impudent now to raise in their behalf the very objection that they have themselves credited? Suppose an amendment were offered to Mr. Crisp's bill establishing a local government with universal suffrage in the District, would the bill become more or less objectionable to local monopolistic interests? It is not hard to guess that they would howl still more loudly against it.



Another reason given is that the federal government owns considerable land in the District and pays no taxes upon it. Suppose the federal government would decide to dispose of its land and make some other city the capital? Would that suit the land owners better? It is needless to say it would not. Their land would have little

value but for the fact that the people of the United States have established the seat of government in Washington. There is probably no city anywhere in the United States, the land owners of which would not gladly pay all the expenses of transferring the seat of government to their locality. There would be many millions of profits in such a transfer to the land owners of the locality thus favored, and no half and half taxation arrangement would be necessary to enable them to gain it. Although such a transfer is not within the range of probability the holding of some untaxed land by the federal government is no excuse whatever for imposing half the expense of local administration on non-residents. If all local revenue should be raised by a tax on land values only the federal government should pay as any other land owner. But there is no danger of such an arrangement being approved by the interests arrayed against the Crisp bill.



Are the members of the American Civic Association in accord with the action of their president, Horace McFarland of Harrisburg, Pa., and of their secretary, Richard Watrous of Washington, in opposing the bill to end this injustice? If so they should adopt a name for their organization that will more accurately describe its true purpose.

S. D.



Wrong Use of a Right Principle.

If ever any cause has suffered from its unwise friends it is the cause of States-rights. The use made of it to shield chattel slavery is ancient history. Since then it has had defenders who have done what they could to perpetuate the odium it received during the civil war period. The latest effort to cast discredit upon it is being made by the Senators and Representatives who are using it as a pretext for opposition to investigation of conditions in Colorado and northern Michigan. The opposition is ridiculous. Ordering an investigation does not involve any assumption in advance that there is need or justification for federal interference; but merely a determination to learn whether there is any truth in charges made that citizens have been deprived of rights guaranteed under the federal constitution. If the charges are not true, those accused should welcome the investigation. If they are true, then Congress and the American people are entitled to the information. The question of States-rights does not properly belong in the discussion at all.

S. D.

Disregard of Minority Rights.

"Courts can be depended upon to defend the rights of minorities," say opponents of the Recall. Well, a minority consisting of "Mother" Jones is at present imprisoned in Colorado and held incommunicado in violation of her constitutional rights. She has violated no statute, has not been held for trial by any magistrate or indicted by any grand jury. Why don't the courts of Colorado protect her rights?

S. D.



Intimidation of Judges.

The most frequent objection urged against the Recall of the judiciary is that judges would be forced to render decisions to satisfy the passion of the mob. It seems, however, that there are others besides "the mob" possessed of passion to apply against disagreeable judges and they don't need the Recall to apply it. According to press reports, Judge P. H. O'Brien of the Michigan State Circuit Court at Calumet is being socially ostracized as punishment for failing to impose sufficiently severe penalties on striking miners charged with contempt of court. This ostracism is said to extend to members of his family. Whether or not this hurts the judge much no outsider is in a position to decide. But whatever the effect of such treatment in this case may be the fact that it has been applied in one case shows that it can be applied in others, and there certainly are some judges to whom social ostracism would be severe punishment, indeed. It is moreover a weapon which "the mob" can not effectually use, at least not against one in the social position which a judge usually occupies. Perhaps this explains many of the outrageous injunctions issued in labor cases.

S. D.



Vincent Astor and Socialism.

Vincent Astor's declination of Upton Sinclair's invitation to become a Socialist is not impressive. Mr. Astor admits that it is not his own thinking which influences him, but that he is let to reject Socialism by observing that certain labor leaders do so. He might with as good reason have accepted it because other labor leaders do, or because many rich men reject it, or because other rich men are advocates of it. Mr. Astor is making the mistake of permitting others to think for him. Possibly he has more confidence in the ability of other persons to reach correct conclusions than he has in his own. Nevertheless, he is committing the most serious error which any man can

commit who wants to be of some use to the world. It is better to think wrong than not to think at all. It is better to arrive at erroneous conclusions through one's own reasoning powers than to absorb correct conclusions by merely accepting without question or investigation the views of others.

S. D.



Tainted News.

Every once in a while a news dispatch from Cleveland tells of the failure of three-cent fare in that city. Each time this happens Traction Commissioner Peter Witt receives letters from anxious inquirers concerning the truth of the matter. This has naturally become tiresome and Mr. Witt has thus replied to one inquiry: "To reply to the falsehoods sent out from this city concerning street car matters would keep a force of stenographers busy the year round. So what is the use? There is but one answer to make—we are still riding for three cents."



Now the question arises, what explanation have the news agencies to offer for this continual false reporting concerning the Cleveland street railway situation? Their Cleveland correspondents must be well aware of its falsity when they send it out. It need occasion no surprise if, before long, similar influences will bring about the sending out of false news from San Francisco and other cities where local predatory interests are not treated with respect. It should all be taken with a grain of salt.

S. D.



Possible End of a Military Career.

For writing a letter to the President's private secretary, Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty, complaining that after seven years' service in the army he had been denied a furlough, Clarence L. George, an enlisted man in the United States Army, is a convict in the Leavenworth penitentiary serving a year's sentence. It is said that the letter never reached Mr. Tumulty, but somehow came to the knowledge of George's superior officers who ordered him courtmartialled for going over their heads to make a complaint. If this were the only recent case of unjust treatment of private soldiers by officers it might not be worthy of much attention. But it is not. Not long ago a soldier named Waldo Coffman, who, after his enlistment had become a Socialist, was sent to the penitentiary after being courtmartialled on a charge of insulting the flag. His release was ordered by the Secretary of War—after many protests had come to him—on the

ground that the evidence did not justify conviction. Coffman claims that his political views were the real cause of his prosecution. There is at present at Fort Flagler an enlisted man undergoing punishment, a Roumanian by birth named Lee Kosti Aryan. He had after enlistment become convinced of the correctness of Christian doctrine. He realized that his oath as a soldier required violation of these principles and took for granted that his constitutional right to religious liberty would enable him to secure a discharge from the service. Instead he has been imprisoned, and, it would seem, must either agree to abandon his belief or submit to punishment for the rest of his term.



These cases indicate that a man who has once enlisted in the army, should, for his own safety, cease to think. Thinking might lead to the acceptance of news disgraceable to his superiors, and to ending his military career in consequence as a convict in the federal penitentiary, condemned to disfranchisement after his release.

S. D.



A Doubtful Compliment.

It has been customary for many years, when disputes arise between foreign nations that necessitate placing their affairs in disinterested hands, for them to turn to American consuls and ministers. The recent Safety-at-Sea Conference in London has given control of the wireless equipment of ships to the American government. Was this because we have practically no deep-sea shipping of our own?

S. C.



Still Totally "Unprepared."

Year after year scare stories of "total unpreparedness" have brought forth huge appropriations from Congress for army and navy purposes. Now when appropriations have reached the vast amount of \$140,000,000, comes General Leonard Wood repeating again the old cry of "total unpreparedness." Clearly one may as well try to fill a sieve with water as to become prepared for war by spending money. If General Wood's statement is true then it was a foolish thing to ever appropriate a cent for military purposes, and now is a good time to stop it. A little common sense will prevent a war at any time regardless of preparedness for the event. Absolute free trade with all the world will not only increase our prosperity immeasurably, but would make it unprofitable for any foreign nation to wage even a successful war against us.

The amount appropriated for one year for the army and navy would build the proposed national railway in Alaska. After being spent, moreover, we would be prepared to carry out what it would be spent for, while spending it for military purposes only leaves us as "unprepared" as ever.

S. D.



In Time of Peace, Prepare for Peace.

Japan is sorely afflicted. This is our opportunity to strike. Burdened already to the very limit of endurance by the cost of the Russo-Japanese war, crop failures have left millions of her people at the point of starvation. And now is added the horrors of volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and tidal waves. Seldom does such an opportunity come to a nation to overcome its opponent. This is our chance to render Japan forever harmless. One bold stroke now, and our Pacific coast will be as safe from Japanese invasion as the state of Colorado. This is the psychological moment. We may never again have such an opportunity.



But it is not with dreadnoughts or super-dreadnoughts that the blow must be struck. It is not by any form of force that the Japanese are to be overwhelmed. Physical blow will provoke physical blow in return. Were we to over-awe Japan today with a great armada, she would assume yet greater burdens, she would starve yet other millions of her people to retaliate. But by sending her shiploads of food instead of shiploads of guns and armed men, we shall by one blow disarm her. The cost of a single battleship spent for food to save these starving men, women and children will do more to render our coast safe from attack than all the dreadnoughts we could launch. The price of one battleship expended in succoring these unfortunate people will save the building of twenty battleships in the future. Will our Congress rise to the occasion? Never has a nation had a better opportunity to show its real worth.

S. C.



Heroic But Not Discreet.

And now it is South African labor that has appealed to the arbitrament of war. The long drawn-out struggle between miners and mine owners has resulted in a general strike. Business has stopped, the citizen soldiers have been called to the colors, and we are to see a short, sharp struggle between the man with the tools of industry and the man with the tools of war. How will it end? How does it always end? There may or

may not be destruction of life and property. There is certain to follow increased bitterness to hold men of common interests apart with misunderstood-grievances. If any material gain at all comes to labor it will be so small that it will ill compensate the men for the dangers dared. It is heroic, heroic beyond measure, this stand taken by labor. For while the soldier's pay begins when he goes on duty, the striker's pay stops. The one's livelihood begins, the other's ends. Yet, in spite of the hardship—not to say danger—labor stakes its all upon the success of a strike. It is heroic but it is not discreet.



Consider the factors involved. Labor with a grievance pits itself against the rest of the community. Part of the opposing force is passive and indifferent, part active and aggressive. The moment violence begins, the indifferent become positive, and respond to the appeal to maintain law and order. Then it becomes a contest between two bodies of citizens, the one doubly armed with the majesty of law and the weapons of war, while the other meets it with bare hands. Can an inferior force overcome a superior force? If the strikers be in a minority what chance is there for them, unarmed, to overcome a majority, armed? If the strikers be in a majority why appeal to arms at all? Why not resort to the ballot? The majority rules, and if labor can carry its point by force, how much better can it carry its point by ballot?



If it be said that labor cannot be got to vote as a unit, what reason is there for supposing it will strike as a unit? Many may respond to the first call for a walkout, the militant-spirited with enthusiasm, the worst oppressed, stolidly, and the great mass, passively. If the strike be the result of a passionate appeal, such as that at Lawrence, Massachusetts, it may win united support. If the grievance be one to arouse the sympathy of the public, it may succeed. But the public is fickle. The appeal that found willing ears at Lawrence was treated with indifference at Paterson.



There are two reasons why violence and sabotage cannot solve the labor problem. Most men instinctively shrink from anything savoring of unfairness—even if done in the name of fairness. And if by any chain of fortuitous circumstances success were to crown their efforts for a time, it would lead only to jealousies, betrayals and disaster. Men will act together peaceably as long as

the end in view appeals to their reason, and to their sense of justice; but the moment they become conscious that they can attain their end by force, without regard to reason and justice, they are soon led to destruction by the ambition of unscrupulous leaders. The labor problem is not a class problem. It is the problem of society itself. And any plan that does not consider the welfare of all, and appeal to the conscience of the great mass of society is doomed to failure.

S. C.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE FELS FUND CONFERENCE.*

Washington, January 18.

There is no question of the success of the Fourth Annual National Conference of Singletaxers under the auspices of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission at Washington on January 15 to 17. No less than twenty-five States were represented, besides those who came from outside the boundaries of the United States. The attendance from outside the city in which the meeting was held certainly far exceeded that of its predecessors. It also excelled in the businesslike manner in which its proceedings were carried on.

The Conference came to order at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 15th. In opening, the Chairman of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission, Daniel Kiefer of Cincinnati, called attention to the fact that this was the first Conference to be held with Singletax legislation actually on the statute books within the United States. Alice Thacher Post was unanimously elected permanent chairman, and Stanley Bowmar, secretary. Rules limiting all speeches to five minutes were adopted. To this fact, as well as to the efficient and fair manner in which this rule was enforced, much of the success of the meeting was due. The reports from the "storm centers" probably told little that was not before known to those attending. The situation was reviewed in California, Oregon, Colorado, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. As in all conferences of this nature resolutions were introduced bearing on all matters in which the participants were interested. The one receiving the most attention was introduced by Mr. Louis S. Murphy of the city of Washington, and was as follows:

WHEREAS, the conservation of our forests is vital to the prosperity of every citizen and every industry and to the continued welfare of the Nation, and

WHEREAS, the taxing annually, as a land value, of the value of standing timber is unjust, encourages the premature cutting of the forests and discourages the practice of forestry by which a new forest crop may most surely be secured, and

WHEREAS, the Singletax movement stands for conservation in its most fundamental and comprehensive form,

BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this Conference that the Singletax as applied to forest lands should provide for:

(1) An annual tax on the value of the bare land for

*See vol. xv, p. 1160; vol. xvi, p. 1211; current volume, page 29.

that purpose to which it is best adapted by its location and physical character, and

(2) A "cutting" or "yield" tax on all timber matured in the virgin forests, such tax to be based on the stumpage value of the timber when cut, and

(3) The exemption from taxation of all planted or other forms of "second growth" forests grown and matured under man's supervision.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman. But the object of the Conference was business, and though there was no apparent dissent from the object of the resolution, it was evident that time required to discuss details could not be spared, and a motion prevailed to appoint a committee of three to discuss the matter by correspondence and report to the next Conference.



A resolution received considerable attention endorsing woman suffrage and urging the House of Representatives to create a special suffrage committee. Objection to this was raised on the ground that it was not germane; in spite of this it was endorsed.

Another resolution recommended the application of the Singletax in the District of Columbia. It was adopted as a matter of course.

Greetings were sent to the Land Values Group in the British Parliament, to Senator James W. Bucklin lying on a sick bed at his home in Grand Junction, Colorado, and to Congressman William Bremner of New Jersey.

Some feeling was aroused by a resolution to endorse the LaFollette "Seamen's Bill." The Conference was placed in the embarrassing position of endorsing a measure not germane to its object, or of defeating a resolution with the object of which, practically all present were in sympathy. The matter was finally laid on the table.

A letter from C. B. Fillebrown of Boston was read urging that political action be abandoned and that a policy of pure propaganda be substituted. The discussion on this was altogether one-sided. All speeches were in opposition, and a resolution to endorse the recommendations made was unanimously defeated.

The time and place of holding the next conference was discussed but not acted upon. The claims of San Francisco during the Panama Exposition of 1915 were most energetically pushed, and seemed to be favored by a large majority.



● An address to the public was decided upon and a committee appointed to draw it up. The address follows:

**Address to the Public,
from the
Single Tax Conference
held in**

Washington, D. C., January 17, 1914.

It is a self-evident truth that laws should be so framed as to leave people free to do their best and not their worst for their fellowmen.

Unfortunately two mistakes have been made. First, the earth, and all its resources, has been treated, not as a gift to all mankind, but as an article of bargain and sale. Consequently, the majority of mankind has been disinherited. Thus we abnegate the glorious doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

The second great mistake is the ignoring of the peculiar value of the land, the value which increases not through the efforts of the owner but with every increase of population, thus leading to land speculation.

When the farmer raises twenty or fifty bushels from the seed of one bushel, it is at once evident that this increase of value is due to industry and indicates an increase of wealth.

But when an acre of land increases in value from one dollar to millions of dollars as it has in our large cities, this indicates not an increased quantity of land but an increased scarcity of land caused by the crowding of the multitude. While labor is making value, the speculators are taking value. Therefore, while one does the work another takes the wealth.

By ignoring the essential distinction between these two values, we are splitting society asunder.

While labor toils continuously through all the ages to maintain sufficiency of food, clothing, shelter and other commodities, another part of humanity, by the appropriation of land values, is enabled to live, not by toiling, but by spoiling. With every increase in the population, the owners of the valuable sites can demand a greater and greater tribute. Thus is society divided into toilers and spoilers, into palaces and slums, begetting a civilization, not of brotherhood, not of fellow helpers, but of severance and hostility—a condition fatal to the stability of true freedom, of true religion, and of a successful civilization.

To tax people for producing is to penalize the honest use of the land and to encourage its dishonest use or rather non-use; is to discourage the energy that begets prosperity, and to encourage the speculation that begets poverty.

Therefore, this Conference declares: first; for the repeal of laws taxing personal property, buildings, improvements on land, and second; for the enactment of constitutional amendments and laws which shall concentrate all taxes on the site value of land and thus take community values for community purposes.



The Conference closed with the adoption of two well-deserved votes of thanks. One was to Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe of Washington, who had practically alone made arrangements for the Conference. The other vote was one of deeply felt appreciation to the chairman, Mrs. Post, whose fairness and ability had contributed more than anything else to thorough carrying out of the object for which it had been called.



Those attending who registered names and addresses were as follows: Alabama—P. Y. Albright, Fairhope; Arkansas—Nathan B. Williams, Fayetteville; California—J. Stitt Wilson, Berkeley; Miss Helen Todd, San Francisco; Colorado—J. W. Bogardus, Colorado Springs; J. B. McGuaran, John J. Tierney, Denver; George J. Knapp, Edward Keating, Pueblo; Connecticut—Mary Bone Ely, W. J. S. Coggeson, Greenwich; Delaware—Frank Stephens, Walter Sweeting, Don Stephens, Arden; John F. Thomas, Francis I. du Pont, Wilmington; District of Columbia—Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe, H. P. Boynton, T. P. Lyon, Thomas E. Hall, Louis S. Murphy, Lucy R. Swanton, W. I. Swanton, Lily A. Ross, Mrs. E. S. Tenney, John J. Tenney, C. B. Hemingway, I. L. Cole, George B. Rose, A. P. Davis, W. H. Ramage, Mrs. W. H. Ramage, Mrs. Gertrude Mackenzie, Alice T. Mengert, George A. Warren, Jno. J. Crowley, Charles Neuburgh, W. W. Campbell, Judson King, P. L. Reed, L. Shidy, Mrs. L. Shidy, N. C. Weir, S. T. Doud, Fred-

eric Neuburgh, Mrs. Margaret C. Lohr, Mrs. L. B. McCortney, Washington; Georgia—Charles Jack Shipp, Cordele; Illinois—Theo. J. Amberg, Frank Parker Stockbridge, Otto Cullman, Charles F. Hunt, Annie W. Hunt, George C. Olcott, Stoughton Cooley, Stanley Bowmar, Louis F. Post, Alice Thacher Post, Samuel Danziger, Eleanor Danziger, Chicago; H. Martin Williams, Woodlawn; Anna B. Detwiler, Evanston; Louis Fitzhenry, Bloomington; Indiana—George A. Briggs, Elkhart; Iowa—R. N. Douglass, Postville; Kentucky—Miss Dorothy E. Van Hoene, Covington; Maryland—J. H. Ralston, Hyattsville; E. Smith, Charles J. Ogle, Jno. Salmon, Francis I. Mooney, Phineas Heath, Baltimore; Western Starr, Westover; Massachusetts—H. C. Joy, Harvey S. Chase, Boston; E. K. Eyerly, Amherst; Franklin E. Smith, Chicopee Falls; Frank Grant, Westfield; Michigan—W. R. Hall, Manistee; Frank Warren, Detroit; Minnesota—S. A. Stockwell, Minneapolis; Missouri—Vernon J. Rose, Mrs. Vernon Rose, Kansas City; William Marion Reedy, John P. Hermann, St. Louis; Nebraska—Doris Stevens, Omaha; New Jersey—Chas. H. Ingersoll, Dr. Mary D. Hussey, A. L. Colton, East Orange; George L. Record, Jersey City; Edmund B. Osborne, Mountclair; Charlotte V. Schetter, Orange; New York—J. T. McRoy, Amos Pinchot, W. J. Bloch, Bolton Hall, H. Weinberger, Frederic C. Howe, Benjamin C. Marsh, W. C. Wallace, F. C. Leubuscher, Amelia Leubuscher, Albertine Geeser, Amy Mali Hicks, Henry George, John H. Scully, Frank V. Scully, John J. Hopper, New York City; Gustav Bassler, Brooklyn; Kate E. Bradley, Ilion; L. O. Macdaniel, Mrs. L. O. Macdaniel, Syracuse; North Carolina—Alex J. Field, Raleigh; Ohio—A. B. du Pont, Robert L. Crosser, J. B. Vining, E. W. Doty, William Gordon, Peter Witt, Mrs. Peter Witt, Cleveland; Daniel Kiefer, Mrs. Daniel Kiefer, Daniel Kiefer, Jr., Miss Florence Humenkamp, Reverend L. J. Hoeck, Mrs. C. F. McLean, Cincinnati; George Edwards, Youngstown; Pennsylvania—Joseph Fels, Mrs. Joseph Fels, Maurice Fels, Haines D. Albright, John Goldsmith, David C. Emsley, Edward Coyle, Henry Gibbons, W. L. Ross, Philadelphia; Franklin Smith, Glenolden; F. W. Garrison, Haverford; Charles S. Prizer, Middletown; P. H. Mahaffy, Cyrus Shepherd, Warren Worth Bailey, Johnstown; J. J. Dean, Newcastle; Walter Stewart, Charles Corkhill, Reading; Edmund Yardley, Mark Roberts, E. C. Keyser, William D. George, Janet L. Brownlee, Pittsburgh; Robert L. Gibson, Williamsport; Rhode Island—Lucius C. F. Garvin, Westville; W. B. Johnson, Providence; Washington—Dr. Thomas Daviess, Seattle; Virginia—Mrs. Jean Y. Bierman, Richmond; William C. Lee, Barcroft; West Virginia—Belle S. Roberts, Mrs. Herbert Quick, Berkeley Springs; Nova Scotia—John Buchanan, Berwick; Ontario—George J. Bryan, John J. Carroll, W. A. Douglass, Toronto; W. Charles Busch, St. Catharines; Great Britain—George C. Lansbury, London.



The evening sessions were devoted entirely to propaganda speeches and these were all well attended. A banquet was held on Saturday evening after final adjournment, attended by more than 300. The speeches upon this occasion were by some of the best talent the movement possesses. William Marion Reedy as toastmaster proved to be eloquent

as well as witty. Then there was Herbert S. Bigelow, Henry George, George L. Record, Amos Pinchot, Louis F. Post, Joseph Fels, William Kent and others.

S. D.



HENRY GEORGE SENTIMENT IN BULGARIA.

Chicago, January 8.

In the spring of 1912 I went to Bulgaria, my native country, on a short visit. The war broke out before I could get away and I was compelled to join the army and march against the Turks. Last October I returned to Chicago.

Seven years before I first came to this country, the name of Henry George was very popular among the intelligent people of Bulgaria. Tolstoy's friends, who were publishing in Sofia a monthly, "The Renaissance," printed therein articles about Henry George, his life and work. "Thou Shalt Not Steal," different chapters from "The Perplexed Philosopher," "Social Problems," and so forth, were published in Bulgarian. Tolstoy's "The Great Sin" ("A Great Iniquity") was translated and over a thousand copies sold. A year or so after, some of the men around "The Renaissance"—all young idealists at the time—were put in prison for two, three or four years for refusing to serve in the army (military service there is compulsory, as you know); others went abroad and joined different colonies of sympathizers in Western Europe and Russia. After five years of hard existence the monthly was temporarily dropped.

While in Bulgaria last year I learned that almost everybody among the intelligent people knew something about Henry George; but that knowledge has come to them mostly through the enemies of the Singletax, who never stopped to find out what it is really about. To enlighten the people on this question, Mr. Andreychin, the foremost among the friends of Tolstoy in Bulgaria, has undertaken to translate "Progress and Poverty," from the Russian version of Mr. Nickolayeff, of whom Tolstoy used to say that none in Russia was better fit to express in his language the teachings of Henry George. This translation of the great man's book cannot see the light for years to come on account of lack of money.

The Bulgarians are very tolerant, open-minded and progressive. The Romanians, Greeks and Servians, who have been free for about 200, 150 and 100 years respectively are far behind us on the road of Progress, though we were under the Turks up to 1887. In those countries there is not much religious tolerance or political freedom. In Roumania they blame the Jews for the misery of the country. In Serbia and Greece it is almost a crime to be a Socialist, while in Bulgaria that party is represented in Parliament by 40 members. Professor Dorsey from the University of Chicago, who was studying those people a few years ago, has a good word to say only about Sofia and the Bulgarians. In 1910 the Minister of Public Instruction in France called the Bulgarian system of education one of the best in Europe. We have been independent for only thirty years and there are no illiterate persons under that age. In no country of Europe—some cantons in Switzerland being probably the only exception—can the people express their will on elec-

tion day, without obstructions and political tricks. And the very fact that 4,000,000 people could rise up and deal the final blow to a great empire, under which rule they have been for over five centuries, in only twenty-six days, shows the strength, vitality and possibilities of such a nation,

Our people have been blackmailed and represented as savages and barbarians by the politicians of Greece, Servia, Roumania and Russia; but there are political reasons for this and I hope you are not under the influence of the false reports that were spread abroad at a time when we were surrounded by 1,000,000 bayonets and for two weeks could not communicate with the outside world.

C. M. STOYCOFF.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE PAGES OF HISTORY.

Johnstown, Pa., December 4.

History: Page One.

"Here is the moral of all human tales,
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past:
First freedom and then glory, when that fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last
And history with all her volumes vast,
Hath but one page."

—Byron.

Ridpath quotes these words of Lord Byron, and asks if his gloomy picture is justified. I believe it is not, and I would offer the following lines as—

Page Two.

Here is the startling moral, drawn from this tale of fate:
Great were the unearned riches, taken by those called
great,
Wrested from those who earned them, through blood and
tears and toil,
To sate the greed of the war-crowned czars, the barons
of the soil.

The spirit of justice was far-flown, from Carthage or
Greece or Rome;
The loveless heart of the baron, reaped hate from the
joyless home;
And life was the price that the nation gave, gave for the
brotherless sin;
When justice, the soul of the state, passed out, the
shadow of death stalked in.

C. SHEPHERD.

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 Tuesday, January 20, 1914.

The President's Anti-Trust Message.

Before both Houses of Congress in joint session on the 20th, President Wilson in person read his message against private monopoly. He spoke in part as follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress: In my report on the state of the Union, which I had the privilege of read-

ing to you on the 2nd of December last, I ventured to reserve for discussion at a later date the subject of additional legislation regarding the very difficult and intricate matter of trusts and monopolies. The time now seems opportune to turn to that great question; not only because the currency legislation which absorbed your attention and the attention of the country in December is now disposed of, but also because opinion seems to be clearing about us with singular rapidity in this other great field of action. In the matter of the currency it cleared suddenly and very happily after the much debated act was passed; in respect of the monopolies which have multiplied about us and in regard to the various means by which they have been organized and maintained, it seems to be coming to a clear and all but universal agreement in anticipation of our action, as if by way of preparation, making the way easier to see and easier to set out upon with confidence and without confusion of counsel.

Legislation has its atmosphere like everything else; and the atmosphere of accommodation and mutual understanding which we now breathe with so much refreshment is a matter of sincere congratulation. It ought to make our task very much less difficult and embarrassing than it would have been had we been obliged to continue to act amid the atmosphere of suspicion and antagonism which has so long made it impossible to approach such questions with dispassionate fairness. Constructive legislation, when successful, is always the embodiment of convincing experience and of the mature public opinion which finally springs out of that experience.

Legislation is a business of interpretation, not of origination, and it is now plain what the opinion is to which we must give effect in this matter. It is not recent or hasty opinion. It springs out of the experience of a whole generation. It has clarified itself by long contest and those who for a long time battled with it and sought to change it are now frankly and honorably yielding to it and seeking to conform their actions to it. . . . What we are purposing to do, therefore, is, happily, not to hamper or interfere with business as enlightened business men prefer to do it, or in any sense to put it under the ban. The antagonism between business and government is over. We are now about to give expression to the best business judgment of America, to what we know to be the business conscience and honor of the land. The government and business men are ready to meet each other half way in a common effort to square business methods with both public opinion and the law. The best informed men of the business world condemn the methods and processes and consequences of monopoly as we condemn them; and the instinctive judgment of the vast majority of business men everywhere goes with them. We shall now be their spokesmen. That is the strength of our position and the sure prophecy of what will ensue when our reasonable work is done. . . .



We are all agreed that "private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," and our program is founded upon that conviction. It will be a comprehensive, but not a radical or unacceptable program, and these

are its items, the changes which opinion deliberately sanctions and for which business waits:

Interlocking Directorates.

It waits with acquiescence, in the first place, for laws which will effectually prohibit and prevent such interlockings of the personnel of the directorates of great corporations—banks and railroads, industrial, commercial and public service bodies—as in effect result in making those who borrow and those who lend practically one and the same, those who sell and those who buy but the same persons trading with one another under different names and in different combinations, and those who affect to compete in fact partners and masters of some whole field of business. Sufficient time should be allowed, of course, in which to effect these changes of organization without inconvenience or confusion.

Railroads.

In the second place, business men as well as those who direct public affairs now recognize, and recognize with painful clearness, the great harm and injustice which has been done to many, if not all, of the great railroad systems of the country by the way in which they have been financed and their own distinctive interests subordinated to the interests of the men who financed them and of other business enterprises which those men wished to promote. The country is ready, therefore, to accept, and accept with relief as well as approval, a law which will confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to superintend and regulate the financial operations by which the railroads are henceforth to be supplied with the money they need for their proper development to meet the rapidly growing requirements of the country for increased and improved facilities of transportation. . . .

Sherman Law.

The business of the country awaits also, has long awaited and has suffered because it could not obtain further and more explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing anti-trust law. Nothing hampers business like uncertainty. Nothing daunts or discourages it like the necessity to take chances, to run the risk of falling under the condemnation of the law before it can make sure just what the law is. Surely we are sufficiently familiar with the actual processes and methods of monopoly and of the many hurtful restraints of trade to make definition possible, at any rate up to the limits of what experience has disclosed. These practices, being now abundantly disclosed, can be explicitly and item by item forbidden by statute in such terms as will practically eliminate uncertainty, the law itself and the penalty being made equally plain.

Interstate Trade Commission.

And the business men of the country desire something more than the menace of legal process in these matters be made explicit and intelligible. They desire the advice, the definite guidance and information which can be supplied by an administrative body, an interstate trade commission. The opinion of the country would instantly approve such a commission. It would not wish to see it empowered to make terms with monopoly, or in any sort to assume control of business as if the Govern-

ment made itself responsible. It demands such a commission only as an indispensable instrument of information and publicity, as a clearing house for the facts by which both the public mind and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided, and as an instrumentality for doing justice to business where the processes of the courts or the natural forces of correction outside the courts are inadequate to adjust the remedy to the wrong in a way that will meet all the equities and circumstances of the case. . . .

Individual Responsibility.

Inasmuch as our object and the spirit of our action in these matters is to meet business half way in its processes of self-correction, and disturb its legitimate course as little as possible, we ought to see to it, and the judgment of practical and sagacious men of affairs everywhere would applaud us if we did see to it, that penalties and punishments should fall, not upon business itself, to its confusion and interruption, but upon the individuals who use the instrumentalities of business to do things which public policy and sound business practice condemn. Every act of business is done at the command or upon the initiative of some ascertainable person or group of persons. These should be held individually responsible and the punishment should fall upon them, not upon the business organization of which they make illegal use. . . . Other questions remain which will need very thoughtful and practical treatment. . . .

Limitation of Stock Control.

We are agreed, I take it, that holding companies should be prohibited, but what of the controlling private ownership of individuals or actually co-operative groups of individuals? Shall the private owners of capital stock be suffered to be themselves in effect holding companies? . . . Shall we require the owners of stock, when their voting power in several companies which ought to be independent of one another would constitute actual control, to make election in which of them they will exercise their right to vote? This question I venture for your consideration.

Injured Individuals.

There is another matter in which imperative considerations of justice and fair play suggest thoughtful remedial action. Not only do many of the combinations effected or sought to be effected in the industrial world work an injustice upon the public in general; they also directly and seriously injure the individuals who are put out of business in one unfair way or another by the many dislodging and exterminating forces of combination. I hope that we shall agree in giving private individuals who claim to have been injured by these processes the right to found their suits for redress upon the facts and judgments proved and entered in suits by the government, where the government has upon its own initiative sued the combinations complained of and won its suit, and that the statute of limitations shall be suffered to run against such litigants only from the date of the conclusion of the government's action.

. . . I have laid the case before you, no doubt as it lies in your own mind, as it lies in the thought of the country. What must every candid man say of

the suggestions I have laid before you, of the plain obligations of which I have reminded you? That these are new things for which the country is not prepared? No; but that they are old things, now familiar, and must, of course, be undertaken if we are to square our laws with the thought and desire of the country. Until these things are done, conscientious business men the country over will be unsatisfied. They are in these things our mentors and colleagues. We are now about to write the additional articles of our constitution of peace, the peace that is honor and freedom and prosperity.



Two Senators and the Seventeenth Amendment.

The cases of the two Democratic Senators, Blair Lee of Maryland and Frank P. Glass of Alabama, whose right to membership in the Senate was contested on the ground that they had not complied with the conditions of the Direct Elections Amendment, were decided on January 17 by the Senate Committee on Elections. It was voted to seat Blair Lee, since the Maryland Governor had recognized the Seventeenth Amendment as in force and tried to comply with it by himself calling a primary election, the legislature not being in session. But to Frank P. Glass of Alabama the committee refused credentials, since in his case the Governor ignored the Seventeenth Amendment entirely and appointed him to succeed Senator Johnston without any election. [See vol. xvi, pp. 1090, 1116.]



Radium Conservation.

A bill for conservation of the Colorado and Utah radium lands, introduced into the House by Representative Martin D. Foster of Illinois and referred to the Committee on Mines and Mining of which he is Chairman, was the subject of an executive conference on the 18th between Secretary Franklin K. Lane, Mr. Foster, and the Colorado Congressmen who are opposing it. The bill, which has the approval of Secretary Lane, calls for the withdrawal from entry by the President and the Secretary of the Interior of all public lands that contain carnotite, pitchblende or any other radium-bearing ores or minerals. The Colorado radium lands are the richest in the world and, until this year, the entire output has been shipped on order to Europe for extraction, only a minute quantity of radium, an exceedingly small proportion of the world's small supply, finding its way back to this country. Its use as a possible remedy for cancer has enormously increased its value and has caused most of its present possessors to refuse to sell at any price.



Private Car Lines.

Private car lines will be thoroughly investigated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, Commissioner McChord beginning hearings at Chicago

on the 21st. Announcement is made by the Commission that—

the investigation will deal with every feature pertaining to the ownership or operation of private equipment. Cars' cost, their maintenance, earnings, distribution and the profit or loss attendant upon their use will be gone into. Information also will be sought as to the time made by cars of different shippers. Not the least important phase of the investigation is that dealing with refrigeration. The Commission has asked for data with respect to icing stations, the source of the ice supply and its actual cost in the car bunkers, together with the price charged the railroads therefor and the price then charged the shippers by the railroads.

[See current volume, page 9.]



The Labor War.

The Houghton County, Michigan, grand jury returned indictments on January 15, against thirty-nine members of the Western Federation of Labor. Among the indicted ones are Charles H. Moyer, president of the federation, C. E. Mahoney, vice-president, and Yance Terzich, an organizer. The men are charged with conspiracy to prevent non-union men working in the mines. Seven members of the grand jury are said to be employees of mining companies or dependent concerns. No indictments were returned against any one implicated in the deportation of Moyer. [See current volume, page 59.]



That there will be no investigation by the House of Representatives of either the Michigan or Colorado strike situation seemed assured by the action on January 17 of the Democratic members of the committee on rules. At a conference of these members a vote calling for an investigation was defeated by five to two. Those favoring investigation were Congressmen Henry of Texas and Foster of Illinois. Those opposed were Pow of North Carolina, Hardwick of Georgia, Garrett of Tennessee, Cantwell of Kentucky and Conroy of New York. In the Senate, Senator Ashurst's motion for an investigation was referred, on January 14 to the Committee on Education and Labor.



Mexico and the United States.

President Huerta's decree repudiating the interest on the national debt for the past six months appeared on the 13th. Mexico's total bonded debt approximates 500,000,000 pesos (\$250,000,000). Of this total a 200,000,000 peso issue was authorized by the present administration, and about half of it has been floated. The passing of the interest on the bonded debt, most of which is held abroad, has led some of the European governments to urge the United States to take some action looking to pressure on the Dictator. But no answer is made

by the Administration. Huerta's reason for defaulting interest on the national debt is that it is better that the money be used for the pacification of the country; but there are many who believe the move also is taken with a view to compel action by the United States. All evidences point to a continuing decrease in the Dictator's hold upon the situation. Lack of money, and the successes of the Constitutionalist arms clearly are hastening his fall. [See current volume, page 58.]



Adolfo de la Lama, Mexican minister of finance, who recently went to Paris on a mission connected with the finances of his country cabled his resignation to General Huerta as a protest against his action in defaulting interest of the national indebtedness. De Lama says he was not aware of the contemplated action. European papers for the most part do not attribute much significance to this attempt to force the hand of the Washington Administration.



General Villa, with his victorious army, arrived in Chihuahua on the 15th, and immediately began preparations for an advance southward. He is reported as now having in his command 15,000, which he contemplates uniting with 10,000 under General Carranza.



The soldiers and civilians who fled from Ojinaga to the United States to escape the fury of General Villa, and who were ordered to Marfa, the nearest railroad station, arrived there on the 19th. Although the march was but sixty-seven miles, the soldiers and civilians were poorly equipped for the ordeal, and were completely exhausted at the close of the four-day hike. They will be sent by rail to El Paso, Texas, where they will be interned at Fort Bliss. A barbed wire stockade has been built around the fort, from which neither General Mercado, who commanded the Federals at the battle of Ojinaga, nor any of his officers or men will be permitted to pass. The civilians having elected to share the fate of the soldiers, will receive the same treatment. All will be fed at the expense of the United States Government, and the cost charged to the Mexican Government.



Safety-at-Sea Conference.

The revision committee of the international conference on safety at sea practically concluded its labors on the 18th. The international conference, comprising delegates from the United States, Great Britain, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Russia, Denmark, Germany, Norway, Spain, Canada, and New Zealand, met in London, November 12, 1913, to consider means of increasing the safety of men and ships at sea. Details of the

agreement are not yet at hand. Fear is entertained in some quarters that the differences in the conference that led to the resignation of Andrew Furuseth, President of the International Seaman's Union, may lead to compromises that will surrender the rights of seamen and passengers. Foreign delegates out-voted the Americans regarding the number of men manning each ship. The Americans succeeded in forcing the concession that never more than one-third of the life-saving craft should consist of rafts. A universal signal of distress has been agreed upon, and America is to have control of wireless operators entering and leaving American ports. The expense of patrolling ice and derelict zones is to be borne jointly by the nations. Ships must slow down during a fog or other dangerous condition. Another clause put forth by the American delegates provides that a ship before sailing must have a certificate issued at the wharf showing that it is properly equipped for life saving. December 14, 1914, is the time limit set for the acceptance by the various countries concerned in the convention. Should the treaty be approved it will go into effect July 1, 1915. [See vol. xvi, p. 1114; current volume, page 13.]



English Politics.

Persistent rumors of friction between Winston Spencer Churchill, first lord of the admiralty, and the other members of the Liberal Cabinet over Mr. Churchill's demands for greater naval appropriations continue to provoke speculation as to how long he will remain. Now that the Ulster bluster has subsided more attention is given to the question of limiting battleship building. As Chancellor Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill are the most aggressive members in the Cabinet, and as they hold opposing views regarding sociological questions speculation is rife as to which will have to leave the Cabinet. Chancellor Lloyd George, speaking at Criccieth, declared this to be the psychological moment for Great Britain to reduce her naval expenditure. Mr. Churchill, when interviewed in Paris, said that a Cabinet minister could not possibly talk about a matter which had as yet not been settled by the Cabinet. [See current volume, page 62.]



The principle of the general strike is for the time at least discredited. The failure of the English and Irish sympathetic strikes, together with the failure of similar strikes in New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, have brought labor leaders to a realizing sense that force is unavailing so long as the mass of society opposes. Labor's setback may be measured by the action of the London Association of Master Builders, who announce that henceforth they reserve the right to employ non-union labor. [See vol. xvi, p. 1213.]

Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

The British National Union of Woman Suffragist Societies, whose campaign slogan is "Reason, Not Force," and whose pilgrimage to London last July was said to be the most impressive suffrage demonstration of the year, announced on the 16th its purpose to continue in 1914 its political work of bringing all possible pressure to bear for a Government woman's suffrage measure, this campaign to be begun with a mass-meeting in Albert Hall on February 14. In the course of its review of work done during 1913, the Union is quoted as saying:

Not long ago Sir Edward Grey admitted that the record of the House of Commons on the woman's suffrage question had not been good, and if to suffragists it has been profoundly unsatisfactory, the success of the advance in the country is only the more significant. Practically all the greater women's organizations support woman's suffrage, including the National Union of Women Workers; and of the fifty suffrage societies existing, the National Union alone has a membership of nearly 50,000, while between 28,000 and 30,000 friends of woman's suffrage have been enrolled to date. About \$100,000 was administered from headquarters during the year and the total number of meetings held was considerably over 2,700. After the Speaker's ruling and the postponement of the [manhood suffrage] bill till the end of the season was decided on, the annual conference of the Labor Party by two to one adopted a resolution opposing any further extension of the franchise to men without the inclusion of women. In the following September the Trade Union Congress adopted a resolution censuring the Government for failing to redeem its promises about woman suffrage and demanding a Government reform bill which would include women. The strength of the feeling among the more progressive Liberal women and their determination to stand for suffrage principles or for what they regard as an essential part of Liberal policy is further seen in the recent formation of the Liberal Woman Suffrage Union. Among men it has its counterpart in the Liberal Men's Association for Woman Suffrage.

[See vol. xvi, pp. 733, 1189.]



Chancellor Lloyd George, in a recent interview on Liberal Party policies for the new year, is reported to have re-affirmed his faith in woman suffrage and to have remarked that "the present position must soon become intolerable for the Liberal Party." He went on to express his belief that, but for militancy, the Liberal Party would now be committed as a party to this great reform. The London Nation, an influential Liberal journal, in a New Year's editorial on Party Policies, had the following to say concerning the woman suffrage situation:

The case for woman suffrage is as strong as the case for any enfranchisement of the past, and the Liberal Government has made it all the stronger. It was a favorite doctrine for many generations that Governments had no power over wages. During the

last five years a Liberal Government has legislated to fix wages in a number of industries, and to tax wages for insurance. Each of these measures destroys any argument that may be based on the belief that the economic circumstances of a man or woman cannot be affected by the possession of a vote. . . . Those who argue that a vote is no weapon to a class, fly in the face of history. For each class has begun to have its point of view considered in Parliament after receiving the vote, and not before. Those who argue that the vote is a weapon, but that the ruling classes can protect the interests of the voteless better than the voteless classes could protect themselves, are flying in the face of all democratic principles. They are approaching the problem of their own day in the spirit of Lord Eldon or the Duke of Wellington. The refusal of the party to apply its own principles to this urgent question, while every measure it passes increases the anomaly of refusing the vote to women, is at present the chief cloud on its horizon.



South African Labor Trouble.

Counselling peace, the strike leaders seem likely to avoid an open clash with the military arm of the government. Martial law throughout the Union of South Africa was declared on the 14th. The strike region is divided into nine areas, each controlled by an officer vested with absolute power as in time of war. Secretary Bain, of the Trades Federation in Johannesburg, together with 300 members, sought refuge from police arrest by barricading the Trades Hall. They surrendered when artillery was brought to bear on the building. Most of the principal labor leaders had been placed under arrest by the 15th. The response to the call for a general strike was not as unanimous as had been expected; and the defection of many of those who did go out indicates that the strike has been a failure. The operating force of the railways has decided to return to work. It is reported that the Government has discovered documentary evidence at Johannesburg of a plot for a revolutionary movement in April to set up a South African labor republic. [See current volume, page 59.]



Japan's Disaster.

Sakura-Jima, the volcano in the Gulf of Kagoshima that became active on the 11th, continued its destructive eruption for several days. There was a gradual subsidence until the 16th, when its activity was renewed. The small island upon which the volcano is situated is entirely covered with lava and ashes, rendering it uninhabitable to such of the 19,000 inhabitants as escaped. Nine thousand are known to have escaped in boats before the hot lava reached the shore. How many of the remaining 10,000 have been lost is not yet known. The earthquake on the mainland has destroyed many houses, but owing to their light construction little loss of life is expected from that

cause. Ashes to the depth of several inches cover the land, adding to the discomfort of the people who have been driven from their homes. Three hundred refugees from Sakura, the volcanic island, were buried under a cliff in a village near Kagoshima. The disaster was due to earthquakes. [See current volume, page 57.]



Judge Urabe, a refugee from Kagoshima, thus describes the disaster:

On the evening of January 12 the buildings in Kagoshima crumpled up and fell. I saw men crushed to the earth as they were fleeing from their houses. All points to the north of Kagoshima were crowded with despairing refugees as I passed through. Many of these people were so stricken with fear that they resembled clay figures. Weeping women, begrimed with ashes, straggled along, carrying infants in their arms. Others were dragging with them the sick and aged. Pumice stone and lava spurted from the craters; a scarlet vapor obscured the heavens; the roar of the volcanoes was like the sound of a thousand thunders. The whole island shook and oscillated like a swinging paper lantern. Plants and trees withered, and whitened mounds of ashes formed before us. The earth itself reared like a wild horse and knocked us down; poisonous gases choked our nostrils and crazed cattle charged, instinctively seeking the sea. Many of the aged refused to leave, crying that they preferred to die in the home of their ancestors. One by one those who sought to swim away were drowned or killed.



President Wilson has issued the following appeal:

Our sister nation of Japan is suffering from two very serious disasters. The failure of crops in the northeastern part of that country has brought hundreds of thousands of persons face to face with the terrible misery of slow starvation, and in the southwestern island of Kyushu a sudden great volcanic eruption has carried death and desolation to large numbers in a thickly populated district. I appeal to the humanity of our American people that they may give expression of their sympathy for the suffering and distress of so many of their fellowmen by generous contributions for their aid. Such contributions can be made to the local Red Cross treasurers or sent directly to the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.



If Benevolence could do it, there would be no pauperism in England, for in no country I believe is there more benevolence than in the United Kingdom. But Benevolence can touch scarcely the fringe of this vast disorder. There is another virtue we could add and that quality is Justice. It is not Benevolence but Justice that can deal with giant evils. It was not Benevolence that gave the people bread twenty years ago, but it was Justice embodied in the abolition of a cruel and guilty law.—Speech of John Bright in Glasgow October 10, 1886, in Trevelyan's "Life of John Bright."

NEWS NOTES

—Renewed activity in the Pittsburgh and South Chicago steel industry was shown by the re-employment on January 5 of thousands of laborers who had been laid off.

—By a vote of their stockholders in annual meeting on January 13 all National banks in Chicago formally decided to apply for membership in the new Federal Reserve system.

—Mr. Bryan said on the 8th that thirty-one nations had now announced themselves in favor of the American Peace Plan, and that six had already signed treaties embodying it. [See vol. xvi, p. 1231.]

—Julian Hawthorne's charges against the management of the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta were declared on January 12 to be without foundation by the special investigator in his report to Attorney General McReynolds. [See vol. xvi, p. 1020.]

—Congressman James M. Curley, Democrat, was elected Mayor of Boston on January 13 for a four-year term by a majority of 5,502 over Thomas J. Kenny, also a Democrat. No party designations were on the ballots. [See vol. xii, p. 1091; vol. xiii, pp. 13, 33.]

—Of Warden Allen's forty-five "honor" convicts from the Illinois penitentiary who, without guards or restraint, left Joliet almost five months ago to do road work near Dixon, all but one "made good," working eight hours a day until the work was done, with only their promises between them and liberty.

—Demand was made on the Nicaraguan government on the 16th by Great Britain, Germany and Italy for payment of claims amounting to \$1,000,000. The Nicaraguan government refused to accede to the demand on account of its embarrassed financial condition, and notified the American minister to that effect. [See vol. xvi, pp. 753, 989.]

—Two British officers and nine men were lost in submarine "A-7" during naval maneuvers in White-sand Bay, about five miles southwest of Plymouth. The "A-7" dived in company with two other submarines, but it did not return to the surface. The most careful search and dragging of the sandy bottom has failed to disclose any trace of the boat.

—The Democratic members of the House of Representatives Rules Committee by a caucus vote of 4 to 3 on January 17, decided against the creation of a House standing committee on woman's suffrage. This decision is looked upon as determining the full committee's vote, since the Democrats are in a majority on the Rules Committee. [See vol. xvi, p. 1185; current volume, page 35.]

—Edward F. Mylius, the Englishman who had been convicted of libeling King George V and was therefore—on the ground that this crime involved "moral turpitude"—denied admittance last year by the United States immigration authorities, was released on the 12th by a decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals which held that his crime did not involve moral turpitude. [See vol. xvi, p. 4.]

—War's cost is shown in the census recently taken of the territory conquered by Bulgaria. The male population of the portion of Macedonia allotted

to Bulgaria was reduced during hostilities from 175,000 to 42,500. In Bulgarian Thrace only 225,000 males remain out of a total before the war of 494,000. The males in the district of Mustapha Pasha were reduced from 33,000 to 4,000. [See vol. xvi, pp. 997, 1213.]

—The Kentucky State Court of Appeals on the 14th declared invalid the taxation amendment to the Kentucky constitution which was passed last November, authorizing classification of property for purposes of taxation and the taxation of different classes at different rates. The ground for the decision was the secretary of state's failure to advertise the amendment ninety days prior to election. [See vol. xvi, p. 1140.]

—Militarism appears to be on the wane in Canada. At the last session of Parliament the Government brought in a bill appropriating \$35,000,000 for the construction of three battleships, to be assigned to the British fleet. The measure was strongly opposed, but was carried through the lower house, only to meet with defeat in the Senate, where the Liberals have a majority. The Government declines to renew the attempt.

—The Women's National Democratic League at its second annual session in Washington, January 7 and 8, adopted no resolutions urging legislation upon the Democratic party, its leaders holding that under the constitution of the league only issues outlined in the party's platform could be considered. The executive board voted to work under the immediate direction of the Democratic National Committee, and to appoint a vice-president to organize the women in each State. [See vol. xv, p. 640.]

—The German Woman's Suffrage Union introduced into the Reichstag on the 13th a petition asking that the franchise be given to women and that they be allowed to vote at the elections for the Imperial Parliament and also to sit as Deputies. After debate, in the course of which all political parties spoke—the Socialists and Radicals on the whole being in favor of, and the National Liberals and Conservatives against, recommending the Government to take action—the petition was sent to the Government without recommendation of any sort.

—Commissioner Davies of the Bureau of Corporations in his report to President Wilson on tax legislation in the United States during 1912 calls attention to the "decided trend toward greater centralization of the administration of tax laws and the classification of property for taxation purposes. "Wisconsin," he continues, "is a leading example of the one, and Rhode Island of the other. Wisconsin, by its income tax law, centralized its administration of assessments and successfully reached intangible property without employing the classification method. Rhode Island has adopted the classification method under which selected classes are separated from the general property of the State, and each related class is taxed at a rate which differs from the general property tax rate."

—The Vocational Educational Association of the Middle West was organized on the 16th at Chicago with the twofold purpose of showing the business man by facts that the public schools make good on the "three Rs" and to force public attention on types of education which "succeed in meeting the reason-

able demands of industry for efficient workers." Officers elected were: President, W. J. Bogan, principal of the Lane Technical School; vice-president, William B. Owen, principal of the Chicago Normal College; treasurer, Wilson H. Henderson, director of vocational education, Hammond, Ind.; secretary, Anne Davis, director of the Chicago Board of Education's bureau of vocational supervision; chairman of Executive Committee, Frank Leavitt of the University of Chicago. [See vol. xvi, p. 58.]

PRESS OPINIONS

The Most Notable Event of 1913.

Alfred Noyes in *The Christian Work*, January.—To my mind the most significant event of 1913 is one that has not happened; that is to say, I think that the avoidance of armed intervention in Mexico is a great example to the rest of the world, and a distinct rebuff to the sinister forces that have so often plunged an unsuspecting nation into war for their own profit. If this policy be pursued it will inevitably result in a victory that will add immensely to the moral power and prestige of this great democracy, upon which I believe the hope of mankind now chiefly depends. Already (as always happens on the appearance of a moral leader) Europe is beginning to follow the United States on this question. It would be a disaster to humanity if the United States should falter on her steady progress toward that sublime leadership of the world.



Dreadnoughts and British Liberals.

The (London) *Nation* (Lib.), January 3.—In an interview in the "Daily Chronicle," Mr. Lloyd George has spoken of the increase of armaments in language which seems to place him at the head of the Liberal movement of protest. He pointed out that no country gains relatively by the competition, and insisted that there has been no more favorable moment for retrenchment than this for twenty years past. The Anglo-German tension is completely relaxed, for the danger of the Agadir incident brought sanity; our navy is at the height of its efficiency, and all we need to do is "just quietly to maintain the superiority we possess at present." Finally, there is a revolt against military oppression throughout Western Europe. Common sense has risen against "this organized insanity." The interested parties would fail today, if they should try, to work up a panic. The moment, in short, is propitious for reconsidering the question of armaments, and "unless Liberalism seizes the opportunity, those who have its conscience in their charge will be written down as having grossly betrayed their trust." There could hardly be plainer speaking than this. On the same day as the interview was published, there appeared in the press a letter from Sir John Brunner, the president of the National Liberal Federation, suggesting that before the end of January all Liberal Associations should pass resolutions in favor of a reduction of our armament expenditure. . . . The Liberal party is well aware that it has to choose between social reform and the vast expenditure on

the navy with which it is threatened. A government that is in earnest in its social policy has to find a foreign policy that will not confiscate the revenues that are needed at home. The state of the nation, no less than the demands of civilization and progress in the affairs of the world, forbids the dreams that Mr. Churchill finds so stimulating and agreeable.



In South Africa.

The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* (ind.), January 15.—In South Africa the labor problem does not stand alone; it is complicated by a race question perhaps the most difficult and serious to be found anywhere. . . . A settlement, unhappily, is made difficult by the conditions under which the country has developed. On the one side are the Boer agricultural interests, old-fashioned, individualistic, harsh and oppressive to the natives. On the other are the vast mining interests, exploited by international capital, which brought on the Boer war and is as rapacious and unpatriotic as capital is anywhere. The rapid development of the country brought in a great force of white workmen, in great part skilled workers tempted by high wages, many of them of the restless, energetic type. . . . Until conditions are radically altered, the labor question must remain a grave menace to South Africa. It cannot be dealt with by the methods which work after a fashion elsewhere. Labor wars are too perilous in a country divided into Dutch and English, black and white, European, African and Asiatic. The land teems with problems, any one of them sufficiently staggering; it is the more essential that the labor problem be treated in the most enlightened and considerate way. . . . If the government is justified in the prompt and bloody repression of labor wars it must also be justified in doing its utmost to prevent labor wars by legislative arbitration, and all the other humane measures at its disposal. And in achieving this end it cannot afford to wait for compulsion by a majority; it must in the interest of empire take the initiative.



"Patchwork" Versus Reform.

Erving Winslow, in *The Survey*, December 27.—Nearly two centuries ago a New England economist, Archibald Cumings, crossed the Atlantic to urge upon the Board of Trade in London a plan for increasing the colonial revenue by a justifiable method of tax adjustment. He urged a special impost because, as he alleged, "great tracts of land are engrossed in the hands of rich men and growing in value daily, though unimproved." Yet so slowly has this injustice impressed itself upon the popular mind and upon the purview of publicists that only within this generation has the remedy begun to be applied. Within a decade large areas within the city of Pittsburgh have been assessed and taxed for the first time, having been allowed as "farm lands" to escape their share in the burden of municipal expenses, though constantly increasing in value. The "patchwork" efforts to reduce rents and to prevent congestion so far divert attention even of the prime cause of the

trouble that many who, by enjoying property rights which drain the life-blood of the community, directly promote it, join hands unreproved in the work of far-sighted social reformers.



Discouraging Speculators.

Johnstown (Pa.), Democrat, December 16.—The vacant lot industry is not flourishing in Pueblo as it did in the good old days before the adoption of the singletax. Speculators find that no one cares just now to take the chance of buying for a future rise. Of course, those who want to use the land are not alarmed at the prospect of paying a tax on the value of their holdings only. It is the fellow who doesn't intend to use the land that has a bad case of cold feet.



For a Senate Closure Rule.

William J. Bryan in The Commoner, January.—One by one the outposts of the predatory interests have been taken by the people. First, came the change in the rules of the House which enabled a majority to rule. For years the Speaker had been able to throttle legislation through power of appointment. Second, came the change in the rules of the Senate, which made them more democratic, if possible, than the rules of the House, thus assuring the control of that body by the majority. Third, and most important, came the change in the method of election of United States Senators—election by popular vote being substituted for election by legislatures. . . . Here are three great steps in advance, each one bringing us nearer to government of the people, by the people, and for the people. But there is one more reform necessary before the voice of the people will be supreme in national legislation, namely, the adoption of a cloture rule which will permit the majority to close debate and vote on a proposition. We hear a great deal about the advantage of thorough discussion, but that is not the question to be considered. Cloture does not mean that there shall not be all the time necessary for discussion; cloture simply means that there shall be a process within reach of the majority for the closing of debate and for the securing of a vote; and now is the time to make the change. We have a reform administration, and reform means affirmative action. . . . Under the rules as they now stand, it is impossible to pass a resolution, even though every member of the Senate may favor it, if for any reason a minority of the Senate desire to debate the resolution indefinitely in order to prevent action upon some other measure. A treaty, for instance, although approved by the necessary two-thirds, cannot be presented when any important measure is under consideration, because it opens the door to endless debate. . . . Why permit an obstructive minority to shorten the democratic program or to obstruct the passage of laws for which the people have voted. Care will, of course, be taken to safeguard legitimate discussion, but when sufficient time has been allowed for the expression of every shade of opinion and for the consideration of every objection that may be offered, there is no possible excuse for further delay. . . . The hour is ripe for the completion of the work

which the voters have undertaken—"let the people rule."

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

LONDON CHILDREN'S HYMN.*

The fathers built this city
In ages long ago,
And busy in the busy streets,
They hurried to and fro;
The children played around them
And sang the songs of yore,
Till, one by one, they fell asleep,
To work and play no more.

Yet still the city standeth,
A hive of toiling men,
And mother's love makes happy home
For children now as then;
O God of ages, help us
Such citizens to be
That children's children here may sing
The songs of liberty.

Let all the people praise Thee,
Give all Thy saving health,
Or vain the laborer's strong right arm
And vain the merchant's wealth;
Send forth Thy light to banish
The shadows of the shame,
Till all the civic virtues shine
Around our city's name.

A commonweal of brothers
United, great and small,
Upon our banner blazoned be
The Charter, "Each for all!"
Nor let us cease from battle,
Nor weary sheathe the sword,
Until this city is become
The city of the Lord.

—William George Tarrant.



LAND AND PEOPLE.

Mather Smith in The Worker, the South African Labor Organ, as Reprinted in the Grain Growers' Guide of June 18, 1913.

The requisites of production being labor, capital and land, it has been seen that the impediments to the increase of production do not arise from the first of these elements. On the side of labor there is no obstacle to an increase of production indefinite in extent and of unslackening rapidity.—J. Stuart Mill.



"What we want is capital and labor," said General Botha, in the House of Assembly, two or three weeks ago.

"What we want is land," answer Capital and

*As printed in The Survey of January 3, 1914.

Labor. Mr. Brittlebank suggested in "The Worker" that Trade Unions should buy land near the towns, on which their members might live and work when out of work at their trade. This idea, if practicable, would give the white workingmen the same option that the native already has—that of refusing work on slavery terms without fear of starvation to themselves and families.

One so often hears workingmen say, "These niggers have a jolly fine time; why don't they tax them more and force them out to work? Why should they be able to loaf half their time, whilst we have to keep on working or starve?" When the workingman begins to say to himself, "How is it that we, with all the resources of science at our command, have to scramble for work all our lives, many of us for less than a decent wage, whilst the natives are quite independent? Surely their social system must be better than ours"—then there may be some hope for the realization of Mr. Brittlebank's suggestion.

Why are the natives more independent than we are? Because they have an option; because they have free access to tribal lands and can always make a living there if the terms offered by employers do not suit them.

Then, as Mr. Brittlebank suggests, let us get the same option. Yes, but how are we to do it? At present it is impossible to get land on anything like reasonable terms, as its selling price is always much above its real value.

How can that be when it is sold on the open market? Because it always has a double value—real, plus speculative; because the supply is strictly limited whilst the demand is incessant; for without it we cannot live. There is nothing to force the owner to sell; his land eats nothing and costs nothing if idle; therefore, the Government, Trade Unions, or individuals, if they want land, must pay the owner's own price for it or go without. If it were made unprofitable for the landowner to keep his land from the best use he would either have to work it himself, sell it to some one who would, or lose money on it.

Our votes can do this by the taxation of land values.

Yes, but how does this concern us? We are miners, bank-clerks, amalgamators, fitters, etc., and many of us do not wish to go farming and could not if we would. Others who were competent to work on farms would find a demand for their services and would leave the mines. Instead of a steady flow of white men from the country into the towns, the flow would start from the towns to the country. There would then be a scarcity of and consequent demand for labor which would force wages up, whilst cost of living—rent and food—would go down. We would then hear no more about the number of white men the Town Councils should employ on relief work, as there would then be no men seeking employment on

charity terms. Mines which are now shut down waiting for better conditions (cheaper labor) would have to start work. And we would ultimately take for the people what in justice belongs to the people, as without their presence it would be non-existent—the value of land.



SOME FRIENDS OF OURS.

No. 3. The Sack of Flour.

For The Public.

There was once an Englishman who had been tremendously well brought-up and, coming to America, he married him a pretty and wide-awake Western girl, and began to raise cattle in the Californian mountains. He was loyal to high purposes, and very stubbornly straightforward, without humor or the power of seeing two sides of anything on earth. These gifts belonged to that wife of his.

In the course of time he traded in different local products and, as he dealt much with the Indians, he became known far and wide among them as an honest man of few and plain words.

One winter morning an Indian came to him with three baskets:

"You buy; him cheap. Five dollars for all." (And this was really a bargain.) The Englishman was working out of baskets, however, but he did not explain—as he ought. Instead of this, he said, "No can buy; too poor; got no money."

"Dat so? You heap poor dis year?"

"Yes, me busted; no got money; go hungry heap long time."

The Indian looked at his friend, the big white man with the cattle; he could not understand, but he believed it. "Me sorry," he said, and went away, down the ridge, over another ridge, to his own home.

The Englishman told his wife, but she did not laugh. Instead of that she said: "You broke out in a new place, Phillip, and of course you meant it as a joke, but if the Indian could look into our store-room and see our ten sacks of flour, our case of bacon, and so on, he would think you were an awful liar."

The next day but one, as the Englishman and his wife were working in the garden, the Indian came along the trail with a forlorn old blear-eyed pack-horse, and it carried a sack of flour. He came up to the Englishman:

"Me sorry you busted. Me give you sack flour. No matter give back. You good man. You me friend. Me sheep shear while back; ketch two sack. Me give you one."

The wife sprang to the rescue of the stuttering Englishman, thanked the Indian with great sweetness of manner, had him lay the flour on the kitchen floor, gave him a book with colored pictures of animals "for all the Indian people to see." Her

husband recovered his wits, joined her in thanks. The Indian rode off on the home trail.

"Now, Phillip," the wife said, half-crying as she spoke, "That, that—is being a true neighbor."

"But what in the mischief are we going to do about it?" he asked.

"You are not to let on for awhile. Then when you sell some beef you are to go down to the rancheria, with two sacks of flour and some presents, and buy his baskets, and tell him you catch some money now; you feel heap fine; you glad he such good friend."

Her keen eyes twinkled: "Those crusader ancestors of yours had faithful retainers, no doubt, who divided all they had in time of need, but the feudal game cuts both ways. Now we must see these Indians safely through every hard winter. Well, we ought to, anyhow, always providing that they do everything that they can for themselves."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



NEW SCHOOLS AND TRUE DEMOCRATS.

I. Leisure and Schoolhouses.

From an Editorial by Frederic C. Howe, in *The Survey* of January 3.

Within the past few years leisure has come to millions of people. Hours of labor have been shortened to eight or nine a day. A few years ago the working day was ten, eleven and twelve hours long. A recent report of the Department of Labor in Washington shows that in seven years' time working hours have been reduced from 5 to 20 per cent in certain trades.

To an even greater extent has leisure come to women. Many activities have been removed from the kitchen. Women have acquired leisure, even more rapidly and almost as universally as men. At the same time legislation has raised the working age of children. It has brought leisure to them as well.

Leisure for millions is a new factor in the world. It is one of the most significant facts of present-day democracy. What shall we do with this leisure? This is a real problem; as much a problem as education, for the way a people use its leisure determines its civilization almost as much as does the way a people works. This has been true in all ages and all countries. It is the leisure life of Germany that molds the civilization of that country about the opera and the theater, about music, art, culture, consciously provided by the State. The same was true of ancient Greece. Its civilization was a civilization of leisure.

As with many other things, America has turned its leisure over to commerce to be exploited for profit. . . . And commercialized lei-

sure is molding our civilization—not as it should be molded, but as commerce dictates.

Coincident with this birth of leisure is a discovery which is making possible its proper utilization. That discovery is the public schools, which are being opened all over the country as people's club houses, town halls, centers where the community gathers for the discussion of its common affairs. Here is an opportunity for the community itself to wrest leisure from commerce and turn it into cultural, vocational and wholesome lines. It is a discovery comparable to the Initiative and Referendum. For hundreds of millions are invested in schoolhouses, used but five or six hours in the day, when they might be used for fifteen hours a day and every day in the week.

How shall we use the schools? Not for play alone but as centers for a new type of education, an education that will continue from the cradle to the grave; that will appeal to all classes; that will enable the mother and the father deprived of educational opportunities in their youth to continue some selected line that their mind craves. . . .

Why should not the public libraries, art museums, colleges and public schools be organized in every city into an extra-mural university for carrying education to the people? Here is a means at little expense for vocational training; for higher trade training, for the development of the mechanic into the inventor, for music, dramatics, literature and art. Here is a means for enriching life in countless ways through the voluntary co-operation of the people themselves. . . .

The public school as a social center offers the easiest approach for a city-wide, all-the-year-round program of recreation and culture. In old, built-up cities adequate playgrounds and recreation centers are almost prohibitive because of their cost, and even these make no provision for winter use. With certain architectural changes, the school can be easily adjusted to many different purposes. It can become a people's club house, available for use by the whole family. It can be used for twelve hours a day, and every day in the week, instead of for six hours a day, five days a week. Autonomous neighborhood administration can be developed, through which the people will work out their own recreational and cultural desires. . . .

In many cities schoolhouses are already being built to meet these new possibilities. Auditoriums are provided with stages for dramatics, for concerts and public meetings. In some of them movable seats are provided, so that dances and receptions can be held. A number of rooms can be set aside for clubs; art can be encouraged. . . .

These are but suggestions of possible means for the redemption of leisure and the substitution

by the community itself of new kinds of play and culture for those of the commercialized agencies, which now thrive upon the people's leisure hours. And leisure must be controlled by the community, if it is to become an agency of civilization rather than the reverse. For only the community is interested in the higher life of its people.

BOOKS

TWO LITTLE GIRLS.

Hazel. By Mary White Ovington. Published by Curtis Publishing Co., New York. 1913. Price, \$1.00 net.

Pollyanna. By Eleanor H. Porter. Published by L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 1913. Price, \$1.25 net.

Children's books are so numerous and so excellent in this generation that a poor one seems harmless and a good one lost in the crowd. Yet the two unimportant books, "Hazel" and "Pollyanna"—neither one over well-written; both having for heroines lovable eleven-year-old girls alone in a new environment—these books so aptly illustrate, one, the homely virtues and, the other, the moderate vices of present-day stories, that they are well worth contrasting.

Agnes Repplier, when she wrote her clever diatribe against the goody-goody Sunday school books which our Puritan parents wrote for their children and compelled them to read, was speaking of no book so unstilted and entertaining as Pollyanna. Pollyanna is far from being a "little Pharisee." Yet her story has so many disqualifications for a child's book—or for a book about a child—as to make one long for Miss Repplier's picturesque power for their display.

Pollyanna comes orphaned from her minister's-daughter poverty in the West to the chilly luxury of an unwelcoming maiden aunt's home in New England. And of all the unnaturally sour, lugubrious adults in the world this village to which she comes surely has its quota, multiplied. Upon Pollyanna with her brave little game of "just being glad" the author puts all the burden of lightening these big folks' mental miseries.

There is not a drunkard or a "sinful parent" in the story. Yet this book is really old-fashioned, sentimental, melodramatic nonsense. It bears as little relation to the real world in which any child lives as the Elsie books scorned by Miss Repplier. Motives and emotions are in it almost as greatly distorted. Why, two grown-ups' broken-hearted love stories form the main plot, with the little girl as the half-witting *deus ex machina* that untangles the threads! The religion of the book—for it is frankly a religious story—though it is human enough to avoid theological controversy and most

emphatically to abjure melancholy, is still as far from a "social religion" as the conventional tract of a hundred years ago. Worst crime of all, however, the tale is one of those hybrids concerning which decision wavers as to whether it is intended to be an adults' book about a child or a child's book about adults, and about which suspicion lurks that the author hoped it to be both.



Hazel is a different story—nothing wonderful, but very different. Hazel is a colored child of Boston whom her widowed mother sends to spend the winter with her country grandmother in Alabama. Sometimes a little naughty, now and then thoughtless, Hazel is nearly always wholesomely and lovingly childlike. Therein—to be truthful—she differs not so enormously from Pollyanna. The contrast is in their worlds. Hazel's world is a real, objective, non-introspective, modern world. The journey from North to South, as her friends at home silently foresaw, discovers to her hurt feelings her own personal little part in the great, grievous race problem; and the experienced old grandmother offers a wise little talisman against bitterness. "Notice *how* folks says things, not *what* they says," she tells the child, who has for the first time been called "nigger" as a matter of course and because she was black, sent around to the kitchen door of the very persons who urged goodies upon her and set her safely upon her lost way home.

There is no grown person's romance in the Hazel book; and the outspoken religion of it is all in one brief chapter, when the minister preached about Hell and damnation and the frightened little girl slipped quietly out of the meeting-house escorted by the stolid little boy who was used to such sermons.

There is no doubt that this book was meant for children—that is one reason why old persons will read it. It was written particularly for colored children. The story is real. It is part of life, real life. And that is why big and little people both will find it readable despite its faults, and will learn more of human brotherhood from little Hazel's problems than from all Pollyanna's magic doctrine of gladness.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Prosper: A Fairy-Tale. By Bethsheba. Published by the Author, Bertha Frederick, 1448, 30th St., Des Moines, Iowa. 1913.

—Why I Am in Favor of Socialism. Symposium, edited by Edward Silvin, P. O. Box 963, Sacramento, Calif. 1913. Price, cloth, 75 cents; paper, 30 cents.

—Story of the Session of the California Legislature of 1913. By Franklin Hichborn. Published from the press of the James H. Barry Co., San Francisco, Calif. 1913. Price, \$1.50.

PERIODICALS

Citizenship by Marriage.

The Women Lawyer's Journal (Jamaica, N. Y.) for January opens with an article by Katherine Horan of the Washington, D. C., bar on "The Citizenship of Women Affected by Marriage." In the author's opinion there can be no doubt that, under the provisions of the Act of March 2, 1907, (34 Stat., 1228), "the citizenship of the wife is that of her husband. If he be an American citizen, she retains her American citizenship, or acquires it, as the case may be; if he be an alien, then she becomes a subject of the country to which he owes allegiance, even though the marriage takes place here and the couple remain here indefinitely. In the event of his death and of her remarriage to a subject of another country, her citizenship is again changed to agree with that of her second husband. The question as to whether the advantages acquired by a woman who has had conferred upon her the citizenship of her husband overbalance the disabilities accompanying such a gift, suggests a wide field of investigation not within the scope of this article. Now that women have entered the business and professional world and, in ever increasing numbers, are being granted the right of suffrage, the question as to whether their unstable legal status will be suited to their more stable pursuits, is of rapidly growing importance, and it may again be found advisable to rule it not inconsistent that husband and wife be of diverse citizenship."

A. L. G.

Prison Journals.

The men in two more State Penitentiaries, Washington and Illinois, have recently begun to publish their own journals. No one outside the walls can read them or even glance over their pages—where "Number 4571" is editor and "Number 6720" has done the frontispiece—without realizing more clearly his kinship to these prisoners of like passions and prejudices.

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Liberalism, The Religion of Democracy. By Charles F. Dole. From the Press of George H. Ellis Co., Boston, 1913.

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy for the Fiscal Year 1913. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The Agricultural Outlook, December 27, 1913. Farmers' Bulletin Number 570, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Real Estate and Its Taxation in Philadelphia: Questions and Answers relating to a Proposed System of Assessment. Published by the Mayor, 1913.

Report of the Ohio Coal Mining Commission to the Governor of Ohio. To be obtained from John R. Cassidy, Clerk of House of Representatives, Columbus, O.

Equalization of Assessments and New Sources of Revenue: An Address by Mayor Blankenburg to the Busi-

ness Men's Associations of Philadelphia, January 20, 1913.

Strike Investigation: Report by the Committee of the Copper Country Commercial Club of Michigan, October 8, 1913. Edward Ulseth, Chairman, Calumet, Michigan.

The Single Tax: Paper read before the Social Science Club of Aberdeen, S. D., by Charles N. Herried, January 5, 1914. American Publishing Co., Aberdeen, S. D.

Street Lighting in Milwaukee: Communication to the Common Council from the City Club of Milwaukee. Harold H. Seaman, Chairman Sub-Committee on Street Lighting.

More Protection for Working Children; Ninth Annual Report of Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary National Child Labor Committee, for the Year Ended September 30, 1913. With a Summary of Laws Enacted in 1913. Published by the National Child Labor Committee, 105 E. 22nd St., New York. Price, 25 cents.



Letter from Mr. Ramchoud Kashinath Dattarya to "The Times of India" (Bombay): "My purpos for writin on you this is to enform your many English Brothers not to give honor and devotion to your ladys becaus they will in the end becum proud and then they will want vote. 2 or 3 thing happen at Victory Garden to-morrow (yesterday) and then I all of a sudden made up my brain to write you immediate. There was many Englis womans and when mans are sitting on the bench, and womans come, man stand, and give their sit to woman. This happen 2 or 3 time tomorrow (yesterday) and I question you why? I again tell you why? Mans and womans are similar in this world and then why mens honors womans? If they honors old old woman, one thing, but they honors young lady. My purpos to write this to enform the English Sahib Loks (Englishmen) that when they do this they spoil their feminine lady and then this lady get proud and walk like pcock and then ask vote, and then spoil Ken Garden and throw bomb on Loid Gorg, put bursting powder in envelope and post, and create other mischief. Therefore I say to my Englis, please don't spoil Englis womans in India because by honouring them you people put in their brains the sids (seeds) of Sufragtism and then they will get wild like Misses Pancurs. Please please print this letter near the Ruter's Telegram with big big words."



At the recent Church Congress in London, Canon Knox-Little described a restored gateway in front of a beautiful church. "There was placed over it," said the Canon, "'This is the Gate of Heaven,' and underneath was the larger notice, 'Go round the other way!'"—Exchange.



"Do you assimilate your food, aunty?"

"No, I don't, sah! I buys it open an' honest, sah!"
—Baltimore American.



Little Tommy had spent his first day at school. "What did you learn?" he was asked on his return home.

"Didn't learn nothin'."

"Well, what did you do?"

"Didn't do nothin'! A woman wanted to know how to spell 'cat,' and I told her.—Unidentified.

"Why did Binhack leave California?"
 "He was forced out because he wouldn't brag about the climate."—Indianapolis Star.

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- Benn Pitman, 796 writers, 50.4%.
- Graham, 242 writers, 15.3%.
- Munson, 86 writers, 5.4%.
- Isaac Pitman, 67 writers, 4.2%.
- Gregg, 66 writers, 4.1%.
- Cross, 45 writers, 2.8%.
- Barnes, 25 writers, 1.5%.
- Pernin, 25 writers, 1.5%.

All others (totaling 14.8%), less than 1% each.
 These facts will help those who intend to study shorthand to decide which system to take up. Government experts know.

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THE PUBLIC to Country-Editors and Libraries

Last week we entered subscriptions for one year for 242 country editors, in Illinois and Ohio principally.

These subscriptions were covered by \$157.75 contributed to the library and country-editor fund up to and including December 31, 1913.

Subscriptions covered by contributions received in January will be entered the first week in February. The February list promises to be a healthy one. Just how healthy depends, of course, on the contributions received.

Readers of The Public all over the country can help to get maximum results from the subscriptions entered for country-editors by sending us the home addresses of editors of small publications inclined to be progressive. Newspaper directories give the business addresses, but where possible we want to send The Public to the editors' homes. It is then likely to get closer attention.

John F. McRoy, of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, New York, says of the library end of this propaganda effort:

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