

# The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy, and  
a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

Vol. XVII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1914.

No. 850.

EDITORS, 1898-1913: LOUIS F. POST AND ALICE THACHER POST

SAMUEL DANZIGER, MANAGING EDITOR.  
STOUGHTON COOLEY, } ASSOCIATE EDITORS.  
ANGELINE L. GRAVES, }  
STANLEY BOWMAR, BUSINESS MANAGER.

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Virginia	LINCOLN STEFFENS, New York
HENRY F. RING, Texas	HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
HERBERT S. BIGLOW, Ohio	FREDERIC C. HOWE, New York
HERBERT QUICK, West Virginia	ROBERT BAKER, New York
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio	GRACE ISABEL COLBORN, New York
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio	W. G. EGGLESTON, California
JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois	C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon
LEWELLYN JONES, Illinois	E. F. FETTERBREW, South Dakota
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Calif.	J. W. S. CALLIN, England
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island	JOHN PAUL, England
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota	ERNEST BRAY, Australia
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri	GEORGE FOWLES, New Zealand

Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager  
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription, One Dollar  
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago,  
Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

The Case of Thomas D. Jones.....	673
Unrequited Labor .....	674
Ineffective Armaments .....	674
Is Such a Deal Profitable?.....	674
George Fred Williams' Great Service.....	675
Do Circumstances Alter Cases?.....	675
The Cause of Depressions.....	676
Again, the Law and the Poor.....	675
Incomplete Restitution .....	676
Municipal Ownership .....	676
"To the Editor" .....	677
The Next Tariff Battle—E. J. Batten.....	677

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Congressmen at Their Old Tricks—D. E. McCrat.....	679
Suffrage Movement in the District of Columbia— William Duncan Mackenzie.....	680
Revolutions in Old Mexico—E. S. Westrup.....	681

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

The National Education Association.....	682
Congressional News .....	682
Report on the New Haven.....	683
Business Men Employ Referendum.....	684
Roosevelt and the New York Governorship.....	684
Scandal in Vera Cruz.....	684
Mexico and the United States.....	685
Bomb Victims Honored.....	685
Blackwells Island Prisoners Rebel.....	685
Westinghouse Strike Ended.....	686
English Affairs .....	686
News Notes .....	686
Press Opinions .....	687

### RELATED THINGS:

A Child's Future—A. C. Swinburne.....	689
Democracy and the School—Alexander Fichandler.....	689
"Unit" versus "Dual" Control of Industrial Educa- tion—John Dewey and Helen Thompson Wool- ley .....	689
Youth—Theresa Helburn .....	690

### BOOKS:

Shaw's Latest Volume.....	690
The Essence of Education.....	691
Periodicals .....	692

## EDITORIAL

### The Case of Thomas D. Jones.

Rejection of Thomas D. Jones as member of the Federal Reserve Board was urged because he is a director of the International Harvester Company, because he approves of its operations, and because he is an interlocking director. Since the committee on Banking and Currency had the opportunity to learn whether there are other and more serious objections, it is reasonable to suppose that it found none. A charge of violation of so ridiculous a measure as the anti-trust law in itself is no reasonable objection. The Senators who voted against confirmation of Jones for that reason are themselves supporters of laws which encourage violations of the Sherman law, and will encourage violations of the anti-trust laws now pending. Senators Nelson, Bristow, Crawford, McLean and Weeks are supporters not only of protective tariff laws, but of the laws upholding franchise monopolies, patent monopolies, land monopoly and other trust breeding privileges. Senators Hitchcock and Reed differ with them regarding details of tariff schedules, but otherwise are probably in practical accord. If Jones did any wrong in taking advantage of the bad laws these Senators uphold then they are in the position of one who tempts another to do wrong. It is not for a tempter to denounce as a crime succumbing to the temptation he has offered.

If Jones is an upholder of predatory Privilege then his appointment was unfit. If he is an opponent and possesses the necessary ability to properly perform the duties of the office, then the appointment was a proper one, regardless of whether the charges brought against him be true or not. More than one sincere opponent of Privilege has taken advantage of privilege-breeding laws which ignorant legislators insist on enacting in spite of protests. So, while it is possible that there are valid reasons for the rejection of the appointment, it does not appear that any intelligent effort was made by the Senate committee to find them. S. D.

### Unrequited Labor.

One of the striking features of the St. Paul conference of the National Education Association was the wage question, presented by Margaret Haley of Chicago, and Dr. Charles W. Dabney, president of the University of Cincinnati. Of the 30,000 Illinois teachers, said Miss Haley, 22,000 are paid less than \$800 a year. Carpenters average \$802. Coal miners throughout the United States average \$600 a year, which is more than 18,159 Illinois teachers receive, according to Miss Haley. Common labor is placed at \$513, but more than half of the teachers of this State draw less than \$500. "We have 9,257 teachers," said Miss Haley, "that we cannot compare with anybody for the reason that they are getting less than \$400 a year. We have 3,000 teachers who are getting less than \$300 a year, and 579 who are drawing less than \$200 a year." Dr. Dabney cited some shamefully low salaries for college instructors, and clinched his point by saying that a man who employed a \$20,000 lawyer, or a \$10,000 doctor, was willing to have his son taught by a \$1,500 professor.



After making due allowances for all the extenuating circumstances connected with the teacher's work, the long vacation, the shorter hours—in some, but by no means all cases—and the short terms of some rural schools, it must be confessed that school teachers are much underpaid. It is apparent upon reflection that this is poor economy on the part of the state. Such a wage will not draw the best talent of the community; nor will it secure the best service of such talent as it does draw. And when the building of character is concerned only the best is good enough. Spending fifteen million dollars for a battleship, and paying a teacher who is training our citizens less than the wages of common labor is a gross waste. Poor service in any other part of the government can be borne better than in the schools.



The question arises: Why do men and women with the qualification of teachers enter such a poorly paid profession, or having entered, remain in it? There is more or less fluidity in all labor; men and women change from one calling to another; the old die, and others are born. How is it that such miserably meager salaries can fill the ranks of teachers? Is it not because wages are still worse in other occupations? So long as the state educates the poorest child without charge there will be an abundance of candidates for the

teaching profession; and no adequate wage can be paid the teachers while so many are ready and willing to take their places for the present pay. The teacher's problem is the problem of all who work for hire, what to do with the person who wants her job. Remove that factor and any teacher will soon settle the wage question; but so long as the school board can hire another for this wage, there is no redress. And this is the labor problem. See that all have jobs, and that the least efficient has all that he produces; then it must follow that the others will rise above that to the degree of their superiority. But with one man or one woman out of a job all men and women with jobs are in jeopardy and all wages tend to the lowest level. Give to the day laborer and the sewing woman, what they produce, and all others will tend to receive what they produce. In nothing is the solidarity of the race more manifest than in the gradation of wages through all its ranks. It is only where some form of legal privilege gives to some at the expense of others that they receive more than their due; and it is because all industry is preyed upon by legal privilege that any labor is deprived of its full earnings. If the teachers are to get the pay they deserve they will have to educate the parents as well as the children.

S. C.



### Ineffective Armaments.

"Can Panama Be Destroyed from the Air?" illustrated by photographs taken from an aeroplane and published in a San Francisco periodical, again calls attention to the folly of depending upon fortifications rather than upon the good will of men. Our Government may prosecute the too zealous editor who betrayed military secrets, but that will not save the Canal from attack. Had we spent a tithe of the cost of the fortifications in promoting international good will, and left the Canal unfortified, no nation would have dared to molest it. But, having shaken our mailed fist in the face of the world, we have issued a standing challenge for its destruction to any nation that has the cunning or the power.

S. C.



### Is Such a Deal Profitable?

The money obtained from sale of the battleships Mississippi and Idaho will be put into a dreadnought. The two ships sold will continue to be instruments devoted to threatening or to carrying on destruction of life and property. So backward are we that such a disposition appears to

many of us, sensible and businesslike. To these it sounds absurd to suggest that it would have been better to have changed the two ships from menaces and destroyers into useful and productive merchantmen. But we have not yet become sufficiently civilized to even consider such a proposition. We have made the two destroyers a means of creating a third destroyer, when we could have changed them into aids to production of wealth. Such is the statesmanship of today. S. D.



### George Fred Williams' Great Service.

George Fred Williams found the regulations of the diplomatic service obstructing his duty to Humanity. Thus, forced to choose between red tape and a useful action, he chose the latter. He lost his office but he gains instead the satisfaction of having done more for his fellows than he could otherwise accomplish. Whatever may be done about the Albanian situation, the excuse can not be urged that the powers responsible are in ignorance of conditions there prevailing. Williams shed light on a situation which needed light badly, and which powerful interests wished kept in darkness. He did well. S. D.



### Do Circumstances Alter Cases?

Suppose a labor paper were to announce in the case of a strike something like this: "The strikers are confined to the choice of seeing others take their places or forcing the strike-breakers to refrain from work. In some cases they will let their places be taken, but in many cases they will attempt coercion. The coercion of the strike-breakers may be silent and bloodless, or it may be violent. In either case it will be coercion." Would there not at once be a loud demand for protection of the strike-breakers in their right to work? Would not the militia be ordered out, deputy sheriffs sworn in and injunctions issued? Experience shows that that is what would happen. Well, no such announcement has been made in any labor paper. But "Babson's Reports on Labor Legislation and Other Social Matters, Particularly for Men of Wealth," in the June issue, announces that in case of a strike of harvest hands the farmers will attempt coercion in many cases in preference to paying the prices demanded, since they cannot let their crops rot while waiting to starve out the workers." "The coercion of the harvesters may be silent and bloodless," continues the report, "or it may be violent. In either case it will be coercion." Does not a threat of such coercion justify

the same protective measures as would be resorted to were the threat the other way? If not, why not?



It is due Mr. Babson to say that he only announces the prospect as a matter of news and the announcement does not by any means imply an endorsement of coercion. In fact, he declares it to be his "long life dream to help bring about the peaceful settlement of those differences that now exist between the employer and employe." There is much in his reports to show his sincerity in this wish, but little to indicate possession of the knowledge as to how to bring about its accomplishment. S. D.



### The Cause of Depressions.

Much is being said of a conspiracy to bring on a panic and depression in order to discredit the party in power. Perhaps the reports are true. At least there is nothing in them at all contrary to human nature. But the danger of such a conspiracy is a just penalty that must be paid by every party in power which through ignorance or lack of courage refrains from attacking the fundamental cause of panics and business depressions. Business depressions come without help of any conspiracy, and in spite of all optimism, whenever land speculation so inflates the cost of access to nature's resources that production of wealth becomes too difficult. While such a possibility is allowed to exist, it is vain to try to stave off a depression by urging confidence, or to escape responsibility therefor by pleading conspiracy. With the cause of depressions removed neither conspiracy nor universal pessimism could bring on a panic or industrial depression. S. D.



### Again, the Law and the Poor.

The announcement that some of the Chicago judges were willing to forego their summer vacation in order that persons unable to furnish bail might not be needlessly held in prison, serves to call attention to a glaring defect of the law. Not only is the law outrageously slow at all times, but there are times when it stops entirely. That courts should have seasons of rest, when all activities are suspended, is no more logical or necessary than that railroads, or butchers, or cooks, should suspend service. To the person who can give bail the delay matters little, but to the man who can furnish no security save that of his own body, it is very serious. A man, suspected of having committed a crime, is arrested the next day

after the judge starts on his vacation. He lies in jail until the judge returns from his summer outing, when he is found to be innocent of the crime and is dismissed. Is society so poor that it cannot hire enough judges to keep the courts open the year around? Or are the judges so indifferent to another's misfortune that they cannot arrange their vacations so they will not all occur at the same time?



A companion evil seems to be in the course of removal by the action of the people of Los Angeles County, California, who, under the provisions of a new charter, have appointed a public defender. We have always had judges to determine the guilt of culprits, and prescribe punishment. But the state was not content with that. It appointed a special prosecutor, whose function now, whatever it may have been in the beginning, is to make out a case against the alleged offender. This worked no hardship in the case of rich offenders, for they were able to hire the best lawyers to defend them. But in the case of the poor it has been a grievous hardship. They have had the perfunctory service of such legal talent as the court might appoint to defend them, or have been obliged to sacrifice their meager funds. Why? To establish their innocence, if innocent; to prevent too severe a punishment if guilty. For it is not part of the state's attorney's duty to determine the guilt or innocence of the man who has fallen into the hands of the law, nor even to find out the degree of guilt. He, armed with all the power of the State, devotes his full force to securing a conviction: let the victim beware. The prestige of the sheriff's office, the detective force, and the office of the state's attorney depends, not upon meting out justice, but in securing convictions.



At last we have a community that is trying to establish justice. It will be strange work for a time. The legal machinery will groan and creak alarmingly, for the public defender will be confronted by the precedents of two thousand years; but if he wins it will be a magnificent victory. If Los Angeles County shall establish the same means to prove a man's innocence that it has to prove his guilt; in a word, if it will establish even-handed justice, it will do more to beget respect for the law than has yet been done. s. c.



#### Incomplete Restitution.

Autonomy to the Philippines is not a fulfillment of the Democratic party's pledge. That pledge was

for independence, and to independence the islands are entitled. The raising of such issues as fitness to govern themselves is a dodging of the main point. The Filipinos are entitled, for better or worse, to whatever government they wish to have regardless of whether others think it good for them or not. They are furthermore entitled to it without delay. It may be—in fact it is probable—that the toning down of concessions to the Philippines as contained in the definite grant of independence in the original Jones bill, to mere autonomy without a definite date for independence in the one just introduced, is due to the fact that nothing better can be passed. If so, it is an indictment of the honor and democracy of some Democratic Congressmen. It means that they can not be induced to regard either their pledges or the democratic principle that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Because this is the case with so many Democratic Congressmen, a partial mitigation, instead of complete wiping out of our imperialistic disgrace, is all that is in immediate prospect. s. D.



#### Municipal Ownership.

Critics who, having demonstrated that the management of private business is more efficient than that of public business, conclude that municipal operation of public utilities is therefore inadvisable, are not always careful of their premises. Private business is better managed than public business, not because the one is private and the other public, but because one is competitive and the other is not. Monopolized business, whether public or private, may never be so well managed as free business, yet a public monopoly is better than a private monopoly. Public utility services that are kept within bounds by close supervision, would be still better under public operation. For when the public has only a supervisory power the private monopolist is under irresistible temptation to control the supervisor; hence, the political graft. But when the monopoly is wholly within the control of the people there is only the administration to be watched. And when municipal operation of public utilities anywhere is considered, it should be remembered that there are still great financial interests bent upon making such operation a failure.



Notwithstanding this handicap the municipal operation of public utilities is steadily advancing. The municipally owned street railway has already vindicated itself in San Francisco, as it has

in Monroe, La., Edmonton, Alberta, and in many other places large and small. One of the most widely advertised experiments in municipalization of public utilities is the street car system of Glasgow, Scotland, which the recent report of James Dalrymple, the general manager, shows to be an unqualified success. Not only was there an increase of \$350,000 in the earnings over the preceding year, but this result was accomplished in spite of the fact that the minimum fare of two cents had been reduced to one cent. As the two-cent fare furnished the major part of the revenue, its halving was looked upon by timid citizens as inviting disaster. The amount received from one-cent fares was \$2,114,624; from two-cent fares, \$1,827,727; three-cent, \$647,913; four-cent, \$263,476; five-cent, \$146,947; six-cent, \$82,188; seven-cent, \$79,937; eight-cent, \$13,679. It will be noted that the larger the fare the smaller the amount of revenue received, and that receipts increased through the several classes as the fare was reduced, the one-cent fare earning the largest revenue of all.



This showing of Mr. Dalrymple's report that nearly four-fifths of the total revenue was derived from the one and two-cent fares, with the one-cent fare supplying the larger part, is in keeping with the fact that it is ever the low fare that supplies the bulk of the revenue. It is so in India, in Russia, and in Europe, where the railroads derive their main support from the third and fourth class passengers, who must make up for the fine carriages occupied by the first class passengers. It is so on many of the trans-Atlantic ships, where immigrants pay for the luxurious appointments of the cabins. And it is so in this country, where the deficit of the "limited" trains, and the "trains de luxe," is made up by the people in the common coaches of the local trains. It is apparent that the average citizen is, so far as the true functions of government are concerned, in the primary class. He knows so little about the question that he falls an easy prey to the machinations of interested persons. But each new success in municipal management tends toward enlightenment of the public and an enlightened public is all that is necessary to bring about the municipalization of public utilities. s. c.



#### "To the Editor."

Those only who have had to do with newspaper publications know the thrills incident to the reading of the criticisms of correspondents, which

range all the way from the "stop my paper" of a fighting patriot, to the "more power to your pen" of a Singletaxer. But all are welcome. The stop-my-paper missives temper editorial conceit; they visualize to his aspiring mind the words of the preacher, "All is vanity," they jolt him out of his self-complacency; and they tend to keep his feet on the ground. And yet, when he has been utterly cast down; when his soul is sick, and three Republicans stop his paper; when the Democrats in Congress demonstrate the appropriateness of the party emblem, and he cries out in the anguish of his soul, What's the use?, there comes from Pundunk, or Cherry Center, or New York, the little more-power-to-your-pen letter, and all is well. The skies brighten, the birds sing, the children laugh, and the editor sallies forth to bag another dragon.



But other letters come—for the post office censorship is by no means complete. A correspondent asks, "Why do you insist upon ending every editorial with a reference to the Singletax? Stop kicking. Forget your grouch. Give us something light and witty." These are the unreasonable readers. They would have grapes from thorns and figs from thistles. It is not every editor who can snap his fingers at Fate, or crack jokes over impending social cataclysms. There is only one W. M. Reedy to pad his kicks with witticisms and decorate his grouches with scintillating figures of speech. The rest must get on as best they can with such brains as niggardly Nature has given them. If the editorials do not sparkle it is not by design; and if merriment is too often absent from the page, remember The Public does not pose as a "funny" paper, but that it is trying to the best of its ability to aid those who are striving for justice. s. c.



#### THE NEXT TARIFF BATTLE.

The Democratic platform of 1912 declares "it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal government, under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government economically administered."

The Underwood tariff bill redeemed this pledge, so far as the Democratic Congressional caucus thought it, for the time being, consistent with this subsequent paragraph of the platform: "We favor the ultimate attainment of the principles,

we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry." In other words the destruction of the protective tariff must be brought about by easy stages, but that it must be ultimately destroyed is a principle long recognized in Democratic platforms. In 1892 the platform declared "Republican protection is a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few."



Whilst the Underwood tariff has dealt protection a staggering blow and achieved all the reduction possible in any one general revision bill, nevertheless it is framed on recognized protective principles—principles fundamentally undemocratic. This implies no criticism of the splendid work already accomplished. The platform did not intend, nor did it promise that the indefensible schedules of the protective tariff should be all wiped out at once, but its ultimate destruction is distinctly and unequivocally stated as a "fundamental principle of "Democratic" faith. The future of the Democratic party and the Nation's prosperity demand that the party faithfully redeem a pledge that is basic to its very existence.



Before making another forward movement a new plan of attack must be decided upon. Another general revision is not to be thought of; because, bound together by a common interest the tariff beneficiaries cannot thus be further dislodged. Just as a man with a giant's strength may be unable to break a bundle of sticks, every one of which a child can easily break when taken separately, so the protective tariff, attacked in detail, schedule by schedule, can easily be destroyed. Determine the weakest point and thereon concentrate the first attack. Start on the schedules which oppress the largest number of people.

Primary necessities of life articles used by every inhabitant of the country are not proper subjects for revenue tariffs. Such are cotton and woolen goods, which are worn by every class, from pauper to millionaire. The same principle which induced the placing of the chief food products on the free list should here govern. Such taxes bear most heavily on the very poorest. Unlike the income tax, they fall on the man with a large family with manifold greater weight than on the bachelor. In short, these taxes are proportioned to the size of a man's family, proportioned to the amount of clothing he buys. Can anyone doubt that a bill placing the entire woolen and

cotton schedules on the free list would, if submitted to popular vote, command such an overwhelming majority that no party would defy public opinion by attempting its repeal? Its popularity would undoubtedly for a long time hold the Democratic party in power and give its tariff policy a stability hitherto unknown. Lack of stability is one great drawback to any tariff whatsoever. Stability is desirable in any kind of legislation, but frequent tariff changes are more disastrous to business than most any other legislative changes, and yet nowhere is change more frequent than in tariff laws. This is a very strong objection to any kind of tariff whether for revenue or protection. The best friends of the tariff admit that the ever-changing conditions of trade, manufacture and prices necessitate corresponding changes in the tariff. Hence Republicans enact a "perfect tariff law" and subsequently change it themselves. To prevent unnecessary tariff tinkering they propose a tariff commission.

A much better plan would be to change only a few schedules at a time, subject to a referendum vote of the people. If one question more than another requires to be submitted to popular vote it surely is the tariff, for the very reason that an unpopular tariff act could not then become law and a tariff known to meet with public approval will be less subject to change.



Free listing the woolen and cotton schedules cannot fail to be immensely popular, because every human being in the United States needs clothing and when these goods are placed on the free list they will not be subject to further tariff tinkering.

The tariff on woolen and cotton goods is often spoken of as the keystone of the protective arch, and just as the removal of the keystone so weakens an arch that it will fall with the least jar, so will the removal of the tariff from cotton and woolen goods so weaken the entire tariff structure that the breath of public opinion will soon shatter it to pieces.

Woolen and cotton manufacturers have been the most liberal contributors to Republican campaigns. They have subsidized the press and for almost two decades sustained the supremacy of the Republican party. When their graft is gone, with public opinion so strongly set against a woolen or cotton tariff that there can be no hope of its re-imposition the champions of protection will become advocates of free trade. They will argue that it is unfair that they should be deprived of their ancient graft whilst other indus-

tries are still favored, and just as hitherto they had been the leaders of protection, their own financial interest will now make them clamor for the repeal of all the multitudinous tariffs which help to raise the price of the raw material and machinery necessary to their own industries. Dye stuffs, stationary engines with their appurtenances, spinning machinery, etc., would be placed on the free list with practically no opposition. As the free list would thus be broadened the number of free traders would correspondingly be increased until at no distant date every vestige of protection would be wiped from the statute books.



A new source of revenue having become available through the income tax, the excuse for a revenue tariff does not now appeal with anything like the force it did a year or two ago. Should this source of revenue be insufficient to meet the expanding free list it could well be supplemented by a heavy inheritance tax. Such a tax would not discourage energy or enterprise. Moreover, it is a generally recognized fact that an inheritance, exceeding a very moderate one, is more of a curse than a blessing to its recipient. Hence taxes on such inheritances would relieve a tariff burdened people without injuring anyone.

Another principle involved, is the introduction of the Referendum into national politics. This will render the Democratic party immensely popular with that class of progressives in all parties who favor the principle of the Initiative and Referendum. Many Republicans and all Progressive Congressmen will feel in duty bound to vote for such a tariff measure, because of its influence in furtherance of the Referendum. An impulse would surely be given to this cause that its sincere advocates cannot fail to grasp. No amount of theoretic literature and speeches could give it a boost comparable with this practical nationwide application of the Referendum principle.

E. J. BATTEN.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

### CONGRESSMEN AT THEIR OLD TRICKS.

Washington, July 13.

Does this Congress intend to pass a publicity law\* which will enable the voters to know who is putting up the money in the election this fall?

Or have the Standpatters who control both the old-line parties through the caucus system, arrived at a quiet bi-partisan agreement that there shall be no publicity for the November election at which every seat in the House is to be filled, and one-third of those in the Senate?

Narrowing down again, is the party in power going to sidestep legislation which will give the people any of that "pitiless publicity" we have been hearing about since 1908?

Congressman Rucker of Missouri says not. During the debate in the House last Wednesday upon the bill proposing publicity for campaign contributions, replying to a question by Congressman Bryan of Washington, he said: "There is no probability of this bill becoming a law before the next election this fall."

Mr. Rucker spoke with the positive assurance of a man who knew things from "way back." As chairman of the House Committee on Elections, which reported the bill, he is in a position to know. He further warned the House that anything broader or more effective than his bill would be rejected by the Senate, and if the Senate did strengthen it, the House would not concur.

This is not welcome news to the voters of this nation, who know that the corrupt use of enormous sums of money in influencing elections strikes at the heart of popular government, and is a danger to the republic, and who, on this account, have been demanding publicity for years.

The Democratic platform of 1908 contained a plank on "publicity of campaign contributions," starting thus: "We demand Federal legislation forever terminating the partnership which has existed between corporations of the country and the Republican party." The 1912 platform reaffirmed this plank. The Republican platform of 1912 contained a plank along the same lines, but what have they done?

In 1910 the Republican Congress, under the control of the Aldrich-Cannon machine, passed a bogus publicity law, the main joker of which lay in its application only to such campaign committees as operate "in two or more states." Hence, the predatory corporations could get in their work through State and local committees without publicity. It was denounced by insurgent Republicans and progressive Democrats, but it was "put over" and has accomplished its design—nothing.

And now, after all this agitation, comes the Democratic Committee on Elections in the House, solemnly proposing to re-enact the Republican fiasco of 1910.

Last Wednesday, the day on which the bill was scheduled to pass the House, the National Popular Government League, with headquarters in this city, sent a letter to every member of the House, protesting against its passage. Judson King, the Executive Secretary of the League, eschewing the polite and diplomatic language customary among Congressmen, and using the speech of the folks back home, told the members that the bill was a plain "fake." No less strenuous speech would have produced a dent in the smooth working of the machine at that late hour. Mr. King was specific in his charges. He pointed out the following "chief jokers": The bill retained the "two States" provision; it required no publicity from State, district or local committees in primary elections, nor from persons, firms or other organizations than political committees, in primary elections while compelling the candidate himself to give publicity—a joker clearly setting free the Big Interests to work for their men in secret; it limited

\*See Public of April 21, 1911, at page 369.

the amount a candidate could spend, but not the amount which might be spent by others in his behalf; it provided punishment for "wilful" violation only—a thing which is next to impossible to prove in court.

When asked on the floor to explain these charges Mr. Rucker went into a rage and proceeded to prove himself a first-class understudy for the chief actor in that grand old play, "Caught With the Goods." He denounced the author of the letter, but he failed to explain the charges.

A non-partisan fight was precipitated which lasted all day. The progressives of all parties were aroused. They made several amendments of a minor nature over the protests of Mr. Rucker, but the parliamentary status of the bill was such as to inhibit them from doing much. Their attitude toward the whole bill, however, is reflected in the vote on the motion to recommit with instructions to strike out of the "two or more States" joker in one place. (Only one amendment was possible at this juncture under the rules.) This carried by a vote of 134 to 116.

But the bill is still of little account. The interests are free to get in their work both at primary and general elections without publicity from State or local committees, while candidates must report. There is no limit to the amount any individual can spend to help elect any candidate. Reports of national or interstate campaign committees must still be filed only with the clerk of the House at Washington, D. C., not less than ten nor more than fifteen days before election. An attempt to have them also filed in the various States, where they would be promptly available was voted down. What chance is there to get the information to the voters before election? The amount that can be spent on postage and stationery is not limited. The "wilful" violation joker is retained.

To sum up—the bill is still bogus. The stand-patters, united under Mr. Rucker, Democrat, and Mr. Mann, Republican, were successful in preventing genuine publicity.

The bill is now before the Senate Committee on Elections. That committee has also before it a bill by Senator Owen, giving real publicity. The Owen bill eliminates all the jokers in the Rucker bill and other minor jokers which time and space will not permit including in this writing.

What will the Senate do? Will the reactionary members of this body in both parties repudiate the platform pledges of the Democratic and Republican platforms of 1912?

D. E. McCRAE.



## SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington, D. C., July 6, 1914.

More fundamental than the movement for just taxation and public ownership in the District is the struggle now going on to secure suffrage and self-government. More fundamental because the people must own and control their government before they can make any safe and enduring progress on the road to economic justice.

If "an injury to one is the concern of all," it should

be a matter of serious concern to every citizen of the United States that in sixty-nine square miles of territory, under the very shadow of the Capitol dome, a third of a million Americans are denied the right of self-government and are "taxed without representation." The present form of government by committees of Congress, by three appointed Commissioners and several independent and irresponsible boards and officials, was introduced in 1874 and made permanent by the act of June 11, 1878. In form, it is an absolute despotism. It would be impossible in this brief article to trace the historical causes which imposed this un-American form of government upon the people of the District; but the question will naturally arise, Why has the District remained disfranchised? It is inconceivable that any other American city could be disfranchised without violent protests, and perhaps armed resistance. Why has Washington been so patient during the past forty years? What influences have been at work here to maintain the status quo?

It is very largely a case of economic determinism and class rule. Under the so-called Organic Act of 1878, the Federal Government defrays one-half of the expenses of the District to the extent that Congress approves the estimates submitted. The actual proportion now paid by the Federal Government is about 40 per cent. To this Federal subsidy, taxes and land values have become adjusted. The land owners, real-estate operators and other special interests are agreed that the "half-and-half system" must not be disturbed. "It would hurt business," we are told, "and cause a slump in real estate." Now, to agitate for the right of suffrage is believed to imperil the Organic Act, which is the fountain-head of the sacred "half-and-half system." So it has long been understood that any Washington newspaper which demands the right of suffrage in the District will incur the wrath of the special interests, who are known to control much valuable advertising patronage. Some of the newspaper men are personally in favor of suffrage, but not one of the four daily newspapers of Washington is actively supporting the present campaign for popular government in the District, while they are all enlisted in support of the "half-and-half system." In point of fact, the average home owner and renter would be benefited financially if the present Federal subsidy were cut in half, provided that we could secure just assessments, a heavier tax on land values and the partial exemption of buildings from taxation, but it is difficult to obtain newspaper publicity for facts of this character.

Ever since 1878 there has been more or less local agitation for the rights of suffrage, self-government and representation in Congress. The spark of freedom has never been quite extinguished. Within the past few years there has been a well-organized movement in behalf of popular government. The Central Labor Union is on record in favor of popular government. In 1911, the first District platform of the Socialist party demanded popular government. But neither the trade-unions nor the Socialist organizations are especially active or aggressive in their work for the cause.

In 1912 the District of Columbia Suffrage League was organized. Its executive secretary and recog-

nized leader is Dr. Thomas E. Will, a Harvard graduate, formerly president of a Kansas college, and long identified with various radical movements for the common good. He has made a special study of the District situation, and preaches the gospel of political freedom at regular street meetings. In this open-air campaign he is ably seconded by James Hugh Keeley, and other speakers are occasionally heard. This organization has drafted a bill, recently introduced in Congress by Hon. Warren Worth Bailey, which authorizes the people of the District to frame their own municipal charter. Among others who have been active workers in the District suffrage cause for many years back are E. W. Oyster, now one of the District assessors, and E. J. Dakin, both of them veteran Singletaxers.

The Citizens' Committee of Forty was organized last November. Its avowed purposes are to watch the Congressional situation and to unite the business and professional elements, labor organizations and government employes in support of such measures as will secure popular government. Its Chairman is Dr. A. J. McKelway, Southern Secretary of the National Child Labor Organization and a Democrat of the fundamental type. Its Vice-chairman is Dr. Harvey W. Wiley of pure-food fame, and its Secretary, Louis Ottenberg, a hustling young lawyer. This committee has framed a bill, introduced in the House by Hon. D. O'Leary, which provides for the creation of a commission to investigate the relations between the Federal and District governments, to hold public hearings, and to frame a modern and democratic charter for the District. A bill along these general lines has recently been adopted by the House District Committee and is expected to pass the House during the present session. Much depends upon the personnel of the proposed commission. If it is fairly democratic, Congress will soon have the opportunity to enact a new Organic Law which will include not only municipal self-government but a permanent and equitable settlement of the disturbing "half-and-half" question. The friends of the commission idea believe that Congress is ready to act as soon as the right kind of a plan can be worked out. If the commission plan fails, powerful financial interests will, no doubt, continue to oppose any change in the present form of government.

There are many indications of a strong local sentiment in favor of genuine popular government, including equal suffrage for men and women, and the initiative, referendum and recall. No matter how efficient our District government or how democratic in spirit and purpose our present District Commissioners may be, the people of the District want to have a voice in their own government.

WM. DUNCAN MACKENZIE.



## REVOLUTIONS IN OLD MEXICO.

Monterey, Mexico, July 1.

It should be clear to the minds of all well-informed persons that the present revolution in Mexico is a social war, a struggle that has at its bottom the land question. In fact, the three great revolutions really deserving the name, in the history of this country, have been on the land question.

The insurrection for independence from Span-

ish rule in 1810 was led by a priest named Miguel Hidalgo. He saw the great injustices done the Indians by the taskmasters in the haciendas of the rich. He was himself a half Indian, his mother being of the native race. He eagerly read French revolutionary books and was caught by the desire to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. His war cry was, "Lands for the Indians!" He knew nothing could be done unless the Spanish yoke was thrown off. In that work he was bitterly opposed, persecuted and finally sent to his death by the beneficiaries of vested rights, especially church and civil authorities. A decade after his death independence from Spanish dominion was achieved, for the idea had been widely diffused among the people and the rich class knew they must favor it if they were to save their riches.

In 1860 Benito Juarez, a full-blood Indian, and a group of patriots around him, led a movement in behalf of the poor oppressed classes, and against vested church privileges, and the effort to establish a Napoleonic protectorate on American soil. The Roman Catholic Church had in her possession two-thirds of the lands of Mexico, including the best and most valuable territory. This was the power that counted in politics, and Juarez saw that it was useless to oppose it unless it was shorn of its strength forever. Accordingly all church property was confiscated and in various ways distributed among the people. This was the real cause of the peace we enjoyed for thirty years, and not the menacing sword nor the crafty policy of Porfirio Diaz.

This sly old statesman had many opportunities to make his country a great one, especially had he taken pains to subdivide landed property and to destroy the land privileges of the rich class. He was surrounded, however, by a group of unscrupulous men, who boldly claimed to be making up a third party in politics, by the name of Cientificos. In fact they were working to profit by the old man's friendship and to get rich quick by abusing the law against the poor Indian small land owner. They even went so far as to use the military force of the nation to expel these land-owners from their own homes, where they had had immemorial possession.

This is the best explanation which can be given of the origin of such large estates as can be seen at present in Chihuahua, Morelos and all over the country. It is a noteworthy fact that the regions where war has waged the hottest ever since 1910, and where the revolutionary spirit has not been quenched by any means, are precisely those parts of the country where the largest estates are.

All the principal leaders such as Villa, Zapata, Gonzalez, Villarreal and others, including Carranza himself, are for the solution of the land problem, and are earnestly at work for it. In all of the States where the revolution has prevailed, Agrarian committees have been appointed by the proper authorities and they are working hard. We have heard those leaders themselves utter words to this effect: "If the revolution does not bring a satisfactory solution of the land question, then we may rightfully say, 'Accursed be the revolution.'" This shows that the end of the large land owner in old Mexico is near.

E. S. WESTRUP,

Member of Monterey Agrarian Committee.

---



---

## 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, July 14, 1914.

---

### The National Education Association.

The National Education Association held its fifty-second annual convention at St. Paul, Minnesota, July 4 to 11. Teachers' salaries, sex hygiene teaching, vocational education and equality of status, political and professional, between men and women were the subjects brought most prominently before the Association.

At the general session on the evening of July 6, for which the topic was Teachers' Salaries and Pensions, Margaret Haley of Chicago presented statistics disclosing the extremely low pay of teachers as compared to other workers and, in discussing the necessity for higher salaries, pointed to the evasion of taxes by corporations as one of the efficient causes of school poverty. The committee on salaries was voted an appropriation of \$1,000, twice as much as any other committee.

The teaching of sex hygiene was thoroughly discussed at another session, and the following resolution finally passed:

The Association, reaffirming its belief in the constructive value of education in sex hygiene, directs attention to the grave dangers, ethical and social, arising out of a sex consciousness, stimulated by undue emphasis upon sex problems and relations. The situation is so serious as to render neglect hazardous. The Association urges upon all parents the obvious duty of parental care and instruction in such matters and directs attention to the mistake of leaving such problems exclusively to the school. The Association believes that sex hygiene should be approached in the public schools conservatively under the direction of persons qualified by scientific training and teaching experience in order to assure a safe moral point of view. It, therefore, recommends that institutions preparing teachers give attention to such subjects as would qualify for instruction in the general field of morals as in the particular field of sex hygiene.

The special committee which had been studying vocational education during the year reported in favor of one board in control of each community's whole educational system, including vocational courses, rather than the separate vocational board advocated by some educators and business

men. This report was approved by the passage of a resolution stating that the Association—views with disfavor any proposal of a parallel system of schools exclusively for the trades and industries at public expense, but favors a comprehensive unified system of public education, including all types and forms under the single administration of the constituted authorities in charge of the public schools. A national system of vocational education, supported by funds from the nation, the State and the local community, is an urgent need, is based upon sound economic reasons and is in response to a public demand that should have prompt attention from legislative authorities.

Professional and political equality of status between men and women was emphatically advocated in principle and practice by the convention. Five of the ten vice-presidents elected were women, women were more prominent on the program than ever before, and the following resolution was approved:

The Association regards efficiency and merit, rather than sex, as the principle on which appointments and selections should be made, and therefore declares itself in favor of the political equality of the sexes and equal pay for equal services.

Among other measures passed were a commendation of President Wilson's "moral self-restraint in dealing with the Mexican situation," a deprecation of certain autocratic methods of educational work on the part of large private foundations, and pleas for the community use of school-houses, for continuation classes, for increased salaries for teachers, for a national university at public expense and under public control, and for increased appropriations for the Federal Bureau of Education.

President David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford University, California, was elected President to succeed Joseph Swain; and Oakland, California, was chosen for next year's meeting-place, August 16 to 23, when in connection with the National Education Association there will be held an international council on education. [See vol. xvi, p. 685.]

### Congressional News.

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency rejected on July 9 by a vote of 7 to 4 a motion to recommend confirmation of the appointment of Thomas D. Jones to the federal reserve board, and further voted unanimously to postpone consideration of the nomination of Paul M. Warburg until he shall appear before the committee. The votes to confirm Jones were cast by Pomerene of Ohio, Shafroth of Colorado, Hollis of New

Hampshire and Lee of Maryland; all Democrats. Against confirmation were Hitchcock of Nebraska and Reed of Missouri, Democrats; and Nelson of Minnesota, Bristow of Kansas, Crawford of South Dakota, McLean of Connecticut and Weeks of Massachusetts, Republicans. The objections to Jones, alleged by the majority of the committee, are his connections with the International Harvester Co. now being sued as a trust by the government, and his approval of its practices, his approval of practices of the Mineral Point Zinc Co., of which he is president; and practices of railroads owned by it which have been condemned by the Interstate Commerce Commission, his holding the position of interlocking director, and his holding of views contrary to the spirit of the federal reserve law. The minority report declares Jones to be in accord with the Wilson policy regarding monopoly, and endeavors to show that his business connections are not such as to make him morally responsible for the offense given by his concerns to the government. A number of business organizations in Illinois and the middle west have protested against the condemnation of Jones. [See current volume, page 659.]

The Senate Judiciary Committee was reported to have practically finished its work on the Clayton bill on July 11. The only change reported in the section exempting labor and farmers' organizations from prosecution as trusts was elimination of permission to peacefully picket. The section was eliminated prohibiting owners of mine products, electric power or gas from arbitrarily refusing to sell their products to responsible would-be purchasers. [See current volume, page 639.]

The Senate passed no less than 122 bills and resolutions within three hours on July 10. Among there were measures authorizing the President to increase the regular army to a war footing, forbidding use of the American flag for advertising purposes, creating an aviation section in the army with sixty officers and 260 enlisted men, and adding 9,680 acres to Pike National Forest in Colorado.

The nomination of Ira Nelson Morris to be minister to Sweden was confirmed by the Senate on July 13.

The attempt to hamper the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations by cutting down its appropriation from \$200,000 to \$50,000 was defeated on July 7. The Senate voted by 46 to 19 to restore the original appropriation of \$200,000. In the debate over the matter the fact was brought out that the Commission is preparing to investi-

gate child labor and to this fact was attributed the opposition to a large appropriation by some Senators from States where child labor prevails. [See current volume, page 661.]

In response to a resolution of inquiry passed by the Senate, at the instance of Senator Lea of Tennessee, the Interstate Commerce Commission July 9 reported that 34,000 free passes had been issued during 1913 by the Louisville & Nashville Railroad and the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railroad. These passes were accepted by the following: One United States Senator, two Congressmen and 290 other Federal officials. Passes to the number of 6,370 were given to State Senators, 10,622 to State representatives, to other State officials to the number of 2,855 and 259 to judges. The commission has the names of pass holders in the various classes, but has not made them public. It is also in the possession of correspondence showing the motives which actuated many of the recipients as well as the givers of the passes.

Congressman Jones of Virginia, chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, introduced on July 11 a bill granting autonomy to the Philippines. The bill affirms the intention of the United States to recognize the independence of the islands "as soon as a stable government shall be established therein." It is said to have the approval of President Wilson, Secretary Garrison and Philippine Commissioner Manuel Quezon. It abolishes the Philippine Commission and substitutes therefor a senate of which members from the Christian provinces are to be elected by popular vote. The non-Christian people are to be represented in the senate by two members appointed by the governor general, and in the lower house by nine members appointed the same way. A limited veto is given the governor general and an absolute veto given the President. Congress is furthermore to retain the right to annul any act of the legislature. Qualifications for voting for members of both branches of the legislature in Christian territory are Philippine citizenship and ability to read and write English, Spanish or any native language. The legislature has power to legislate on domestic matters, but is expressly prohibited from passing any tariff or currency act, or any act disposing of public lands, timber or mining rights without first obtaining approval of the President. No date for independence is set. [See vol. xv, pp. 347, 514.]

#### Report On the New Haven.

A charge of criminal negligence was made against the directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad by the Interstate Commerce Commission in a report sent to the Senate on July

13. Waste and mismanagement, declares the Commission, caused a loss to the road of from \$60,000,000 to \$90,000,000. The persons named as chiefly responsible are Charles S. Mellen, the late J. P. Morgan and William Rockefeller. Losses estimated at \$65,000,000 occurred in securing at exorbitant prices control of the following lines: Boston & Maine, New York, Westchester & Boston, Hartford & Worcester Street Railway, Springfield Railway Companies, Worcester Consolidated Street Railway, Worcester & Southbridge Street Railway, Connecticut Company, Rhode Island Trolley Company. Besides the waste involved in those transactions there are charges relating to unwarranted expenditures to "educate public opinion" and to influence public sentiment, payment of unitemized vouchers and confusing complications between the principal company and its subsidiaries. Manipulation of stocks is charged and deliberate deception of the public through fictitious sales of stock designed to unreasonably increase the market price. Payment of large sums in behalf of lobbies and bribery of political bosses are included in the charges. The report indicated that some of this money might be recovered through civil suit, and points out further that immunity from criminal prosecution is enjoyed only by such of the guilty parties as actually testified. [See current volume, page 541.]



#### Business Men Employ Referendum.

A referendum of business organizations on the pending anti-trust measures resulted on July 11 in an overwhelming declaration of opposition. The questions submitted and results thereon were as follows:

1. That there should be no attempt by statute to forbid discriminations in prices of commodities. 531 in favor; 22 opposed.
2. That a proposal to compel persons controlling the product of mines to sell to all applicants "who may be responsible" is wrong in principle and unworkable in practice. 537 in favor; 32 opposed.
3. That there should not be statutory prohibition of conditions accompanying sales and leases to the effect that buyers or lessees cannot handle or use the products of competitors. 514 in favor; 35 opposed.
4. That the final decree in an equity suit brought by the government which establishes the existence or nonexistence of a restraint of trade or of a monopoly should be conclusive evidence as to the same general effect in private actions brought against the same defendants under the anti-trust laws. 484 in favor; 62 opposed.
5. That interlocking of directors among competitive business corporations, including railroad corporations, should be prohibited, regardless of the size of corporations, if elimination of competition among the corporations in question would constitute a violation of the Sherman act. 491 in favor; 41 opposed.
6. That interlocking of officers and directors be-

tween railroads and industrial businesses with which they transact a substantial volume of business (for example, in the relation of buyer and seller) should be prohibited except in such instances as the Interstate Commerce Commission may determine are not detrimental to the public interest. 494 in favor; 33 opposed.

7. (A)—Should interlocking of officers and directors between railroads and bankers with whom they have financial transactions be entirely prohibited? 77 in favor; 129 opposed. Or,

(B)—Should there be legislative prohibition of such interlocking with a provision that a finding of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the effect that in a particular instance there was no detriment to the public interest would prevent illegality in that instance. 64 in favor; 91 opposed. Or,

(C)—Should there be legislation in a form which would not pronounce illegal existing situations but would authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission upon finding a detriment to the public interest in any interlocking to order that it be terminated. 320 in favor; 42 opposed.

8. (A)—Should the problems involved in preventing concentration of credit be referred for investigation and recommendation to the federal reserve board or some other competent body? 440 in favor; 43 opposed. Or,

(B)—Should these problems be the subject of immediate legislation; for example, in the form of a prohibition of interlocking of officers or directors among banks if any bank in question is of a certain size? 38 in favor; 101 opposed.

9. That corporate ownership of stock directly or indirectly of competitor corporations should be prohibited if elimination of competition among the corporations in question would constitute a violation of the Sherman act, except in such instances as the Interstate Trade Commission (or the Interstate Commerce Commission in the case of railroads) may determine are not detrimental to the public interest. 432 in favor; 75 opposed.

10. That there should be an attempt to regulate the shares of stock issued by corporations engaged in interstate commerce. 445 in favor; 74 opposed.



#### Roosevelt and the New York Governorship.

Theodore Roosevelt is reported to be in receipt of hundreds of letters urging him to be a candidate for Governor of New York this fall, in order to prevent nomination by the Progressive party of former Governor William Sulzer. He is further reported to be flooded with letters from outside of New York State urging him to keep out of the race and thus leave himself free to take part in campaigns throughout the country. Mr. Sulzer announced on July 11 that he would withdraw should Roosevelt become a candidate. [See vol. xvi, p. 876.]



#### Scandal in Vera Cruz.

Fred L. Boalt, a correspondent of the Scripps-McRae papers, who reported that in the capture of Vera Cruz prisoners were massacred on the order

of an American ensign, was ordered deported on July 10 by a military commission. Boalt declares that his authority for the story is Ensign William Richardson of the battleship *Arkansas*. The story as sent by Boalt and published on June 18 in the *Cleveland Press* is as follows:

When the Americans took Vera Cruz, an ensign, in his student days perhaps the best full-back Annapolis ever had, had command of a squad of men who took many prisoners.

These prisoners were corralled in a room. At a word from the ensign they were released and told to scurry for the next corner. Those who reached it safely, in the opinion of the ensign, deserved to live. But very few did.

The ensign applied the "ley de fuga"—the law of flight.

A resolution of inquiry into the deportation order and of the facts regarding Boalt's story was introduced in the House on July 11 by Representative Falconer of Washington. [See current volume, page 456.]



#### Mexico and the United States.

Constitutionalist military operations resulted in the capture of Guadalajara on the 8th by General Alvaro Obregon. Guadalajara has a population of 120,000, and is in direct communication with Mexico City, 275 miles to the southeast. It was garrisoned with 12,000 Federal troops. General Obregon's force numbered 10,000 men. The engagement lasted three days, over a wide front, and resulted in the complete routing of the Federals. Five thousand prisoners were taken, together with artillery, ammunition and ten troop trains. It is expected that General Obregon's army will be swelled to 15,000 men by recruits from the Federals. The victory opens the way to Mexico City from the west coast. And it is announced that three armies, General Villa's from the North, General Gonzales' from the Northeast and General Obregon's from the Northwest, are now ready to move on the Capital. [See current volume, page 662.]



General Carranza has indirectly rejected the invitation of the Mediators to appoint delegates to meet the Huerta delegates, by declaring his intention to follow the Guadalupe plan. The original covenant of the Constitutionlists stipulated that General Carranza was to serve as first chief until the country had been pacified and an election held. The strained relations between General Carranza and General Villa resulted in the naming of a joint commission that not only adjusted the relations of these leaders, but modified the Guadalupe plan. Under the amended plan General Carranza, on assuming control of the government in Mexico City, will call a congress of his military leaders and representatives of the rank and file, and this

body will adopt a plan for holding elections, and a program of policies to be put into effect by the functionaries who may be elected. All delegates agreed to present a list of names from which could be chosen a "directing committee" of government. They were Oglecias Calderon, Luis Caberera, Antonio I. Villareal, Miguel Silva, Manuel Bonilla, Alberto Pani, Eduardo F. Hay, Ignacio L. Posqueira, Miguel Diaz Lombardo, Jose Vasconcelos, Miguel Alessio Robles and Frederico Gonzales Garza. Resolutions were adopted to push the revolution until the "last vestage of the ex-Federal army shall disappear."



Rumors persist that General Huerta is on the point of turning over the government to his newly appointed foreign minister, Francisco Carbajal. General Carranza announces that he will have nothing to do with Carbajal or any one else whom General Huerta may appoint as his successor. The Constitutionlists are now so confident of success that nothing short of unconditional surrender will satisfy them.



#### Bomb Victims Honored.

A meeting in memory of Arthur Caron, Charles Berg and Carl Hanson, killed on July 4 by a bomb, was held at Union Square, New York City, on July 11. Alexander Berkman delivered the principal address. He declared that the men were either murdered by agents of capital, or were killed while engaged in the manufacture of a bomb. Other speakers were Leonard Abbott, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Rebecca Edelson and Carlo Tresca. Newspapers in their headlines have generally described the speeches as urging of bloody war, but there is little in any of the statements actually reported that will reasonably bear such construction. Mayor Mitchel had forbidden a parade or the bringing to the meeting of the urn containing the ashes of the dead. These orders were obeyed. Later the urn was placed in state in the office of Mother Earth, the periodical published by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, and crowds marched through until late at night to pay respect. On July 12 the urn was taken to Berkman's residence at 74 West 119th street and a similar tribute of respect was there paid by a throng estimated at 2,000. [See current volume, page 662.]



#### Blackwells Island Prisoners Rebel.

A rebellion of the prisoners at Blackwells Island, New York, resulted in setting fire to several places within the prison, belts were cut and the machinery stopped. The mutiny was suppressed and the fires extinguished before much damage was done. Six prisoners charged with being leaders have been placed in solitary confinement on short rations, and 500 others have been placed on

a bread and water diet. The prisoners complain that overcrowding is causing disease. In some cells there are said to be from twenty-two to thirty-two prisoners. Friends are not allowed to see prisoners and the sending of letters to friends is a privilege not universally granted. The food is said to be disgusting.



#### Westinghouse Strike Ended.

The strike of the employes of the Westinghouse Company came to an end on July 9 when the strikers voted to accept offers made several weeks ago by the heads of the different departments. Ten thousand men are affected by the vote. These offers imply some improvements in working conditions. This end of the strike is practically a victory for the company, since it is not obligated to take back any more of the men than it sees fit. [See current volume, pages 562, 662.]



#### English Affairs.

Three changes were made by the House of Lords in the Amending bill looking to the pacification of Ulster. As the bill came from the Commons it permitted the individual counties of Ulster to vote a suspension of the Home Rule law as to themselves for a period of six years, at the end of which time they would automatically come under the law. The first change made by the Lords was the removal of the clause requiring the counties to vote on the question of exclusion, which was carried by a vote of 158 to 35. The second change granted the total exclusion of Ulster without time limit. The vote on this was 138 to 39 for adoption. The third amendment, which was accepted by the government, placed the excluded Ulster under a secretary of state, instead of the lord lieutenant, to avoid possible influence from Dublin. The Lords concluded the committee stage of the bill by inserting a clause giving the lord lieutenant control of the Irish constabulary instead of allowing that arm of the government to be transferred to the Irish government after six years. The Amending bill will come up for the third reading on the 15th. [See current volume, page 664.]



Meantime, the Ulstermen are proceeding in conformity with the threats made during the past year. The Volunteers openly carry guns in the streets of Belfast, and maintain all the pomp and circumstance of a military government. Captain Craig, Sir Edward Carson's lieutenant in Ireland, gave out on the 9th the "Ulster Resolve," in which the position and purposes of Ulster are set forth in the following five clauses:

First—We will not admit; we will not recognize the authority of an Irish parliament within the Ulster area or the return of a person from that area as a member of such parliament.

Second—We will assume and exercise all such powers as the withdrawal of direct imperial government makes necessary for the maintenance of peace, order, and good government and the protection of the rights and liberties of his majesty's subjects in the Ulster area, such powers to be assumed and exercised only in allegiance to the king and in trust for the constitution of the United Kingdom and to the intent that the Ulster area shall continue an integral part thereof.

Third—Upon the restoration of direct imperial government the provisional government will cease.

Fourth—We will maintain and enforce all statute and common law now in force in Ireland other than the statute establishing home rule.

Fifth—We will protect and assist judges, courts, magistrates and persons acting with a commission of authority from the king in the discharge of their duties under the existing constitution.



Great anxiety was felt upon all hands as the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne approached. But, although the Ulstermen put their whole hearts into it, and marched 30,000 strong to Drumbeg, where 100,000 people gathered in observance of the day, no outbreaks occurred. Great self restraint was exercised by the Nationalists and the Ulstermen. Sir Edward Carson delivered a fiery speech in which he said:

We will go to the bitter end. You ask me to take a forward step. I tell the government that unless they are prepared to leave us alone we will recognize the provisional government and no other. I am not going to tell the members of the press or any one else what we are going to do, but I say this: that an assemblage representative of the whole of Ulster has given me authority, acting with our other leaders, and in any way I like to use it, to prevent home rule being put on the statute book. They have given me that power and I mean to exercise it.

---

## NEWS NOTES

---

—Fred A. Busse, former mayor of Chicago, died after several weeks' illness, at the Mercy Hospital, Chicago, on July 9.

—The Missouri Public Service Commission issued an order on July 11, reducing express rates within the State 21 per cent.

—A minimum wage of \$9 a week for telephone girls was fixed by the Washington State minimum wage commission on July 10.

—Returns from the Manitoba election give the Conservatives 24; Liberals 22; with three elections deferred. [See current volume, page 639.]

—Governor Cox of Ohio issued a call for a special session of the legislature on July 10, to meet on July 20 to provide means for reducing the State tax levy.

—The City Council of South San Francisco, California, unanimously endorsed the pending Home Rule in Taxation amendment, making the 28th city in the State and the third in San Mateo county to

line up for the measure. [See current volume, page 516.]

—The San Joaquin County Singletax Club was organized at Stockton, California, July 5. G. McM. Ross is president, and Mrs. Mary F. Merrill is secretary-treasurer.

—Emigration to Canada from the United States for eleven months ending May 31, 1914, amounted to 68,396. Immigration into the United States from Canada was 44,127.

—George J. Knapp has announced himself as a candidate for assessor of Pueblo county, Colorado, subject to the Democratic primary. [See vol. xvi, p. 1089; current volume, page 662.]

—Roland C. Marr of Glasgow, Missouri, an active Singletax worker of long standing, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for State representative from Howard county at the primary to be held on August 4.

—The sentence of three days' imprisonment imposed on Upton Sinclair on April 29 for "free silence picketing" was confirmed on July 7 by Judge Crain of New York City. Judge Crain held that no "citizen has a right to rebuke another citizen by subjecting him to ridicule or insult." [See current volume, page 437.]

—Putting a sign, "This car for white passengers only," by the Illinois Central railroad on a car of a train between Carbondale and Cairo, resulted in notification by Chairman J. E. Quan of the State Utilities Commission on July 9 that no discrimination against colored passengers would be permitted.

—Katrina Trask, as the author of the dramatic peace poem, "In the Vanguard," was this year awarded the medal which is given by the American School Peace League to the person who is judged to have performed the greatest service for the peace movement during the year. [See vol. xvi, p. 521.]

—Petty revolutions and counter-revolutions continue to vex both Haiti and San Domingo, where no man or faction has the power to maintain a stable government. It is reported that the Washington Administration is making plans to land sufficient force to restore order. [See current volume, pages 206, 442.]

—For taking photographs of fortifications at Panama, and publishing them, Charles K. Field, editor of the Sunset Magazine of San Francisco, Robert J. Fowler, an aviator, and Ray S. Duhem, a photographer, were arrested at San Francisco on July 10. Their alleged act was made a criminal offense by an act of Congress in 1911.

—The first anti-bull-fighting congress, which opened at Barcelona on the 13th, received additional attention on account of the tragic bull fights in Madrid on Sunday. One bull gored a Mexican bull-fighter to death, and another bull when stabbed tossed his head in a manner that sent the sword into the audience, piercing the heart of a young man.

—Lady Hardinge, Vicereine of India, died on the 11th, after undergoing an operation in a London hospital. At the time of the transfer of the seat of government from Calcutta to Delhi, Lady Hardinge was seated in a howdah on an elephant's back, with her husband, when a bomb was thrown at them,

killing one of the attendants and severely wounding the Viceroy.

—The annual congress of the American Esperanto Society will be held in Chicago the week of July 20, with headquarters at the Sherman Hotel. A feature of the meeting will be the opera "Galatea," in Esperanto, at the Y. M. C. A. auditorium on the 23rd. It is said that 3,500,000 people are able to read and write Esperanto, a language that can be learned in less than two months. [See vol. xv, p. 684.]

—A movement for recall of a decision of the Colorado Supreme Court was reported to be inaugurated by Denver business men on July 9. The decision to be recalled is one declaring void the result of a city election on February 17 when a bond issue of \$3,000,000 was authorized by a two to one vote for the construction of a tunnel, making possible the building of a short line transcontinental railroad through Denver.

—Danish elections for members of the upper house on the 10th resulted in the return of twenty members of the Right, five Free Conservatives, twenty members of the Left, five Radicals, and four Socialists. Nine of the twelve members nominated by the King are supporters of the government bill for the amendment of the constitution on a democratic basis, which makes the passage of the bill certain. [See current volume, page 591.]

—The commission appointed by the Canadian Government to fix the responsibility for the collision of the Steamship Empress of Ireland and the Storstad in the St. Lawrence river on the 29th of May, in which more than a thousand lives were lost, reported on the 11th that the Storstad was at fault. Alfred Tuftenes, third officer of the Storstad, who was on the bridge at the time of the disaster, is charged with having altered the course of his ship in the fog, and so rammed the other vessel. [See current volume, page 538.]

—Horace H. Lurton, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, died suddenly on July 12 at Atlantic City. Justice Lurton was born in 1844 at Newport, Kentucky, was elected judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court in 1893, was appointed Federal Circuit Judge by President Cleveland in 1894 and was appointed to the Federal Supreme Court by President Taft on December 20, 1909, taking his seat on January 3, 1910. He called himself a Democrat and his appointment to the Supreme bench was in pursuance of the policy of filling the court with reactionaries of both parties. [See vol. xiii, page 98.]

—A nineteen years' extension of the franchise of the Metropolitan street railway company with five cent fares was carried by 7,000 majority at the election on July 7 in Kansas City. Charges of bribery in the interest of the street railway company have resulted in at least one conviction. On July 8 Joseph Siegel of Chicago pleaded guilty in the criminal court to having been paid two dollars to vote illegally and to having voted twice. He said that representatives of the street railway company bought votes by the wholesale, paying one dollar apiece therefor. He was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. [See current volume, page 613.]

—Baroness Bertha von Suttner, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905 through her book, "Lay Down Your Arms," and influential peace propagandist for many years, died at Vienna on June 21, at the age of 71. The daughter of an Austrian Field-Marshal, and a descendant through her mother of the patriotic German poet, Theodor Körner, Baroness von Suttner had received every advantage of education and travel, before her family's loss of fortune sent her as governess into the household of the Baron von Suttner whose son she later married. The great idea of international peace did not come to her until late in life, and from England, according to a correspondent of the London Daily News, who writes: "Baroness von Suttner . . . was in her forty-fourth year when she became aware of the existence in London of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, and came into contact with its president, the late Hodgson Pratt. She at once became inspired with the idea, and wrote her famous novel, 'Lay Down Your Arms,' in which she depicted the horrors of war, and which has since been read by millions in all European languages. It is said that it was this book more than anything else which inspired the late M. Bloch, the Warsaw banker, and author of the book on 'War,' which, in his turn inspired the Tsar's peace manifesto of 1898. Bertha von Suttner was thus the virtual originator of The Hague Peace Tribunal. She may also be regarded as the originator of the famous Nobel Prize of Peace, since it was under her influence that the late Alfred Nobel, the famous inventor of dynamite, for whom she had worked as secretary during the brief interval between her escape from the aged Baron von Suttner's house and her union with his son, became an adherent of international peace. After her great novel she wrote a number of others, founded the Austrian Peace Society, and worked hard on behalf of every humanitarian cause."

---

## PRESS OPINIONS

---

### A Foreign View of Mr. Roosevelt.

Daily News and Leader (London), June 26.—It is President Wilson's foreign policy with which Mr. Roosevelt quarrels most violently, and the point to which he directs most of his attention is a sore one for Mr. Roosevelt. President Wilson has made a treaty with the Republic of Colombia, which should end a dispute eleven years old. In 1903 Mr. Roosevelt, in a hurry to start the Panama Canal, to use his own words, just "took the canal zone." A revolt was started in Panama, a Panama republic was set up, its independence was recognized in a few hours by Mr. Roosevelt, the Republic of Colombia was forbidden to put down the rebellion, and the bogus Panama republic sold the canal zone to the United States for £2,000,000. Mr. Roosevelt's only justification for these acts is that the interests of the United States demanded them and he had the power to do them. They were in fact as shameless an outrage on a friendly State as could be conceived; Colombia has never ceased to protest, and most decent-minded Americans have long felt that some satisfaction should be given to her. President Wilson has arranged a treaty, which, among other pro-

visions, grants Colombia £5,000,000 compensation for the loss of the canal area. Mr. Roosevelt has no better name for this than "a belated payment of blackmail." His contemptuous reference to the President's "watchful waiting" rather suggests that Mr. Roosevelt would have liked Mr. Wilson to copy in regard to Mexico Mr. Roosevelt's own policy with regard to Colombia. A more certain way of setting all Latin America ablaze against the United States could not be imagined.



### A Victory for Peace.

The (New York) Independent, July 6.—The resort to mediation is now justified by the outcome and proves to be a victory in the greatest of all wars—the war on war, for last week a peace protocol was signed at Niagara Falls by the mediators and the delegates of both the United States and Mexico which not only completely settles the international aspects of the controversy, but what is likely to be of even more importance, refers the internal questions for settlement to a peace conference of the warring factions, the A B C powers and the United States acting jointly as advisers and mediators. . . . Thus war is averted. But something even better than that has been accomplished. Not only do Mexico and all Pan-America now perceive the disinterestedness of the United States, but the four greatest republics of the New World, acting for the first time as a political unit, pledge a lasting friendship to Mexico, and prove that the nations of America, unlike the nations of Europe, can work disinterestedly and in harmony for the mutual peace and prosperity of a hemisphere. . . . This is a feat of statesmanship scarcely surpassed in the annals of government, and Woodrow Wilson is the man who deserves the chief credit for it.



### A Man Who Does Things.

The Day Book (Chicago), July 10.—When there's a task to be done, Villa, ex-bandit, doesn't spend a lot of time talking about it. He goes and does it—if he can. If he can't, he tries again. He's a man of action, all right. A man Lincoln would have given worlds for, 52 years ago. In another way, too, he is proving useful as an example. He is eager to learn, and if those who know him best may be believed, his head isn't a bit enlarged. Not that he's faultless; by no means. He's as full of faults as a gourd is of seeds. But they're human faults and faults due to bad surroundings. In the big essential of loyalty to his cause, which is less personal glory or gain than a better show for his comrades, he appears to assay about as well as any chap just now in the limelight; while for efficiency he has most of 'em gasping. Isn't it odd, how, somehow, throughout history, the occasion has a habit of locating the man?



The "watchful waiting" of the President may seem heart-rending to the Jingoës, but it isn't quite so much so as would be the "watchful waiting" of a million women for the soldier-men, many of whom would never return.—Craig Ralston.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### A CHILD'S FUTURE.

What will it please you, my darling, hereafter to be?  
Fame upon land will you look for, or glory by sea?  
Gallant your life will be always, and all of it free.

Free as the wind when the heart of the twilight is  
stirred

Eastward, and sounds from the springs of the sun-  
rise are heard:

Free—and we know not another as infinite word.

Darkness or twilight or sunlight may compass us  
round,

Hate may arise up against us, or hope may con-  
found;

Love may forsake us; yet may not the spirit be  
bound.

Free in oppression of grief as in ardour or joy  
Still may the soul be, and each to her strength as a  
toy:

Free in the glance of the man as the smile of the  
boy.

Freedom alone is the salt and the spirit that gives  
Life, and without her is nothing that verily lives:  
Death cannot slay her: she laughs upon death and  
forgives.

Brightest and hardest of roses anear and afar  
Glitters the blithe little face of you, round as a star:  
Liberty bless you and keep you to be as you are.

England and liberty bless you and keep you to be  
Worthy the name of their child and the sight of  
their sea:

Fear not at all; for a slave, if he fears not, is free.

—Algernon Charles Swinburne.



### DEMOCRACY AND THE SCHOOL.

From an Article by Alexander Fichandler,  
of Brooklyn, in *The American Teacher*  
of April, 1914.

What would you think of a person who wished to learn the use of colors, and engaged a blind person to teach him? What would you think if he wanted someone to supervise his child's physical education, and employed an invalid for that purpose? Would not that be absurd? And yet, consider this: the aim of our public schools is to train our boys and girls for efficient participation in the life of a democracy, and we intrust this task into the hands of people who lack the very qualities which they are asked to develop in those under their supervision. We want our children to become free and independent citizens, men and

women who will demand their rights, who will not allow anyone to oppress them—and we put them in charge of teachers whose professional life is conducted under conditions directly opposed to such ideals.

We do not seem to realize that the teachers are really the people who are making the nation—not the superintendents or principals. They come into immediate and intimate contact with the citizens of tomorrow, and therefore exercise the greatest influence upon them. But observe their condition: there is only one word that can be properly applied to the average teacher, not only in New York City, but in the United States of America, and perhaps in the entire civilized world, and that is *slave*. . . . Of course, there are exceptions. We have men and women who realize the principle that only free people can produce free people, and they do give their subordinates opportunities for self-expression, but such are unfortunately few and far between.

And now, what is the cure? Obviously, just those traits which we expect the teachers to develop in the children, are the very ones that must be developed in themselves. Before a teacher can communicate to his pupils the spirit of independence and the love for freedom, he himself must be free and independent. That is the only solution, and we are moving towards it! . . . Let the teachers manage the schools! If they have sufficient ability and knowledge individually to take care of classes of children, they certainly have a sufficient amount collectively to take care of the schools. Why cannot we form teachers' organizations, through which the teachers may participate in the administration of the school, and may decide what ought to be done for the children, the parents and themselves? . . .

We demand freedom for the teacher, but not so much because of the teacher. In the final analysis it is purely a matter of self-preservation. We must have democracy in this country; we must have our children prepared for democracy; and the only way to teach democracy is to live in a democracy, and be taught by teachers who are themselves participating in a democracy.



### “UNIT” VERSUS “DUAL” CON- TROL OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

From Addresses at the Convention of the Society  
for the Promotion of Industrial Education, at  
Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1913.

The real issue is whether community control in the interests of the community is to continue with such developments as changing needs may call for from time to time, or whether social control is to be abrogated in behalf of control by busi-

ness men in the interests of business men. The last reflection shows fundamentally bad features associated with "dual" control:

First, it divides and duplicates administrative educational machinery;

Second, the scheme tends to paralyze one of the most vital movements now operating for the improvement of existing general education; and

Third, the segregation will show disastrously for the true interests of the pupils who attend the so-called vocation schools.—John Dewey.



It makes a very great difference whether those who mold the system of industrial education in this country have as their immediate object the development of industries in which the workers are first of all parts of the machine, or the development of well-rounded intelligent citizens, who shall possess specific industrial ability as one phase of their training. The habit of mind of the educator would lead him to take the latter attitude, and that of the leader of industry the former.—Helen Thompson Woolley.



### YOUTH.

You hear Youth laughing down green budding aisles,  
You glimpse her dancing limbs, her hair of gold,  
The care-free, sweet defiance of her smiles:  
For you are old.

But I can see her eyes grey with alarm,  
Misty with longings that can find no tongue,  
The hooded Future clutching at her arm:  
For I am young.  
—Theresa Helburn, in *The Century Magazine*.

---

## BOOKS

---

### SHAW'S LATEST VOLUME.

*Misalliance, Fanny's First Play, etc.* By Bernard Shaw. Published by Theodore Brentano, New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50.

The most potent force today in English literature, the man who is doing most to mould future opinions, is Bernard Shaw. The truest and wittiest word that has been said about Shaw has come from Chesterton. Shaw, says Chesterton, in effect, is simply one who does not call grapes white when they are greenish grey, or wine white when it is greenish yellow. In other words, Bernard Shaw sees and calls things as they are. If a Methodist steward, a Baptist deacon, a Presbyterian elder, or an Episcopal vestryman is not a Christian because he goes to the eleven o'clock service regularly and takes up the collection Shaw sees through him and tries to tell him so. The pity is that the elder and the deacon do not read Shaw. But they

will have to sit up and take notice by and by, and listen to what Shaw is saying. His exposition will get around after a while.

Shaw's great service to the English-speaking race of our times is his showing-up of our awful hypocrisies. He sees and shows our shams in education, in politics, in philanthropy, in society, in family and in church. His tremendous force lies in his clear insight, in his sharp wit, and in his delicious satire. As to his positive suggestions, as for example in his prefaces on education in the present volume, he is somewhat inconclusive; but as a sweeper-off of dust and cobwebs he is a master-hand. And, in spite of our modern cant about "constructive" policies, this is the most useful of services. What we are needing most at present is not the making of laws, but the abolition of laws. What we are needing most at all times is freedom.

This latest volume from the Shavian storehouse opens with a series of essays or prefaces on parents and children, and it would be a good thing for young America if our normal schools would substitute these for some of the inane and pretentious treatises on psychology with which they now afflict their students. These essays would at least prick the pupils into thinking, which is more than can be said for the psychologies. Imagine an orthodox, conventional normal class facing the following: "In a prison you are not forced to read books written by the wardens and the governor. In the prison you are not forced to sit listening to turnkeys discoursing without charm or interest on subjects that they don't understand. In a prison they may torture your body, but they do not torture your brains. In a school you have none of these advantages. With the world's bookshelves loaded with fascinating and inspired books, the very manna sent down from Heaven to feed your souls, you are forced to read a hideous imposture called a schoolbook, written by a man who cannot write." This is shocking. But is it not true that a number of good shocks is just what is needed by our educational machine?

There are many passages in these prefaces which one is tempted to quote as wild incentives to thought. Nothing could be better for our aristocratic American universities to think about than the following: "If our universities would exclude everybody who had not earned a living by his or her own exertions for at least a couple of years, their effect would be vastly improved." Shades of Harvard, Yale, Princeton and the rest, think of such a proposition! But worse yet: There is the family ideal. "The family ideal," says Shaw, "is a humbug and a nuisance. The popular conception of heaven includes a Holy Family, but it does not attach to that family the notion of a separate home, or a private nursery or kitchen or mother-in-law, or anything that constitutes the family as we know it. Even blood relationship is miraculously abstracted from it; and the Father is the

father of all children, the Mother the mother of all mothers and babies, and the Son the Son of Man and the Savior of his brothers: one whose chief utterance on the subject of the conventional family was an invitation to all of us to leave our families and follow him." Let the reader observe, by the way, that Shaw does not say that the family is a humbug and a nuisance, but that the family ideal is a humbug and a nuisance.

These wonderful prefaces are followed in the volume by the play "Misalliance," by the clever skit on Shakespeare entitled "The Dark Lady of the Sonnets," and last comes "Fanny's First Play," which has had a good run in the theaters. Shaw calls this a "potboiler," but it is one of his best productions, and the brief preface to the play ought to be read and inwardly digested by every American between the ages of twenty and sixty. The preface gives the key to the play, which is a charming satire on our deadly ideas of respectability.

JAMES H. DILLARD.



## THE ESSENCE OF EDUCATION.

Interest and Effort in Education. By John Dewey. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1913. Price, 60 cents, net.

We hear much talk of the public school as "the greatest of our democratic institutions," "the hope of our nation," "the source of our power," but our acts belie our speech. Down in our hearts and pockets we rate the school lower than we profess and therefore we suffer other affairs to engross us, other unimportant institutions like banks and factories to divert our attention.

Children are not organized, not vocative, not self-assertive. They can not define their own needs, and most of us adults are either indifferent or stupid. Of the children's self-appointed spokesmen some are youth's deliberate exploiters and many are utter foreigners to childhood. A few, however,—a very few—love and understand the innermost self of the child and can reveal him to his bewildered and indifferent guardians. Still rarer good fortune is it for young and old when one of these interpreters of childhood is also a social idealist, when he has within him to express not only the verities of childhood but the vision of a just and joyous society.

Wide-awake teachers have been passing from hand to hand and heart to heart this year a little book on education which parents and plain citizens would better not let them monopolize. Within a hundred small pages John Dewey has analyzed to-day's loudest disagreement in pedagogy and harmonized it into a unified and powerful principle of all education. The little book may be read in an hour. It can not be forgotten in a lifetime. It is elemental as the child nature it interprets—and as deep.

Two ways of teaching are at war in the educational world, briefly spoken of as the "interest" and the "effort" methods. The first would select subject-matter and present it with the idea of spontaneously interesting the child in the hope of gaining his continued willing attention. The second would demand that the child compel his mind to work upon the subject set before him, however task-like it seemed to him, until he had mastered it, thus to gain disciplined power through effort.

On behalf of the "interest" method it is argued that the subject must be made interesting to the child or he will not really attend and learn. He will merely pretend and acquire the symbols of thought. For the effort method it is asserted that unless the child is trained to put forth mental effort without any external inducements, he will succumb to the obstacles he must meet through life.

These two opposing theories the author reconciles by showing them both to be based on the same false psychological assumption, namely, that subject-matter and child-mind are two separate, unrelated entities.

He then proceeds to a clear and enlightening analysis of what interest and effort really are and of their place and need in the intellectual development of the child. He explains how effort as a mental experience is a conflict between the tendency to give up an activity when an obstacle presents itself and the tendency to persist toward the end in view. This struggle, he points out, has a very important result: it is the warning to think, to consider means, to reason, to judge whether to find a way around the obstacle or to give up his object. As Professor Dewey puts it:

The true function of the conditions that call forth effort is, then, first, to make an individual more conscious of the end and purpose of his actions; secondly, to turn his energy from blind, or thoughtless, struggle into reflective judgment.

And later on in defining interest he writes:

Interest is not some one thing; it is a name for the fact that a course of action, an occupation, or pursuit absorbs the powers of an individual in a thorough-going way. But an activity cannot go on in a void. It requires material, subject-matter, conditions upon which to operate. On the other hand, it requires certain tendencies, habits, powers on the part of the self. Wherever there is genuine interest, there is an identification of these two things. . . . To make the idea of activity effective, we must take it broadly enough to cover all the doings that involve growth of power—especially of power to realize the meaning of what is done. This excludes action done under external constraint or dictation, for this has no significance for the mind of him who performs it. It excludes also mere random reaction to an excitation that is finished when the momentary act has ceased—which does not, in other words, carry the person acting into future broader fields. It also excludes action so habitual that it has become routine or mechanical. Unfortunately action from external

constraint, for mere love of excitement and from mechanical force of habit are so common that these exceptions cover much ground. But the ground lying within these excepted fields is the ground where an educative process is *not* going on.

The whole problem of education is finally thus summed up:

Interest is obtained not by thinking about it and consciously aiming at it, but by considering and aiming at the conditions that lie back of it, and compel it. If we can discover a child's urgent needs and powers, and if we can supply an environment of materials, appliances, and resources—physical, social, and intellectual—to direct their adequate operation, we shall not have to think about interest. It will take care of itself. For mind will have met with what it needs in order to be mind. The problem of educators, teachers, parents, the state, is to provide the environment that induces educative or developing activities, and where these are found the one thing needful in education is secured.

The entire essay is so compactly written, its paragraphs are so interwoven, that extracts are most unsatisfactory. But one feels as one reads through the book that a crystal glass has let one spy into the workings of the human mind, and one returns to one's old world with new sight. There has been given a standard of judgment of what is and what is not *educative* in our children's—all children's—schooling and home-life, too. Old problems and phrases, such as "disciplinary versus cultural studies," "academic versus technical courses," "vocational versus non-vocational schools" lose all their separate terrors and are seen only to represent one great unity of knowledge and power.

A. L. G.

## PERIODICALS

### Chautauqua.

William Jennings Bryan writes in *The Independent* of July 6, a Chautauqua number, an appreciation of the Chautauqua movement which many Americans would be better educated for reading. "Whoever is unacquainted with Chautauqua," he writes, "has ignored one of the greatest agencies at work upon American national character. . . . One talks freely here about politics; but not generally as a politician. He has been invited to speak as a citizen about matters that concern all alike, Democrat, Republican, Progressive, Socialist, Prohibitionist, or whatever, he finds eager hearing as long as he keeps to views in which he may invite all good Americans to share. When he violates that implicit or explicit understanding—sometimes it is explicit—he makes of himself an ungracious and unwelcome person so far as that Chautauqua is concerned; when his engagement is finished it will have no more of him. . . . Those who are pessimistic about the newspapers—about the magazines, too, now and then—about the working of our legislative bodies, about our privately endowed and very precisely and decorously regulated colleges, ask from time to time

why certain interests or the propagandists of certain special theories should not get hold of the Chautauqua and warp it to their own designs. Especially why not, they ask, when we have come to see a hundred and more Chautauquas controlled by one management? The matter would appear to be simple. The answer is equally simple—the manifest fact is that nothing of the sort has happened. Inclined perhaps a little more to the radical than to the ultra-conservative, on the principle of "trying all things" and seeing that the ultra-conservative have already had their hearing, nevertheless the most striking characteristic of the Chautauqua platform has always been a sane catholicity. Whoever has any message that everybody has not heard to weariness and whoever can deliver it well finds audience awaiting him. . . . The privilege and the opportunity of addressing from one to seven or eight thousand of his fellow Americans, in the Chautauqua frame of mind, in the mood which almost as clearly asserts itself under the tent or amphitheater as does reverence under "dim religious light"—this privilege and this opportunity is one of the greatest that any patriotic American could ask. To the man on a Chautauqua circuit it is multiplied by as many as there are days in his engagement. This privilege and this opportunity carry with them a peculiar responsibility of which no American with a conscience could remain insensible. It makes of him, if he knows it and can rise to its full requirements, a potent human factor in molding the mind of the nation."

A. L. G.



### Thirty Years for Democracy.

The (San Francisco) *Star* commemorates its thirtieth birthday in its issue of July 4 with a very brief and modest statement by Mr. Barry of his editorial policy and the reforms his journal has helped toward victory since 1884—an honorable roll of triumphant democracy of which any editor and State should be proud.

A. L. G.



Bishop Olmstead was talking about boy nature. "I once said to a little boy: 'Do you know the parables, my child?'"

"'Yes, sir,' he replied.

"'And which of the parables,' said I, 'do you like best?'"

"'I like the one,' he answered, after a moment's thought, 'where somebody loafes and fishes.'"—*San Francisco Star*.



Mrs. Beat: Tell the gentleman I'm not receiving today, Nora.

New Maid: But he ain't deliverin', mum; he's collectin'.—Puck.



The keenest student it would FAAAA  
To know the habits of the JJJJJJJJ  
While any one can learn with EEEEE  
The simple secrets of the BBBBBBBB

—Columbia Jester.