

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

S. D.



## HENRY GEORGE SENTIMENT IN BULGARIA.

Chicago, January 8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. M. STOYCOFF.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### THE PAGES OF HISTORY.

Johnstown, Pa., December 4.

#### History: Page One.

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

—Byron.

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

#### Page Two.

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

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

C. SHEPHERD.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, January 20, 1914.

### The President's Anti-Trust Message.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

#### Interlocking Directorates.

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

#### Railroads.

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

#### Sherman Law.

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

#### Interstate Trade Commission.

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

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

#### Individual Responsibility.

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

#### Limitation of Stock Control.

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

#### Injured Individuals.

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

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

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



#### Two Senators and the Seventeenth Amendment.

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



#### Radium Conservation.

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



#### Private Car Lines.

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