

# The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &  
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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## EDITORIAL

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### Executive Interference.

President Taft is criticized for having exerted his influence as President upon Congress to force through a tariff bill acceptable to himself. This criticism is not well founded.

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The President is more than an executive; he is also a lawmaker. Whether wisely or not, the Constitution gives him legislative authority second only to that of two-thirds of each House. Through his veto power he is virtually a third House with a voting strength so great that he can defeat any measure which is not supported in each of the other houses by a vote of two to one of their respective memberships. Why, then, should he not consult with Congress in advance of legislation?

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The members of each house of Congress consult among themselves, or ought to, through committees and by debate, and the two consult with each other as a whole through conference committees—all for the purpose of reaching an agreement. But the President, too, must agree before a measure can become a law; and must he stand aside, sphinx-like, until Congress has finally acted? There would be no sense in it. Mr. Taft has done the sensible thing in conferring with Congress on the tariff bill in advance of its adoption. His

fault was in not doing it earlier, and doing it right.

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With his veto power, President Taft could at any time have forced his party in Congress to redeem the party's campaign promises, for which he himself went bond to the people; and by acting earlier he could have done it without serious party friction. In so far as the new tariff law fails to redeem the downward-revision promises which Mr. Taft made for his party last Fall, the responsibility lies with Mr. Taft himself. He would have had the support of more than a third of the membership of each House in any demand he had made for the fulfillment of those promises, and that would have given him control of the situation. How, then, can his friends say now, that he did all he could to keep faith with the voters who confided in his campaign promises?

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#### Mr. Taft's Campaign Promises.

But Mr. Taft proclaims that his campaign promises are redeemed by this tariff bill. He says that the bill "is a substantial downward revision." How much like the huckster at the county fair in the old story, Mr. Taft seems, to be sure. "Hot mince pies! Hot mince pies! Here's your hot mince pies, only five cents apiece!" barked the huckster as he pushed his way through the crowd with a basket on his arm one cold October day. A chilled and hungry and confiding youth bought a pie; and when his nickel had gone irrevocably into the huckster's pocket and the pie had come into his own eager hands, the unsalted youth exclaimed: "Ah, this pie ain't hot!" "I didn't say it was," the huckster answered. "Yes you did," replied the buyer; "you called out over and over, 'Here's your hot mince pies,' and everybody about here heard you." "Oh, is that it?" said the huckster; "Why, man alive, that's the name of the pie!" Having promised a substantial downward revision of the tariff, Mr. Taft makes good by handing out an upward revision bill with a downward revision label on it—a cold pie with "hot" for a trademark.

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Can Mr. Taft "get away" with this subterfuge? The opportunity is favorable, of course, for the tariff bill is so voluminous and complex that only experts will be able to tell whether the revision is up or down until prices begin to talk. On the face of the official table of alterations, nearly every item seems to be a reduction and only a few an increase. But Senator La Follette says, quot-

ing a statement prepared by the bureau of manufactures in the Department of Commerce and Labor that 286 increases of duty do not appear in the official table, which omits only 38 decreases; and Senator Dolliver declares that the rates in the cotton schedule are increased all along the line, some of them as much as 100 per cent. Even on the face of the official table, the decreases appear to be infinitesimal, and for the most part unimportant, while the increases and retentions of old rates are significant of plutocratic contributions to campaign funds.

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That the bill is as much a bunco as the "hot mince pies" of the huckster in the story is likely to appear with increasing emphasis as the new tariff gets into practical operation. It is already evident, however, from such testimony as Senator Dolliver's, a good Republican, who says the American people are being duped by it with humbug and misrepresentation, and from the documents Senator La Follette has put into the Record to prove that the measure revises the tariff upward and not downward.

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#### The Free List in the New Tariff Law.

From the free trade point of view there is little or nothing in the new tariff law to approve with any approach to enthusiasm, except the placing of hides and petroleum on the free list. Neither is this very important in itself. But it is in the right direction in itself, and it has a tendency also to weaken the protection combine. The objection that the advantage will go to the manufacturers for whose industries these products are raw materials, is not valid. Except as manufacturers are buttressed by some kind of monopoly which does not depend upon protection, the benefit of freeing their material goes to consumers of the finished product. If, for instance, the price of hides falls for lack of tariff protection, the price of shoes must fall, even though they are protected by the tariff, unless by some other mode of protection the domestic competition which cheaper hides would stimulate can be strangled. Protection on the raw materials of an industry makes it easier, and free trade in those materials makes it harder, to monopolize the industry and dictate prices.

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#### The "Maximum" and "Minimum" Tariff.

We are unable to agree with our friends who object to the "maximum" and "minimum" clause of the new tariff law. Not that we approve of

this sort of thing any more than they do; but that we find nothing in it so essentially bad as to make it repugnant under the circumstances.

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It does not confer legislative power upon the Executive, although we must concede that it might be appealed to as in some sort a precedent for graduated steps in that objectionable direction in the future. What it does in this respect is, first, to fix, by regular legislation, the minimum rates of tariff, below which only Congress can go; second, to fix the maximum rates, above which only Congress can go; and third, to authorize the President to impose one rate or the other—and nothing either above or below or between—as he finds other nations disposed to permit their people to trade with our people. Whatever else this may be, it is no more a delegation of legislative power to the President, than the fixing of maximum and minimum fines or terms of imprisonment in criminal cases is a delegation of legislative power to the judiciary.

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Economically this clause is a bungling thing. But so is a crutch physiologically. Yet, as a crutch may be helpful to a man who has jumped off a house-top and broken his leg, so may this minimum and maximum tariff expedient be to a nation which has crippled itself with protection and hasn't sense enough to do what the man with the broken leg can't do—uncripple.

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Involved in the device is the idea of reciprocity, and involved in that is the idea of free trade. Reciprocity is the disgusted protectionist's way of getting back to free trade without giving himself and his botch of a theory dead away. Therefore we welcome it. It may prove to be a very good bridge from protection to free trade. Suppose, for illustration, that public opinion in this country should adopt the reciprocity idea, which is that free trade, while injurious to a country that freely admits goods from all countries indiscriminately, is beneficial if limited to imports from countries that engage to take its exports reciprocally. In that case the maximum and minimum clause of the new tariff law might furnish a convenient precedent. Following this precedent, Congress could fix the maximum tariff at a protective level and the minimum at zero, and then authorize the President to enforce the maximum against countries that obstruct their people's trade with us and allow the minimum to those that reciprocally encourage it. This cannot be done, to be sure,

so long as the Federal government depends upon indirect taxation for its revenues; but with the income tax for that purpose, the present sneak system of Federal taxation could be abandoned.

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#### A Scramble for Plunder.

The debates and votes in Congress preceding that final treaty between the Interests at which Mr. Taft acted as umpire and which produced the latest tariff law, show clearer than ever what tariff legislation really is. It is a scramble for plunder, among sections or industries ostensibly, but among capitalists in fact.

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#### Automobiled Prosperity.

Farm mortgages to pay for automobiles are characteristic of the widely boasted automobilic prosperity of Western farmers. But this fact is usually not emphasized. The combination is no bragging matter.

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#### The Same Old Confidence Game.

"From every section and nearly every trade comes a report of *confidence* restored, and the eager looking forward to the good times that are *sure to come* with the resumption of business after Summer." This is the latest contribution of the Chicago Tribune (August 8) to the newspaper chorus of prosperity flim-flam, which has broken out every month or two for the past year and a half. "Optimism," they call it. It is a "new thought" method applied to business depressions. If you don't see prosperity, say you see it and the fools will think you do. You will come to think so yourself, if you are one of the fools. And if you think you see something you don't see, you do see it after all, don't you? as the lunatic said to his keeper.

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#### "Secondary" Boycott Law.

One of our highest courts has broken away from the absurd distinction in labor cases, that while a "primary" boycott is lawful a "secondary" boycott is unlawful. That is—observe ye, oh puzzled reader—that Jones's strikers may ask their friends not to patronize Jones, but they must not ask their friends not to patronize Smith if he continues to patronize Jones. It is the Supreme Court of California that has "kiboshed" this jurisprudential tomfoolery. The decision is summed up as follows by the San Francisco Coast Seamen's Journal of July 28th: "This court recognizes no substantial distinction between the

so-called primary and secondary boycott. Each rests upon the right of the union to withdraw its patronage from its employer and to induce by fair means any and all other persons to do the same, and in exercise of those means, as the unions would have the unquestioned right to withhold their patronage from a third person who continued to deal with their employer, so they have the unquestioned right to notify such third person that they will withdraw their patronage if he continues so to deal." Law is indeed the essence of common sense, but it takes judges a good while to get down to its essence when new kinds of quarrels arise between mass and class.

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### Reelfoot Lake and Its Lynchings.

Several weeks ago certain residents of Tennessee were convicted of murder and sentenced to death (p. 663), for having killed a non-resident who personified to their untutored minds some terrific power of evil which had swept away their livelihood by wresting from them their old-time fishing ground in Reelfoot Lake. Their state of mind may be likened to that of the street car passenger whose irritation at traction company methods finds vent in swearing at the conductor. But their irritation went deeper, even as the cause of it did. The stranger personified a sentence of death of mysterious origin—death from want for them and their families—when he came into their community to stop their fishing. So the natural reaction in that community meant death to him by rope and rifle. Swearing at him was not enough. By a natural law, the force of action determines the violence of reaction.

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Of course these men were poor men. You could infer that without being told. They must have been poor or the great organs of opinion would have excused away their crime. Being poor, and having taken life against the interests of property—for it is as a defender of property that the victim of the tragedy at Reelfoot Lake is made heroic and his murder is resented by the great organs of public opinion. Murders more atrocious had occurred before and have occurred since without exciting the special concern of those organs—murders involving only human life without affecting property. More fuss has been made over this one man than over the vast nurseries of children whose tender lives are daily ground up into factory dividends. But this is not what we intended to write about. Our purpose in re-

calling the murder of Captain Rankin down by Reelfoot Lake, is to note the lawless attitude of the organs of opinion with reference to the trial of the men charged with his murder.

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They want these men lynched. Lynched in accordance with the larger forms of the law, to be sure, so that the lynchers may be safe; but regardless of the safeguards which the law sets up for the protection of innocent men under accusation.

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When the men accused of murdering Rankin were rounded up in jail, it was determined at the outset by the exploiting interests of Tennessee that they should be hanged. The question of their guilt probably came in for some consideration, but it was secondary to the importance of making an example. So a property-rights judge, usurping the lawful functions of other officials, himself named grand jurors to find indictments. This in spite of the law, which requires that grand jurors shall be named by at least three members of the county court. Having thus unlawfully packed the grand jury, and secured indictments of those prisoners for Rankin's murder, the same judge, presiding at the trial, took away from them one of the most important legal rights for the protection of innocent prisoners. Forcing eight of them to trial together, he ruled that the whole eight should have only twenty-four peremptory challenges of jurors, notwithstanding that the law gives twenty-four challenges to each defendant in murder cases. If men so indicted and so convicted had been hanged under the forms of law, the execution would have been as truly a lynching, as truly an assassination, as was the killing of Rankin. In the one instance as in the other the law would have been murderously defied.

\*

Nevertheless, when the Supreme Court of Tennessee, with somewhat more than the usual judicial respect for the law of the land in cases of this kind, reverses the decision of the lower court on the double ground that the indictment was not found by a lawful grand jury and the prisoners were not convicted by a lawful petit jury—when the Supreme Court does this, the organs of property rights are indignant. They wanted the judicial lynching to go on to its ghastly end, law or no law. One of those organs asks, "Is the jury system a fortress for the lawless?" Another describes the highest court's decision as having been

"based on those technical points of legal procedure which seem so trivial to the lay mind." The Attorney General of the State calls the decision "a grave judicial blunder." The greatest property-rights paper of the State calls it "a staggering blow to the cause of justice," and asserts that "in its technical, hair-splitting exaggeration of the importance of trivial things, foreign to the body of the crime, it is a sickening shock to justice." Another thinks there is nothing for the lynching judge and attorney general to do in this case "but to resume the trial doggedly and exhaust all lawful resources to give the Reelfoot Lake murderers their just deserts"; and as it regrets the Supreme Court's decision, it may be regarded in its use of the phrase "lawful resources," as placing the emphasis on the noun.

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There are, indeed, some papers, to their credit be it said, that support the Supreme Court and deplore the tendency of courts of justice, so markedly exhibited in the Reelfoot trial, to become mere agencies for the administration of lynch law. But what a devilish exaltation of conventional property rights above natural human rights the other papers exhibit. Observe how calmly they describe the reversal of a hanging verdict rendered by twelve men lawlessly acting as a petit jury, and the quashing of an indictment found for murder by twenty-three men lawlessly acting as a grand jury, as a "hair-splitting exaggeration of the importance of trivial things." The men who lynched Rankin could justify their own act by the same reasoning. But they did not represent property rights—not Big Property rights—and Rankin did.

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### Judges in Contempt of Court.

Judges who take it upon themselves to lecture juries for finding verdicts different from what the judges themselves would have found had it been in their province instead of the jury's, have come in for a deserved lecture from the New York Sun of July 29th, which says: "It is not any more proper for a judge to criticise a jury for rendering a verdict of not guilty in a criminal case than it would be for the jurors to criticise the rulings of the judge made in the course of the trial. It is the constitutional right and duty of the jury to pass upon the questions of fact. With these the judge in a criminal prosecution has nothing to do. He may be convinced that the verdict of the jury ought to have been the other way; he may feel that if a determination of the questions of fact had

been confided to him he would have decided them otherwise; indeed he may regard the acquittal as an absolute miscarriage of justice; nevertheless in the absence of any evidence tending to show that the jurors have acted corruptly, he cannot properly in the exercise of his judicial functions criticise their conduct." This is a sound statement. Sometime, it may be, a juror who knows his rights and dares maintain them, will reply on the spot to the judge who presumes in this lawless manner to insult jurors in open court. For a judge to criticize a jury in open court for finding a verdict of "not guilty," is as truly contempt of court—of which the jury is as much a part as the judge—as it would be for the jury to criticise the judge. There is danger in this tendency of judges to usurp the functions of the jury.

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### Tom L. Johnson's Defeat.

It is said that Mayor Johnson of Cleveland has sustained another, and this time a crushing defeat (p. 755). Some say it in joy, for they wish it so. Others say it in sorrow, for they wish it otherwise but have never read the story of the Jews in the wilderness as a lesson of life. Let us take an account of stock, then, and see how crushing this "crushing defeat" really is.

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Imprimis: Mayor Johnson is fighting for 3-cent fares for street car service, with a limitation of profits for street car companies to six per cent of actual capital employed. Yet that is not the whole of what he is fighting for. It is only a means to an end, a stage on a journey, a milestone toward a goal, an outpost to a citadel. And it is because of this that the fight has been so long, so wearisome, so fluctuating, and that every repulse has to Johnson's sympathizers seemed a disaster, and to his enemies a "crushing defeat." This bottom fact must be kept in mind, for it is his objective and the effect upon it of his immediate demand, and not the demand itself, that bestirs the plutocrats of Cleveland.

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At the recent traction referendum, Johnson's enemies were able to run up a vote giving them a majority of 3,763. But how foolish to regard that contest as anything worse than a lost battle in the irrepressible conflict between democracy and plutocracy may be seen by considering all the figures. Supporting Mayor Johnson, there were 31,022 votes. As the contest was made under circumstances extraordinarily unfavorable to him, this

may be reasonably regarded as an irreducible minimum. Then there were about 15,000 registered who did not vote. What the result of their voting would have been, no one can tell, and it must be left out of the account. Now for the other side. Those who fought Johnson, polled 34,785 votes. But how were they got? By the most complete union ever established in Cleveland between Big Business, its little business dupes, "Alameda citizens," labor "skates," newspapers edited in the counting room, the crooked politicians of both parties (reputable and disreputable), all the pharisee chaplains of the wickedly wealthy, and the entire banking ring. For this contest, if it had gone Johnson's way, would have been an irretrievable defeat for Big Business, and Big Business knew it. Under those circumstances, can the 34,785 votes which Big Business rallied to the cause of the traction ring be regarded as an irreducible minimum? Does this majority against Johnson imply "crushing defeat"?

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If it does, then democracy had better capitulate with plutocracy at once and save useless friction. But plutocracy does not stay down when it is knocked down, and why should democracy? Plutocracy does not capitulate for the sake of peace, and why should democracy? Are we told that this defeat of the Schmidt ordinance forebodes the defeat of Johnson for Mayor next November? In the estimation of his enemies, to whom the wish is father to the thought, it doubtless does. So it may also in the estimation of friends to whom pride in his election is stronger than devotion to his cause. Confidence springs from victory and discouragement from defeat. But there is no more real reason to doubt Johnson's re-election now, than there was a year ago when nobody doubted it. Loss of prestige? Yes, that may have an ill influence; but loyalty and enthusiasm can seize upon it as an advantage. When plutocracy divests a democratic servant of prestige, the hour has come for the most ringing appeal to democracy. And what of it, should Johnson be defeated for re-election? He has never sought his office for the sake of the office. He has sought it always for the cause in which he enlisted long ago. The office! Why he could have that for life, and a certificate of good conduct into the bargain from all the "best people" of Cleveland, if he would give up his cause.

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As to the civic work in which Mayor Johnson has been engaged for ten years as Mayor of Cleve-

land, his work in the direction of releasing the city from the deadly grip of Big Business interests and making it a people's city, this has not been checked by the referendum vote last week. The traction ring is in no better position. Johnson is in no worse position; indeed it looks as if it were better for him to have fought that fight and lost than not to have fought it at all. At the worst, one plan for rescuing the city from its Big Business thralldom has been defeated. It is now up to the other side to propose a better one, and the referendum campaign has forced them into a position which makes the demands of the "head centers" of the traction ring impossible. Tom L. Johnson is not knocked out. He is one of the foes of plutocracy who does not stay down even when knocked down, and as yet he has not been even knocked down. With at least 31,022 voters of Cleveland loyally supporting him against the most complete combination of the financial interests and their natural allies that has been or is likely to be made in Cleveland, he can, as he doubtless will, go on with his courageous fight to loosen the strangle hold of Big Business upon his city. If the Interests can turn him out of the point of vantage he holds as mayor, which is not so probable as their allies and organs try to make it appear, they may forthwith find him in a still stronger position on a broader field of action. This at any rate is the lesson that history displays so plainly that even the wayfarer though a plutocrat may read it if he will.

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#### St. Gaudens.

A collection of works of the greatest sculptor of this country and among the great of all countries in all past times, is on exhibition at the Art Institute, Chicago, and will continue to be for nearly two months to come. Augustus St. Gaudens was a truth-teller. He told the truth in his work because he wanted to, and knew how. It requires skill as well as purpose to tell the truth. That is the reason so few artists tell it in their work, and it is the principal reason so few witnesses tell it on the stand. An honest purpose prevents perjury on the witness stand, for perjury with good motive there cannot be; but good motive alone cannot prevent misstatement or inadequate statement. So with sculpture. Here the sculptor is the witness. A liar he may not be, but if he is deficient in skill necessary to bring out the truth, the truth will not come out. This is the skill that St. Gaudens added to sincerity. Look at that wonderful figure at the

tomb, and you are in the presence of grief—not the passionate kind nor the smirking undertaker's kind, but Grief herself, dignified, composed and great. Look at his Dr. McCosh, and you see the loving and lovable man of intellect beneath the silken robe of marble. Look at his bust of that successful business man, or of John Hay, and the truth stares back at you out of the modeled face. St. Gaudens could tell the truth, and he couldn't lie. It's a rare combination, whether in man or artist.

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**RAILWAY DISCRIMINATIONS.**

From a Pacific Coast point of view, the people of Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Utah and Arizona have no rights that common carriers are bound to respect.

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The Interstate Commerce Commission ordered the Hill roads to reduce their west-bound freight rates to Spokane.

The effect of that order is to narrow the "territory" of Seattle and Portland jobbers. These have long claimed a divine right to sell goods from the East to the large territory adjacent to Spokane, and the railroads have enforced that claim by charging more for a carload of goods from Chicago to Spokane than from Chicago to Seattle or Portland.

Backed by a decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the roads and the jobbers explained that the higher short haul rate was justified by the water competition at Seattle and Portland.

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On account of the more recent Spokane order of the Commission, Ogden and other Utah cities, and cities of Nevada, are in revolt against rates that look queer to persons unskilled in the science of rate making. Here, for example, are some rates selected at random:

**Shipments From Chicago.**

Commodity.	Pounds, Car.	To San	
		Utah.	Francisco.
Coffee, roasted.....	30,000	\$399	\$333
Coffee, green.....	30,000	399	225
Window glass.....	30,000	360	270
Paint .....	40,000	478	380
Printing paper.....	40,000	420	300
Nails .....	40,000	440	280

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The unenlightened people of Utah and Nevada assert that they are not getting a square deal.

They don't understand why San Francisco or any other Coast city should have the natural advantage of water competition from Atlantic ports, and also the artificial advantage of rail rates so much lower from the East that freight can be hauled to the Pacific Ocean and back to them at as low rates as they can get from the East.

Ogden, for example, is 786 miles east of San Francisco. As Ogdenites see it, the "long-and-short-haul-plus-water-competition" theorists have disfigured Justice and disguised her as a footpad.

The Pacific Coast jobbers and the rate makers of the public highway highwaymen have made her a scientific road agent.

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The rate makers have recently decided that they cannot give Los Angeles the same rates as they give San Francisco to San Joaquin Valley points, because to haul goods from Los Angeles to points in that valley they must lift their cars over a mountain range.

But to haul goods through Utah to San Francisco and then back to Utah—which San Francisco jobbers says is the natural way of doing business—means an extra haul of 1,572 miles for each car, lifting the car 2,717 feet to the top of a mountain range, lowering it 7,018 feet to San Francisco, lifting it 7,018 feet again and lowering it 2,717 feet to Ogden.

According to the jobbers and rate makers, it is worth \$174 less to take a carload of green coffee to San Francisco than to drop it at Ogden, and worth not a cent more to haul that car 1,572 extra miles and lift and lower it just 825 feet less than two miles.

Their statement is not accompanied by affidavits.

From Chicago to Ogden is 1,492 miles by the shortest route. From Chicago to San Francisco by the shortest route, via Ogden, is 2,278 miles. If Ogden ought to pay as much for a carload of window glass over the 1,492 miles from Chicago as over the 3,064 miles from Chicago to San Francisco and back to Ogden, what's the use of an Interstate Commerce Commission and a railroad rate law?

The railroad kings complain that the interior country is not settled, has few factories, and originates comparatively little freight.

Who's to blame?

Look at the long and short haul rates. Even a Mad Hatter never dreamed that the charge for carrying one pound of green coffee 44,760,000

miles should be more than for 68,340,000 miles. But that's what the rate makers say.

The people of the United States would save money by taking the railroads, carrying freight and passengers free of charge, and paying the operating and maintenance expenses out of the resulting increase in land values.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date. Ⓜ

Week ending Tuesday, August 10, 1909.

### Cleveland Traction Referendum.

The exact vote in Cleveland on the Schmidt traction ordinance on the 3d (p. 755) was as follows:

Against the ordinance.....	34,785
For the ordinance.....	31,022

Total vote .....	65,807
Majority against .....	3,763

At a meeting of Mayor Johnson and the Democratic members of the City Council, except Walz, on the 4th, it was decided to propose resumption of negotiations with the Cleveland Railway Company and Mayor Johnson issued the following statement:

To the Public: The majority members of the City Council, together with the Mayor and members of the administration, hereby announce that they will in any public way take up at once with the Cleveland Railway Co. negotiations looking to an immediate settlement of the street railroad question at any time, place and manner the railway company may designate.

A special session of the City Council was held on the 5th upon a call signed by Councilman Walz (Democrat) and four Republican members. Mayor Johnson was not in attendance, but President Andrews of the traction company was. At this session Councilman Walz offered an ordinance granting a blanket franchise to the traction company, but it was laid on the table by a vote of 25 to 6, and the Council adjourned to the 23d.

After the adjournment of the Council on the 5th, President Andrews notified Mayor Johnson

of the willingness of the company's representatives to attend any meeting to consider terms of settlement; and Mayor Johnson forthwith called a public meeting of the Council and the administrative officials, for the 6th, in committee of the whole. At this meeting it was unanimously voted to use the Baker ordinance as a basis for negotiations; a proposition to which President Andrews assented, saying he would prepare a statement of the alterations the company wanted. The meeting adjourned subject to call.

As a result of the defeat of the Schmidt referendum, the traction company's stock rose on the 5th in Cleveland from \$70 a share to \$73 offered and \$75 asked.

### The Grand Junction Plan of City Government.

The work of the Grand Junction, Colorado, charter convention (p. 612) is finished. In several respects the charter as drafted is the most democratic municipal charter ever proposed with any possibility of adoption. The convention labored under difficulties, or an even better document might have been offered. Their time was restricted to 60 days and the Constitution prevented some fiscal reforms that would otherwise have been adopted. For the most part the charter is the work of James W. Bucklin, formerly State Senator, and author of the "Bucklin amendment" (vol. v, p. 664), who, as president of the convention and ex officio a member of all committees, devoted his entire time to the work. The referendum for adoption of this charter will take place September 14. There seems to be no substantial opposition, although the interests of public utility corporations, saloons and political machines are at stake, and representatives of these interests will defeat it if they can. The first election under the charter, if it passes, is fixed for November 2.

This charter embodies all the efficiency and democratic features of the Des Moines plan, including the initiative, referendum and recall. Its declared intent and purpose, officially stated, is "to establish a free and independent city, and to restore to and vest in the people of the city, so far as the Constitution of the State will permit, their natural, inherent, and inalienable right of local self-government, with all its powers, duties, and responsibilities." To this end the municipal government is vested, independently of legislative interference, with all powers not denied it by the Constitution of the State. The people of the city are vested with its supreme legislative powers, with easy preliminary conditions in making and changing its charter and ordinances, and also with the absolute and exclusive power of authoriz-

ing, regulating or terminating the franchises of its public service corporations, and of recalling its elective officers. Partisan and machine politics and government are inhibited, and a municipal democracy substituted therefor. No fixed tenure of office or employment is permitted, except subject to recall of elective officers, and as authorized by a classified civil service for employes. The city wards and the saloons are abolished. Opportunities for graft and favoritism in innumerable directions are eliminated. The city is divided into five administrative departments: public affairs, finance and supplies, highways, health and civic beauty, and water and sewers. But the question of having three commissioners to administer the five departments, instead of the five provided for in the charter, is submitted as an alternative proposition to a vote of the qualified electors at the same time that they vote on the adoption of the charter. The commission form of government has been improved by electing each commissioner directly to his department and clearly defining his duties. As each commissioner is required to take the active charge and management of his department, giving his whole time to it, he is regarded as having before him the opportunity and incentive of becoming a specialist therein. Taxes on occupations, license fees for selling fruits and vegetables or any other products of the State, and poll taxes, are all abolished.

The most unique feature, however, of the Grand Junction plan is its preferential system of voting at popular elections. Instead of providing for direct primaries as in the Des Moines plan (pp. 331, 470) or for second elections as in the Berkeley plan (p. 155), the Grand Junction plan provides for a complete unification of primaries and elections at each election, and for the choice of candidates in proportion to the number of their respective supporters. As the official summary expresses it, "the preferential system of voting has been established in lieu of direct primaries or of second elections, thus securing a unique and accurate expression of the public will at the polls, with the minimum of cost and effort." This innovation is a form of proportional representation, now widely in use in Australia. It has never been adopted in the United States, except in a modified way, and only for primaries in the State of Idaho. If the people of Grand Junction adopt this charter in September, preferential voting will have its first trial in the United States at Grand Junction in November.

#### Issues of National Interest in Nebraska.

Judicial nullification of legislative acts promises to be a live issue in Nebraska politics this fall, although the election in November is a

bye-election, the only officers to be chosen being three judges of the Supreme Court and two regents of the State University.

Nebraska's last legislature, which was Democratic, passed laws providing for the guaranty of bank deposits and for the non-partisan election of judges of the Supreme and District courts. Both of these laws have been nullified by the courts. In the case of the bank guaranty law, final decision has not been rendered. A temporary restraining order, pending a final decision of the constitutionality of the act, has been issued by Willis Vandeventer, a Federal judge, whose residence is in Wyoming. It was issued at the instigation of about fifty bankers, who combined in a suit, and whose chief counsel is William V. Allen, formerly a Populist United States Senator for Nebraska. The non-partisan judiciary law was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court, on what a layman would pronounce frivolous grounds. These two judicial acts have aroused considerable public indignation. The spectacle of a non-resident Federal judge coming into the State and preventing the enforcement of a law passed by a legislature chosen by the people—such law having been a campaign issue—is especially distasteful to a large number of Nebraska people.

The Democratic State convention, called solely to promulgate a platform, took cognizance of the acts of the State and Federal judiciary and, in its platform, after recounting what had occurred, inserted the following plank:

We submit that this presents an issue of great and far reaching importance. We are coming to be more and more a people governed by our courts. The courts are the bulwarks of our liberties as well as the harbor to which special privilege flees in every storm, and the instrumentalities through which it asserts, with growing arrogance, its power to defy the people's legislatures and the people's executives. There never was a time when the necessity for keeping courts invested with, or asserting extraordinary powers on a plane above suspicion or reproach, presented itself more forcefully than it does now.

Three of the judges who pronounced the judicial act unconstitutional are candidates for renomination on the Republican ticket. Should they receive the nomination at the coming primaries, a strong appeal will be made to the people to defeat them as a punishment for that decision.

#### Enactment of the New Tariff Law.

The tariff bill (p. 755) which has been pending in Congress since its meeting in special session on the 15th of last March (p. 271) was adopted

by the Senate on the 5th as reported by the conference committee, and, having already passed the lower house, was immediately signed by the President and is now the law.

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Prior to the vote there was some discussion, in the course of which Senator Dolliver (Republican) of Iowa presented a statement prepared by the Treasury Department, and said:

It shows that the rates in the cotton schedule are increased over the present law all along the line, and some of them as much as 100 per cent. And yet the statement has been made here that only minor and insignificant changes had been made in that schedule. The American people are being duped with that kind of humbug and misrepresentation. I denounce this as an organized conspiracy against the American people. I do not propose to go back to my people and tell them I accepted an act which, in a few years, is likely to mean a reorganization of the cotton business with unnumbered millions in common stock, issued against the statutes of the United States.

Senator La Follette (Republican) of Wisconsin presented for publication in the Record as a document a statement carefully prepared by the bureau of manufactures of the Department of Commerce and Labor, showing 286 increases of duty and 38 decreases of duty, which do not appear in the table printed by the conferees; and, alluding to his having been prevented from commenting, said that nevertheless between now and December he would make a number of speeches, in the course of which he would express his opinion of the Senate and the tariff bill.

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In the vote Democrats were supported in opposition to the bill by the following Republicans:

Beveridge of Indiana, Bristow of Kansas, Clapp of Minnesota, Cummins of Iowa, Dolliver of Iowa, La Follette of Wisconsin, and Nelson of Minnesota. The vote stood 47 for the bill and 31 opposed.

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An attempt to put cotton bagging into the free list was defeated by 43 to 36; and by 42 to 23 an attempt to put shoes, harness and saddlery into the free list was also voted down. A concurrent resolution was immediately adopted by both Houses correcting the leather schedule.

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President Taft signed the new law at 5:05 p. m., and at 6 the two Houses adjourned sine die.

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#### The New Tariff Law.

As enacted, the new tariff law (p. 755) is long, technical and complicated.

It puts into the free list hides, petroleum, cotton seed oil, croton oil, paintings and sculpture twenty years old, wooden fence-posts, canary seed, radium, and several chemicals; but it takes out of the Dingley free list tin and tin ore after American mines shall begin to produce 1,500 tons a year.

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It authorizes the President to employ experts to assist him in enforcing the tariff.

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It continues the reciprocity arrangements with Cuba, and establishes free trade to a limited extent with the Philippines.

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Drawbacks are allowed on exported products into the manufacture of which dutiable imports have been used.

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A court of appeal in customs cases is established with five \$10,000 judges whose decisions are to be final.

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The clause for taxing corporations provides for a tax of 1 per cent upon the entire net income over and above \$5,000 exclusive of amount received as dividends upon stock of other corporations subject to the tax. Exempted from this tax are labor, agricultural and horticultural organizations, fraternal beneficiary societies, orders and associations operating under the lodge system and providing for the payment of life, sick, accident and other benefits to members, domestic building and loan associations operated exclusively for the benefit of members, and religious, charitable and educational institutions. Corporations subject to the tax must file attested reports. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue is empowered to examine the books of any corporation as he deems expedient, but no information collected by the government relative to the affairs of the corporation shall be made public except on orders of the President.

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The bill makes the rate of duty prescribed by the schedules of the dutiable list the minimum tariff of the United States, and provides that an addition thereto of 25 per cent ad valorem shall constitute the maximum tariff, which shall be applied on proclamation to be issued by the President to such foreign countries as apply discriminations against American imports or pay export bounties or impose export duties or prohibition.

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#### President Taft's Apology.

Following his approval of the new tariff law (p. 755) President Taft gave to the newspapers a

statement which he had prepared in collaboration with Attorney General Wickersham and Senators Root and Aldrich, in which he said:

I have signed the Payne tariff bill because I believe it to be the result of sincere effort on the part of the Republican party to make a downward revision and to comply with the promises of the platform as they have been generally understood and as I interpreted them in the campaign before election. This is not a perfect tariff bill, nor a complete compliance with the promises made strictly interpreted, but a fulfillment free from criticism in respect to a subject matter involving many schedules and thousands of articles could not be expected. It suffices to say that except with regard to whisky, liquors, and wines, and in regard to silks and as to some high classes of cottons—all of which may be treated as luxuries and proper subjects of a revenue tariff—there have been few increases in rates. There have been a great number of real decreases in rates, and they constitute a sufficient amount to justify the statement that this bill is a substantial downward revision and a reduction of excessive rates.

This is not a free trade bill. It was not intended to be. The Republican party did not promise to make a free trade bill. It promised to make the rates protective, but to reduce them when they exceeded the difference between the cost of production abroad and here, making allowance for the greater normal profit on active investments here. I believe that while this excess has not been reduced in a number of cases, in a great majority the rates are such as are necessary to protect American industries, but are low enough, in case of abnormal increase of demand and raising of prices, to permit the possibility of the importation of the foreign article and thus to prevent excessive prices.

The power granted to the Executive under the maximum and minimum clause may be exercised to secure the removal of obstacles which have been interposed by foreign governments in the way of undue and unfair discrimination against American merchandise and products.

The Philippine tariff section I have struggled to secure for ten years last past, and it gratifies me exceedingly by my signature to give it the effect of law. I am sure it will greatly increase the trade between the two countries, and it will do much to build up the Philippines in a healthful prosperity.

The administrative clauses of the bill and the customs court are admirably adapted to secure a more uniform and a more speedy final construction of the meaning of the law.

The authority to the President to use agents to assist him in the application of the maximum and minimum section of the statute, and to enable officials to administer the law, gives a wide latitude for the acquisition, under circumstances favorable to its truth, of information in respect to the price and cost of production of goods at home and abroad which will throw much light on the operation of the present tariff and be of primary importance—of officially collected data upon which future Executive

action and Executive recommendations may be based.

The corporation tax is a just and equitable excise measure, which it is hoped will produce a sufficient amount to prevent a deficit and which incidentally will secure valuable statistics and information concerning the many corporations of the country and will constitute an important step toward that degree of publicity and regulation which the tendency in corporate enterprises in the last twenty years has shown to be necessary.

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#### The British Land Question.

The debates over the British financial bill (p. 727) both in the House of Commons and out among the people has settled down to the land question. Churchill's speech, reproduced in *The Public* last week (p. 762) is an example of the kind that both he and Lloyd George are making on the public platform; and Asquith himself struck the key-note, as may be seen from our recent extracts (p. 683) from his Southport speech. Press dispatches of the 7th, particularly the *New York World's* special dispatches, describe, in the language of the dispatches themselves, "a startling change owing to the increasing popularity of the budget." It seems from these dispatches that "the attempts to terrify the public by denouncing its manifold democratic provisions as socialistic have failed, and now the House of Lords has ceased threatening to reject it;" and that the platform speeches of George and Churchill "have so powerfully influenced public opinion that the *Times* and the *Daily Mail*, hitherto virulent opponents of the budget, are now warning the Tory party of the futility of attacking the measure further." Naturally "the Tories are furious."

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Mail advices are indicative of the progress of the bill through the Commons and the attitude toward it of the public mind. "Land Values" for August says of it that—

In its original form the bill was of the weakest possible nature so far as the taxation of land values is concerned. New exemptions of different kinds of land from the operation of the increment duty have further weakened it to such an extent that serious Liberals are now demanding that the valuation shall be limited to land on which taxes actually fall. There is to be no tax on the value of agricultural land, no tax on freeholds the value of which is under £500, no tax on land held by local authorities, no tax on land held for public or charitable purposes, and no tax on land belonging to statutory companies, such as railways—land which can only be used for statutory purposes. In spite of these exemptions the Government declare that they will provide for a complete valuation of land apart from improvements. . . . We fully appreciate the importance of the finance bill. By introducing the proposal to value the land of the country it has raised a great issue. But

we have been compelled to point out ever since the introduction of the budget that the Government have shown a great and unnecessary disloyalty to this Liberal principle, and as great and unnecessary an anxiety to conform their measure to systems which are opposed to it. This is fatal so far as it prevails. . . . The budget contains positive vices, yet in response to the protests and threats of landlords the Government are abandoning the only alternative to these. Nothing could be more foolish from every point of view. The budget, with its stamp duties, petrol, motor, and tobacco taxes, was hostile to trade at first. Every subsequent modification has been dictated by concern for Conservative and reactionary claims. Exemptions have been made with regard to land values which will remain as fences erected across the path of progress; speeches have been made in support of these exemptions which will stultify future Governments. Ministers seem to be wanting in a knowledge of simple political facts, or these facts are ignored by them. The people of this country are hungering and thirsting for the application of Liberal principles. It is the duty, and would be to the advantage, of the Liberal party to apply these principles. Because the Government have done this to some extent they have renewed their strength. But why should they mock and deceive the country by their exemptions?

The "Nation," more socialistic than "Land Values," refers in this wise to the same matters in its issue of July 17:

As long as the two main principles of the bill stand, we shall not greatly quarrel with concessions on secondary matters. These two principles are the taxation of unearned increment and the requirement of universal valuation. They are, as we have shown, complementary principles, together necessary to the setting of our land system and our fiscal system on a sound economic basis. The increment tax standing alone the landowners might accept. It is valuation as checked by the development tax which they fight and will fight without compromise. To value the land is to divulge the secret of the social system. It is to hold up to the general gaze the basis of a great part of wealth, to expose the venomous ulcer which saps urban life, to indicate the true source of municipal taxation and measure its copiousness, to bar the profitable transactions of landowners with public bodies. Let us be quite clear that no concession will avail for the speedier passing of the budget as long as we retain valuation for the double purpose of the development duty and the increment tax. Let us also be quite clear that on our side there can be no tampering with these principles. They are the heart of the bill; they contain the promise of a new departure in social legislation; they are the fulfillment of a pledge to the municipalities; they have put a wholly new spirit into the supporters of the Government, and have enlisted in its aid the enthusiasm of social reformers which under a series of disappointments had waxed cold. Any failure here, any weakness, is out of the question.

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The Labor party, in their quarterly circular, issued July 29, state that the budget, taken as a

whole, but particularly the clauses imposing additional taxes on high unearned incomes and on land and monopoly values, has been heartily welcomed by the Labor party as a beginning of a system of finance based upon the principles outlined in a resolution carried unanimously at the special conference held at Portsmouth this year. "We hope," the circular goes on, "that every organization affiliated to us will see that, however many defects there may be in the bill, the Government's proposals should, wherever it can be done without conflicting with our own constitution, receive their most active support, and be saved from the destruction which the wealthy and the landowning classes desire for it."

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#### The Czar's Sea Visits.

The Czar of Russia, whose promised visits to France and England aroused such storms of protest from the radicals of both countries (p. 754), hardly trod English soil more than French (p. 754). He was landed very quietly on the Isle of Wight on the 4th, and with the King visited the naval station at Osborne. During the remainder of his English visit he remained on shipboard, and there received deputations from the lord mayor and corporations of London and from various chambers of commerce. On the 5th he started on his return journey to Russia.

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#### The Spanish Uprising.

Though order is now reported as having been restored to Spain (p. 753), there is said to be a deep undercurrent of dissatisfaction and resentment in the subdued Barcelona region. The repressive measures of the government were severe, and Republicans of prominence, including several aldermen, are still held in the dungeons of Fortress Montjuich. Upon the fate accorded to the 500 prisoners in the fortress may depend the question of another uprising in the immediate future. The military authorities are believed to favor a wholesale shooting, which, it is declared, would precipitate another revolution. A Republican Senator, Senor Solortega, claims that during the two days that the revolutionists were masters of Barcelona they did not commit a single act of cruelty or permit an assassination. A prominent Republican of Barcelona is quoted as accounting for the excesses of the populace and for the failure of the movement, as follows: "The insurrection at first had the support of all the Republican elements in the country and promised to be a complete success; but when the anarchists and the anti-clericals began burning and sacking the churches and convents the better class of Republicans withdrew. Had it not been for the insane ferocity of the fanatics I sincerely believe that the

Republican flag would today be flying over Catalonia."

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#### Labor War in Sweden.

A dispute over wages in the woolen and cotton industries of Sweden, over which 13,000 men were locked out of the factories, involved other industries, and on the 2nd the Employers' Federation declared a lockout of the iron foundry hands, numbering about 30,000. Other industries followed with lockouts, and labor followed with strikes. The employes of the municipality of Stockholm, the capital city, and the state telegraph linemen, entered the strike early, and it has been feared from day to day that the railway men's union would join them. On the 3rd the banks of Stockholm were closed and put under guard. On the same day all the ferries running out of Stockholm ceased operations, and the large steamers engaged during the summer in carrying visitors and residents to the seaside resorts on the islands in the Baltic, stopped running, discharged their crews and laid up for the winter. The street car employes and cab drivers of Stockholm stopped work on the 4th. All milk supplies were cut off, to the great hurt of the babies. The grave-diggers of the Northern cemetery struck on the same day, but those employed in the Southern cemetery remained at work. On the day following paupers were put to work burying the dead, and stretchers were used for hearses for the funerals, which were escorted through the streets by soldiers. By the 5th Stockholm was suffering severely for want of food, and the government was bringing in what it could in guarded army wagons. Prices for food were high, almost prohibitive for the poor. The strikers themselves were largely living in tents or in the open, on the shores of Lake Malar or the sea, and subsisting on fish. The strike leaders claimed on the 5th that 300,000 men were then on strike, about one twentieth of the population of Sweden. On the 6th many strikers, driven by hunger, or, as it is claimed by the authorities, by dissensions, returned to work, among them some of the striking grave-diggers. The National Labor Union published a statement on the 6th disapproving of the strike of the electric light and gas workers, and those plants seem to have been kept working without interruption. On the 6th the strikers held their first general meeting in the woods north of Stockholm. They resolved to continue the strike, and demanded that the railroad, postal, telegraph and telephone employes and the printers should join them. The meeting was peaceable, but the authorities took the precaution of watching it through telescopes from a captive balloon that was in telephonic communication with military and police headquarters. Soldiers in two regiments, one at Falner and the other at Solleftea, made mutinous demonstrations in sympathy with the

strikers on the 6th and 7th, and were confined in their barracks. The presidents of the Employers' Association and the Federation of Trade Unions were given an audience by King Gustav on the 7th, but no agreement could be arrived at. The Farmers' Association appealed to the public on the 9th, to aid in harvesting the crops, which was being prevented by the strike of farm hands. Some of the printers struck on the 9th, and news venders were refusing to distribute papers of non-socialistic tendencies.

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The Employers' Association was reported on the 8th to be paying out \$40,000 daily to support its weaker members. The treasury of the Association was said to be in a condition to stand this drain for three weeks, and to have behind it in addition a reserve fund of \$1,500,000, which could be drawn upon for an emergency.

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The strikers have been aided by their brethren in other countries, especially by the Scandinavians of other nationalities. The Norwegian labor unionists had already contributed \$40,000 to their Swedish brethren by the 5th, and were collecting more. The Danish unions had promised to contribute a percentage of their weekly wages as long as the lockouts lasted; and collections were being taken up for the strikers, in Finland. In addition to much aid from these sources, it was reported on the 8th that large contributions were being received daily from Germany, Rumania and Bulgaria. It was announced on the 9th that a delegate of the Central Federation of Trade Unions, named Tholin, would shortly be sent to the United States for the purpose of collecting contributions for the strikers.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The Seventeenth National Irrigation Congress met at Spokane on the 9th, with George E. Barstow presiding.

—The 55th annual convention of the International Typographical Union assembled at St. Joseph, Mo., on the 9th.

—The 8th annual convention of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union opened at Kansas City, Mo., on the 9th.

—The Chinese government is reported to have signed a contract with a New York company for the installation of a complete telephone system in Peking, at a cost of \$150,000.

—The government land lottery for distributing the Coeur d'Alene Indian reservation took place on the 9th. Swarming around a large net-covered cage, hundreds of eager men and women saw Helen Hamilton, 12 years old, put her hands into a heap of 105,000 yellow envelopes and draw out the name of the lucky

man who won the right to first choice of the 1,500 homestead and timber claims. Each of the 105,000 persons applying for Coeur d'Alene lands has one chance in 333.

—The highest railroad tunnel in the world is being bored through the Andes for the railroad under construction from Arica, Chile, to La Paz, Bolivia. The tunnel will be five miles long, and it pierces the Andes 12,000 feet above sea level.

—The Psychological Congress, in session at Geneva, Switzerland, elected the following officers on the 6th: Honorary president, William James of Cambridge, Mass.; president, James Mark Baldwin of Baltimore, and vice presidents, Edward Bradford Titchener Sage, professor of psychology at Cornell university, and James McKeen Cattell, professor of psychology at Columbia university. An invitation from Boston, to hold the next congress, which will come in 1913, in that city, was accepted.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 758) for July, 1909, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910:

Gold reserve fund .....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cost .....	108,437,754.71

Total .....	\$258,437,754.71
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On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1909 .....	274,453,841.25
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Decrease .....	\$16,016,086.54
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—Citizens of Pittsburg with memories of Henry George are arranging through a committee (P. O. box 305, Pittsburg) to celebrate his seventieth birthday, September 2nd, with a dollar dinner at Hotel Henry at 7:15 in the evening. The principal speakers are to be ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island, and Rabbi J. Leonard Levy of Pittsburg. Seats at the table are reported to be in unexpectedly good demand. The contemplated speaking program includes the Recall, the Initiative and Referendum, the British budget, the Commission form of city government, and "Democracy Triumphant."

—During the quarter just ended the Single Tax Information Bureau (headquarters at 134 Clarkson St., Brooklyn, N. Y.), has sent out 8,903 pieces of literature. The Bureau makes the following financial statement:

Contributions received .....	\$78.14
Deficit from last report (p. 471) .....	\$3.52
Postage .....	13.68
Literature .....	12.03
Expressage .....	2.15
Envelopes .....	25
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	\$31.63

Balance on hand .....	\$46.51
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—For the promotion of closer commercial and political affiliations between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain, a delegation of members of the Turkish parliament has been visiting in England, and has been formally received by the chambers of commerce and exchanges of the large English cities. The creation of a National Bank of Turkey is now under way, and its presidency has been offered to and accepted by Sir Henry Babington Smith, who has been secretary to the British post office since 1903, and who was British representative on and president of

the council of administration of the Ottoman public debt, back in 1900 and 1901.

—It will doubtless interest many a disciple of Henry George to learn of a coincidence which relates the lives of two of their prominent associates—John Filmer, who has long been well known to those of them that live in New York or Brooklyn, and Louis Prang, who recently died (pp. 604, 613) and whose name as an art publisher is a household word. These two men learned wood engraving together in the same Boston establishment and at the same bench in the early fifties; and after years of living apart, their old friendship was renewed under the impulses of the common purpose which both had meanwhile imbibed from the books of Henry George, with whom both had come also into intimate personal relations.

—The seventieth birthday of Henry George is to be celebrated at Springfield, Ill. (p. 663) on the 2d with a dollar dinner at the St. Nicholas Hotel at 7:30 in the evening. The chairman is to be R. F. Hendon, a leading dry goods merchant of Springfield, the toastmaster being Congressman James M. Graham. David Felmley, president of the State Normal University, will speak on "The Philosophy of Henry George." Henry George, Jr., who has just returned from a trip around the world, will describe "The World's Progress Towards Social Justice," and Raymond Robins will close with a speech on "Henry George and the Labor Problem." As this celebration is to be of State rather than local character, the committee offer a cordial welcome to friends from all parts of Illinois.

—Following is an account of the London dinner to Henry George, Jr., as reported in Land Values for August: "Mr. George arrived in London on July 1st, having come from the United States by way of Japan, Siberia, Russia, and Germany. On July 12th he was entertained to dinner in the Trocadero Restaurant. Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, M. P., was in the chair. Among others present were Mrs. Wedgwood, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fels, Mrs. Samuel Fels, Mr. and Mrs. Coates, Mr. and Mrs. Berens, Alderman and Mrs. Raffan, Judge Edward Osgood Brown (Chicago), E. Belfour, C. H. Smithson, T. F. Walker, W. R. Lester, R. L. Outhwaite, and John Paul. The speeches in connection with the different toasts had all reference to the budget. On this occasion Mr. George and Mr. Brown gave their impression of the British movement from the American point of view, while here and in interviews with representatives of the Press, Mr. George told how the progress of the budget was being watched with keen interest in Japan and Germany."

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### The Cleveland Traction Referendum.

State Register (Springfield, Ill.), (Dem.), August 4. —While this must be a great disappointment to Mayor Johnson, the real loss is sustained by the people themselves who have thus strikingly illustrated how the gratitude and support of the people cannot always be depended upon as a reward of real fundamental, patriotic municipal official service.

Tom Johnson has made a tremendous sacrifice for principle. He has spent his fortune, poured out the best years of his life, and fought—for what? For the people! If he had continued his former life—his struggle for personal gain—he could easily have been a multi-millionaire. A study of economics, an analysis of principle revealed to him a duty to himself and to the people—a duty he has abundantly fulfilled, though his reward is defeat. So great and good a man may yet accomplish much. People all over the country are ready to show more gratitude for his service in behalf of principle than the people of his own city—Cleveland, Ohio. He has hosts of friends, millions of admirers. Should his work stop now (and we do not believe it will) his name and fame as a champion of equal rights and foe of privilege will live on and on and be revered long after those plutocrats who jingle the money Privilege provides for them, and who mock and sneer at Tom Johnson's defeat, will be dead, gone and forgotten.

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Milwaukee Daily News (Ind. Dem.), August 5.—Once more the crushing defeat and utter annihilation of Tom Johnson is announced. We would hardly know there is a Cleveland, Ohio, on the map if we did not get regular reports of Tom Johnson swept off the political map. Again and again his political funeral has been anticipated. Milwaukee's all-day trolley organ is especially pleased. It actually gloats over a temporary set-back by a slight majority in a referendum vote over the entire city of Cleveland. The organ loses its sense of decency and goes so far as to speak of the "fat carcass" of Tom Johnson. The trolley organ shows in its attitude toward Tom Johnson that when it comes to raking the muck and slinging dirty epithets, it is easily the equal of those whom it so readily denounces for defending public interests.

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#### Attitudes Toward Labor Strikes.

The Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), Aug. 4.—The employes of the Chicago street cars are asking for a little more of the wealth they produce. They have made many millionaires in this city. They are receiving a wage insufficient to permit a decent life for themselves and their families. . . . Now these men are asking for a larger share of the wealth they create. They are threatening, if this is refused them, to refrain from all work and forego all wages for a time in the hope that the resulting decrease in profits will induce the owners to increase wages. . . . The Daily Socialist is not going to tell these men to strike or to refrain from striking. The Tribune and other organs of the employers are doing that. We are not giving advice on this point, because it is a question which no one can decide for the men and women who are to be affected. It is the wives and families of the men involved who will suffer during the strike, and who are suffering now from insufficient wages, and who will reap the advantages or disadvantages of defeat or victory. For any one else to attempt to decide such a question for them would be impudence. But if they decide to go out on strike they will never need to inquire where the Daily Socialist will stand during the fight. It will be with those who do the work, with those who

are asking for a small portion of what is due them—with the strikers.

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#### Bismarck's American Disciple.

Indianapolis Daily News (ind.), July 17.—We are reminded of Bismarck's famous declaration that "whoever wishes to make the electors discontented with the government will seek to maintain direct taxation. Whoever wishes to see the population contented will favor indirect taxes." Of course, the meaning is clear. It is that a government supported by indirect taxes could do whatever it wished to do, with the assurance that it would be subjected to no criticism from the electors. No matter how extravagant it might be, no matter in how many wicked wars it might involve the country, no matter how imperial its methods, the people would be "contented." But if it should waste money, fight iniquitous wars, and convert itself into an imperialistic despotism, the people would be "discontented" if they were honestly asked to foot the bills. Thus it is that indirect taxes operate to stifle criticism, and to give rulers a free hand to work their will. The same crimes may be committed under either system. Under both precisely the same amount of money is paid by the people into the national treasury. The only difference is that in one case the people do not know they are paying the taxes, while in the other case they do. Men who can be thus deceived are, of course, very childish. But many are thus deceived. So it has come to pass that the indirect system of taxation has served well the purposes of imperialistic and extravagant statesmen. The addition of a few cents to the income tax is enough to raise a howl. But the lifting of a hundred or so duties by 100 per cent, duties the effect of which no one can understand, has little influence on the people. The tax does not come so directly home to them. They may know that they are paying it, but they do not realize it. So they are, as Bismarck said, "contented." . . . Bismarck was right. Aldrich is a worthy disciple of the great German who could get money out of the people without their knowing that their pockets had been rifled.

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#### Progress of the Single Tax.

(Chicago) Real Estate News, June.—Socialism, a name in America, has become to English taxpayers the grimmest of realities. Last summer the needs of the navy were belittled while the enormous burden of old-age pensions was assumed, and now a panic terror is demanding redoubled efforts to maintain the two-power standard on the seas. The result is a deficit of \$80,000,000, with more to come, and a budget that strikes terror to the heart of all vested interests. A significant feature of the ministerial program is the taxation of ground rents, untenanted estates, and leased properties. David Lloyd-George frankly admits the intention of the government to appropriate a large portion of the "unearned increment." The budget is socialistic, and is a distinct victory for the single tax propaganda. The time may not be far distant in this country also when the single tax will have to be met squarely by real estate men, and when it can no longer be ignored

as mere speculative theory. The hunger for revenues will outstrip all ordinary sources of supply.

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The (Oklahoma) Oklahoman (ind. Dem.), July 25.—Mr. Lloyd-George's budget, for instance, contains proposals which are calculated to shock all but the most extreme of our theorists. In dealing with land, the Chancellor of the Exchequer takes a long step toward the goal which Henry George had in view when he wrote his classic book, "Progress and Poverty." The spirit of the bill is embodied in the clauses which relate to the "unearned increment."

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#### The Great Issue in England.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), by William Marion Reedy, July 22.—Consequences of almost unimaginable benefit to mankind depend upon the fight the Liberal government of Great Britain is making for the burden-bearers of society against the confederacy of wealth and privilege and aristocracy. The Liberals have a majority in the Commons, but the majority seems to be precarious. All the tremendous influence of the nobility, the landed gentry, the vast business concerns of the Empire is brought to bear in every way against the budget. This opposition is headed by the brilliant Balfour in the Commons, and by Lord Rothschild, the head of the wealthiest family in the world. The power of money and of social prestige is reinforced by the animus of factional bigotry, the discordant tendencies of racial and religious feeling, the subtle bribery of the approval of the successful to break down the ministerial majority. The budget is opposed as being godless. It is an attack upon property. It is insidious treason to the Empire. It is anarchy. And all because the budget proposes to tax into the government's coffers at each transfer of land a small percentage of that increase in value from the time of the last preceding transfer that is due not to the application of any labor to the property by the owner. Every possible appeal on every conceivable side issue of interest to individuals and factions, is made against the budget. There are a million arguments against the budget, but the one feature that concentrates upon itself the antagonism of every parasite of society or finance is the entering wedge of Henry Georgeism. . . . There has been no such fight in the world for the rights of man since Lincoln made his fight. But the American press is mostly silent upon the subject. Why? Because, to print the news of the battle would arouse Americans to the knowledge that all the present fight on privilege in this country is but make-believe and must end in defeat until the issue is changed into a direct attack upon monopoly in land. There's been no such struggle in England since Chartism. The people then won free corn—they thought. Only now are they learning that there can be free nothing until there is free land. But their representatives are subject to every allurement, every seduction that the classes bottomed on engrossed and forestalled land can bring to bear, also to every threat of personal disadvantage and defeat. "The week," says T. P. O'Connor, in Sunday's Chicago Tribune, "ends in darkness, uncertainty and peril. If Lloyd-George were not the most courageous

man in political life to-day, the situation would be hopeless, but his adroitness and courage and tenacity may carry the day." Nothing of this great drama which makes our own tariff rebate mere paltering, in our press. Why? Because the budget shows how to tax the wealth that belongs to all, because created by all, and is held by the few. Because the budget shows that tariffs are but a passing of the burden from the privileged to those whom privilege robs. Because the budget shows how to get at the unearned wealth of a country and therefore how to check the expenditure of government. Make government get its money from the wealth that is made by all the people and get it in such a way that wealth can't make the poor pay the tax in the long run and we shall have no great armies and navies on the backs of the poor. Nay, more; we shall have no poor, because there are the poor always with us for no other reason than that they have to pay for the right to live and then pay the cost of the government that gives the landlord the right to charge for the right to live.

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#### Artificial Soap and Natural Dirt.

(London and Glasgow) Land Values (land values taxation), August.—Speaking at a meeting of the Anti-Socialist Union at the Whitehall Rooms on 29th June, Mr. Long said: "Many forms of property depended on the community. There were men who had made great fortunes from the manufacture of soap. (Laughter). In some degree their success had been due to cheaper and better methods of manufacture, in some degree to advertising, for the people could now read—owing to state expenditure—and one lesson above all others that had been taught in the schools was that cleanliness was next to godliness. Did not the community come into that? (Hear, hear, and laughter). It was not due to the individual that the public was more anxious to wash now than 50 years ago." We would point out that as the demand for soap increases, whether due to state education or not, so also does the supply, and moreover there is keen competition to supply soap. It is different with land. Soap can be manufactured; land cannot.

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#### Landlord Insolence.

The (London) Nation (ind.-Lib.), July 17.—We have never in the history of politics met anything quite like the ill-bred insolence with which the landlords and their friends are conducting their alleged argument on the budget. The insolence is of all sorts and varieties. There is the insolence of the mendicant who whines for a boon, and curses the hand that gives it. There is the schoolboy insolence of Lord Winterton to Mr. Thorne, a Labor member of singularly honest and upright character, who was falsely accused of being drunk in the House, and half re-accused under pretense of an apology, until a real withdrawal and apology were wrung from the offender. There are the ponderous insolence of Lord Balfour of Burleigh and the flippant insolence of Lord Hugh Cecil, who abused the privileges of a deputation in order to bait the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his own room, and were properly trounced for their pains. Mr Lloyd George is the

son of a Welsh peasant, but during every phase of this controversy his superiority in temper and manners to the gentlemen of England has been not less conspicuous than his advantage in brains.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### THE COMING DAY.

For The Public.

Yes, the world is growing better,  
Better with each passing day—  
Clouds of darkness growing brighter,  
Clouds of hatred growing lighter;  
Greed and jealousy will vanish,  
Love and kindness surely banish  
Every lurid ray!

For the world is growing wiser,  
Wiser with each passing day—  
Learning that each man's a brother;  
Learning, when to one another  
Sympathy and help are given,  
Man is making earth a heaven,  
Glimpsing now the way!

Eyes that see, now greet the dawning;  
Ears that list, now hear the morning  
Call, "What cheer? What cheer?"  
While from every clime, glad voices  
Answer, 'till each heart rejoices,  
Banishing all fear:  
"False foundations now are shaken;  
Soon a sleeping world will waken;  
The promised Day draws near.  
Good cheer, good cheer!"

SARAH MARTYN WRIGHT.

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#### THE BRITISH REVOLUTION.

Augustine Birrell, of the British Ministry, at Bristol,  
England. From the Boston American  
of July 24.

The budget may be a revolution, as Lord Roseberry and his friends declare, but it will be a glorious revolution.

When I first entered Parliament, in 1889, our national budget called for eighty-nine million pounds. Today we need a budget of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty million pounds. Those are present here who will live to see a two hundred million budget. The people of this country have just got to make up their minds, rich and poor, that in order to maintain this great empire, in order to provide for the poor, in order to preserve ourselves from attack, they will have to make sacrifices and to feel the pinch of taxation.

Had the proper land tax been imposed one hundred years ago, heaven only knows how rich we should have been today. However, that money has gone. But for the future we will value the

land at its present value and hereafter if it should be shown on death or on transfer that the value of that land had increased, not in consequence of labor or material expended or of drainage or of other improvement as the result of expenditure, but simply and solely because it bordered on a town full of industrious people, all heavily taxed, we say it is not too much to demand for the safety of the country, for its defense against foreign invasion, that those people be asked to contribute some proportion of that accrued wealth, for which they did not labor, to the necessities of the state.

I say further, that no speaker among our opponents can stand before any audience in this country, unless it be composed of great landlords, and deny that this tax on unearned increment is a fair tax.

The government is determined to go on. It means to see this thing through. We will not speculate upon what may happen in the House of Lords. That body possesses in a marked degree the instinct of self-preservation, and I do not think it will rashly thwart the desire of the people to raise the money necessary for the conduct of the affairs of the country.

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#### A MESSAGE TO ENGLAND.

Address of Hon. Wm. H. Berry, Ex-Treasurer of the  
State of Pennsylvania, at a Meeting Called in  
Philadelphia, August 1, 1909, to Con-  
gratulate the British People on  
Their Budget Fight.

Gentlemen of Philadelphia, Fellow-Citizens of this Republic, and Brethren in the Fellowship of Man: I greet you on this occasion, and join you heartily in the purpose of this meeting. It is more than fitting—it is a matter of course—that here under the shadow of Independence Hall and within the sound of the Liberty Bell—in the very cradle that guarded the infancy of this mighty nation—an assembly of her citizens should send a greeting to the men and women of England in commemoration of the greatest step toward the establishment of justice and the guarantee of human rights that has been taken in a hundred years.

To those who have given the subject careful thought, the monopolization of natural resources, the common heritage of man, and the diversion of values created solely by the community into the coffers of individuals, enabling them to amass enormous fortunes and to lay a tribute perpetual and upon generations yet unborn, is a question of the deepest concern.

In this country land has been so relatively abundant that the evil of its monopolization by individuals has escaped general attention; but the prophetic soul of Henry George, a native of this city, saw the growing evil, and with matchless

skill and sublime courage he challenged the hoary wrong, and started a propaganda aimed at its destruction. Thousands and thousands of Americans have caught his spirit, and it is beyond question that the arguments in his "Progress and Poverty" and the plan of taxation presented by him have been immensely helpful to the disciples of human rights in securing their recent victory in England—a victory for humanity, whose far-flung line of consequences will encircle the world.

But if we have in the past failed to fully realize the evils of land monopoly in this country, the future is before us, and even the present is full of promise; for nowhere on earth have the common people a better opportunity to secure just laws than here, and the eyes of our people are focused upon all forms of monopoly as never before; and while I join in heartily extending to our sturdy British friends congratulation and the hand of human fellowship, I will speak to you for a while upon the general subject.

The success of our British friends, as I see it, is a step in the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth; and my text shall be a prayer that greets the rising sun at every moment of the day. The lisping tones of infancy, the sturdy voice of competent manhood and the faltering tongue of tottering age unite in this matchless prayer as the rolling earth presents new areas to the dawn: "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Thus the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is constantly declared by the generations of men.

The establishment of the kingdom of God on earth is the business of men, and this business consists largely of making just laws that encourage industry and insure to the man who works the use of all he produces. Equality of opportunity is a fundamental right and cannot be alienated. Monopoly in any form or any degree abridges this right and cannot be endured. The time is past when men can be reconciled to existing injustice in their earthly relations by the specious plea that the suffering of these wrongs will be compensated for in the life beyond the grave. The fatherhood of God is the essence of the gospel of Jesus, and it has the promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come.

And we who have seen, and having seen must ever see, the truth that Henry George labored to make plain—we who in Pennsylvania and in the other States of this nation are called "single taxers," and in Britain and British colonies are known as land-value taxationists"—strive not merely to have changed our tax laws, but to bring here and now the prayed-for Kingdom. We would establish here on earth—here in these United States—a righteous rule, under which no man able and willing to work for what he wants need be

idle or poor, under which no man need say to another "master!" under which we all shall equally enjoy the ownership of our land—of the fields and the mountains, the valleys and plains, the rivers and forests, and all that the Lord our God has given us.

And to what depth have we, a mighty people, even now fallen! Think of a nation of almost a hundred million people settled in a domain as wide and as broad as is ours—land enough for all the peoples of the earth—and then think that the citizen who has enough land to hold his little house and leave a little space big enough to hang half of the family wash feels that he is fortunate and a landed proprietor, that hundreds of thousands have no legal claim to as much as the twelve square feet that would be needed to decently bury them.

Then think that our mighty forests, our hidden stores of minerals and metals, our wide plains, the vast arid stretches that taxpayers are paying to have irrigated, all the natural resources of our land are owned by a comparatively few men who can live in luxury few kings have enjoyed, and yet see their power increasing to them and their children without end.

The area of the United States is so great that the rapid monopolization of land was for a long time but little felt; but it is now becoming evident that our system of land tenure—and our land laws are essentially the same as those the Britisher is beginning to fight—must within a generation or two produce a landowning class as arrogant, as powerful and as merciless as ever were princes and nobles, and a working class as subjected, as miserable, and cheated of the fruits of their labors, as were any serfs or slaves.

While Henry George, who has taught us, was a prophet and a seer, and while we, too, contemplate a perfection in government that has "not entered into the mind of man," yet we are not wild theorists nor idle dreamers, but hard, level-headed, practical business men. We know not only the ills we have, but the error that causes them and just how that error can be corrected.

I will say to you that the most serious of our social and political ills are really but symptoms of economic disease; that every economic problem that vexes us can be largely solved by the destruction of private property in land; and that property in land can be easily and safely yet surely and wholly destroyed by only taxing the owners of valuable land, and in proportion to value, and exempting everyone and everything else.

I cannot now discuss the many aspects of this wide and fundamental reform, but in closing I want to congratulate the British land taxationists upon having begun the fight and bid them fight on; and then will ask every one of you who have so patiently stood and listened to me to resolve

now here at this meeting that you will learn just what Henry George proposed, what single taxers are so persistently urging, what I and these other gentlemen have come here to speak of, and then each one decide for himself whether or not this is a righteous war.

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## A MESSAGE FROM DENMARK TO AMERICA.

Translated from the Danish Paper, "Husmanden,"  
for July 11, 1909, for The Public, by C. M. Koedt.

At the "Cottagers' Agricultural College" at Fyen on Sunday, July 4, there was a well attended meeting, which had drawn many "Cottagers" and their wives from distant parts of the country. The "Cottagers," or small home-owners, of Denmark (vol. ix, p. 1013; vol. xii, p. 55) number some 300,000. After singing the fellowship song, "The Fatherland is the People's Land," Attorney S. Berthelsen, of Hoeng, and editor of Ret (Justice), made an address in which he reminded his hearers that it was just 133 years since the North American States proclaimed the Declaration of Independence, drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, which became the starting point for the modern world movement toward civil and political liberty.

The speaker then described this American document of 1776, how it came about, its contents and importance, how it places the individual's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness foremost, and limits the task of government to watching over the liberty of the people and securing equal rights for all. In strong contrast he placed the French Revolution's "Declaration of Human Rights," in 1789, as being, though somewhat influenced by the American Declaration, much less really liberal. The Paris declaration built closely upon the old Roman law, he said, and about the state's power, the state owning us altogether and then in compensation having to protect and maintain us, in the way Rousseau has presented it in his book upon the "Social Contract." The French revolutionary movement thereby became the starting point for a false liberalism and later a false socialism with state encroachment upon the liberty of the individual, a false "humanity," a misunderstood "parliamentarism," a deceitful "protection," with burdensome "personal taxes," and facilities for land owners to throw taxes over upon the laboring and consuming community.

In direct contradistinction the American movement for independence becomes the starting point for true civil and political liberty, for limitation of governmental power, for every man's right to seek happiness through his own free labor, with personal liberty and free trade, with abolition of indirect taxation and the introduction of self government to the widest extent.

One hundred years later another American,

Henry George, continued Thomas Jefferson's work. On the 4th of July, 1877, he delivered in San Francisco his famous oration on liberty, in which he counseled his countrymen to be true to the "Declaration of Independence," showed them their sins against it, their punishment therefor in the prevailing social misery, and the way out to full economic freedom through taxing the land values created by the community. Through the worldwide movement which started from this oration of Henry George and his later labor, he has become the creator of a new time, our time, with its absolute demand by the people for full liberty, not only personal and political liberty, but economic liberty.

The Danish Cottagers' movement, which has built upon Henry George's ideas its demand for the repeal of all taxes on labor and consumption, and the introduction of a tax on the socially created values of land—but neither government despotism nor government donations—has reason to gratefully remember the American "Declaration of Independence," since therefrom descends, with Henry George as intermediate link, and in direct line, the "Kjoerge Resolution" of November 8, 1902—the Danish Cottagers' Economic Reform program.

Let us then conclude here, the speaker continued, as is done today at thousands of meetings in America, with reading that magnificent "Declaration of Independence" of 1776.

This reading was followed by vigorous hurrahs from the profoundly interested assemblage. Mr. Emil Rasmussen expressed his pleasure over the lecture; and as it was American day at the Aarhus exposition, where many thousands of Danish-Americans were met, he moved sending a message of greeting and gratitude to these Americans for what the Danes have received from America in love of freedom and strength of liberty, from Thomas Jefferson to Henry George. This motion was seconded and carried, and with great applause the following telegram was sent to the Danish Americans at the Aarhus Exposition:

Fyen Cottagers assembled at the Agricultural School near Odense, where the American "Declaration of Independence" was just read, send brotherly greetings. Carry this greeting forward to the great country on the other side, with thanks for Thomas Jefferson's magnificent "Declaration of Independence" of 1776, which became the world's constitution for civil and political emancipation. And thanks for Henry George, who continued the work of Jefferson, and through his luminous precepts about the people's right to the ground value of the fatherland, directed the way to full economic liberty. Herewith he has also impressed the Danish cottagers' economic reform program.

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The Golden Rule of Taxation: Never tax anything of value to your State that could and would run away, or that could and would come to you.

## THE ARGUMENT FOR THE LAND TAXES.

From the London Nation of June 19, 1909.

. . . . . New sources of revenue have to be found, and at bottom, when we get below the tangle of controversy, we find two directions, and two only, in which they can be sought. The burden may be imposed on the necessities and comforts of the people, on the materials, appliances and processes of industry and commerce. That is the method, disguise it as we may, of the Tariff Reformer [protectionist]. Or it may be imposed on the economic surplus, on the mass of unearned wealth and of luxurious expenditure. That is the method of Mr. Lloyd George, and its most distinctive point of application is in the land taxes of the Budget. . . . But it is in relation to the land, to the taxation of unearned increment and of undeveloped value, that the principle has its clearest application, and admits of the most useful development. Let us clearly understand what the object of these taxes is, why they are both necessary, and why they provoke such determined opposition.

We may usefully begin with the last point. The opposition is not based on the actual amount of the tax. In particular, the halfpenny in the pound on the value of undeveloped land is obviously a small affair. Be it remembered that all land valued at less than £50 an acre is excluded, and that even above this limit value due to the agricultural capabilities of the soil is not to be taken into account. What remains? On an acre of land suitable for building purposes, but undeveloped for those purposes, which is valued as worth £1,000 in the open market, the tax would amount to a little under £2. It is not the £2 that causes these searchings of heart. It is the necessity for valuation. It is the interest of the public to know accurately, and it is not the interest of landlords that it should be known accurately, what the value of the land of the country really is. It is not their interest, because on the present system they are taxed and rated on one value, but if it comes to selling, and particularly selling to the public, they proceed on quite a different value. The land clauses are disliked, not for the burden which they impose, but for the basis which they lay down for future transactions between the community and the landlord.

There are those who accept the tax on unearned increment, and reserve their opposition for the tax on undeveloped estates, though the former will in a short time bring in a large and the latter will never produce more than a small return to the Exchequer. Here again is an apparent paradox. It would seem that the landlord and his friends accept the bigger and object to the smaller burden, and here again the secret lies in the word

"valuation." The taxation of the unearned increment starts from a date when enormous increments of value have avowedly passed into private hands. Except for the small portion that is recoverable by the tax on reversions, the increment which will come in for duty will be calculated from present values as zero. It will be all future increment. That being so, the obvious method of delaying the action of the tax would be to place existing values as high as possible, while it would be the interest of the valuers from Somerset House to keep them down. It is on this point that the development tax acts as a check on both sides. If the present value of land is unduly swollen by the inclusion of speculative value, it will be taxed as undeveloped land. If it is unduly depreciated, increment will soon accrue. Let us take the case of the same acre of land as before; let us suppose that it is now let to a market gardener for £3 a year, so that its capital value on that basis might be £75. Let us suppose that for building purposes it might readily find a willing purchaser at £1,000. If the landlord seeks to value it, say, at £800, he will have to pay 20 per cent. on the increment when he sells it, as he may do any day, at its full value. That is, he imposes on himself a possible tax of £40. From this point of view it will be his object to keep the value up. It will be better for him to pay the halfpenny tax on the undeveloped value, which is under £2 per annum. But if he exceeds, if, for instance, he puts the value at £1,100, he will be paying a halfpenny in the £ on a hundred pounds for which he will get no return. It is, therefore, his interest to find the true probable figure at which he can sell, and the interest of the Somerset House valuers will be the same. The case for the taxes, therefore, is simply the case for fair valuation, and taxation on real market value.

What is the strength of this case? We have only to think for a moment of the history of our great towns, we have only to form a mental picture of their existing condition and year to year expansion, to supply the answer. Stand at any point on the four mile radius from Charing Cross and consider the belt of country stretching ten or twenty miles beyond the site of the newer and greater London. Within the lifetime of middle-aged people this tract of land has been in the main converted from heath and common, marsh or plow land, into the seat of scores of prosperous suburbs, busy factories, canal wharves, railway sidings. What has effected the transformation? Not the foresight, energy or administrative capacity of the owners of the soil as such. Good ownership may here and there have assisted, and bad ownership retarded the process. But the mainspring has been the vital energy of the people, the whole complex mass of social causes that have given England industrial prosperity,

and have made London the center of the world's commerce. If reward went to the individual in proportion to his services, and were handed on to his descendants, what percentage of this wealth would go to the descendants of Watt and Stevenson, of Cobden and Bright, of all the discoverers and inventors, the thinkers, statesmen and administrators, to whose efforts we owe this vast and peaceable expansion of an orderly and healthy community? We know no way of making the computation; but we are sure that the percentage so expended would be so great as to leave not much for those who have condescended to own the soil, and who have actually received the money. This vast increase has fallen into private hands, through the carelessness and want of forethought too characteristic of our public life, and the result is that we have to bear a burden that presses too heavily on the many whom our industrial progress has left poor.

It will be said—we ourselves have said—that the landlords fear the taxes not for the burden they actually impose, but for the valuation which they necessitate. We have pointed out that as the duties are arranged it will be in the interest of both sides to arrive at a fair value, and why should owners object to a fair valuation? The answer is in part that such a valuation will become, whether by custom or by statute law, the basis of price in compulsory purchases, but mainly that it will facilitate the next step in fiscal reform—that is to say, the shifting of the burden of local taxation from buildings to sites. What discourages building, what weighs upon the householder, and accentuates the housing problem at present is that our municipal finance, unable as it is to draw on the unearned increment for its revenue, is forced to impose the whole cost of the government of a town on buildings and sites indiscriminately. The result is a heavy tax on bricks and mortar, which for all social purposes it would be desirable to relieve as far as possible from all taxation. The separate valuation of the site necessitated by the Finance Bill will make it possible to lay a portion of the rate on the site, and so relieve the building. It is this change, perfectly just, and socially most desirable, which the owners of urban land anticipate with dismay. But the measure of their fears is the measure of the hope for democracy. The Budget has given new life to the Liberal party, and brought it once more into line with those democratic forces which threatened at the close of last year to diverge from it. What is needed now is the resolution to despise timid counsels, ignore ridiculous threats, measure the opposition of unrepresentative men at its true worth, and deal drastically with any treason in the citadel. We have not always agreed with Mr. Asquith, but we rejoice to feel assured that some of his most distinguished qualities, his intellectual lucidity and directness, his powers of

impressive speech and his unflinching loyalty to his colleagues and to his declared policy, are precisely those which the present situation demands in the chief of the party in power.

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## BOOKS

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### A STUDY OF RACE CHARACTER.

**Ezekiel.** By Lucy Pratt. Illustrated by Frederic Dorr Steele. Published by Doubleday, Page & Company, New York.

Ezekiel is a little Negro boy, one "of a child-like, willing, erring race, transplanted from the gentle drift of an Oriental country to the stern, exacting West," and "surrounded there by another people, uncomprehending and impatient." As a boy he is as true to life as Tom Sawyer, but of a type as different as the color of his skin.

Ezekiel goes to the Whittier School at Hampton Institute, down in Virginia; except for a short time, when a Northern man experiments with him in a white school in New England, and with much the same result as might be expected from transplanting a water lily to a sand dune. The boy is without guile and not disposed to indolence, but an imagination that would make his fortune if trained in the manufacture of "best sellers" in fiction, gets him, among his unappreciative superiors, a reputation for prevarication and shiftlessness.

This misinterpretation would be easy to fall in with if the author didn't admit the reader into those recesses of the boy's mind which are closed to the unsympathetic white people of his whereabouts. But admitted to a view of the child's springs of action, the reader finds in this string of stories of a white teacher's experience in a Negro schoolroom at the South, a faithful study of Negro character. It is a study which reveals the Negro as "just folks," differing from white folks not in capability but in temperament, not in less intelligence but in greater affection.

A faithful study this, and humorous in presentation, with little streaks of pathos running through the humor. It is a study, too, of a real Negro boy—composite, may be, but all boy and all Negro. The illustrations are gems of Negro child-life.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### A Lesson for Lawyers.

S. S. Gregory's address to the 1909 graduating class of the John Marshall Law School of Chicago, on Samuel Romilly as a great lawyer and law reformer. (S. S. Gregory, 100 Washington St., Chicago), rings out a sounder note than is usually struck by the older lawyers when they welcome young men into

their profession. Its value is enhanced by the fact that Mr. Gregory holds an acknowledged place in the front rank of the Illinois bar. From Romilly to "government by injunction" may seem like a far cry to thoughtless jurists—those, for instance who have tried to bring freedom of speech and press within the jurisdiction of chancery courts; but wherefore your Romillies if your Wrights are to be judicially enthroned? The thoroughness with which Mr. Gregory wrecks the pretensions of "government-by-injunction" jurists, should not be without wholesome effect upon the new generation of lawyers whom he addressed, and whom he at the same time admonished that even Lincoln was a pitiful failure if success is to be measured by wealth. Behind all the argument for government by injunction he finds the fallacious assumption that "an injunction always prevents the act enjoined;" and of this fallacy he pointedly says: "In fact, it merely prohibits it; when it is such as is already prohibited by law, nothing practical is gained by this added prohibition in equity, except to change the procedure for ascertaining guilt and fixing punishment." And, most reasonably, he finds himself unsurprised "that the same order of judicial mind that denies trial by jury in proceedings essentially criminal, now seeks to strike down freedom of speech and of the press," and this "under the pressure of great interests." Mr. Gregory's address is a good pamphlet for every lawyer to have in his library all the time, and now and then in his hands. In it there is the sign of the old professional spirit.

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## PERIODICALS

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The July and August numbers of the *Evolutionist* (180 Washington St., Chicago), respectively contain the opening speeches of A. M. Lewis and Wm. F. Barnard in a debate on socialism.

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The current number of the *Survey* (New York) publishes from the trustworthy pen of Paul U. Kellogg, who directed the "Pittsburg Survey," a clear, definite and calmly judicial statement of the is-

ues at stake in the strike at the McKees Rocks plant of the Pressed Steel Car Company.

+

La Follette's (Madison, Wis.) for July 31 publishes from the pen of Judge Lewis R. Larson an inspiring account of the Saturday Lunch Club of Minneapolis, probably the most unique among the useful organizations of this country.

+

Mack's National Monthly (Buffalo) for August, the fourth issue of this excellent Democratic magazine, is enriched with three valuable special articles: one by John J. Lentz, who makes an exposition of the telegraph trust; one by Thomas Mott Osborne, who asks what the Democratic party is and answers the question; and the third by Congressman Sulzer, who declares that the idea that "protection to American industries benefits the toilers is all moonshine." A handsome colored view of President Monroe's old Virginia home occupies the first page of the cover.

+ + +

"Did you see the shot fired?" was the question asked of an Irishman called as a witness in a trial once had in Kansas City.

"I did not," was the Celt's response; "but I heard it foiled."

"The evidence is not satisfactory," sternly announced the presiding magistrate. "Step down."

This legal finding was evidently not precisely to the liking of the Irishman, for no sooner had he left the stand and had turned his back than he gave way to a somewhat derisive laugh. This had the effect of arousing in turn the judge's ire, and he immediately recalled the offender.

"How dare you show such contempt of court?" demanded his honor. "What do you mean by laughing in that manner?"

"Did your honor see me laugh?" asked the Irishman, in a most respectful tone.

"No; but I distinctly heard you laugh," said the magistrate.

A twinkle came into the eyes of the witness. "Such evidence is not satisfactory, your honor," said he

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quietly. Whereupon every one, including the judge, laughed.—Lippincott's.

\* \* \*

During a recent examination of applicants for the position of mail carrier a colored boy appeared before the Civil Service Commission.

"How far is it from this earth to the moon?" was the first question asked him.

"How fah am it from de earf to de moon?" he repeated, as he began to reach for his hat. "Say, boss, if you's gwine to put me on dat route I doesn't

want de job." And with that he left as though he were escaping from some calamity.—Circle Magazine.

\* \* \*

Joaquin Miller was once overtaken by a countryman who gave him a long ride. Tired, at length, of the conversation, the poet took a novel from his pocket. "What are you reading?" said the countryman. "A novel of Bret Harte's," said Mr. Miller. "Well, now, I don't see how an immortal being wants to be wasting his time with such stuff." "Are you

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quite sure," said the poet, "that I am an immortal being?" "Of course, you are." "If that is the case," responded Miller, "I don't see why I need be so economical of my time."—Boston Herald.

✦ ✦ ✦

Senator Beveridge was criticizing the ludicrous speeches of a certain upright but hot-headed Congressman.

"He does make queer blunders, doesn't he?" said Senator Beveridge. "Have you heard about his

latest? Well, it seems that a constituent, visiting him recently, complained of the shabbiness of a pair of ink-stained crash trousers he had on.

"A man of your position," said the constituent, reproachfully, 'ought to wear handsomer trousers than that.'

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"My trousers may be shabby, but they cover a warm and honest heart.'"—Chicago Journal.

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