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EDITORIAL

The Worst "Haunt" of All.

The Cabinet Society for the Suppression of Back-from-Elbaism has been having a lot of trouble with a ghost. The Indian name of the ghost is, Afraid-of-Possible-Disclosures, and it has been under the management of Mr. Gifford Pinchot. But if there is anything that should be disclosed, why not disclose it? Should crimes against the people—if such have been committed—be used for public or for private ends?

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Pinchot the Idealist.

The President has dismissed the Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, from the public service. The reason—Pinchot appealed to the country over the President's head in the Alaska coal land cases, his appeal taking the form of a letter to Senator Dolliver which was read in the Senate. It was a case of insubordination, if subordination be stringently construed; for there is a Taft-made rule that things must not be said publicly or given out to the press by government department employes, with reference to the affairs of the departments, until they have been censored by the head of the department. Pinchot had talked with Secretary Wilson about the letter, and the Secretary had not told him not to send it. On the other hand, he had not given permission for its sending; and he had "advised" against it. Nevertheless, Pinchot sent the letter—which was a justification of the

whole anti-Ballinger record of the Forest Service, and of Glavis the Land Office Inspector who had been discharged for too great zeal against the Cunningham coal claims, by the President himself. Glavis appealed to Taft over Ballinger's head, and was fired by wire by Taft. Pinchot appealed to the people over the President's head, and was fired with almost telegraphic suddenness by the same august Chief Magistrate.

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Who are these men who risked the penalty of dismissal in these Cunningham cases? What are their motives? Are they selfish? Are the men themselves strivers for publicity? Are they small men run mad? Are they great and unselfish souls sorely mistaken? Or are they unselfish patriots striving against odds to prevent the looting of the public domain? Passing by Mr. Glavis, whose acts cannot be explained on any basis of selfishness, let us consider this man Pinchot. He is rich and cultured. He is able—that is admitted. No one—not even the New York Sun—doubts his integrity. He created the profession of forestry in this country. He is a man of sense in practical ways; for his department is the model of all the government services in business methods. Loving trees, he has sought to serve the race through forestry. He has adopted the faith that the earth belongs to the race, and that we of the present hold it only in usufruct for the race. He has never been a lime-lighter nor a grand-stander, so it must have taken the strongest considerations to induce him to take the center of the stage now. He was for years about all there was of the American Forestry Association, and is said to have paid its bills. He is known to have paid the expenses of the White House Conference of Governors out of his own pocket. He wanted a good secretary two years ago, and the man he wanted was able to command twice what the government was authorized to pay; Pinchot paid the difference out of his own pocket, that the Forest Service and the nation might be well served. All the time he was keeping in the background. He whispered "Conservation" into Roosevelt's ears, and Roosevelt shouted it to the world. Pinchot wanted nothing except to save the public domain and to see the forests in the way of restoration. It is a religion with him. Fitted for a cabinet position, he is said to have declined it because he could do more good in the Forest Service. Of all men in the public service, Gifford Pinchot has seemed to follow the highest ideals, and been guided by the purest motives.

Such is the man who has suddenly violated the letter of official propriety, and sent out to the people the message that the Administration is allowing the nation to be robbed of billions of dollars' worth of coal. No one can doubt that in Pinchot's mind the alternative before him was violation of his official instructions or treason to the interests of the people. Is he, the trained public man, versed in all the tortuosities of Washington bureaucracy, likely to have been mistaken about this? Is he likely to have been so thoroughly convinced of the sinister nature of the Ballinger administration, unless something was really wrong? Would Pinchot have thus carried this fight on from month to month against the President himself, if he had not been sure of his ground? Everyone must hope to see Ballinger and Taft—for the one cannot be smirched now without the other being tainted—exculpated. Just now, however, they stand accused as much by the weight of the integrity and ability of Pinchot as by the known facts, of acts which will stand a lot of exculpation. However the matter may turn out, Pinchot will be credited with the sacrifice of a position of great power for the sake of an ideal—an act of a sort too seldom seen in this age. And along with Pinchot stands Glavis. This is not a heroic age, perhaps, but in both these men the nation will see much of heroism.

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A Question of "Conservation."

While the world of the United States is discussing the loss of Mr. Pinchot, the conservator, from the forestry function of the Federal government, it is interesting to note the loss of that fine name "Conservation" as the title of the magazine published by the American Forestry Association. In an announcement to the members of the Association, made under date of January 1, 1910, is to be found the following, shall we say "wary" statement?

> **The Directors, after careful consideration at two meetings, and consultation with members of the Advisory Board, have decided to restore to the name of the magazine the word "Forestry," which identifies its especial work better than the inclusive and somewhat vague title "Conservation,"—coupling with it "American," so that the magazine will hereafter be known as "American Forestry." This title, they hope, will commend itself to the members as clear and descriptive.**

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Mr. Taft Fights "My Policies."

The first shots have rung out and the battle is on! The devoted friends of Mr. Roosevelt and his policies are certainly not in the mass more philo-

sophical and judicially minded than their hero and chief. And it is hard to imagine the late President carefully weighing evidence and splitting fine legal hairs as to whether his friend, admirer and appointee, Mr. Pinchot, and Mr. Pinchot's trusted subordinates and representatives, are or are not justified in their charges against the Secretary of the Interior. For Roosevelt and for the jealous advocates of his policies the one issue, before the recent drastic action of the President in removing Mr. Pinchot, would have seemed to be: Is Pinchot, scientific forester and conservationist, standing for public rights against private greed, or Ballinger, corporation lawyer and department lobbyist, to have the sympathy and support of the President?

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To the great mass of the Roosevelt following we think the issue will seem now to have been decided in favor of the representative of the corporations and "big business." Therefore it is that the Chicago Tribune says not inaptly that there hangs over the White House and its present occupant "the shadow of a great figure," and therefore it is that we think the fight within the Republican party has reached a point at which reconciliation has ceased to be possible. A large part of the Republicans of the West were none too well inclined to the present administration before. They do not love the tariff bill; they stumble at the suggestion of a ship subsidy. They resent the poor makeshift of the Federal Corporation Tax, substituted by the influence of the Administration for the proposed graduated income tax. We think that from this time on, the "Return From Elba" will be a more significant and frequent toast than ever before, and already we know of some coteries in whose meetings it is never omitted.

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But we should be just to Mr. Taft. As heartily as we admire Mr. Pinchot and the work he has done, as suspicious as circumstances and environment render Mr. Ballinger's motives and actions, we remember that not all the evidence about them is before us; that Mr. Ballinger has demanded for them a thorough investigation, that Congress has shown no disposition to render that investigation anything but searching, and that the President has in the course of his duty been obliged to pass on the matter when presented by the Glavis charges, and has by his action plainly declared his faith in Mr. Ballinger's integrity. It was in these circumstances an impossible thing for him to pass by, without summary action, such a communication as Mr. Pinchot had read in the Senate of the United States. The President seems to us within his right when he says that such want of action would be incompatible with the maintenance of the dignity of his office and the discipline of the executive branch of the government.

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It is very probable therefore that Mr. Pinchot foresaw the effect of his extraordinary action and words, and welcomes it as the signal for battle which we have construed it to be. In any event the final question will be in the minds of the people, not whether the dismissal of Mr. Pinchot was justifiable after his letter read in the Senate, but should the Secretary or the Forester—Ballinger or Pinchot—have received the support of the President when differences arose between them months ago? Mr. Roosevelt and his friends, if we mistake not, will see but one side to this question; and it will not be the one upheld by Mr. Taft and his Attorney General.

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The President's Message.

Mr. Taft's message to Congress on interstate commerce and trusts shows the trend of his mind and the effects of his legal and judicial training. It is the argument of a judge who, having made up his mind after some hesitation, feels that he must emphatically justify his decision by his opinion, and yet desires to show that he has no hostility or bitterness to the defeated party. It is rather optimistic and a trifle compromising in tone, and manifests nothing of the somewhat brutal zeal with which his predecessor was wont to attack the same sort of questions in his frequent communications to Congress. It expresses, moreover, a faith almost too ingenuous in appearance to be sincere in fact, in the efficacy of additional affirmative legislation to accomplish what can really be accomplished only by a "clearing of the ways" through the repeal of legislation already enacted rendering possible and fortifying monopoly.

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But assuming the premises which from his political affiliations and antecedents we must credit Mr. Taft with honestly holding, his recommendations seem temperate and reasonable. If government ownership is to be considered out of the question, and legislative regulation is to be tested to its ultimate, the President's recommendations as to the amendment of the Interstate Commerce Act which shall give the Interstate Commerce Commission greater power of initiative in certain

cases, and divest it on the other hand of some of the anomalously blended administrative legislative and judicial functions which it now fulfils, seem to us wise. And no valid objection lies to the creation of the new court which he deems necessary to avoid diversity of decisions throughout the country. But nevertheless we are forced again to the characterization of Mr. Taft which we have previously made as "a shallow optimist," when we read this complacent conclusion to his recommendations: "I believe these suggested modifications in and amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act would make it a complete and effective measure for securing reasonableness of rates and fairness of practices in the operation of interstate railroad lines." Unfortunately the evils and their causes lie beyond "complete" removal by regulatory legislation. But this Mr. Taft cannot be expected to acknowledge.

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The President's discussion of the trusts is marked by the same apparently great faith in prohibitory and regulatory legislation to withstand great tendencies and currents of business activity, which in themselves would be beneficial rather than injurious if they were not fortified by monopoly-breeding laws. But its reasoning against vesting in the courts an arbitrary power to determine what is "a reasonable restraint of trade," "a reasonable suppression of competition" or "a reasonable monopoly," is sound; and if the suggestion of a Federal Incorporation Act for corporations concerned with interstate commerce is somewhat startling to the opponents of centralization of federal power, it seems to us in line with the settled judicial interpretations of the interstate commerce power given to Congress by the Constitution. Change in methods of transportation and communication and in all the material circumstances of the country, have necessarily changed all the old connotations of the terms "centralized" and "decentralized" as applied to the Federal Government.

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A rather significant hint or suggestion of the adoption of "the responsible government" method of inaugurating legislation, is given by Mr. Taft's statement in his message, that "by his direction" the Attorney General has drafted for submission to Congress, the bills amending the Interstate Commerce Act and providing for Federal Incorporations which he recommends. This is an improvement over the method of framing up bills in secret conferences of the Executive and leading members of Congress.

Frivoling with the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Commissioner Harlan, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is irritated because so much of the valuable time of the Commission is taken up in adjusting, or attempting to adjust, trifling claims for damages and drawbacks for losses in transit. It is a fixed policy with most railroads never to pay a damage claim that can be avoided, except to large shippers. Commissioner Harlan is disturbed by a protracted dispute over a claim for twenty cents. He says the Commission should be relieved by the carriers from the burden of settling such claims. He misses the point—the very important point—that the carriers save a great deal of money by their policy of wearing out claimants. It doesn't cost a railroad company one cent to ignore a claim, whether it is for twenty cents or $200. Besides, the more the time of the Commission is taken up with claims, the less time it has to worry Congress with recommendations.

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Russian Methods in Chicago.

What would be an astonishing exhibition of police tyranny and police inefficiency, were the police force concerned any other than that of Chicago, took place last week. A horrible and brutal murder of an Italian occurred in a locality largely occupied by Italian immigrants. No progress seems to have been made toward discovering the murderer; but, as a "bluff" at it, a "drag net," as the police department euphemistically denominated its outrageous proceeding, was "cast," and a number approximating two hundred Italians, who were neither guilty nor suspected of any crime or offence whatever, were arrested, apparently on the pretense that nobody in the neighborhood would give desired information to the detectives.

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The men arrested were those who were found in the licensed dram shops in the given locality during hours in which those places were lawfully open. They were playing cards, reading papers, and as they belonged to the "common labor" class, presumably waiting for some demand for laborers —a demand which it is well known is frequently made known through the proprietors of these shops. A small proportion of these men secured bail through friends and were released, but about a hundred and fifty were locked up over night in a police station in room not suitable to contain one-third that number. The next day they were brought before a magistrate and fined each one

dollar and costs for "disorderly conduct." They all paid this fine, showing that they were not "vagrants" nor "without means of support." Nor were they charged with being so—but with "disorderly conduct." They did not appear to have been guilty of disorderly conduct or of anything else criminal, but a threat by the Italian consul of proceedings for false imprisonment would seem to have been sufficient to induce an unwarranted conviction in order to avert the danger of the recovery of heavy damages.

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The police captain who was responsible for this outrage, is reported in the daily press as saying that its object was "to impress the new immigrants with respect for the law." Truly, a fine way to do it! It is hardly surprising that "anarchists" are bred by such proceedings. We wonder what would be done if a member of the Union League Club should be murdered, and the police, in default of getting any clue to the murderer, should send out a "dragnet" and bring all the members found in the club at the lunch hour to the police station and lock them up, on the ground that they were concealing what they must know about the murder! Would it impress those members with "respect for the law" as interpreted by the Chicago Police Department?

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Henry George, Jr., on the British Battle.

Letters from Henry George, Jr., may be looked for about the 17th in the papers of the New York World syndicate, written from England, where Mr. George is now watching the parliamentary campaign over the political question of the House of Lords' right of veto, and the economic question of whether public revenues shall be derived from protective duties or from taxing land values.

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"Patrician, Aristocrat, Tory."

Could you call up the shade of Alexander Hamilton what would you expect him to say about that English Hereditary Chamber whose fate at this moment trembles in the balance? In these days we regard our own Upper House as too far removed from the people, and already two-thirds of the States have given approval to measures looking to a Senate elected by popular vote. But a chamber resting upon a double election—two votes removed from the people—was too popular for Hamilton. See how he praised the English Upper House to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, as recorded by James Madison, in his Journal (page 182):

Their House of Lords is a most noble institution. Having nothing to hope by a change, and a sufficient interest, by means of their property, in being faithful to the national interest, they form a permanent barrier against every pernicious innovation, whether attempted on the part of the Crown or of the Commons. No temporary Senate will have firmness enough to answer this purpose.

Again sing in the memory John Boyle O'Reilly's noble lines from "Crispus Attucks:"

Patrician, aristocrat, tory—whatever his age or name,
To the people's rights and liberties, a traitor ever the same.
The natural crowd is a mob to him, their prayer a vulgar rhyme;
The freeman's speech is sedition, and the patriot's deed a crime.
Wherever the race, the law, the land,—whatever the time, or throne,
The tory is always a traitor to every class but his own.

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THE BALTIMORE SYSTEM.

In the city of Baltimore they have a curious system of landholding and renting, sanctioned and enforceable by law, which well illustrates the evils of private land monopoly, and how it injures both the workingman and the community at large, how it retards the city's growth and deprives its inhabitants of the comforts which they should have under an enlightened civilization.

When in that city not long ago I visited at the home of a workingman, a printer, who informed me he was working at his trade for $15 a week. He had worked for many years and saved enough to buy a home, of which fact he spoke with pardonable pride. It was a house in the outlying part of the city, built on a lot 16x100. On further inquiry I found he owned the building but not the land. For that small strip of earth's surface he has to pay $45 a year rent.

A builder erected a row of houses along the street, with consent of the land owner as a matter of course. It was part of a large estate which formerly had little value, but has now become very valuable owing to the necessities of human beings who must have homes. Before putting up the buildings the building speculator, a useful citizen, had the land appraised. If the owner and builder cannot agree, the law provides for an official appraisal. In this case the value was fixed at $750, and the owner of the house has to pay a rental of six per cent on that value, for a fixed period. He is also protected by law in the right to buy the land at $750 at any time before the lease runs out. The owner has not the privilege

of the New York landholder to raise the price whenever he finds the tenant may want to purchase. The owner of the building also has to pay all the taxes, which in this case amount to nearly $30 a year.

Any student of human affairs can see that the owner of this land did not create its value, as he did not create the land. He did nothing to improve it; he put up no buildings, and doesn't even pay the taxes. This growth of the city and the increase of population give to the land its value. He has a large area with a great many buildings on it, and his vast income is wrung from the toil and sweat of industry. The $45 a year which this workman pays him should somehow or other be diverted into the city treasury, where in natural justice it belongs.

If the city took these site value rents, no taxes would be necessary. These rents would furnish the city with funds to give the workman's family better schools than there are now. In front of the row of houses is a nasty cobblestone pavement; the city should take these funds and make a good street, or else compel the man who owns the land to pave it. The city sewerage runs in the open gutter along by the sidewalk; with the ground rents in hand the city could give these home-dwellers a good sewerage system. It could supply their children with good parks and playgrounds, and do many other things for the comfort and welfare of the people. All of this could be done without levying one dollar in taxation.

Better yet, land being free from private monopoly, the working people would save the many millions which they now contribute to support land owners. These would also have to work for a livelihood, thus adding their quota to the general prosperity. Thus the general wealth would be greatly increased, for it is labor that produces all the wealth of any nation. And the rich idlers would be much better and happier if engaged in honest, useful work.

"What fools we mortals be." God gave us the land to benefit all, but we refuse to use it for this purpose. We permit a few to have it, consigning the others to varying degrees of poverty.

GEORGE WALLACE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

LAND VALUE TAXATION IN THE PARLIAMENTARY CAMPAIGN.

"Land Values" Press Bureau.
20 Tothill Street, Westminster, December 26, 1909.

I see from The Public that you are following the political situation here closely, and that you appreciate it accurately. I have reproduced your "British Revolution" article* in the January issue of "Land Values." It deals very happily with that view of the situation, and we shall look with interest to your further treatment of it.

We are fully occupied in turning out campaign literature wholly on the land question, endeavoring to make it the outstanding issue. There is a tendency on the part of some leaders to deal with the constitutional issue apart from the question which has raised it. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill counteract this tendency brilliantly in their attack on landlordism specifically. They are the recognized leaders of the radicals, just as they are particularly hated by the Tories. I think we shall win handsomely again, and the amount of educational work that is being done will make a great step in our direction possible within a few years.

JOHN ORR.

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On Board R. M. S. "Adriatic," January 6, 1910.

I have for more than a month been visiting the important cities of Great Britain and have to a considerable extent been in touch with the political situation there. I tell you, it made one's soul stir within him to hear "The Land Song" sung as I heard it at one of the Trafalgar square demonstrations.† At last the people, at least in one great country, are awake, to a great measure, to the vital importance of taxing the land values. Just the outcome of it all at the coming election is hard to determine; but that the Liberals will go back with at least a small majority the most arrogant Conservatives are inclined to believe.

JOHN H. ALLEN.

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TIMBER LAND TAXATION.

Bow, Washington, December 21, 1909.

In this county and State the question of taxation is acute. Not only have taxes risen greatly in the past year but there is such glaring inequality that were it not so serious it would be ridiculous. There are not only absurd inequalities in the taxation of men of the same business and occupation, but also in the taxation of different classes of property.

To illustrate, there is a timber company owning thousands of acres of choice timber lands in this county, and also some first class land for agricultural purposes which they have logged off and are holding for speculation. Of this latter class, there is a piece of some thirty acres near here, which is now covered with second growth timber and older, and for which they have been offered $5,500 cash. They are taxed on $10.00 per acre, while a rancher across the road who has spent hundreds of dollars clearing and improving his place is assessed on $25.00 per acre. The logged off lands require an expenditure of from $75 to $150, and even $200 per acre, to put them in shape for the plow. The man who does this and spends many a weary year among the stumps and logs is taxed to the last hair of the dog's tail, while the timber barons who impropriate the wealth created by Nature, and in so doing de-

*In Public of December 10, page 1181.

†See Public of December 3, page 1161, and this Public, page 45.

vastate our forests by wasteful methods of logging and deplete our resources, are allowed to escape with taxes on half the valuation of the rancher. A piece of logged off land is, until slashed and cleared, almost worthless for any purpose—even for grazing, in a few years after logging operations have ceased. With these things before a man's eyes, it is little wonder if when "blowing in" money, "a blowing out" stumps, and digging, chopping, pulling and sometimes swearing in grubbing out roots, a man's gall will flow and he feels very much like a rebel.

Not only this, but the ranchers here have practical illustrations of the law of rents. As the price of shingles goes to the sky, we find men able to work poorer and poorer lands, until they are now, even while good available cedar is going into the market, sawing down cedar stumps and making them into shingle bolts—these often or usually for small mills whose owners cannot get hold of the good timber held for speculation, or by big milling companies who "have beaten them to it."

Still I feel no bitterness toward the lumbermen. Let the people be as alert, energetic, vigorous, determined, practical and business-like in defending and advancing their interests as the mill men are in caring for their concerns, and they will have no cause for complaint and will need no sympathy; and until they do show some disposition to adopt this character, sympathy is misplaced and absolutely of no avail. We want more of the old revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, and less whining, blubbering and looking for outside help.

G. W. CHENEY.

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PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN SAN FRANCISCO.

San Francisco, January 4, 1910.

Thursday, December 30, the voters of San Francisco went to the ballot-box in a pouring rain and decided to issue bonds for $2,020,000 to take over, rebuild and operate under public ownership what is known as the Geary Street Railway line, and to extend it from its present terminus at Market and Kearney streets, down Market street to the ferry. That's the way the voters rang out the old year, and they did it by a vote of 31,185 for public ownership and operation, to 11,694 against. The total vote was the largest ever cast at a special election in the city, being 43,081, of which 70 per cent was for the bonds.*

Thus, after fourteen years of discussion and three previous special elections on the question of municipalizing the Geary street line, the matter has been decided by a clear two-thirds majority of those voting on the question.

Fourteen years ago, or seven years before the franchise of the Geary Street company expired, an attempt was made to have the Supervisors extend the term of the franchise. It would have succeeded but for that "troublemaker," James H. Barry, as members of the San Francisco Plunderbund delight to call him. He not only protested in the Star, but organized a mass meeting, paid for the hall and produced a small riot; but one large enough to stop the proposed action of the Supervisors.

*See last week's Public, page 12.

In 1902, soon after the company's franchise expired, the question of issuing bonds for a municipal road was submitted, but was lost on account of the provision requiring a two-thirds majority. The question was submitted again in 1903, again received a majority, but did not get the required two-thirds majority. Last June it was submitted the third time, and came within less than 500 votes of receiving the necessary two-thirds majority.

It seems to be poetic justice, if not a "dispensation of Providence," that the present terminus of the line to be operated by the city is within fifteen feet of the front of the Chronicle building, for if there is one thing that gives M. H. de Young a pain it is the proposal to pry private monopoly loose from public property. In the Chronicle he seriously and almost tearfully advised the voters not to load themselves up with a huge debt for an experiment that was bound to fail. The Chronicle and the Evening Post, which is said to be the property of the United Railroads company that monopolizes street railway transportation in San Francisco, were the only daily papers that opposed the bond issue.

The United Railroads made an active and expensive campaign against the bonds. The billboards blazed with huge posters, paid for by the United Railroads, advising the dear people not to issue bonds for "a white elephant," but it was well known that the United Railroads wanted that white elephant for its own profitable menagerie. Its property is worth about $20,000,000, but the monopoly is "capitalized" at $80,000,000. It wanted a $2,000,000 Geary Street Road to capitalize at $8,000,000, which it could do without getting the consent of two-thirds of the voters. The handful of directors of the corporation bonded the people of San Francisco for $80,000,000, but the people can't bond themselves for $2,000,000 except by consent of a two-thirds majority.

The municipally owned and operated Geary Street Line will be the entering wedge to split the street railway monopoly in this city. The franchises of other lines will expire at intervals, and the last franchise will expire in 1929. There is scarcely a doubt that the city will take the different lines as the franchises expire.

The really noticeable feature of the bond election was the fact that most of the votes against the bonds were cast in the "smart set" and slum districts. Glorious larceny and petty larceny got together on the C. D. Q. message of the United Railroads monopoly. The labor unions were for the bonds; the Merchants' Association was against them.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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NO DUKES IN HEAVEN!

The following satirical epigram was written by Dr. Samuel Clarke, who had just seen the inscription, "Domus Ultima" (the Final Home), on the vault belonging to the Dukes of Richmond in the Cathedral of Chichester.

Did he who thus inscribed the wall
Not read, or not believe, St. Paul,
Who says there is, where'er it stands,
Another house, not made with hands?
Or may we gather from these words
That house is not a House of Lords.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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, January 11, 1910.

The Removal of Gifford Pinchot.

The frank statements relative to the dangers imperiling the natural resources of the country, made by the Chief Forester of the United States, Gifford Pinchot, in New York, related last week (p. 10), were followed by a letter to Senator Dolliver, read by Mr. Dolliver in the Senate when an acquittal of Secretary Ballinger, prepared by the Attorney General, Mr. Wickersham, and transmitted to the Senate by the President, was under consideration (vol. xii, pp. 985, 1156, 1201). In this letter Mr. Pinchot stated that one of his subordinates had assisted L. R. Glavis (vol. xii, p. 1156) in preparing his charges against Secretary Ballinger, and also that an appeal to the President to prevent fraduluent grabbing of Alaska coal lands had been fruitless. Mr. Dolliver stated that the letter would not have been made public but for the example set by Secretary Ballinger a few days previously, when he had sent to Senator Jones an elaborate communication giving his version of the controversy.

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On the 7th Mr. Pinchot was summarily dismissed from his post by the President, acting through the Secretary of Agriculture. Associate Forester Overton W. Price and Assistant Law Officer Alexander C. Shaw, Pinchot's immediate assistants in the forestry bureau, followed their chief out of government employ. The forestry bureau was placed in charge of First Assistant Forester, A. F. Potter.

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An "Insurgent" Victory.

By a close vote 26 "insurgent" Republicans, combining with 123 Democrats, overrode 146 Republican "standpatters" in the lower house of Congress on the 7th, on the question of giving Speaker Cannon the privilege of appointing the House representatives on the joint committee which will investigate the controversy between Secretary of the Interior Ballinger and Gifford Pinchot, the ousted Chief Forester. The 26 "insurgents" were the following members:

Ames (Mass.), Cooper (Wis.), Davis (Minn.), Fish (N. Y.), Good (Ia.), Gronna (N. D.), Haugen (Ia.), Hayes (Cal.), Hinshaw (Neb.), Hubbard (Ia.), Kendall (Ia.), Kopp (Wis.), Lenroot (Wis.), Lindbergh (Minn.), Lovering (Mass.), Madison (Kan.), Miller (Minn.), Morse (Wis.), Murdock (Kan.), Nelson (Wis.), Norris (Neb.), Parsons (N. Y.), Pickett (Ia.), Poindexter (Wash.), Volstead (Minn.), Woods (Ia.)

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An effort to force through the Senate in the Senate's own resolution on the same subject, the provision that the House members should be appointed by the Speaker, was stifled on the 10th at the instigation of Mr. Cannon himself, who is supposed to have foreseen another defeat if the provision had been pushed. So the "insurgents" have remained masters of a suddenly fought, emergent battle. Since, apparently, a war of extermination had just previously been begun by the President and Speaker acting in partnership, against the "insurgents," through which they were to be wiped out by denial to them of committee positions and patronage, the situation leaves all sorts of future possibilities in the air, among which the death of Cannonism is prognosticated in something louder than whispers.

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The President's Message.

President Taft sent to the House of Representatives on the 7th, the Senate not being in session, a message which as summarized by the Chicago Record-Herald recommended in regard to interstate commerce:

1. That a commerce court of five Circuit judges be created to hear and determine cases arising from orders of the interstate commerce commission.

2. That all proceedings to enforce orders and decrees of the interstate commerce commission be directed exclusively by the Department of Justice.

3. That traffic agreements between railroads be permitted under the supervision of the interstate commerce commission.

4. That the interstate commerce law be amended so as to permit shippers to select routes for the shipment of their freight.

5. That the interstate commerce commission be empowered to pass upon classifications of commodities.

6. That the interstate commerce commission have power to suspend the application of new rates for a limited period, but that the absolute power to initiate rates be not granted.

7. That railroads be prohibited from acquiring stock in competing lines, but that existing holdings be not affected because of the injury to stockholders that would result.

8. That legislation be enacted to prevent the overissuance of stock and bond issues on the part of common carriers.

9. That the interstate commerce commission be empowered to determine uniform safety appliance devices for railroads.

And in regard to the control of trusts and combinations:

1. That the Sherman act be left unamended, its

value as it stands having been developed by court decisions.

2. That a voluntary federal incorporation act be provided, which, the President contends, would bring all the larger corporations directly under federal supervision and prevent many abuses that it is difficult to reach with existing governmental remedies.

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Federal Regulation of the Copper Market Asked For.

A dispatch from London of the 8th stated that Daniel Guggenheim, President of the American Smelting and Refining company, is advocating Federal regulation of the copper market, as the best means for obtaining stability in a hazardous and costly business. Mr. Guggenheim is quoted as saying:

I deprecate all unnecessary interference with business on the part of the government, yet I appreciate the necessity for it and cannot but admire the result which has been obtained by the German government in its effort to foster German commerce. Many articles of German production, like our own production of copper, are largely exported, and the German government has taken a very lively interest in so regulating the production and sale of such articles as to bring about the full return to the empire warranted it by the economic situation. The price of copper metal should not be a matter of speculation, but our aim seems to be to sell our products to European consumers at panic prices. The people of the United States are throwing away millions of dollars every year and wasting the mineral resources of this country by bad economic policy. Some means must be devised whereby this unsatisfactory condition may be done away with.

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The Girls' Strike in New York Winning Out.

More than 30,000 of the shirtwaist makers on strike in New York (p. 11) were reported on the 7th to have won their fight. Two hundred and seventy-one manufacturers had at that time signed the agreement with the union, granting all the demands of the girls. There were still about 6,000 girls out.

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One of the men strikers who recently appeared in the Children's court against a strike-breaker, was asked by Magistrate Olmstead if he were working. "Not now," replied the striker, "we are on strike." "No," said Magistrate Olmstead. "I know you are not working and are on strike. You are on strike against God and nature, whose prime law is that man shall earn his bread in the sweat of his brow. You are on strike against God." Thereupon Elizabeth Dutcher of the Women's Trade Union League sent the following cablegram to George Bernard Shaw:

Shaw, 10 Adelphi Terrace, London.

Magistrate tells shirtwast maker here he is on strike against God, whose prime law is man should earn bread in sweat of brow. Please characterize. Reply. Charges paid.

The following reply was promptly received:

Women's Trade Union League, New York.

Delightful, medieval America always in the intimate personal confidence of the Almighty.

BERNARD SHAW.

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Mayoralty Campaign in Boston.

What is called in the dispatches the fiercest municipal campaign in the history of Boston (p. 13) came to a close with the election of the 11th. The ballots to be used at the election bore the names of the candidates without party or other designations, and the campagn has been a non-partisan one, except so far as the known political affiliations of the candidates have influenced appeals to voters. As already stated in these columns (p. 13), issues of the contest early shaped themselves as between James J. Storrow, candidate for mayor of the Citizens' Municipal League, and John F. Fitzgerald, former mayor, who sought election mainly as a vindication for his defeat two years ago by George A. Hibbard, the present mayor. Hibbard sought re-election because he says neither Fitzgerald nor Storrow is a fit man for mayor; and Nathan H. Taylor is running on a "square deal" platform. Detailed graft charges against the Fitzgerald administration have been made freely in the Boston newspapers during the campaign. He has, nevertheless, received the support of certain large financiers who are believed to be well aware that with Mr. Storrow in the mayor's chair they could obtain no especial favors at the City Hall. The New York Nation says that one source of Mayor Fitzgerald's wealth was a weekly newspaper, the Republic, which was primarily issued as an instrument of political blackmail. Its methods have been recently described in a public address by Mr. Moorfield Storey, a man who, as the Nation says, does not make random statements. Said Mr. Storey:

There was a certain man who needed a permit from the city, and, after waiting some time for it, he called up the Mayor on the telephone and inquired about it. Mr. Fitzgerald, who was then Mayor, said that he had the permit right under his thumb, and remarked that the other party was not an advertiser in his paper, The Republic. When the other party signified his willingness to advertise, the Mayor said he would send a canvasser down right away. The permit and the advertisement were both granted.

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As we go to press the dispatches state that Mr. Fitzgerald received 46,916 votes, and Mr. Storrow 45,745 votes, in a record breaking total vote of 95,225. Mr. Hibbard received 1,783 votes, and Mr. Taylor 629.

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Mayor Gaynor Appoints His Tax Board.

Mayor Gaynor of New York (p. 13) announced the members of his Board of Tax Commissioners

on the 8th. Lawson Purdy, who has been President of the Board since 1906 (vol. xii, p. 1203), was reappointed as President. The full board is as follows: Lawson Purdy, President; salary, $8,000. John J. Halleran, Charles J. McCormack, Daniel S. McElroy, Judson G. Wall, Charles T. White and Edward Kaufman. All members except Mr. Purdy, receive $7,000 salaries.

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When swearing in the new tax commissioners on the 10th, Mayor Gaynor warned them, according to the Chicago Record-Herald's special report:

I have selected you to make valuations of real estate uniform throughout the entire city. The law requires the fair sale value to be adopted. Establish a basis and then make it uniform. Favor no one, and see that your deputies favor no one for political influence, love or money. If political leaders come asking favors in valuations tell them to go away, that that day is gone by. Politics must be banished from your department. Let every deputy who sets down a manifestly wrong valuation be dismissed at once. He is not entitled to a trial. Try to find out some owner who is trying to corrupt a deputy and we will have him indicted. No meaner person exists than one capable of trying to get rid of some part of his taxes by throwing it on his neighbors. No jury would spare him. For several years the great gas plant of the New York and East River Gas Company at Astoria, was valued on the tax rolls at only $600,000. In 1909 it was raised to $3,000,000. Competent persons say that even this is not one-half of its value, but that is for you to say. It was valued by the company in the recent franchise tax suit at over $10,000,000 in making up the total capital on which the company should be permitted to make a division of at least 6 per cent. I have several times mentioned the Cutting real estate. It was set down on the tax books at $1,078,000. It was sold to the city for $4,565,367. In justice to the tax department I am able to say, as my best judgment after examination, that the property could not have been fairly valued at over $1,500,000, and that substantially all in excess of that sum paid by the city was excessive. The spectacle of the city bargaining through one set of its officials to pay $4,565,367 for land which another set of officials valued for taxation at only $1,078,000 as its true value cannot help drawing the competency or the integrity of the city government in question. There was another piece of property, at Harway Basin, valued on the tax rolls for several years at about $29,306, when there was actually a mortgage on it for $276,000 and the purchase price was $350,000. These are some samples. Only the other day the sale of a piece of real estate here was reported for $1,400,000. I found it on the tax rolls for $750,000. If the dwellings and ordinary holdings were valued on the rolls on the same basis there would be no injustice, but they are not. They are valued well up to what they could be sold for. Look to all this.

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Other appointments by the Mayor have been announced, among them that of John J. Murphy as Tenement House Commissioner, with a salary of $7,500, and of Mr. Charles B. Stover as Park Commissioner for Manhattan and Richmond, with a salary of $5,000. This latter was the position declined by Mr. Herman Ridder (p. 13). Mr. Stover is said to be in accord with the Mayor's idea of more open spaces in the parks for people to sit and play, as in Europe, and also of a space for public meetings, where all sorts of people may speak freely, as in England. He was instrumental in securing the parkway in the middle of Delancey street. Of the task before him as Tenement House Commissioner, Mr. Murphy is quoted as saying in an interview: "Fully appreciating the inevitable friction which arises when public officials attempt to regulate the use of private property for the common good, it will be my effort to deal with such conflicts in the spirit of common sense within the law, and to give all well-founded complaints the largest possible measure of my personal attention."

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State Praise for Mayor Johnson's Administration.

After a year's exhaustive investigation, beginning December 1, 1908, the Ohio State examiners filed a report at Columbus on the 3rd, in regard to the recent municipal government of Cleveland (p. 13). The report praised Mayor Johnson's administration in high terms for efficiency and close attention to details. Cases of splitting of bills in certain departments to avoid the delays of competitive bidding, were noted, without charges of malfeasance. All other criticisms were on technicalities only.

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The Campaign in Great Britain.

Parliament was formerly dissolved by the King on the 10th, and writs for a general election were immediately issued (p. 8). One or two boroughs are likely to go to the polls on Friday, the 14th; on Saturday, the 15th, twelve London and fifty-six provincial constituencies will hold their elections, and many more on the following Monday and Tuesday, but probably not all the voting will be concluded until the 29th. The new Parliament is summoned for February 15.

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Cable reports are much fuller than hitherto. The Conservatives and their allies the Unionists have been playing the German war scare, upon which Mr. Balfour spoke at Hanley on the 4th, and was answered on the 5th by Mr. Asquith speaking at Bath and Mr. Lloyd George speaking at Peckham. The question between a revenue derived from protective duties, and one derived from land value taxation, is always to the fore. And as the campaign has progressed the Conservatives have seen the need of advocating a reform of the House of Lords from within. This has been

This Sketch by Mr. Robert Morley, was, on December 22, Awarded First Prize in the National Liberal Club's Competition for General Parliamentary Election Cartoons. Four Hundred Original Sketches Were Submitted. From the Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury of December 23.

urged by the Times and other Conservative organs, and by Lord Lansdowne, and by Mr. Balfour, who said at Ipswich on the 6th: "By all means let us reform the House of Lords in order to strengthen it." Violence at meetings, with fighting and the infliction of bodily injuries, has become more and more common as the campaign has progressed, and so great has been the excitement that by the 8th 4,000 meetings a night were being held. The most prominent Conservative speakers since the reopening of the campaign after the Christmas recess, have been Mr. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Milner, Lord Curzon, Lord Rothschild and Austen Chamberlain, former Chancellor of the Exchequer; while the leading Liberal speakers have been the Premier, Mr. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George; Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary; Reginald McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Winston Spencer Churchill, President of the Board of Trade. With the issuance of the election writs members of the House of Lords are barred from speaking at the hustings.

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Mail advices give fuller arguments on both sides. The Times publishes the following letter which it states the employes and pensioners on the Sutherland estates in Scotland received on Christmas Eve from the Duke of Sutherland:

Stafford House, London, S. W.

I cannot resist the feeling at this crisis that I ought to draw the attention of those who receive wages and pensions on these estates to the present political situation and how it may affect all those who receive all these wages and pensions. I will now only refer to that portion of this controversy that will have an immediate and direct bearing on the management and welfare of these estates.

On the one hand we have the proposal of the Unionist party of Tariff Reform, one of the chief objects of which is to increase employment in this country by putting a tax on finished foreign manufactures, thereby giving increased employment to our people. It is calculated that by Tariff Reform we should get from £16,000,000 to £20,000,000 from the foreigner. All raw material would, of course, come in free. Tariff Reform has many other objects such as the defense of the country, for which it will provide money, preference with the colonies, etc.

The alternative policy, which is the policy of the present Government, and the Budget, which would be revived, is an increased income-tax, a super-tax, and increased and increasing death duties which will be put on all employers of the people who live on and by the land. We have been told that agricultural land will be exempt from increased taxation, but if the owner of the land has to pay the increased taxation he cannot spend the amount he has been spending on the estate and on wages. The result, therefore, must be reduced employment, and all capital that can be moved will continue to leave the country and go abroad. Without capital there cannot be employment.

If there was no alternative to these proposals (the proposals of the present Government) we might be forced to adopt them, but there is an alternative in Tariff Reform. I would point out that the whole civilized world except Great Britain has adopted a tariff system. Our people are being told the contrary, but this is not true. The countries which include the greatest states in the World, the United States, Germany, France, etc., not to mention our colonies, have proved the great advantages of such a system, so that it is no doubtful experiment that the Unionist party propose to adopt but a well-proved system that has greatly benefited the people of those countries who have for many years tried it. I have written this to you as so much trouble is being taken to deceive you on this question. Nothing would give me greater sorrow than being forcibly compelled to reduce wages and pensions.

SUTHERLAND.

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Speaking at the National Welsh Liberal Convention at Cardiff on December 21st, Mr. Lloyd

George made compelling use of the extraordinary land monopoly enjoyed by the Marquis of Bute in the very city in which he was speaking—facts well known to students of the questions of land values in Great Britain, and already given in these columns (Public of April 16, 1909, p. 376). But Mr. Lloyd George's use of the facts, on the very ground subject to the abuse, has rung through England as one of the greatest speeches of the campaign. His last example from the estate of the Marquis of Bute, with the peroration of his speech, ran as follows, as reported in the Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury of the 22d:

If they would look at the ordinance map they would find that there was a little kitchen garden of seven acres of vineries, and, he had no doubt, of cabbage patches, too. That was valued at £56 10s ratable value. Some time ago somebody erected a theater on the cabbage patch, and they paid for it at the rate of £1,200 (cries of "Shame"). It was really a little more, because, in addition to that, they had to spend some money upon roads, and, if that were taken into account, it would run very nearly into £1,800; but let him take £1,200.

Mr. D. A. Thomas.—That is per annum.

Mr. Lloyd-George.—I am very glad I am reminded of that. I am not referring to the freehold, mind. They are paying a ground rent at the rate of £1,200 per annum ("Shame"). I was so astonished at this that I could hardly believe extortion could go to that extent, so I made very careful inquiries, and I find they are charging something like 5s per square yard per annum (renewed cries of "Shame"). Well, who is Barabbas? I would like to know (loud cheers)? I want you to work out the sum it is valued at—£56 10s for the purpose of contributing to the rates of Cardiff to the public expenditure that helped to make its value—£8 an acre is the value the Marquis of Bute puts upon that land when he is asked to contribute upon it, but when he comes to receiving he values it at £1,200 per annum ("Shame"). Now, all I say to him in this, That you ought to contribute at the rate of £1,200 per annum (cheers). How could you expect people with such a record to let the Budget through (hear, hear)? Of course they threw it out; but it is going through (loud cheers), and many another bill will follow it (renewed cheers). Like the mountain sheep I have seen many a time, once they find a gap in the wall all the rest go through (laughter); and the Budget will go through, and the whole flock will follow to the better pastures than that they are on now—to security for the workingman against unemployment (hear, hear), against starvation in the darkest hour of sickness (cheers), to security against old age (cheers), security for the tenant farmers against capricious eviction (hear, hear), security for the worker—it is all coming, and this is going to be the beginning of it (cheers). They talk about a Second Chamber to protect the weak and the powerless. By all means let us set it up; but when did the House of Lords ever do that (hear, hear)? There are people in this country who have riches, possessions, power, influence, retainers. The Lords go out of their way to shield them (hear, hear). There are people in this country with no possessions, no influence, very few friends (hear, hear)—when did you ever hear of the Lords striving to rescue them (cries of "Never")? I remember poor little cottars in Ireland thrown out by hundreds and thousands on the bleak wayside, out of the hovels they had built with their own hands, flung out ruthlessly by cruel landlords. What did the Peers do? They stood by and cheered and hounded on (cries of "Shame"). I remember hundreds of Welsh farmers thrown out of the homes of their fathers. Why? Because they obeyed the dictates of their consciences (hear, hear)—consciences planted in their breasts by their Father in Heaven to guide and direct them through life. What happened to them? Flung out! Did the Lords protect them? On the contrary, when the Ballot Bill was produced to make it impossible for outrages of that kind to be perpetrated, the Lords threw it out. Talk about the Second Chamber protecting the country against popular impulse and passions! Let them name a single oppression in this land which was due to popular passion. If there was one, fifty were due to the cold, deliberate greed of class. And they wanted a Second Chamber against popular passion! They are not there to protect honesty and industry against confiscation; they are there to defend monopoly, which plunders industry. They are not there as the guardians of liberty; they are there as a garrison of privilege. We have found them out, and Britain will strip them of their pretensions (loud cheers)!

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Speaking at Llanelly on the 22d, Mr. Lloyd George attacked Protection, as reported by the Glasgow Herald of the 23d:

The chairman had given him an excellent text when he referred to the tinplate industry of the district. It was worth while coming down there to point the moral of the industry. They in Llanelly had supplied the best answer to Protection they had ever been given. They had answered it in facts, and certainly not in posters like those he saw on the walls. (Laughter and hear, hear.) The American tariff staggered and stunned them, but what did they do? They had people who told them they should tax the Yankees. (Laughter.) Somebody said they have hit you on one cheek, smite them on the other; but the people of the district said if you put a tariff on wheat and meat, which America mostly supplies, who pays it? (Hear, hear.) In order to do that we must put up the price of our own bread and meat. Well, that didn't commend itself to Welshmen living in the neighborhood. (Cheers.) Revenge was the poorest and stupidest and most disappointing of policies. He had never known anybody who adopted it but came to grief. (Laughter.) Their mills became empty for the moment; but they did not meet empty mills by adding to their empty cupboards. What the people of Llanelly did was to improve their machinery and open up new markets. And what was the result? Last year America was obliged to buy tin plates mostly produced in that part of the country to the extent of £885,000 worth in spite of their tariff, and when it came to the whole world Llanelly and district sold 5½ millions' worth of tinplates; that was a remarkable triumph for Free Trade. (Cheers.) If they had adopted a tariff

they would have lost their foreign trade. They set up mills in America to compete with ours. Were they sending any tinplates to this country? He could not find a trace of them; he had looked through the Government trade and navigation accounts, and he could not find that they sold enough tinplates to this country to make a sardine box. (Cheers and laughter.) We sold to the Germans £432,000 worth of tinplates; he could not find enough tinplate to make a snuffbox which came from Germany. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) That was because we were able to get our material cheaper than any of them. He congratulated them on their courage and steadfastness in the hour of despondency and gloom, and, above all, on the foresight they had displayed. They were now reaping their reward, and were held up as an example to the whole of Britain in saving the trade, commerce, and industry of that land from the great folly of Protection. (Cheers.)

NEWS NOTES

—The Canadian bureau of census estimates the population of Canada at the close of the year 1909 at 7,350,000.

—"The Chicago Plan" for a beautiful and practical city (vol. xii, p. 1111) was definitely launched at a dinner of the Commercial Club at the Congress hotel on the 8th.

—At the meeting of the Chicago Single Tax Club at 508 Schiller Building, on the evening of Friday, the 14th, George A. Schilling will speak on "Home Rule for Cities."

—Porto Rican clubs are being formed at various places in the United States where there are Porto Rican students, having for their aim the independence of Porto Rico (vol. xii, p. 1095).

—All records for height attained in heavier than air machines were broken on the 7th by Hubert Latham at Mourmelon, France, when Mr. Latham rose over 3,400 feet, and in all, flew about 40 miles (vol. xii, pp. 758, 973).

—Through the drowning of General Fornos Diaz while endeavoring to make a landing by canoe over the bar at Greytown, negotiations for peace in Nicaragua which General Diaz as an emissary from General Estrada to President Madriz had been empowered to undertake, have been indefinitely delayed (p. 10).

—Initial steps were taken on the 5th for a movement of Chicago men and women looking to the civic betterment of the city. Action followed an address on "Civic Righteousness" given in Marshall Field's tearoom by Medill McCormick, publisher of the Tribune. Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth was appointed temporary chairman of the new movement.

—Over 600 delegates have already been named to participate in the Conference on Uniform Legislation called by The National Civic Federation to meet in Washington, D. C., January 17, 18 and 19 (vol. xii, p. 1256). A number of organizations have called their executive committees to Washington to attend the conference, notably the National Grange, The American Federation of Labor, the Farmers' National Congress, the National Association of Life Insurance Presidents and the National Association of State Boards of Arbitration.

—William J. Sidis, the eleven-year-old son of Professor Boris Sidis of the Harvard Medical school, gave a talk on the evening of the 5th before the Harvard Mathematical Society on the "The Fouth Dimension." The little boy is a special student at the university where he is taking advanced courses in mathematics, as well as courses in philosophy and the ancient system of ethics.

—Representatives of the carriers and of the switchmen's union, who have been in conference in Chicago for the last month trying to settle the strike of the switchmen (vol. xii, p. 1187), came to an agreement on the 5th, by which it was mutually decided to submit the differences to arbitration, and abide by the findings and recommendations of Chairman Martin Knapp of the Interstate Commerce Commission and Labor Commissioner Neill.

—Work upon a dam across the Mississippi from Keokuk to Hamilton for power purposes is announced to begin immediately. The War Department will have supervision of the work, which is financed by New York and Boston capitalists. The estimated cost is $15,000,000. It is expected that 200,000 horsepower will be developed at the power plant, to be located on the Iowa side. The dam will be the second largest in the world.

—Cardinal Francis Satolli, from 1892 to 1895 Apostolic delegate to Washington and the official head of the Catholic Church in America, died at Rome on the 8th, in his 71st year. It will be remembered that it was by Cardinal Satolli's efforts and exercise of authority that Dr. Edward McGlynn, the "beloved priest" and friend of Henry George, deposed from the priesthood by Archbishop Corrigan of New York, was restored to his priestly functions.

—Mail advices in regard to the Chinese Provincial Assemblies which met for the first time in last October (vol. xii, pp. 1040, 1118), relate that although the ruling class refuses as yet to take the new institutions seriously, and professes to regard them as a mere safety-valve, and a machinery which will allow them the more readily to repress the reformers by forcing them into the open, the Assemblies have already displayed a very independent spirit, and checked at least one unpopular tax. They are "formidable," "iconoclastic," and "patriotic," but as yet they lack leaders.

—"The Land Tax in the English Budget," with Joseph Fels of London for the chief speaker, was the subject at a "Budget" dinner given in New York at Kalil's restaurant on the 8th, under the auspices of the Women's Henry George League. Short speeches were made by Bolton Hall, Frank Stephens, Ella M. Murray and George L. Record. Amy Mali Hicks, president of the League, occupied the chair. A hundred and sixty-five persons were present. A feature of the dinner was the singing of the now famous "Land Song," to be found on another page of this Public.

—The Chicago Peace Society was reorganized at a meeting held in the Fine Arts Building on the afternoon of the 4th. George E. Roberts, President of the Commercial National Bank, was elected for the new president of the society. The secretary will be

Charles E. Beals, Field Secretary of the American Peace Society, and the treasurer, Leroy A. Goddard, President of the State Bank of Chicago. Among the vice-presidents are Miss Jane Addams, Bishop C. R. Anderson, Governor Charles S. Deneen, Walter L. Fisher, Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, Rabbi Hirsch, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Dr. Graham Taylor, Towner K. Webster and Mrs. Ella Flagg Young.

—The United States has been approaching the Great Powers, proposing as a solution for the Manchurian problem (vol. xii, p. 1118) the neutralization of the railroads in Manchuria by their sale to China, financed by an international syndicate. The United States invites participation in such a scheme. The supervision of the railroads would be placed thereby in the hands of the Powers responsible for the financial arrangement, who would see that the lines were conducted on a purely business basis and not used for political or strategic purposes. Germany is reported as looking favorably upon the proposition, while Russia and Japan are in doubt, or are not favorable.

—Tales of the finding in the possession of Eskimos in the far north of this continent, of relics of the ill-fated Andree who sought the North Pole in a balloon a few years ago, have been coming lately from trappers and prospectors arriving at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, from a region 1,100 miles north of there. It is proposed to send an expedition to investigate the reports, and if possible bring back what relics may be recovered. The Eskimos are said to have told of "a large white house, covered with ropes, which fell from heaven." This gives identification with the Andree expedition, as well as the fact that among the plunder derived seems to have been much cordage. The reports include the appearance of white men from the white house, and a misunderstanding of friendly signals from the Eskimos, ending in shots from the white men and their subsequent deaths at the hands of the Eskimos acting in self-defense.

—Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman spoke in Chicago on Thursday, January 6, at Lincoln Center (vol. xii, p. 1256), before an audience gathered by the South Side Suffrage Association. Mrs. Gilman's talk is reported to have been like herself, fresh and stimulating to thought. Her subject, "Our Brains and What Ails Them," seemed at first far away from the themes with which her name is mostly associated. But as all roads lead to Rome so was her address linked up before its close with social as well as educational problems. According to the philosophy set forth, nothing at all ever ails our brains except miseducation, and generations of that. Mrs. Gilman's desire was to lead her hearers to question the possible relations that may exist between, for instance, the habitual and largely successful repression of the wholesome activities of childhood, and the distressing attitude of that child grown-up who knows—much, and has been thus deliberately trained to be satisfied with passively knowing, but doing—nothing, as a result of that knowledge.

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It was a part of his (Carlyle's) view, for instance, that private property in land should be abolished.—Moncure D. Conway.

PRESS OPINIONS

Pinchot's Dismissal.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind. Dem.), January 8.—President Taft's dismissal of Chief Forester Pinchot will, unless indications are deceptive, go down in history as one of the great political blunders. Whether Pinchot be right or wrong in his controversy with Ballinger, the people are with him and against Ballinger. When Theodore Roosevelt retired from the White House less than eleven months ago it was generally agreed that his greatest service to the nation had been his work in behalf of conservation. Gifford Pinchot has been credited with inspiring Mr. Roosevelt to this effort. And now the man selected for the Presidential nomination and put in the White House through the popularity of the Great Conservator, peremptorily dismisses from the service of the government the one responsible for the other's strongest issue. Almost at the hour when the President was engaged in ridding himself of the annoyance of Pinchot's activity the members of Congress, by a coalition of insurgents and Democrats, were wresting from Speaker Cannon's hands the authority to name the committee to investigate the Ballinger-Pinchot embroglio; why? To foil the speaker's intention to name a pro-Ballinger, anti-Pinchot committee that would whitewash the head of the Interior department. That incident indicated, as few could, the popular hold the Forester has upon the people. The President could dismiss the Forester, but he cannot silence him. Mr. Pinchot represents a cause that is certain to thrive. Further, he represents Mr. Roosevelt, whose popularity today is greater than it was yesterday in the degree that President Taft's has diminished through his dismissal of this efficient public servant. Pinchot doubtless erred, as he admitted, in permitting his subordinates to undermine Secretary Ballinger. But his error is slight compared with the political blunder committed by the man who has dismissed him in disgrace.

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The Pinchot Verdict.

The Chicago Tribune (Rep.), January 8.—Without inquiring into the technical justice of the discharge of Mr. Pinchot the Tribune must repeat that the country will stand by Pinchot, right or wrong. It does not understand legal technicalities and it is prepared to accept the President's statement that Mr. Ballinger has acted within the law. But long since the country has been able to distinguish between men who are honest and those who are moved by moral zeal for the preservation of the public interest against private privilege. In that sense the Tribune believes that the great majority will disapprove the action of the President in discharging Pinchot, Pinchot who of all men under President Taft represents in the clearest sense the spirit of the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. Whatever Mr. Pinchot's faults may have been, they were faults that the heart of the people must forgive. They were faults not disapproved by Mr. Roosevelt. He is a zealot battling in the public interest with his

zeal confirmed by his successful efforts to redeem the public domain from private spoliation. But over the whole activity at the White House and the Capitol during the last twenty-four hours there has hung the shadow of a great figure. What has been done seems to have been done lest that shadow grow greater or less. The issues are not yet joined, but they are nearer and nearer unto us. The rancor which has been begotten by difference of opinion within the party is assuming a graver aspect than the Tribune hoped, and carries with it even more momentous consequences than the Tribune foresaw. "Ex Africa, semper aliquid novi."

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The "Insurgency" of the People.

La Follette's (ind. Rep.), January 8.—For years wealth in combination has ruled in Congress and in the capitals of the country. The vote of the citizen is nullified by legislation enacted at the behest of Special Interest. The people are sacrificed to party solidarity. March fourth, President Roosevelt committed the great work of his administration, finished and unfinished, to his successor. President Taft formed a new cabinet, some of whom had not been in sympathy with that work. He aided in the election of Cannon as Speaker of the House of Representatives. Cannon, Aldrich and their associates became his close advisers on legislation. It was a bad beginning. It has borne bitter fruit in tariff revision upward, with advancing prices already productive of popular revolt. It has brought upon the administration in its first year charges against the Secretary of the Interior in connection with coal land steals of a magnitude unparalleled in the history of public plundering. The people are not satisfied with the tariff legislation. They are shocked at the charges made in the Alaskan coal scandal. They have not lost faith yet. They are still waiting—hoping. But the people of the country are progressive—East as well as West. They will tolerate no retreat, no halt, no compromise on progressive policies. La Follette's will support the President in every effort which he puts forth to secure legislation in the public interest. We, too, are waiting—hoping. Out of the stirring events of the year—out of the fight over the speakership and the House rules; out of the invasion of the West by Aldrich and Cannon; out of the sugar trust disclosures; out of the fight to protect public lands from private monopolies; out of the passage of the new tariff law—out of all these has developed Insurgency—the insurgency of the people of the United States whenever it appears that progressive policies are in danger; insurgency against the selfish control of government by Big Business. Government by the people is stronger in the Senate and in the House of Representatives today than it was a year ago. It will be stronger a year hence. Between now and next November a new Congress must be elected. The fight will be carried into every congressional district—to your very doors. The outcome of these contests will depend upon the part you play in them. It will determine the advance made in the year 1910 in the movement to restore a people's government. Every State is calling for men—real men who are not afraid. You will have a hand in your own contest. It will be a hard fight in every district, in every State. The System is desperate. Its very existence depends upon the outcome.

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Praise for Mayor Johnson's Administration.

Cleveland Plain Dealer, January 5.—The report of the State examiner, filed after a year's investigation of the conduct of the Cleveland city administration, is distinctly complimentary. There are some specific criticisms—such as the splitting of bills, for the sake of convenience, in the department of charities—but on the whole the report is one that Clevelanders have reason to be proud of. The examiners were named by a State administration not friendly to the Cleveland government. Such fault as could have been found would, perhaps, have been welcome. That the methods, efficiency, conscientiousness and honesty of the Johnson administration are made subject of special commendation is, indeed, sufficient praise. The report shows that Cleveland has for years past enjoyed a clean and able government. Cleveland has come to demand such a government.

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That Unearned Increment.

(New York) World, Dec. 15.—The Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, which has sold for $660,000 the site it acquired for $45,000, receives its share of that increment of realty values which comes alike to the just and the unjust.

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The Peers' Fight.

Chicago Tribune, January 10.—The fight of the peers against the Budget is ended. Their leaders chafe in vain under the restriction which bars members of the House of Lords from further participation in the campaign after the election writs are issued—as they will be today. They have complained bitterly of the "heckling" which has prevented them from getting a fair hearing when they have attempted to defend the course of the upper chamber. In many instances they have found it practically impossible to speak. If a rhetorical question has been asked answers have come by the score. If a peer has lost his temper the crowd has enjoyed the situation all the more. The inexperienced in campaigning who hastened to take the stump so quickly repented of their rashness that the retreat of these valorous peers was described in doggerel about "Ten Little Noblemen" after the style of the familiar "Ten Little Injun Boys." The eloquence of one orator was checked by great cheering as a pole was raised aloft bearing a rudely carved turnip head, surmounted by a red and white coronet, a placard announcing this to be "The Firstborn." In some instances orderly meetings have been turned into bedlam in an instant by some sort of interruption, advocates of one party engaging in a shouting contest with adherents of the other, the pandemonium lasting for several minutes at a time. Angry speakers, shouting at the top of their voices, have made no headway against the mob. Fist fights in which the orator had a part are reported. Evidently the appeal to the people is turning out differently than the peers had expected.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE REVOLUTIONIST: OR, LINES TO A STATESMAN.

Gilbert K. Chesterton in the London Nation of December 18.

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"I was never standing by while a Revolution was going on."—Speech by the Right Hon. Walter Long.

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When death was on thy drums, democracy,
And with one rush of slaves the world was free,
In that high dawn that Kings shall not forget,
A void there was, and Walter was not yet.
Through sacked Versailles, at Valmy in the fray
They did without him in some kind of way;
Red Christendom all Walterless they cross,
And in their fury hardly feel their loss . . .
Fades the Republic; faint as Roland's horn,
Her trumpets taunt us with a sacred scorn . . .
Then silence fell: and Mr. Long was born.

From his first hours in his expensive cot.
He never saw the tiniest viscount shot;
In deference to his wealthy parents' whim,
The mildest massacres were kept from him;
The wars that dyed Pall Mall and Brompton red,
Passed harmless o'er that one unconscious head;
For all that little Long could understand,
The rich might still be rulers of the land;
Vain are the pious arts of parenthood,
Foiled revolution bubbled in his blood:
Until one day (the babe unborn shall rue it)
The Constitution bored him: and he slew it.

If I were wise and good and rich and strong—
Fond, impious thought, if I were Walter Long—
If I could water sell like molten gold,
And make grown people do as they are told,
If over private fields and wastes, as wide
As a Greek city for which heroes died,
I owned the houses and the men inside—
If all this hung on one thin thread of habit,
I would not revolutionize a rabbit.

I would sit tight, with all my gifts and glories,
And even preach to unconverted Tories
That the fixed system that our land inherits,
Viewed from a certain standpoint, has its merits,
I'd guard the laws like any Radical,
And keep each precedent, however small,
However subtle, musty, dusty, dreamy,
Lest men by chance should look at me and see me.
Lest men should ask what madman made me lord
Of English ploughshares and the English sword:
Lest men should mark how sleepy is the nod
That drills the dreadful images of God.

Walter, be wise; avoid the wild and new,
The Constitution is the game for you:
Walter, beware; scorn not the gathering throng,
It suffers, yet it may not suffer wrong;
It suffers; but it cannot suffer Long.
And if you goad it these grey rules to break,
For a few pence; see that you do not wake
Death and the splendor of the scarlet cap,
Boston and Valmy, Yorktown and Jemmappes,
Freedom in arms, the riding and the routing,
The thunder of the captains and the shouting;
All that lost riot that you did not share—
And when that riot comes . . . you will be there.

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SOME OF DOBBS'S THINKS.

As Remembered by Jackson Biggles.

For The Public.

There's worse men in the community than Dobbs. In the course of time he pays nearly all his bills, and if he wants to smoke a cigarette he goes out to the alley back of the house to do it. These traits reconcile me to lending him an ear when he tells what he thinks he knows about politics.

He came around last night to bring me his weekly budget of thinks about what the administration had done and what it "had ought to have done," and the burden of it was so heavy that I was forced to write it down and send it away by the postman.

"Say, Biggles," says he, after he had removed the frost from his mustache and embraced the radiator, "Taft did a mighty smart job when he fired that fellow Pinchot. Never seen anything as slick in my life. Beats the time that Jackson moved the government money away from the United States Bank to the Treasury, all hollow. Then look at the grit of it. The President says to Secretary Wilson, agricultural boss, 'See here, Jim! That there Chief Forester of yours is makin' altogether too much fuss about some little things in his department. He lacks discretion. Them fellows that he complains about grabbin' things is respectable citizens of good standin' in the community, an' they control votes. They organize conventions, an' go out an' do things when it comes to election time. What's that fool Pinchot want to keep stirrin' them up for? It won't do to encourage the insurgents; it will hurt the party. An' if the party should split an' some other party git in, what would become of the government, an' how could the people make a livin' for themselves? I tell you, Jim, the situation is desperate. Send that fellow Pinchot a letter, an' tell him that "natural resources" will get along without him now, an' he can draw his salary from some place where his honesty and lack of discretion won't interfere with statesmanship an' diplomacy. Of course, we want honest men in all the offices, but we want them to keep still about it an' not let it interfere with business. This prosperity of ours is such a tender thing that it has to be nursed, an' we can't have no Pinchots shakin' it up. Send him a letter,

Jim. We don't want him any longer. Ballinger will conserve our "natural resources" now. If he can't do it, there's some railroad managers' an' mine owners that will help him.'

"Of course, I don't mean that Taft said them identical words, but then he must have been thinkin' right along that line or he wouldn't have grabbed Mr. Pinchot off the vine so sudden.

"Yes, sir! I think Taft has a very broad mind. He wants to curb the bad trusts and conserve the good ones. He wants to save the dividends to the big corporations, and help the people that pay the dividends in exorbitant charges. He wants to reform things without hurting the fellows that profit by the things that need reform, and if he stays in office long enough I think he'll get there. But Taft is not alone. He has a whole lot of company. There's many a man that wants to be good without stopping the evil things that he is doing. There's many a man that wants to relieve the poverty of the poor if it can be done without removing the cause of the poverty. And so I'm inclined to swear by Taft, and to hope he will be able to reconcile the antagonistic things and save the old party. Biggles, I think I'll go to the back alley and draw a few puffs."

Dobbs is a good fellow, but he confuses me with his absurdities.

GEO. V. WELLS.

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FRANKLIN AND FREEDOM.

An Address by Joseph Fels to the "Poor Richard" Club of Philadelphia, January 6th, 1910.

The City of Philadelphia is indebted to an honored merchant, Justus C. Strawbridge, for a beautiful statue of her first citizen and adopted son, Benjamin Franklin. The statue is in the highest degree pleasing, and itself appears well to match the encomium by Washington which, with dignified simplicity, graces the pedestal:

> Venerated for benevolence,
> Admired for talents,
> Esteemed for patriotism,
> Beloved for philanthropy.

He who knows Benjamin Franklin only from his extraordinary, varied and persistent services to his country, State and city; his observations and pioneer work in gathering secrets from Dame Nature; and the homely and quaint maxims of "Poor Richard," has not sounded the depths of his feelings; has not yet learned the whole worth of the man. There are three subjects which engaged Franklin's thoughts which, I am sure, he would emphasize, could he converse with us from his pedestal by the postoffice. His counsel might not be welcomed by the people of Philadelphia, but I am sure none could take offense for his benevolence was innate.

"His statue in Boston was placed," said his eulogist, "to receive, and I had almost said, to reciprocate the daily salutations of all who pass."

In such kindly spirit I wish to speak of three subjects which engaged Franklin's thoughts. They concern the questions of trade, peace and the tenure of land.

A Free Trader.

Franklin was opposed to the theory and practice euphemistically, but improperly I think, known as "protection," but sometimes defined as "public taxation for private purposes." He was not of that timid class known to-day as tariff reformers. He did not even believe in tariff for revenue. He believed that any governmental interference between buyer and seller was wrong, and productive of evil. He was uncompromisingly a free trader. The importance of the subject will justify quotations at length.

> **And when the government had been solicited to support such schemes by encouragement in money or by imposing duties on importation of such goods, it has been generally refused, on this principle, that if the country is ripe for the manufacture, it may be carried on by private persons to advantage; if not, it is folly to think of forcing nature. . . . The governments in America do nothing to encourage such projects. The people by these means are not imposed on either by the merchant or mechanic.—From "The Internal State of America."**

I make no comment further than this: we have progressed since then, yet complaints of imposition to-day are widespread.

In 1775, when the colonies were restive under the restrictions imposed by England, Franklin suggested the following proposal:

> **Whenever she (England) shall think fit to abolish her monopoly . . . and allow us a free commerce with all the rest of the world, we shall well nigh agree to give and pay into the sinking fund 100,000 pounds sterling per annum for the term of one hundred years.**

To counteract the proposed restraining acts of Parliament, Franklin moved in Congress, July 21, 1775, as follows:

> **That all custom houses in the colony shall be shut up and all officers of the same discharged from the execution of their several functions, and all the ports of the said colonies are hereby declared to be henceforth open to the ships of every state in Europe that will admit our commerce and protect it.**

Franklin's biographer, the lamented Albert H. Smyth, of our Central High School, said: "Franklin's freedom of trade was based on a natural right." Personally I am a free trader. I respect every man's right to buy or sell to the best advantage, believing that "mind your own business" is the best part of the Golden Rule. May I respectfully suggest to my fellow citizens that, if Franklin's theory be unsound, their settled judgment of Franklin's wisdom must be revised. The revision must include also in its dis-

approval the opinions of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry and all the signers of the Declaration of Independence; for therein is an indictment of George III. "for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world." It must also question the wisdom of that provision of Magna Charta which declares:

All merchants may safely and without molestation depart from England and come to England as well by land as by water, to buy and to sell, free from all evil duties.

It is interesting to note that the just and gentle founder of Pennsylvania, that "holy experiment," did, for the general good, refuse a great financial temptation (entirely legal) for a monopoly of trade with the Indians. Penn has recorded his feelings that Pennsylvania had been given him to honor the Lord's name, and to serve his truth and people, that an example and standard might be set up to the nations; therefore, "I determined not to abuse his love, nor to act unworthy of his providence, and so defile what came to me clean."

Although Franklin's opinions were radical, they were expressed with so much moderation, kindness and persuasiveness that further quotations are tempting. In a letter to Peter Collinson, he wrote:

In time, perhaps mankind may be wise enough to let trade take its own course, find its own channels, and regulate its own proportions, etc. At present most of the edicts of princes, placaerts, laws and ordinances of kingdoms and states for the purpose prove political blunders; the advantages they produce not being general for the Commonwealth, but particular, to private persons or bodies in the State who procure them, and at the expense of the rest of the people.

In 1784, in a letter to Vaughn, he wrote:

I am sorry for the overturn you mention of those beneficial systems of commerce that would have been exemplary to mankind. The making England entirely a free port would have been the wisest step ever taken for its advantage.

There are hosts of sincere protectionists who fear the ruin of their country if traders be allowed to fetch and carry without let or hindrance. To them I respectfully commend Franklin's words written in 1774:

It were therefore to be wished that commerce were as free between all the nations of the world as it is between the several counties of England; so would all by mutual communication obtain more enjoyment. These counties do not ruin one another by trade; neither would the nations.

Cobden, whose mind, Smyth says, was fertilized by Franklin, held that the moral progress and elevation of a people depend, first of all, upon a removal of carking care, and upon the ability to secure with reasonable labor, the loaf, the coat and the roof. It was clear to Franklin, as to Cobden, that free trade best provided for the certainty of these conditions for his countrymen, but his interest was broader than the colonies; it embraced the world. In a letter to the Englishman, Hume, he writes:

I have lately read with great pleasure the excellent essay on the jealousy of commerce. I think it cannot but have a good effect in promoting a certain interest too little thought of by selfish man, and scarcely ever mentioned, so that we hardly have a name for it; I mean the interest of humanity, or common good of mankind. But I hope, particularly from that essay, an abatement of the jealousy . . . of the commerce of the colonies.

This "interest of humanity or common good of mankind" for which Franklin sought a name, shall we call it cosmopolitanism—a citizenship of the world? It is that for which saints have prayed, and philosophers have taught, and poets have sung. Yet with clear vision Franklin saw in the trader, however humble, however selfish or prosaic, yet unconsciously its missionary, a courier for civilization, a promoter of peace on earth and good will among nations. Instead of "setting the dogs upon him," he advised that the trader should be welcomed with open arms. "Many," said the prophet, "shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." It is the demand of the trader which removes barriers separating mankind; witness the Atlantic cables, the Suez Canal, the Simplon Tunnel, and the brave attempt at Panama, appalling in difficulty. Success to them all, workers together for good! Well has Stephens said: "Trade is the Peacemaker of God, and in her service shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, 'Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.'"

War and Peace.

However tempting the subject may be, let us leave it to consider briefly Franklin's testimony against war. In 1783, after the return of peace, he wrote to Sir Joseph Banks, as follows:

I join with you most cordially in rejoicing at the return of peace. I hope it will be lasting, and that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats; for, in my opinion, there never was a good war, or a bad peace. What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility! What an extension of agriculture, even to the tops of our mountains; what rivers rendered navigable, or joined by canals; what bridges, aqueducts, new roads and other public works, edifices and improvements, rendering England a complete paradise, might have been obtained by spending those millions in doing good, which in the last war have been spent in doing mischief; in

bringing misery to thousands of families, and destroying the lives of so many thousands of working people, who might have performed the useful labor!

"Never a good war or a bad peace!"—an amazing conclusion! However much you or I may differ with Franklin let us realize the breadth of his sympathies. Perhaps we, as a people, are mistaken in our alarms and preparations for war. Perhaps it may not be necessary or advisable to prepare the Big Stick and the Dreadnaught. Perhaps by a scrupulous respect for the rights of all men, white, black, brown or yellow, they may come to love us, and never dream of harming us! So thought William Penn; his "holy experiment" was successful. So also thought Lycurgus the Spartan,—"for he did not fence the city with walls, but fortified the inhabitants with virtue, and so preserved the city forever." So also thought Ulysses S. Grant (alas! that his thought was too late). On his return from his voyage round the world, he said:

Though I have been trained as a soldier, and participated in many battles, there never was a time when in my opinion, some way could not be found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a great recognized committee of nations will settle international differences, instead of keeping large standing armies as they do in Europe.

Before, therefore, we approve of another war, let us pause to think of the advice of Franklin; let us look beyond the pomp and circumstance of war; rather let us in imagination look upon devastated fields, upon bereaved households, upon broken mothers, sad-eyed widows and helpless children. The glory is transient; the grief is permanent.

The Land Question.

What were Franklin's thoughts upon the land question? That question which, slowly here, but swiftly in England, is engaging political thought, and promising dramatic developments. The question was not in his day pressing, as the question of trade had been. The settlements on the seaboard were trifling; behind them lay a continent untouched. Franklin has, however, recorded interesting observations. I quote from his "Internal State of America":

We are sons of the earth and sea, and like Antaeus in the fable, in wrestling with a Hercules, we now and then receive a fall; the touch of our parents communicates to us fresh strength and vigor to renew contests. . . . The truth is that though there are in America few people so miserable as the poor of Europe, there are also very few that in Europe would be called rich. It is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the soil, and few tenants; . . . very few rich enough to live idly on their incomes.

We pride ourselves upon having progressed since that day. We have millionaires and multi-millionaires, also we have tramps and paupers. The strain of business life is increasing. Women and children are pressed into the ranks of labor; the fireside and the playground are drafted for the machines. And on our streets at night I see sadder sights than these. We have progressed.

Let us quote from Franklin's "Observations on the Increase of Mankind":

Land being thus plenty in America, and so cheap that a laboring man that understands husbandry can in a short time save money enough to purchase a piece of new land sufficient for a plantation whereon he may subsist a family, such are not afraid to marry, for if they even look far enough forward to consider how their children when grown up, are to be provided for, they see that more land is to be had at rates equally easy, etc., . . . but, notwithstanding this increase, so vast is the territory of North America, that it will require many ages to settle it fully, and till it is fully settled, labor will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a laborer but gets a plantation of his own.

These hopeful words were written in 1751 by a man thoughtful, careful and restrained in the use of language. Franklin did not foresee. The lapse of time is far from having been "many ages," yet to-day Labor is cheap—dirt cheap. That being whom the Psalmist declared to be a little lower than the angels, whose possibilities are boundless; that being whom Shakespeare apostrophized so gloriously as "in apprehension so like a god"—is a drug upon the market. When you built your new opera house, such beings fought for a chance to dig its cellars. To meet the needs of the poor, so vast is the problem that charity finds it necessary to be "organized" and statistical; and the quality of mercy has become strained. We read, and forget, that the bread line at the Bowery Mission has increased from 1,500 to 2,000 men—not vagabonds, says the Mission Superintendent, but men out of work. And newspaper accounts of suicides because of despondency are common. The vast territory which was to be a safeguard against poverty for "many ages" is but sparsely settled. Yet stories of distress are commonplace, perennial and alas! "tiresome." We dismiss them with a shrug.

Last January, Secretary Garfield, submitted information of 32,000 cases of alleged land frauds, mainly in States west of the Mississippi. The fact is ominous. Lowell saw that destruction lies that way as destruction had waited for Rome:

Where Idleness enforced saw idle lands,
Leagues of unpeopled soil, the common earth,
Walled round with paper against God and Man.

A philosopher has told us that in Nature there are no punishments; there are only consequences. In Nature, as in mathematics, two and two make four, yesterday, to-day and forever. But, when we consider the remedies which we apply to the consequences, the words of John Stuart Mill can-

not be too often repeated: "When the object is to raise the general condition of a people, small means do not merely produce small effects; they produce no effects at all." The good intentions of our Good Government Clubs and our Municipal Leagues are acknowledged, but—"hell is paved with good intentions."

We complain that the men in the bread line sell their votes; what else have they to sell? Neglecting equity, we defraud and disemploy them; we do not attend to the public business; the public business is neglected, and the consequences annoy us. "Drive thy business," says Poor Richard, "or it will drive thee."

Had similar conditions existed in Franklin's time, I think he would have studied them; he would have been put upon inquiry; his benevolence was of a kind that walks with open eyes, that traces effect to cause, that seeks remedy, and is not satisfied with palliatives. But at that time the question was not urgent, and the public demands on Franklin's time were constant. Otherwise, I think he could not have failed to concur in the opinion expressed by Thomas Jefferson. Being in France thirty-four years afterward, and observant of the causes which soon after brought to pass the French Revolution, Jefferson wrote:

> Whenever there are in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for man to labor and live on.

The Single Tax.

The last letter which I shall quote is most pleasing and most important—a fitting finale. It was written in 1768 from London to Du Pont de Nemours in France—that Du Pont whose sons founded the powder works near Wilmington, Delaware:

> I received your obliging letter of the 10th of May, with the most acceptable present of your "Physiocratie." . . . There is such a freedom from local and national prejudices and partialities, so much benevolence to mankind in general, so much goodness mixt with the wisdom in the principles of your new philosophy, that I am perfectly charmed with them, and wish I could have stayed in France for some time to have studied at your school, that I might by conversing with its founders have made myself quite a master of that philosophy. . . . I had, before I went into your country, seen some letters of yours to Dr. Templeman, that gave me a high opinion of the doctrines you are engaged in cultivating, and of your personal worth and abilities which made me greatly desirous of seeing you. . . . I am sorry to find that that wisdom which sees in the welfare of the parts the prosperity of the whole seems yet not to be known in this country. It is from your philosophy only that the maxims of a contrary and more happy conduct are to be drawn, which I therefore sincerely wish may grow and increase till it becomes the governing philosophy of the human species as it must certainly be that of superior beings in better worlds.

Like most strong men, Benjamin Franklin was careful and moderate in his language, as we have seen. It is therefore, worth while to examine doctrines of which such a man says, "I am perfectly charmed with them," and for which he hopes such growth and increase that they may become the governing philosophy of the human species.

The Physiocrats were philosophers and political economists who lived in France in the reign of Louis XVI. The most prominent members of the school were Turgot, the King's Minister of Finance, and Quesnay, his favorite physician. Their doctrine was, in a word, the narrow one that government should do no more than to protect and preserve the rights of life and property, and to administer justice. Governmental interference with production and exchange was not allowable. Trade was to be free, and the entire revenue, the *"impot unique,"* was to be taxed from the rent of land. This proposal of Quesnay to substitute one single tax upon rent (for all others) was praised by the elder Mirabeau "as a discovery equal in utility to the invention of writing, or the substitution of the use of money for barter."

Do these words appear to be extravagant? That I regret, for extravagance is weakness. Let me ask you to forget them, and to recall, instead, those of one who is notably calm, philosophical and moderate. It was of this philosophy that Franklin wrote, "I am perfectly charmed with it"; it was of this philosophy that he expressed the hope that it might finally govern the whole race; it was this philosophy that he thought worthy of superior beings in better worlds.

The philosophy which so charmed Franklin, and from which he hoped so much, was unhappily placed. It was making progress, undoubted progress, when the storm of the French Revolution broke; it was overwhelmed, and became naught but a memory to the students of history. It is a curious fact that this doctrine should have been independently thought out and revived in after years by a young man who knew nothing of the great Frenchmen who preceded him; a young man, moreover, who was born in Franklin's loved city of Philadelphia, a reader of Franklin's works, and an eager attendant upon lectures at the Franklin Institute. Like Franklin, too, a printer, a philosopher and a free trader. He wrote what John Russell Young characterized as "a solemn message to mankind." The message was "Progress and Poverty," couched in masterly English worthy of the subject. But as of old, so to-day, a prophet is not without honor but in his own country and among his own kin. Lightly regarded in his native city and land, his revived doctrine of the *"impot unique,"* the doctrine which had so charmed Franklin, here known as the "single tax," is in the Antipodes, in Germany and

in England marching apace. I think the time will come when Henry George's birthplace on Tenth street will rival in attractive power our Independence Hall.

Benjamin Franklin once wrote of his gratification in the thought that his works were respectfully quoted by others. Allow me here on my part to acknowledge a keen pleasure in thus spreading further the pure and peaceful counsels of this printer, philosopher and statesman.

When next I pass the statue by the postoffice I shall be mindful of the advice of Franklin's eulogist at Boston. I shall tip my hat, and shall almost expect the face of bronze to light with pleasure.

Finally, I cannot do better than to ask "Poor Richard" to speak to you the concluding words: "A word to the wise is enough, as Poor Richard says."

* * *

THE LAND SONG.*

Air—"Marching Through Georgia."

Sound a blast for Freedom, boys, and send it far and wide!
March along to victory, for God is on our side!
While the voice of Nature thunders o'er the rising tide—
"God made the Land for the People!"

Chorus—
The Land! the Land! 'twas God who gave the Land!
The Land! the Land! the ground on which we stand!
Why should we be beggars, with the ballot in our hand?
"God gave the Land to the People!"

Hark! the shout is swelling from the East and from the West:
Why should we beg work and let the Landlords take the best?
Make them pay their taxes for the Land—we'll risk the rest;
The Land was meant for the People.
Chorus—

The banner has been raised on high, to face the battle din:
The Army now is marching on the struggle to begin.
We'll never cease our efforts till the victory we win,
And the Land is free for the People!
Chorus—

Clear the way for liberty! the land must all be free!
Britons will not falter in the fight, through stern it be,
Till the flag we love so well shall wave from sea to sea,
O'er land that's free for the People.
Chorus—

*As sung by from 5,000 to 6,000 people massed about the Parliament buildings at the moment when the House of Lords were rejecting the Budget (vol. xii, page 1161). Printed and published by the Land Values Publication Department, 376-377 Strand, London, W. C. Price, with music, by mail, two pence.

BOOKS

FEDERAL COMMON LAW.

The Power to Regulate Corporations and Commerce. A Discussion of the Existence, Basis, Nature and Scope of the Common Law of the United States. By Frank Hendrick, of the New York Bar. First Ricardo Prize Fellow in Harvard University. Author of "Railway Control by Commissions," etc. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

Up to the period of the Civil war, it was a commonplace among lawyers in the United States that the Federal courts have no common law jurisdiction. The firmly established principle was that these courts could acquire jurisdiction only from statute—the written Constitution, or acts of Congress authorized by it. But with the subsequent development of great corporate interests, and the astute discovery that the Fourteenth amendment (adopted with nothing else in view than the protection of Negroes in their personal and political rights), could serve corporations by bringing their litigations into Federal courts where the judges were far removed from the people, the idea that the Federal courts have no common law jurisdiction began to fade in the professional mind. And it kept on fading until the old phrase is seldom heard any longer at the bar.

One effect of this subtle change will illustrate the point. For a long time even after the perversion of the Fourteenth amendment had begun, the idea prevailed that no State could spawn corporations upon other States without their consent. This idea rested upon the doctrine of comity between nations, the theory being that the States were nations as to everything except the powers they had surrendered through the Constitution to the Federal government. But the idea was nullified in practice by corporate interests. Securing charters of incorporation in one State—New Jersey, for instance—they claimed and exercised the right to do business in any or every other State whether it liked it or not.

These interests were so enormous that the inaction of the States thus invaded by artificial persons created by other States, was long attributed to the financial power of the invading interests. But here we have a book which declares the right of a corporation of one State to go into another as if it were a natural person; and this novel contention is based upon the novel doctrine that there is a common law of the United States—in other words, that the Federal courts have common law jurisdiction.

Not merely are these courts assured of their power to call the common law to their aid after acquiring jurisdiction by statute, but, as the point is suc-

cinctly stated in the admirable preface to the book, "as a basis of jurisdiction."

The book is a scholarly production, the work of a trained mind which has gone laboriously over the whole subject from the foundation of the government. The impulse and spirit of the book throughout is Federalistic, Marshallistic, but in the direction of imperial Federalism it ventures farther than the explorers of American constitutional law have gone before. In its climax it gives absolute control of all questions of property and contract in the United States to the Federal government. And not to the Federal legislature, but to the Federal courts. "The final determination"—we quote from the last chapter—"of rights arising from contract, the right to contract and the use or possession of property, must come from the Supreme Court of the United States."

Could any theory be better for creating an imperial oligarchy of nine retired corporation lawyers? As a political proposition it would be preposterous. But as a legal proposition—an academic development of the body of the law as it exists,—it is by no means certain that the author is wrong. Whether he may be or not, however, his book is one that neither side to the controversy over the limitations of Federal power can afford to ignore.

PAMPHLETS

Municipal Taxation.

In an address before the League of American Municipalities at Montreal in 1909, A. C. Pleydell discussed "Municipal Taxation." His address, now published by the New York Tax Reform Association (56 Pine St., New York City; price 10 cents each, or 60 cents for 10), deals with municipal taxation on the basis of fiscal principle, covering the field of the personal property tax, special taxes, licenses, etc., and concluding with a recommendation of the real estate tax.

THE HEREDITARY PRINCIPLE.

From a Poem by G. R. Sims, Published in The Referee About Twenty-One Years Ago. Reprinted Here from the London Labour Leader.

There was an ocean pilot, and his eldest son was blind
And deaf and dumb from childhood, likewise vacant in his mind;
But, of course, he was a pilot when his daddy's course was run,
And he navigated vessels as his father's eldest son.

There was a clever surgeon, who could cut off legs and arms,
And invest an operation with a thousand nameless charms;
He'd an eldest boy who'd never seen an operation done,
But succeeded to the practice as his father's eldest son.

✣ ✣ ✣

Green:—"Smith asked me to forget my troubles this morning."

Brown:—"What for?"

Green:—"He wanted me to listen to his."—Chicago News.

✣ ✣ ✣

Said Charon to Diabolus,
"Your pavement's simply awful!
To leave your streets in such a fix
Is surely quite unlawful."

"The contract's let for street repairs,"
Replied the Prince Imperial;
"But not 'till New Year's Day is past
Shall we have good material."

—Success.

✣ ✣ ✣

The little daughter of a Dorchester gentleman was looking at a political cartoon. "Who is this, daddie?" she asked, pointing to a person with a coronet. "That is one of the Peers, my dear," replied her father. "Oh, I thought piers were places we sat on at the seaside," said the little one. "So they are, dear; but we are

Honest Confession.

Here is one from an old Public friend:—"I feel that I have much to atone for since I have discovered how little of time or effort it requires to frequently obtain a Public subscription; a discussion of any topic of public interest leads naturally to the question, 'Do you take The Public?' and they rarely fail to subscribe when I show it to them and explain its scope."

This friend has sent 10 subscriptions in '09.

When taking subscriptions becomes *a habit* with a few more of us, The Public's permanency will be assured and its field infinitely widened.

530 Walnut St.,
Cincinnati, Ohio.
January 1, 1910.

Daniel Kiefer

going to sit on these Peers all over the country now," was the quick response."—London Daily News.

✣ ✣ ✣

"Your hair wants cutting badly, sir," said a barber to a customer.

"No, it doesn't," replied the man in the chair: "it wants cutting nicely. You cut it badly last time."—Democratic Telegram.

✣ ✣ ✣

"St. Patrick was a wonderful mon!"

"Sure; but we Prohibitionists drove more snakes out of the South than St. Pat ever ousted from old Ireland!"

"Yis, begob! But the snakes St. Patrick druv out didn't cum back be freight!"—Puck.

✣ ✣ ✣

"Hello! Is this the information editor?"

"Yes."

"Who is the president of Nicaragua?"

"Wait a minute, and I'll——"

"But I want to know who's president now—not

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, and, though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of fundamental democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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Two columns to the page; length of column, 8½ inches; width of column, 3 inches.

Advertising forms close on the Monday preceding the Friday of publication.

who's going to be president a minute from now!"—Chicago Tribune.

✣ ✣ ✣

"Mr. Chairman," began the man who is unaccustomed to public speaking, "I—er—I—er—I—er—"

"Well," interrupted the chairman, kindly, "to err is human."—Washington Herald.

✣ ✣ ✣

The Powder Manufacturer: "Fancy old Tom, of all people, going into the gunpowder shed with a lighted candle! I should have thought that would be the last thing he'd do."

The Workman: "Which, properly speakin', 't were, sir."—Tid-Bits.

✣ ✣ ✣

Clubman: "I understand sir, that you began life as a newsboy."

Guest of the Evening: "I fear some one has been fooling you. I began life as an infant."—Philippine Gossip.