The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR
ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

Vol. XIII. CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1910. No. 617

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898 at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL

The Elections Over Seas.

At the time of writing the English elections are not yet over, but enough is known to warrant the statement that the ardent hopes of neither party have been fully realized. The Liberal party will come back into power, but very probably without the majority necessary to render the present Government independent of the Irish Nationalist and the Labor members. If it is not, there is of course some slight danger of coalition and trades between the Tory members and these groups, especially the Nationalists, which may defeat the most cherished hopes of the advanced Liberals. But we do not anticipate such a result. The Government has pledged itself to Home Rule for Ireland, and the Tories, who have been for years campaigning under the name of "Unionists" to emphasize their opposition to home rule, can scarcely outbid them; and, despite constant friction and difference between the Labor party leaders and the Government, these leaders can hardly be so blind to their own interests as to lend aid to reactionary Conservatives. The Conservative gains and the absence of the decisive majority hoped for by the Liberals, may grant a reprieve to the House of Lords from any drastic reform. Time alone can show this, and the disposition of the King in the crisis may after all prove that a vestige of "ruling" remains with an English sovereign.

✣

But in the matter of the Budget, which is for

the progressives in this country the chief cause of their interest in the situation, disappointment can hardly be reasonably anticipated. The Lords, whether their privileges are or are not curtailed, have shot their bolt. They claimed only that the country must be appealed to. It has been appealed to, and they have lost. To further oppose the financial legislation enacted by the Commons would be too dangerous even for them to attempt. The House of Commons will certainly repass the bill. Their mandate to that effect is undeniable, for Nationalists and Laborites equally with Liberals were elected with the understanding that they would do so. The land taxation clauses in the Budget—the crux and gist of the whole contest—were besides always enthusiastically supported by both Nationalist and Labor members. Landlordism in Great Britain, may we hope, has seen the beginning of the end!

The Appeal to Justice.

It was commonly told in New York a generation ago, of Fernando Wood, Congressman and Mayor in the 40's, 50's and 60's when politics were more visibly corrupt than now, that he had said he was convinced that the politicians did not "sufficiently pander to the moral sense of the community." And Canon S. A. Barnett, in a letter addressed to a Liberal meeting held at Queen's hall in London on December 31st, speaking from a standpoint morally antithetical to that of the old New York Mayor, urged a like appeal. "It is not indeed fitting," he said, "that one in my position should appeal to party passions or to class selfishness, but I should have liked to appeal to the quality of justice which is always present in the British mind. It would, I believe, be more active if politicians trusted it more and appealed to it more frequently. 'I hate the Budget,' said to me a city magistrate, 'it is a beastly Budget, but it is just.'"

Monopoly's Vulnerable Spots.

Thoroughly alarmed by the agitation over the increased cost of meats, the Administration is planning, we are told, a new coup against the packers by criminal prosecutions under the Sherman Act. At the same time we are told that the Government intends to show, by way of proof, that there is an illegal combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade. It presents an interesting question to a layman. Smith, Brown and Jones, we will say, are respectively directors of competing corporations 1, 2 and 3, engaged in meat packing. Corporation No. 4 is formed for the apparent purpose of further competing in the same business. Smith, Brown and Jones all buy stock in it and get themselves elected directors of it. Corporation No. 4 has a directors' meeting, and legitimately decides what it will pay for live animals and for what it will sell their flesh after they are slaughtered. When corporations 1, 2 and 3 have their directors' meetings respectively, Smith, Brown or Jones, as the case may be, without informing any one else of any especial reason therefor or revealing what Corporation 4 has resolved on, suggests purchasing and selling prices for that corporation which happen to be the identical prices which Corporation 4 has set. But they are adopted apparently only because of the fellow directors' confidence in his business judgment. Has a crime been committed, for which men can be sent to jail? If so, is it a crime to be a director in each of two corporations which are ostensibly competing? Perhaps to make it so will be considered the next necessary step. But we wish that instead of insisting on this kind of legislation, so continuously proposed and when enacted so continually evaded and made futile, our legislators would turn their attention to the effects in aiding monopoly, of unwise tariffs and patent and land laws, establishing and fortifying privilege and plutocracy!

Corrupt State—Corrupt Nation.

There is an amusing side to the controversy raging between the proponents of State control of water rights and of water rights of way, and the opponents of that policy. Representative Smith of California demands State control and ownership, and that the rights be leased to private corporations; but the San Francisco Call, a Republican paper, opposes that policy on the ground that the State government can't be trusted! Well, it is true that the State government of California is merely an agent of the Southern Pacific Railroad and allied interests, but then it is also true that the Government at Washington is in large part a combination of all the railroads and their allied interests. The illogical may make the deduction that unless the profits of monopoly are taxed into the public treasuries, it will make no difference to the people whether the private monopoly be licensed by the Nation or a State government.

Bryanism Still Lives.

A man of straw which took the shape of an unauthorized announcement of Mr. Bryan's candidacy for the Presidency in 1912, was bandied

about the country last week, calling forth ribald comment from Democrats of the non-democratic type. With jeers for his "kind word," and for his solitary state, the Cincinnati Times-Star quotes Daniel Kiefer as thus sturdily standing for Bryanism, as against Cleveland-Parker-Harmon Democracy:

I do not believe the statement said to have been authoritatively made by Mr. Metcalf, editor of the Commoner, that Mr. Bryan is to be a candidate in 1912. Mr. Bryan is en route to South America, and it is altogether unlikely that any one may speak for him in his absence on any such matter Mr. Bryan's willingness to be a candidate in 1908 was, as it was in 1900, and for the same reason that he made the fight against Parker's nomination in 1904, that in the ranks of real Democrats there seemed to be no one else to satisfy the call for a representative of true Democracy. Fair-weather and imaginary Democrats of the Cleveland-Parker stripe, personally estimable though they be, were admittedly better satisfied with their party distinctions when, previous to Bryan's first nomination, the party was a competitor of the Republican party for the favor and support of plutocracy. While Mr. Bryan does not stand for all that is democratic that I could wish he did, so long as the talk of candidates for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket is of men whose like characteristics to those of Taft are that they will be the pliant and subservient tools to monopolies and trusts, I hope that Mr. Bryan will consent to be a candidate for the balance of his life, and the people of the United States demonstrate, as they have three times by their more than six million votes (a greater vote each time than was cast for Cleveland), that it is far better to deserve to win and lose, than win without deserving it.

To Democrats, to whom Democracy is more than a tradition and a name, the fight for Bryanism will continue, and until an equally able exponent of it comes forward, and one considered more available, true Democrats will find it necessary to keep Mr. Bryan at the helm. Personally, I should rather make a fight for La Follette Republicanism than for Cleveland-Parker-Harmon Democracy.

✣ ✣

A Vindication of the Dunne School Board.

Many good people of Chicago, misled by newspaper reports and comments which were intentional and malignant misrepresentations, believed that the appointees of Mayor Dunne to the School Board were not safe guardians of the interests of the schools and school children of Chicago. Ingenuous and simple-minded clergymen and "Alameda citizens" joined with smug Pecksniffian representatives of "big business" in wagging their heads and declaring that apart from the traction questions involved in the last mayoralty election, the great educational interests of Chicago demanded that "visionary theorists and faddists who had no proper idea of business methods" should give place to "sane, safe, reasonable business men"; and that to that end Busse should be elected over Dunne. They got the desired change. Mayor Dunne's School Board gave place to Mayor Busse's. How do the good people like the results? Probably they know little about them. The newspapers on which they pinned their faith are not exploiting the doings of the Board of Education in these days. To those who may see this paragraph, we should like to make a suggestion. Let them procure a copy of the Chicago Inter Ocean of January 22, and learn from facts of which there can be no denial, the difference between the dealings of the Dunne School Board under the leadership of its President, Emil Ritter, and the dealings of the Busse School Board, with the "coal ring." Perhaps their eyes may be so far opened as to induce hereafter in similar matters a more deliberate judgment.

✣ ✣ ✣

WAGE WORKERS AS NATION BUILDERS.

The average American is extremely proud of his "national front-yard." He points with pride to the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation, Washington, Lincoln, and almost invariably to the free school system as the great bulwark of free American institutions.

If asked as to the origin of the public school system, he will speak of Horace Mann, Henry Barnard and the New England ministers as the sole architects of our important educational edifice. Throughout the length and breadth of the nation, men pay tribute to these great reformers as the founders of the American public school system. But recent investigations, while recognizing the importance of the work of these pioneer educators, has found another and more potent force which has long lain concealed from view. This underlying force proceeded from the wage earners, dominated by a bread-and-butter argument.

✣

Free schools had existed in New England and New York in Colonial times; but the Revolution and the long period of adjustment subsequent to the war, together with the growing heterogeneity of the population, led to the practical abandonment of the system.

The modern free tax-supported school originated in the eventful period, 1820 to 1850. The famous embargo act of Jefferson's administration and the war of 1812 artificially forced the rapid development of American manufacture. At the

conclusion of the struggle there was a panic and financial depression. Long continued hard times adversely affected the wage earners in our truly infant industries. With the return of business activity, towns, cities and factories were enlarged and multiplied. People long accustomed to rural environment were suddenly thrust into barrack-like homes in dreary mushroom factory towns. The now familiar evils of city life began to make their first appearance on American soil. Pauperism, juvenile crime, woman and child labor in factories became well known.

The modern American wage earner then appeared on the industrial and political horizon.

Massed together in the growing cities and towns, opportunities for organization and agitation were not lacking. The long struggle between the conservatives of the Atlantic coast region and the turbulent and individualistic frontiersmen of the uplands and the back-woods had finally forced the abolition in most of the Northern States of the old religious and property qualifications for the exercise of the suffrage. At a propitious time the democratic frontiersman placed the ballot in the hands of the newly created class of factory and town wage earners; and the workingmen's ballots gave the nation its free school system.

✤

New and unusual social and industrial conditions breed evils, apparent and real, and foster discontent and unrest. In the cities and factory towns of the period, the workers felt that the times were awry; and with the child-like faith of utopia builders they looked for a panacea for the ills they suffered.

For years influential and learned men had been preaching the doctrine that the uneducated must ever remain in a degraded caste. "Equality among men results only from education"; "the educated man is a good citizen, the uneducated an undesirable member of the body politic." These were the oft-repeated phrases which came from many sources to the anxious wage earners.

Suddenly the disturbed mass of toiling humanity was touched by the monotonous repetition. Free, equal, practical, republican education became the shibboleth of the workers. Practically every workingmen's meeting from Albany and Boston on the north to Wilmington and Charleston on the south took up the cry. Speeches, editorials and resolutions galore, and planks in local workingmen's party platforms, are recorded of the period from 1828 to about 1832 or 1833. Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, James G. Carter, Robert Dale Owen, George H. Evans and others directed the movement; but the potent push came from the firm demand of an aroused and insistent wage earning class armed with the ballot.

The rural districts, employers, and men of wealth were rarely favorable to the tax-supported school; and often their voices were raised against it in bitter protest or stinging invective.

✤

A careful study of the development of the public school system in different States—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio—and the utter lack of a free school system in the slave-holding South, confirm these brief general statements.

The wage earners were touched with the enthusiasm of a utopian dreamer. Given free and universal education, and, they firmly believed, all social ills would vanish as the mists before the morning sun. A mistaken idea it has proved to be; but it was nevertheless potent and compelling in that formative period of our industrial history.

Only a few years later, following another panic, the workers, again discontented and suffering, looked for another social panacea. They found it then in free homesteads for actual settlers. Give each man the right to acquire a quarter section of virgin soil, and all will be well. Again, the wage earners play no small part in giving the nation another important measure—the Homestead Act.

✤

He who interprets our national history aright must not overlook the influence of the workingmen.

Witness the free school system, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, mechanics' lien laws, the Homestead Act, departments of labor statistics, eight hour laws, and so on through a list which is not short.

Many of our cherished institutions and legislative measures are the concrete results of the efforts of a combination of insurgent reformers and the wage earners, made in opposition to organized wealth and traditional conservatism. To the wage earner who gets his bread by the sweat of his brow are due many of the important stones in our national edifice.

Let us give credit where credit is due; and let us remember that the past has valuable lessons for today.

FRANK T. CARLTON.

✤ ✤ ✤

Equity does not permit property in land.—Herbert Spencer, in 1850 edition of "Social Statics."

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

JOHN Z. WHITE IN THE NORTHWEST.

Spokane, Wash., Jan. 8, 1910.

On his northwestern tour, under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association, Mr. John Z. White (vol. xii, pp. 1059, 1094) has just ended a three weeks' visit to Spokane, Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. Notwithstanding the holiday attractions and festivities, we have had a very successful educational campaign of a fundamental economic character. He made thirty odd public addresses before our High Schools, Business Colleges, State Colleges and Normals, Churches, Labor and Secret organizations, Political and Economic Clubs.

Our local Charter Revision Committee in Spokane, composed of all shades of opinions, ranging from the democratic Democrat to the stand-pat conservative, are laboring hard to give us a new city charter for inaugurating the commission plan. This committee arranged for a noon day luncheon, with Mr. White as their guest, and a public lecture on the commission plan of city government. Mr. White's complete mastery of the subject and his ready direct answers to their many questions, won for him the admiration of those present, many of whom also heard him on several other occasions. There had been a decided distrust, on the part of some of the committee, to placing the power of Direct Legislation in the hands of the people without strings on it.

We believe, however, that Mr. White has aided materially in relieving the situation. One of his last city dates was a joint debate with Atty. F. H. Moore, a representative local socialist, in response to a challenge from their local. In his usual easy and forcible manner Mr. White tripped up our socialist friend on every major proposition around which he endeavored to wind his thread of argument. The Elks' hall was filled to its capacity of about one thousand. The machinery question, enforced cooperation, the artificial device for distribution, the lack of incentive to own property when labor gets its full product, the interest question, and all the usual arguments of our revolutionary friends, were demolished and literally piled into a heap of broken ruins.

Prof. Hart of our south central High school, who has charge of some fifteen hundred young men and women, said that never had a public speaker received such close attention and ready responses from his pupils, as when Mr. White addressed them on the "Dismal Science." Mr. White certainly has a remarkable and happy faculty for entertaining both young and old on economic subjects, whether or not they have given the matter any previous study.

At Walla Walla Mr. White was tendered a hearty reception by the members of the Commercial Club, among whom he met Mr. L. E. Meachem, an old time personal friend and single taxer. His talk on taxation at the noon day luncheon was so enthusiastically received that by request of the officers of the club, his evening lecture under their auspices, comprised both the Direct Legislation and Single Tax lectures. The President of Whitman college at this place told Mr. White to consider himself down for other engagements in their institution as often as he could come to the Northwest.

Prof. Macomber of the State Normal at Cheney, just called to inform me that they intended to organize the faculty with the intention of going into the single tax philosophy thoroughly, since Mr. White's recent visit. He also expressed the hope that Mr. White or some other representative of the Henry George Lecture Association could make them another visit in the near future.

One of our prominent Democrats said that Mr. White and his lecture work was being considerably discussed on the street corners. These are but a few of the many appreciative expressions we have heard.

WM. MATHEWS.

✤ ✤ ✤

THE PARLIAMENTARY CAMPAIGN.

London, Jan. 11, 1910.

"Where shall we get the money?" asked the Duke of Marlborough, at a Unionist meeting in the campaign for a new Parliament now drawing to its end in this country, and in a speech criticizing old age pensions. "Where shall we get the money?" he asked, in the tone of one putting a poser. The retort came promptly out of the body of the meeting: "From such as thee, lad!"

It was a characteristic instance of the freedom and pointedness of expression in British campaign meetings. Campaign meetings here are not party meetings, no matter who holds them nor who speaks. They are meetings of electors, called together to hear the issues discussed, and every one is entitled to participate in the meetings by "heckling" speakers, and even to the extreme of voting down the resolutions of the party calling the meeting, provided only that there is no disorder. And as to disorder, it is the "stewards" of the meetings that must maintain it; for the police though they are near by outside the door, are conspicuously absent from the interior of the meeting place. Interruptions, retorts, and wrangles between members of the audience and the speaker are not unusual; and he must be a ready-witted speaker—as the Duke of Marlborough was not, on the occasion noted above—to cope with "hecklers" in the audience.

At a meeting in the campaign of 1900, an imperialist speaker, appealing to the patriotic masses represented in the meeting hall, pointed to a large map whereon all the British territory of the world was indicated in red, and with enthusiasm asked, "What do these red spaces mean?" His question brought anything but the answer he wished. "Blood!" exclaimed a sturdy radical, and the imperialistic speaker was a "dead one."

✤

Prejudice against participation by foreigners in campaign meetings does not prevail here as in the United States. Quite contrary, therefore, to all my expectations and much against my wishes, I found myself drafted for service at so many places that I might, had the time been at my disposal, have spoken almost every night at an election meeting. In this respect I had the advantage of the peers, for they had to do all their speaking before the election

writs were out. It is considered an invasion of the rights of the Commons for a peer to make speeches between the call for elections and the elections themselves.

Long before I had been twenty-four hours on English soil, I was speaking to an audience of 500 men and women, crowded into the town hall of Middlewich in Cheshire, about two hours from Liverpool. It was in the constituency of Sir John Brunner, who has represented these people in Parliament for twenty-five years, and whose son, John Brunner, is now running in the father's stead. As I drew near the hall, walking through the narrow and winding and picturesque streets of a village looking like the kind you have no reason for believing to exist outside of an old fashioned picture book, I was suddenly wafted home on the strains of "Marching Through Georgia," which came floating out of the hall. The words were not clear, but I surely thought I distinguished "Shouting the battle cry of freedom." In this, however, I was mistaken, for when I got into Mr. Brunner's meeting whence the music came, I learned that although the air was truly enough "Marching Through Georgia," the words of the refrain were—"God made the land for the people."

Since then I have learned that in many a Liberal meeting in England and Scotland this year, that song to that air has thrilled audiences and made a keynote for speakers.* Nor at Liberal meetings alone. At opposition meetings the speakers are sometimes obliged to wait while enthusiasts sing "God made the land for the people."

✣

One of the impressive things about a British meeting is the absolutely serious way in which those concerned perform their several functions—not solemn, for they are the best natured and best witted gatherings I have ever seen, but serious in the sense that nobody is frivolous or indifferent. The chairman goes into the meetings with an "agenda" in his hand. "Agendas" are furnished as blank forms on which the managers of the meeting write the program in blank spaces designed for the purpose. He makes a speech to open the meeting, and thenceforth holds his tongue to the end, except to make announcements from the "agenda." Having finished his own speech, he brings forward the candidate, if in accordance with the arrangement on the "agenda." He then introduces other speakers in their order on the "agenda," and then calls upon somebody named in the "agenda" to move resolutions. The mover makes a speech, and is followed with speeches by one or more persons whom the chairman recognizes for the purpose. Thereupon the chairman puts the resolutions to vote, calling deliberately for "noes" as well as "ayes," and often getting them, too—at more than one Unionist meeting in this campaign, the "agenda" resolutions have been voted down—and declares the result, which must of course be overwhelmingly in the negative to prevent his announcing it as affirmative.

It is interesting to note the earnestness with which adherents of the party holding the meeting will count negative votes, and their expressions of triumph as they are able to exclaim "Only one," or "two" or "five" or "ten."

Voting at these meetings is usually done by the uplifted hand; and inasmuch as hostiles have sometimes doubled their vote by raising both hands, this fraud is anticipated by the chairman, who calls upon the whole audience, whichever way they vote, to vote with both hands instead of one.

✣

The calls upon me to participate in the speaking campaign were principally from constituencies where protectionists were making specious appeals to workingmen to go in for protection—"tariff reform" they call it here—as the only way in which permanent employment and good wages can be secured.

At Middlewich the dominant industry is salt production, and protectionists are proposing to improve the salt workers' condition by excluding foreign salt with a tariff. The only other place I have yet agreed to speak at is at Newcastle-under-Lyme, in the pottery region, where Josiah C. Wedgwood, a lineal descendant of the founder of the Wedgwood potteries, is the Liberal candidate. His election agent is Edward McHugh, who was well known in labor circles in the United States fifteen years ago. Mr. Wedgwood was in the Parliament that has just been dissolved, and is running as a radical Liberal who would be known with us as a Henry George man, or single taxer.

The calls upon me were especially for the purpose of getting information as to the effect upon labor interests of protection in the United States. For the most absurd stories about prosperity for workingmen in the United States are circulated by protectionists, who are naturally in sympathy with the privileged classes here as they are everywhere else.

✣

The most important issue, however, is not the tariff question. This has been forced into the campaign by manufacturers seeking special privileges, just as the liquor question has been forced into it by the distilling and the brewing interests. From the protectionists, the Unionist party gets its intellectual support and from the liquor interests its financial aid.

The Unionist party, it should be explained, is the name of that aggregation of former radicals who, under Joseph Chamberlain deserted Gladstone on the Irish home rule question, calling themselves Liberal Unionists, and of the old reactionary Tory or Conservative party. The Conservatives have been swallowed up by the Unionists, and the latter is now the common name of the whole aggregation. Its strength comes from the great landlords, the liquor interests, and Chamberlain radicals.

The latter still think Chamberlain a radical, and vote with him as Democrats thought they were voting for Andrew Jackson when they voted for "Jimmy" Buchanan, and as Republicans think they are voting for Abraham Lincoln when they vote for Mr. Taft. Chamberlain, however, has an advantage over dead heroes, as his deplorable infirmity confines him to his house and yet as he can issue letters from this seclusion, he wears the halo of a dead hero with none of those disadvantages of silence which

*For words of the song see Public of January 14, page 45.

dead heroes usually endure. His appeals to his admirers come, therefore, with peculiar force; and in Birmingham, which he radicalized and built up as a municipal statesman, a Unionist victory is now, as it has been in the past, a foregone conclusion. It is Chamberlain that gives such plausibility as it has to the "tariff reform" or protection issue, which has been raised against the Liberals in this campaign, and contributed to the number and complexity of the issues that are discussed.

But underlying all those issues is taxation of land values, and overtopping them all is the question of whether Commons or Lords shall rule.

✣

The latter issue was raised by the House of Lords itself—not as a herring drawn across the trail, as the tariff issue is, but by their defiance of the Commons in voting down the Budget for the year, because it contained the land value taxation clauses.

Nominally they did not vote it down. They rejected it until the people could vote upon it by voting for a new Parliament. But the Commons having accepted this challenge and asked of the people a mandate to curb the House of Lords, the Lords abandon their "referendum," by making a weak fight against the Budget but an aggressive one for protection.

There seems reason at this time to believe that workingmen in some places and business men in some places may be fooled by this "tariff reform" herring. Whether the effect will be sufficient to affect the parliamentary result is strongly doubted. Yet, if the result should be against the Liberals, the attempt to abolish in England English free trade in favor of American and German protection, will have contributed largely to it.

In places like London, the distillery and brewery influences are likely to get much of the credit, if credit it be, for defeating the Liberals if they are defeated. And all over the country, much is made of the possibilities of invasion by Germany. From some of the hysterical explosions you might suppose that a German fleet was already in the Channel and training its guns upon an unarmed England. Just as our protectionists used to twist the lion's tail when they wanted more tariff fat, so the protectionists here are yanking feathers out of the German eagle. It seems to be a protection peculiarity, this bloody-warpath method of getting fool voters to give privileged persons more privileges. Another point on which the Unionists rely is the Liberal promise of home rule on home affairs for Ireland.

But the issue over the Lords will not down, in spite of all the Unionists can do to turn attention in other directions; and the proposals for land value taxation are apparently as popular among the voters as they are repugnant to the peerage.

✣

By the time this letter reaches its American readers we shall know on both sides of the Atlantic how the struggle, now intense with that genuine intensity of the English which goes deep but makes no red fire display, has come out. All the elections may not have been held, but there will have been enough, and of a sufficient variety, to show how the current of opinion is running.

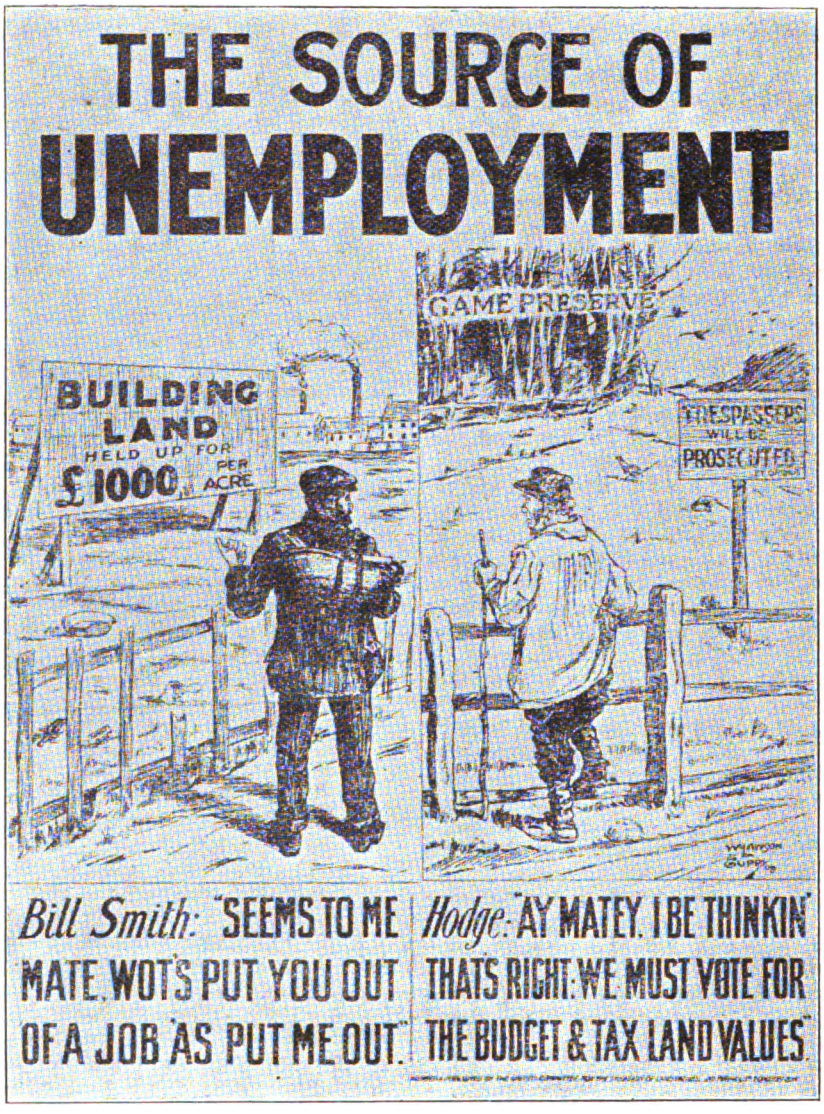
The old Parliament was formally dissolved by the King's proclamation on the 10th (yesterday), and the new Parliament called for February 15. The elections are to be held meanwhile. Some will come off on the 15th, the earliest day possible—the lapse of at least five days between the issuance of writs of election and the election being necessary—and others will follow through the next two weeks. Some will not be held until the 25th, and a few will take place even after that. Of those to come off on the 15th, 12 are in London and 64 are in the "provinces." From these some inference may be drawn as to the ultimate result, if the vote is pronounced either way; for in this country as at home, all constituencies are swayed in some degree sufficiently alike to make calculation possible, and in addition the early returns may have an influence upon the voter who likes to be on the winning side.

It is to be regretted that in some 50 constituencies, there is a triangular contest—Liberal, Unionist and Labor. Neither the Liberal nor the Labor leaders could probably have prevented it, for these nominations are controlled at the last by each constituency for itself. But that there should be a division of progressive forces in any constituency at a time when a question vital in its character is concretely at issue, as in this election in Great Britain, is deplorable. It is a marked instance of the fact that partisanship of any kind readily makes men more loyal to their party than to their cause.

✣

As you see the Unionist election posters here and there—on bill boards, in windows, and at meetings—you are reminded of the days of McKinley in the United States. There are the same solemn proposals to tax the foreigner, and the same hollow promises to provide employment for workingmen. Two or three lugubrious pictures of workingmen without a job, which might be labeled almost any way, are so labeled as to place the responsibility upon free trade. One of these, the well known picture called "The Strike," a work of art, has been appropriated by the Unionists and the title changed from "The Strike" to "Free Trade." Another picture of the protectionists, which is scattered everywhere, for they have put immense sums into printer's ink, shows a hapless workingman who complains that "the foreigner has got my job." There are promises of "employment instead of unemployment," and both posters and speeches vary with localities, just as they used to with us in the United States. A leather producing community, for instance, is shown how its workingmen and business men could prosper if leather were protected; but a boot making community is shown how its workingmen and business men could prosper if boots and shoes were protected, nothing being said about leather. To neither is anything said about protected food, that subject is reserved for farming communities.

On the other hand, there are pictures of pleading women and children who are made to say, "Don't let them tax our food." And the question of unemployment is illustrated with a picture of which scores of thousands of all sizes, from postcards to huge posters, have been sent out by the united committee for the Taxation of Land Values and utilized



A reduced facsimile of a Poster (30 inches wide by 40 inches deep), printed in two colors. Published and sold during the Parliamentary Campaign now closing, by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 20 Tothill St., London, S. W.

by the Liberals—a picture showing a carpenter looking at a vacant lot held out of use by a high price, saying to a farm hand looking at a game preserve and a trespasser sign, "Seems to me, Mate, wot's put you out of a job 'as put me out." Hodge replies, "Aye, Matey, I be thinkin' that's right; we must vote for the Budget and tax land values." Another poster has Lloyd George in a flying machine marked "Budget," and on the ground below are two dukes crying, "Hi, come down out of there; that air belongs to us." One cartoon is of a duke with an inexpressibly droll expression of disgust on his face, who exclaims: "What! tax MY land!"

Lord Lansdowne undertook in one of his protection speeches to explain the Lords' position on the land valuation clauses of the Budget. It was at Salisbury on the 7th of January. He said that it would oblige land owners to put "an imaginary value, based upon imaginary conditions, an imaginary buyer, and an imaginary seller," and "upon these conjectures to found that which would hereafter be the basis of the regular taxes." These men seem really oblivious to the fact that land is valued for taxation in the United States, Canada, and Australia habitually. Curiously enough, also, Lord Lansdowne in the same speech in which he spoke of land as incapable of being valued for taxation, said this: "Land is not a monopoly in England, for it is in the market at an honest price." It remains to be explained why a commodity with a market price cannot be valued for taxation. Probably Lord Lansdowne expressed the real objection of the Lords to

"What! Tax MY Land!"

land valuation for taxes when in the same speech he declared Lloyd George's policy to be "nationalization of the land, to come by easy stages, the Budget being the first stage."

Apparently the Unionists are setting up a policy of peasant proprietorship against the land taxation movement; but they are not pledging themselves to it. If worse came to worst with them, however, peasant proprietorship would probably be the most effective shield they could use to defend their own great landed privileges.

Their argument against modifying the legislative power of the House of Lords is that this body is necessary to represent "the settled sentiment" of Great Britain, and to stand in the way of "passing gusts of popular passion" as represented by the Commons. What they themselves propose is to reform the House of Lords by allowing it to elect from its own number a select body to legislate representatively for it. They insist upon a two-chamber legislature as necessary to democratic government, and imply that the Commons aim at a one-chamber legislature. To this the Liberals answer that they also favor two chambers, but that the Lords are proposing practically only one chamber and that their own. If the Lords can veto the action of the Commons whenever they wish, and cannot be controlled by the people, there is in effect, argue the Liberals, no other effective chamber but the House of Lords itself.

✣

There is a certain profound satisfaction in listening to campaign speakers here. They are argumentative, yet interesting; they state facts with a keen sense of responsibility for accuracy; they are courteous—diplomatically so, at any rate—toward opponents; and although they make long speeches consecutively reasoned out, they are not dull. This is possible because the audiences take delight in following the reasoning. While they may applaud rhetorical periods, and do enjoy jokes—which they apprehend quickly, by the way, despite all our jokes upon their supposed slowness of apprehension—they seem to applaud the climax of an argument well constructed and simply put, better than anything else in a speech. With us, a campaign is the signal for arousing blind passion or enthusiasm; with them it is the signal for trying to "make good" in argument.

The newspapers, too, are infinitely better than ours, as circulators of the serious news of a campaign. No matter how partisan, they seldom misrepresent opponents in the raw way so common with us; and in many even of the partisan papers, you get fair reports of the speeches on both sides.

L. F. P.

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 25, 1910.

The Parliamentary Elections in Great Britain.

During the week since our last report (p. 57) the Unionists made greater gains than the Government forces, up to the 24th, when the Liberals made gains. The results then stood:

Ministerialists.	
Liberals	202
Laborites	34
Nationalists	69
Total	305
Opposition.	
Unionists	221
Laborites	1
Total	222
Unionist gains	115
Liberal gains	16
Net Unionist gains	99
Still to be elected	143

✣

Alexander Ure, Lord Advocate for Scotland, has been returned by a strong vote. Other Liberals duly returned have been Sir James H. Dalziel, proprietor of Reynolds' Newspaper; Herbert Louis Samuel, Under Secretary for the Home Office; Lewis Vernon Harcourt, and J. A. Bryce,

brother of the Ambassador to the United States. Albert Victor Grayson, the Socialist, lost his seat to a Liberal candidate, C. Leach. Timothy M. Healy, Irish Unionist member, was re-elected by a close vote. Henry Chaplin, leading advocate of tariff reform before Joseph Chamberlain adopted that slogan, was re-elected by the Unionists. David Lloyd George was re-elected from Carnarvon by a somewhat reduced majority.

✣

Mr. Balfour is reported as saying on the 24th: "This election may settle the Budget. It certainly will not settle tariff reform, or home rule, or the House of Lords. These are issues which the country will have to decide separately." T. P. O'Connor, in his cabled letter of the 22d to the Chicago Tribune, asserts that the policy of the Irish Nationalist leader, John Redmond, "is to stand by the Liberals till the veto of the House of Lords is settled forever, as thus the really formidable and only obstacle to home rule will be removed." He thinks the Laborites will give the Liberals more trouble than the Irish party will, asserting that the Irish "will be solid with the Ministry."

✣

From the London Daily News we learn that at York on the 12th Mr. Balfour made two statements that shed a much-needed light on his position in regard to the proposed tax upon the people's bread. The first was as follows:

So far he had treated the subject from the point of view of the community as producer rather than the community as consumer. The latter, he thought, ought to stand in the second place, but, still, its importance ought not to be ignored.

The second was as interesting and even more amazing:

He believed that a small duty on corn would tend to diminish rather than increase the price of bread.

This second statement was controverted by one of his supporters, Mr. Shirley Benn, who, at Battersea said the price of the loaf would be increased by a duty on wheat. Mr. Balfour said further, continues the Daily News, that "he had long thought that there were many advantages in what was called broadening the basis of taxation—in other words, raising the necessary revenue for national purposes as far as possible from indirect taxation and as little as possible from direct taxation. He would prefer that the taxation the rich had to pay should be taken in the form of duties upon luxuries, because it was only in that form we might be sure that we were not taxing the rich and diminishing the employment of the poor."

✣

Henry George, Jr., and the editor of The Public spoke on various occasions during the week before last, in support of the candidacy of Josiah C. Wedgwood, standing at Newcastle-under-Lyme (pp. 58, 78). Mr. George had an extended letter in the London Nation of the 8th on "The 'Insurgent' Movement in the United States." Mr. George's World syndicate letters are appearing in the Chicago Record-Herald and the Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, as well, of course, as elsewhere.

✣ ✣

National Agitation Over the Increased Cost of Living

Discussion of and excitement over the increased cost of living (p. 1) has been spreading from one end of the country to the other. The Milwaukee Daily News suggests that the cause may be found in the power of cornering food held by the cold storage warehouses. J. Ogden Armour says that the meat supply is not equal to the demand, which raises prices. Senator Elkins thinks that the American people are extravagant. The Chicago Tribune has a daily first-page article of inquiry into the matter, and has got as far as to conclude that the farmer is at least a beneficiary of the high prices. President Kirby of the National Manufacturers' Association, lays the high cost of living to the "labor trust," whatever that may be. The Cleveland Press responds with the argument that "there is no water in labor, while the stock of corporations employing labor is loaded to the guards with it." Fenton Lawson of Cincinnati says that "monopoly explains the high cost of living, and is making of the most of us (employers of labor though we be) merely time servants in the employ of monopoly."

✣

Boycotts on the use of meat for thirty or sixty days, or until the almost prohibitive prices should drop, were started in Cleveland the second week in January, and by the end of the week had involved about 65,000 of the city's population. The boycott idea flew across the country, being taken up in the State of Ohio, in Pittsburg, in Omaha, in Kansas City, in Baltimore, in Detroit, in Toledo, in Minneapolis, in St. Louis and in Chicago. Results in Cleveland were already reported by the 19th, and much more marked results were reported generally on the 25th.

✣

Inquiries and investigations have been set on foot in city councils and legislatures. In his message to the Ohio legislature on the subject Governor Harmon says:

If it be found that there are laws which put the people in the power of men who thrive by taking advantage of their necessities, or that there is a lack of proper laws to prevent such impositions, or that existing laws to that end are not duly enforced, in either case the means of relief are in your power. Or if the fault lies partly in the laws of Congress,

your judgment as to their effect on the people of Ohio will have great weight.

✣

The President of the United States is reported to be preparing a message to Congress dealing with the problem. In the meantime the Government is proceeding with trust prosecutions. The Government's brief in its suit to break up the alleged anthracite coal trust was filed in Philadelphia on the 18th. The suit was brought in April, 1907. On the 22d and 23d announcement was made that the Federal government was preparing an attack upon the meat trust in the shape of the National Packing Company, in which J. Ogden Armour, Edward F. Swift and Edward Morris are the chief figures, for illegal combination in restraint of trade. The proceedings opened in Judge Landis's court in Chicago on the 24th.

✣ ✣

The Ballinger Investigation Committee.

The lower house of Congress agreed on the 20th, by a vote of 192 to 147, upon its quota of members for the joint committee which is to investigate the Interior department and the Bureau of Forestry of the Department of Agriculture (p. 32). The quota includes one of the two Democrats proposed by the Democratic minority—Ollie James of Kentucky. The other Democratic nominee, Henry T. Rainey of Illinois, had been refused by the Republican caucus, and the name of James T. Lloyd of Missouri had been substituted by the Republicans in caucus. Both Mr. Lloyd and Mr. James objected to serving under the circumstances, but the Republicans refused to consider substitution. The completed committee consists of the following members of both houses:

Senate: Nelson (R., Minn.), Flint (R., Cal.), Sutherland (R., Utah), Root (R., N. Y.), Paynter (D., Ky.), and Fletcher (D., Fla.).

House: Olmsted (R., Pa.), McCall (R., Mass.), Denby (R., Mich.), Madison (R., Kans.), James (D., Ky.), and Lloyd (D., Mo.).

✣ ✣

Gifford Pinchot Elected President of the National Conservation Association.

The National Conservation Association, formed last July at Cambridge, Mass., with the object of helping, through a large individual membership, to put into practical effect the conservation principles adopted by the first Conference of Governors, in May, 1908 (vol. xi, p. 179), was formally launched last September, as already related in these columns (vol. xii, p. 922), with Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, as president of the Association; Walter L. Fisher of Chicago as vice-president; John F. Bass of Chicago as treasurer; and Thomas R. Shipp as secretary. The offices of the Association are at 1170 The Fifth Ave. Bldg., New York. The executive committee, which includes in its membership James R. Garfield of Cleveland, at the suggestion of Dr. Eliot made two weeks ago, has just elected Mr. Gifford Pinchot (pp. 51, 60) as the President and active head of the Association, Dr. Eliot to remain in the position of Honorary President. The announcement of Mr. Pinchot's election was made on the evening of the 23d, coupled with the statement that he would assume charge of the affairs of the Association on the following day. The Chicago Tribune of the 25th, calls attention to Mr. Pinchot's "promotion," and advises:

Now look out for a country wide campaign for conservation by the nation and by the States. That must be a poor State which has no resources to conserve. There is need of legislation at every State capital, as well as at Washington. And that is what Mr. Pinchot will work for with untrammeled energy.

✣ ✣

The Washington Conferences.

The Conference of Governors and the meeting of the National Civic Federation, held by mutual agreement simultaneously in Washington (vol. xii, p. 1256), have brought their sessions to a close.

✣

The National Civic Federation (p. 60) in its closing session on the 19th recommended to the Governors the adoption of uniform laws for the protection of children employed in industries; also a uniform insurance code for the several States; uniform legislation on the subject of gathering and preservation of vital statistics; and the conservation of American forests. The Federation further adopted a resolution recommending to the Governors that uniform workmen's compensation acts, fair to the employer and employe, be substituted for the present system of employers' liability for injuries. A resolution was also passed recommending to the States consideration of the development of water power and their regulation on non-navigable streams, with a view to co-operation between each State and the Federal government in the development and control of water powers.

✣

State rights in water power, forests and land generally were largely upheld in the Conference of Governors. According to the dispatches on the 19th Governor Willson of Kentucky declared that the State had the right of control over water power, and that the Federal government did not have a scintilla of right to it. Governor Fort of New Jersey declared the time had come for the States to control more of those things which they have hitherto passed in silence, including water power. Governor Draper of Massachusetts said the States

should own and control the water power of their streams, though it would be impossible, the Governor said, for Massachusetts to gain control of all the water power within her borders at this late date, since nearly all the power of streams had been developed for a long time. Governor Hughes of New York considered the forests among the States' most precious possessions and said the State, so far as it could, should own and preserve them. He advocated the development and State control of water power. Governor Shafroth of Colorado read statistics to show the magnitude of the value of the water power of the country and the great possibilities of its development. He contended that the ownership of land by the Federal government in a State was a proprietary right and not political or governmental; that the United States holds the land the same as an individual, and that the government of the land rests in the State. State supervision and regulation of quasi-public enterprises, was the subject of an address by Governor Fort; and Governor Brooks of Wyoming, addressing the conference on the subject of water power, said the control of industrial energy should rest in the State. The previous meeting of the Conference of Governors, which was also its first (vol. xi, p. 179), was held in the White House, with the President of the United States as presiding officer. At this second meeting the sessions have been held in a hotel, and the Governors found themselves socially outranked by cabinet officers and senators. The Conference concluded to hold future meetings at one of the State capitals rather than at the national capital. Adjournment was had on the 20th, to meet again between Thanksgiving and Christmas day of the current year.

✣ ✣

Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League (vol. xii, p. 1162) was held in Boston on November 27, with an adjourned meeting on the 30th. Through the efforts of the League the following resolution, adopted by its Executive Committee at a special meeting, May 11, 1909, was presented to both houses of Congress:

Whereas, It is proposed that Congress shall, by enactment, lay a tariff on goods entering the Philippine Islands from other countries without consultation with the Philippine Assembly, a body organized by our own government to represent the Filipino people, such enactment meaning taxation without representation; and

Whereas, It is proposed that the tariff on goods passing between the Philippine Islands and the United States shall be either lowered or abolished; and

Whereas, Every commercial favor between the Philippine Islands and the United States not granted to other countries constitutes a tie which prejudices the independence of the islands; therefore

Resolved, That the Anti-Imperialist League, through its Executive Committee, recommends respectfully that all reference to the Philippine Islands be stricken out from the tariff bill now under consideration. If, however, any action be taken to modify the Philippine tariff, the League urges that as a proper notification to investors in the Philippine Islands under the law, either a promise of independence at a definite period be incorporated as an amendment to any such enactment, or that an amendment may be added thereto directing the Executive to make arrangements looking to the neutralization of the Philippine Islands when their independence shall be declared.

The Secretary reported on the able discussion in both houses upon the scheme, the effect of which was clearly analyzed and prognosticated. The effort was not successful to obtain a congressional promise of independence to the Filipinos at the same time with the passage of the tariff measure, though the convictions of congressmen were strongly and eloquently expressed in the way of protest, that without such a pledge the peaceful attainment of that independence was made more difficult. The Executive Committee presented an address to the President of the United States in August, deprecating the transfer of Porto Rican affairs to the War department, and expressing the hope that the Administration would not give encouragement to the proposal made from time to time, that the affairs of the Philippines and other "dependencies" shall be confided to a new colonial department to be created, thus crystallizing and tending to give permanence to their retention. In his annual address to the League the President, Mr. Moorfield Storey, thus spoke of the loss from the membership of the League of William Lloyd Garrison, "a friend upon whom we had all learned to lean in every emergency, and for whom we felt a peculiar affection:"

He was fortunate in his birth, for he inherited the keenest moral instinct, the most perfect courage, the most implicit faith in the right. No man ever had a whiter soul, no one saw more clearly, no man devoted himself with more absolute unselfishness to patriotic service than he. We find it hard to realize that his voice is stilled forever, and we must always regret that, less happy than his father, he did not live to see the triumph of the cause which he had so much at heart, and for which he labored so long and so well.

✣

Mr. Storey was re-elected president of the League; David Greene Haskins, jr., treasurer; and Erving Winslow, secretary.

✣ ✣

The Striking Shirtwaist Makers.

The New York police have again "made a mistake" in their arrests in connection with the striking shirtwaist makers (vol. xii, pp. 1133, 1227). On the 17th for the third time they arrested Miss

Inez Milholland, a Vassar graduate, and the daughter of John E. Milholland, president of the Batcheller Pneumatic Tube Company, and prominent in political and progressive affairs. Together with Miss Milholland was arrested Henry W. Torney, first lieutenant of the Coast Artillery, U. S. A. Both testified that they had been watching the strikers do picket duty and that when the police rushed the girls they went to the station to lodge a complaint. While in the station house they were arrested on the charge of disorderly conduct, which was later changed to causing illegal assembly. Among the witnesses for the defendants were Lieutenant E. M. Watson and Dr. John B. Laddy, a Federal inspector in the Bureau of Animal Industry, who told of having seen the policemen dragging the striking girls along by the neck and of becoming so indignant that he followed along to the police station. He said that the girls uttered piercing shrieks as they were dragged along, and that each time they shrieked their captors would give them a violent shake. He was struck with admiration at Miss Milholland's gallant conduct and wise advice to the girls. The police captain who ordered the arrest stated on the stand that he did not know "who the lady was," thereby betraying the situation that exists when helpless and unknown strikers fall into the hands of the police.

✣

The Wellesley College girls sent $1,000 to New York on the 19th to help the cause of the striking shirtwaist makers (p. 33), and also gave an order for a thousand shirtwaists to be made by the girls' co-operative shirtwaist factory, the equipment and financing of which had been promised by Miss Anne Morgan (vol. xii, p. 1227) if an order for a thousand shirtwaists could be obtained.

✣ ✣

France Suffers from Floods.

Vast regions in France, aggregating a fourth part of the country, are under water from swollen rivers. While loss of life is small, property loss is enormous. The Loire, the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuse, the Marne and the Seine are all in flood, in fact all the great rivers of France except the Garonne. The swollen Seine is causing the greatest devastation, flowing as it does through the heart of the most populous district in France —Paris and her environs. Houses have been undermined and have fallen in many of the small cities, and bridges have been swept away. A part of Paris is under water. The river has choked up against the many beautiful bridges which connect the sections of the city on either side of the Seine, and both with the two islands which are the heart of Paris—the Island of the City, occupied by the cathedral of Notre Dame, the Palace of Justice, and other notable public buildings, and the Island of St. Louis. The famous underground sewers, scenes of historic and fictional melodramatic incidents, are bursting here and there, causing streets to cave in, and weakening the foundations of buildings. A dispatch of the 23d said that on the boulevard St. Germain a house under construction was tottering and threatening to fall on the Chamber of Deputies, and that the basement of the museum of the Louvre was filled with water. On the 24th 2,000 homeless persons had arrived in Paris seeking shelter, and the homeless in the environs were estimated at 5,000. Trains in the subway were being sent out only from St. Lazaire and the Invalides, the lower stretches of the road having been abandoned. The big sewers in the Place du Havre and near Place de la Madeleine burst on the 24th, threatening the foundations of the houses. Part of the street St. Lazaire was threatening to cave in and the whole street had been closed. The immense bonded warehouses at Bercy were beginning to be invaded by the waters and part of the river wall had sunk at Passy, flooding the streets.

NEWS NOTES

—Ezra F. Kendall, actor in comedies, died of apoplexy at Martinsville, Ind., on the 23rd, in his 49th year.

—Thomas L. Lewis was re-elected president of the United Mine Workers of America in convention on the 21st (vol. xii, p. 130).

—Vincent Altman, accused of throwing Chicago bomb No. 31 (vol. xii, p. 685), was acquitted of the charge in a jury trial on the 22d.

—A Convention of the Unemployed opened at 763 West Van Buren street, Chicago, on the 24th, for a four days' session, with J. Eads How of St. Louis, as chairman.

—Publicly owned and operated grain elevators are demanded by the farmers of Alberta (vol. xii, p. 1159) and Saskatchewan in Western Canada, and are said to be practically assured for Manitoba.

—Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Spain, Turkey and Switzerland are entitled to the minimum rates of the new tariff law (vol. xii, pp. 777, 778), according to announcement by the President on the 18th.

—An international Municipal Congress and Exposition in Chicago during the autumn of 1911, has been planned by the Chicago Association of Commerce, the plans receiving endorsement from the City Council on the 24th.

—John R. Walsh, the Chicago banker convicted in the United States District court, January 18, 1908, of criminally violating the national banking law, left Chicago on the 19th for the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans. (vol. xii, p. 973).

—Japan and Russia have declined Secretary Knox's proposal to neutralize the Manchurian railways (p. 38), and France and Great Britain are reported to have decided to conform their responses

to Secretary Knox's overtures, to those of Japan and Russia.

—A rebellion in Uruguay against the rule of President Williman (vol. x, p. 107) is said to have broken out in several provinces. The movement is reported to be led by a faction of the "white" party, and to be secretly aided by Argentina.

—A meeting of protest against the police suppression of free speech in Spokane (vol. xii, p. 1226), was held in Sacramento, Cal., on the 13th, under the auspices of the Federated Trades, the Building Trades Council and the Women's Economy Study club of Sacramento.

—"Aerodrome" seems to be a good word for the new aviation machines, not always properly named by a compound with "plane," since they are not all made with real planes. "Aerodrome" means "air-runner," and "droming," said by Professor Alexander Graham Bell to be already in use in Canada, is a good verb to go with it.

—A Canadian Pacific train running from Montreal to Sault Ste. Marie and Minneapolis was wrecked while crossing the Spanish river near Sudbury, Ont., probably by a broken rail, in the early afternoon of the 21st. Two of the cars went into the river, and one that stopped on the embankment caught fire. About fifty persons are believed to have lost their lives.

—Paul O. Stensland, sent to State's prison in Illinois, September 26, 1906 (vol. ix, p. 611), under sentence of twenty years' imprisonment on two charges of embezzlement—ten years for each,—was released on parole by the State board of pardons on the 24th. The charges against Mr. Stensland related to his management of the Milwaukee Avenue State Bank of Chicago, of which he was president.

—The palace of Charagan in Constantinople, the place of assembly of the Turkish Parliament (p. 14), was destroyed by fire on the 19th. The palace was built by Abdul Aziz in 1872, and though unpretentious in exterior appearance, cost $20,000,000. Nearly all the archives of the Chamber of Deputies, including important bills and the budget estimates, were burned. As a consequence the business of Parliament will be interrupted.

—The Manitoba League for the Taxation of Land Values, formed only last March, in its first report states that the League has held over fifty propaganda meetings during the past nine months; and also that, owing principally to the activity of members of the League, the assessment law in the City of Winnipeg has been so changed that land is now required to be assessed at its full value, and buildings at two-thirds of their value, instead of their full value, as heretofore.

—Single Taxers are invited to attend a State conference to be held in Pittsburg, Pa., opening on March 2, under the auspices of the Single Tax Club of that city. A reception and banquet will be held on the evening of that day at the Henry Hotel; the conference will meet the same day and there will be a morning and afternoon session at which the following will be discussed: "The Abolition of the Mercantile Tax," "Direct Legislation," "Home Rule in Taxation," and "Methods of Propaganda of the Single Tax." Henry George, Jr., H. H. Hardinge, Hon. W. H. Berry, and other prominent speakers will be in attendance. For particulars write to Mr. M. McNeill, 218 Amanda street, Pittsburg, Pa.

—Mayor Gaynor of New York (p. 33) is reported as objecting to all forms of police brutality. The Cleveland Press quotes him as saying: "These police outrages have to cease. They have been growing more and more common for years, and I regret to say have gone on with scarcely a rebuke. It is time that the police be informed that to commit a battery on a citizen or make a false or unnecessary arrest or unlawfully enter a house is a far graver offense than to let a criminal escape."

—Twenty thousand persons took part in rioting at Naples on the 16th, over the question of the increase in the rents of workmen's houses. According to the Chicago Tribune's cable dispatch, a huge procession paraded in the forenoon and halted at the town hall, where a deputation conferred with the mayor, who promised that the municipality would contribute $1,500,000 toward building workmen's dwellings. Meanwhile the crowd outside displaying the black flag, became impatient and without waiting for the return of the deputation threatened to rush the town hall. The police charged, but could not disperse the people. Fighting ensued in which a police captain's head was broken with a club and several policemen and many rioters were injured. The arrival of troops prevented the mob from triumphing. The mayor's proposal to build houses does not meet the demands of the mob, and agitation continues.

PRESS OPINIONS

The British Elections.

The Johnstown Democrat (dem. Dem.), January 19.—Of all the critics of the British Budget on this side of the water—and the number of such critics is surprisingly small—the Cincinnati Enquirer is the most vicious. . . . In an editorial discussion of the Budget fight and of certain incidents attending some of its earlier stages, the Enquirer says:

> The cry of the mob around the houses of parliament last Thursday night was not for the budget, not against the king the peerage or the Unionists, it was a demand for the land. The budget demands their money, and the mob calls for their land. The men who are responsible for raising such an issue are neither statesmen nor patriots, for it means ruin to every interest in the kingdom. The flings of the members of the ministry at the house of lords and their half-veiled threats at abolishment of the upper house are mere persiflage. They seek to divide the substance of the well-to-do classes of the kingdom among the "multitudinous poor," as the bishop of Hereford termed the beneficiaries of the budget. . . .

Mr. McLean's newspaper seems more clearly than most papers in this country to realize that the success of the taxation of land values in Great Britain is bound to affect public opinion over here and enormously to strengthen the demands of men like Gaynor and Tom Johnson and Gov. Garvin and Judge Maguire and Brand Whitlock and Lincoln Steffens and George Fred Williams for the application of the same principle in our own fiscal affairs. Nothing indeed can be more certain than that the

Liberal victory now assured will lend new inspiration to the followers of Henry George in this country, and it is this thought which animates John R. McLean in his bitter attack on the English Liberals. The shot he fires at Lloyd George is actually aimed at the democratic Democrats of the United States. What Mr. McLean's paper says about the Budget is hardly worth serious notice. His criticism is without actual merit. There is no purpose on the part of Lloyd George to "divide up." On the contrary he is undertaking to stop a "dividing up" which landlordism has been compelling for generations. He is bent on stopping the appropriation of public values to private account and he plans to take these values for the common use in lieu of taxes on labor and labor products which fall with crushing weight on the weak and the defenseless. Lloyd George has asked the question why ten thousand should own the soil of the British isles while all the rest are mere tenants in the land of their birth. He has asked this question and there has been no answer and none can be given. The land of Great Britain belongs to the people of Great Britain and the aim of the pending Budget is to restore the masses to their own. If in the process of this restoration the dukes shall find it necessary to go to work for their living, that may be hard on the dukes, but it will not hurt England as a whole nor will it turn back the hands of the clock.

✣

The Sheffield (Eng.) Independent (Lib.), December 10.—The people are roused as they have never been roused before. The veto of this oligarchic assemblage of stupid and reactionary hereditary traitors must go. It must go in legislative as in financial matters. The will is there; now we wish to know the way. It is a fortunate thing for England that in this hour of the peril of democracy it has the man to meet the great emergency. "Asquith will go far," said Dr. Jowett, "he is so direct." We have seen how in the House of Commons Mr. Asquith rose to a superb height of statesmanship in the defense of our liberties. He can be trusted to-day to show the way out of the intolerable impasse. He will have behind him a united Cabinet, and behind the Cabinet is a united party enthusiastic and eager for a battle to the death. Mr. Asquith will have more than the unbroken ranks of Liberalism behind him. He will have Labor. He will have Nonconformity. He will have behind him the support of every man, of whatever party or no party, who treasures the liberties so dearly won in the past and to-day so treacherously assailed. Liberalism has never had so magnificent an opportunity of vindicating its great and glorious mission as a liberating and emancipating force. It intends to win a new charter for the democracy. In so doing it is only living up to its past. It is equally certain that Toryism, false to the people in its darkest hour, is as true to its own narrow and sterile self in ranging itself on the side of the plotters against the Commonwealth.

✣

The Milwaukee Journal (Dem.), January 18.—The balloting in the British elections has proceeded far enough to indicate the defeat of the "dukes" and the forces opposed to the Lloyd-George Budget. . . . It is a remarkable thing that in face of the opposition which the government has encountered, it has been able to win an electoral victory. And the significance of the government's achievement is not lessened by the reduction of its majorities. For had the Budget issue not been raised there is little question that the reaction against the Liberal forces that had been set in motion by jingoistic appeals, and the various devices employed to discredit government when it is not the submissive instrument of privilege, would have brought the Liberals to defeat on the first appeal to the country. The government had a large and unwieldy majority, due to an unexpected landslide in its favor, following the breakdown of the Unionist government and in any event would have suffered losses. When a government in Great Britain may prevail against the united forces of privilege, with the nobility, the established church, the banking and the brewing interests, allied against it, the progressive forces in other lands may take renewed courage. Even Big Business is not invulnerable.

✣

The (Portland) Oregon Journal (dem. Dem.), January 16.—The people in all classes of British life feel that they are on the verge of some vast change in their heretofore accustomed ways of living, and in the social fabric in which they have so long walked. It is a state of mind which they have easily approached as seen in the jeers and hoots that have deprived the aristocrats of the awe inspiring presence, and given their titles a new and less important meaning in the public estimation.

✣

The Springfield (Ill.) Record (Dem.), January 11.—If the Liberal government is returned to power, it will mean that England accepts, in part at least, the principles laid down by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," and that the "tight little isle" approves the single tax idea. More than this, it will mean that Britain has permitted the opening wedge of a great economic revolution to enter its governmental system and that the revolution itself will follow before many more years have passed. And, if England adopts the system of taxing the "unearned increment" in land values and finds the system satisfactory it is more than likely that the other great nations will follow suit in due season.

✣

The Chicago Citizen (Dem.), January 15.—The fight the Irishman has made has not been against Englishmen, but against the cosmopolitan British aristocracy that has foisted itself upon the backs of both nations, and plundered both of their natural and national rights. When democracy triumphs in Great Britain and Ireland, and aristocracy is shorn of privilege, there will be peace and good will between Englishmen, Scotchmen, Welchmen and Irishmen. That day will come, and when it comes the deer parks and the fox covert will disappear and the walls of the lordly demesnes will be leveled, and as God led the children of Israel from the bondage of Egypt, so will He lead the chastened people of

Great Britain out of the slums and stink holes, and put them back on the land where they can feel the blessed sunshine and breathe the untainted air.

✣ ✣

Corrupt and Pitiless.

The London (Eng.) Nation (Lib.), January 1.—The Duke of Buccleuch, who stands second among the owners of our land, began by cutting off a guinea subscription to a cricket club, but the Duke of Sutherland goes one better. He holds the threat of starvation over the heads of his workpeople and pensioners* if he is "forcibly compelled" by the Budget to reduce that stately consumption of the wealth produced by others which Mr. Lloyd George has defined as the landlord's sole function and chief pride. To us there may be something ridiculous as well as odious in such a threat. But we cannot expect the unfortunate families, whose livelihood depends on the caprice of an enormously wealthy man, to recognize the humor of it. To them the alternative between selling their conscience and risking destitution is a terrible reality, and the only retort of Liberalism is to see to it that no Duke or other human being in this kingdom shall, by reason of his possessions, retain so malign an authority over another man's soul.

✣ ✣

Cardinal Satolli's Service.

The Sprinfield Republican (ind.), January 13.—Francesco Satolli, the first apostolic delegate of the holy see to the United States, was one of the most accomplished of the church's diplomatic servants, and had remarkable success in the special missions committed to him in this country. Although many thought he did not understand the American temper, he settled a difficulty that threatened the peace of the church with long disturbance—the determined entrance of certain prominent priests into the field of agitation of civic conditions in behalf of the people. It is enough to recall the fact that an eloquent, enthusiastic and devoted priest, Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, had come out strongly in favor of Henry George's proposed reforms, had formed the "anti-poverty" society, and joined non-Catholic agitators in addressing the people from a free platform; and when the doctrines he was preaching were condemned by Archbishop Corrigan, he defied the church and disobeyed his ordinary. The natural result happened; the archbishop excommunicated him. Dr. McGlynn had the people of his congregation with him; and he had the countenance of other priests equally popular, like the admirable "patriot-priest" of Brooklyn, Rev. Sylvester Malone, and Father Thomas J. Ducey of St. Leo's church, while a distinguished theologian, Dr. Burtsell, undertook his defense. It was fairly an assertion of American voluntaryism against the authority of Rome, and could not be let alone, it appeared. Dr. McGlynn's high spirit appeared in his freedom of speech, as when he denounced "the Roman machine" and averred that "the church will never be American until the pope walks down Broadway under a stove-pipe hat." When things were in this condition, Mgr. Satolli came from Rome, as the representative of the pope, and heard and judged with that delegated authority. As he spoke no English his estimate of situations was naturally colored by his informers and advisers, and it was feared by the majority of the clergy and the faithful generally that he had been unfortunately influenced when his first signal act of administration was the reinstatement of Rev. Dr. McGlynn in the priesthood. The direst prophecies were heard on that hand, while on the other part, those who had followed McGlynn exulted. But what was the result? In a situation which had grown too much for Archbishop Corrigan to handle, the "fine Italian hand" of Satolli succeeded in composing the turbid elements. Dr. McGlynn made no more trouble; Dr. Malone retired to Brooklyn and was quiet; Dr. Burtsell was removed to a country parish; and the tumult subsided.

*See Public of January 14, page 35.

✣ ✣

The "Downfall" of Pinchot.

The Cincinnati Post.—Pinchot is guilty of one of the greatest crimes that can be committed under the present reactionary regime of the triple alliance of Taft, Cannon and Aldrich. He is guilty in the first degree of pernicious activity on behalf of the common people of to-day and the common people of future generations. Had he been of the reactionary stripe; had he bent the supple knee to the "interests" which desire to grab public lands; had he helped give away to unscrupulous corporations the property of the people, he might still be adorning the office of Chief Forester. He might be a shining light of the Administration, petted, adulated and —whitewashed. But Pinchot is the type of public servant of whom there have been too few in this country. In England it is common to see young men of means go into the Government service, not because of the salary, not because of graft, but because they feel that they can be of some use to their country. Pinchot represents that class of public men. The salary of the job was of no interest to him. He spent annually out of his own pocket three times what the Government paid, in order to perfect the Forestry Service. He was an enthusiast —an enthusiast on behalf of the people and on behalf of the people's forests. He was animated by the purest and most patriotic motives. He never advocated anything which would make the lot of the poor harder and which would coin dollars for the trusts out of the sweat of the downtrodden. Hence his fate. The downfall of Pinchot—if the American people are keen to their own interests—should spell the speedy downfall of the thieves in high places who are gloating over the event.

✣ ✣ ✣

"'Tis a curious fact," said a government shark,
As he read about Commons and Peers,
"That an Englishman votes with his ayes and his noes,
And expresses applause with his 'ears."
—Harvard Lampoon.

✣ ✣ ✣

If a man will cast aside the prejudices of birth and party, if he will set himself free from the blind guidance of lawyers, he will soon learn how very modern indeed is the antiquity of the Tory. . . . The two grand idols of lawyers, the king and the

lord of the manor, are soon found to be something which has not been from eternity, something which has crept in unawares, something which has swallowed up the rights and the lands which once belonged to the people.—Edward A. Freeman.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE APPEAL OF THE PEERS.

Gilbert K. Chesterton in the London Daily News of January 15, 1910.

Would you call upon the people; in what ear shall it be told?
Call on God, whose name is pity, though our sins be very old.
Will you call on street and township? Who but you have made the smoke
Something heavier than a vapor, something sharper than a joke?
Who but you have taxed the townsmen of their tired and ugly tilth,
Who but you have made men forfeit for their right to live in filth?

Will you call on croft and village? On what village will you call,
That four centuries of your lordship has not left a tithe too small?
Hamlets breaking, homesteads drifting, peasants tramping, towns erased;
Lo! my Lords, we gave you England—and you give us back a waste.
Yea, a desert labeled England, where (you know, and well you know),
That the village Hampdens wither and the village idiots grow,
That the pride of grass grows mighty and the hope of man grows small.
Will you call on croft and village? Let the rabbits hear your call.

Will you call on crest and scutcheon? We might heed you, if we knew
Even one gutter-thief whose thousands cannot cut his way to you—
If there lived on earth one upstart from whose filthy face you shrank,
We would hear, my Lords, more gravely, of the grace and scorn of rank.
Now, if in your mob of merchants, usurers, idlers, cads, you keep
One that did have Norman fathers; let your Norman fathers sleep.
Let God's good grass blow above them where their pointed pennons blew,
They were thieves and thugs and smiters; they were better men than you.

Will you call on cross and altar? and in God's name where were you
When the crashing walls of convents let the Tudor axes through?
Tell us of your deeds, Crusaders! Waken Ariosto's muse!
How you stood the Church's champions when the Church had land to lose—
You, the Russells, with the ashes of a hundred altars shod,
You, the Howards, with your wallets bursting with the gold of God,
Will you call on cross and altar—will you name the holy name?
No, by heaven you shall not name it. Smite your very mouths for shame.
Would you call upon the people? Would you waken these things then?
Call on God, whose name is pity; do not ask too much of men.

✣ ✣ ✣

SIX REASONS FOR TAXING LAND VALUES.

The Lord Advocate, the Right Hon. Alexander Ure, K. C., M. P., at the Alexandra Palace, London, June 28th, 1909, as Sent Out by the Land Values Publication Dept., 376-377 Strand, London, W. C., in Postal Card Form, With Portrait of Mr. Ure.

1. The land comes from the hands of the Creator, and does not owe its existence to man.
2. It is limited in quantity. You can no more add to the area of the country than you can add a cubit to your stature.
3. It is necessary for our existence; it is necessary for our production; it is necessary to us when we wish to exchange our products.
4. Land does not owe its value to anything which its owner chooses to spend upon it.
5. Land owes its value entirely to the presence and activity and expenditure of the community.
6. Land cannot be carried away, and cannot be concealed.

Yet they tell us that land is the same as any other commodity! What a terrible mess men get themselves into when they venture to make such an assertion! It is a hopelessly fallacious assertion. I say that possessing these characteristics land is a peculiar subject for special taxation.

✣ ✣ ✣

BACK TO THE LAND.

David Lloyd George at Queen's Hall, London, December 31, 1909, As Reported in the London Chronicle.*

. . . Has it ever occurred to you why the House of Lords did not follow the advice of Lord Rosebery not to reject the Budget, but to put it into operation for a year? Now, I want you to follow that, as it is by no means a bad test of their sincerity. What did Lord Rosebery say—and he

*Mr. Henry George, Jr., says of this speech: "This was the Chancellor's greatest speech yet."

is a perfectly sincere opponent of the Budget? Very few people like to pay if they can avoid it, and there can be no question as to the sincerity of Lord Rosebery's objection. (Cheers and laughter.) He said to them: "This is such a bad Bill that all you have to do is to pass it, and let it come into operation, and after a year's experience the people of this country will realize what a thoroughly pernicious thing it is; and that instead of entering upon a very doubtful contest." (A Voice: "Eh?") Those are his words, not mine. (Laughter.) Personally, I have not the slightest doubt about it. He said: "In a year's time your victory will be assured."

Why did they not adopt that staid counsel? Just follow. They might have said, "We took the high patriotic line. (Laughter.) We could not allow, even for the sake of party advantage, a bad Bill like this to come into operation, to destroy confidence and to destroy the trade and commerce of the country." If they had said so—(Laughter)—their record proves that at any rate they do not always follow that line. (Hear, hear.) They said the same thing about the Trades Disputes Bill and the Miners' Eight Hours' Bill, and Lord Lansdowne, their leader, their nominal leader—(Laughter and hisses)—I do not want you to waste your hisses on the wrong man—(Laughter)—Lord Lansdowne said about the Old Age Pensions Bill that it was a thoroughly mischievous measure. In spite of that they passed it, purely because they said it would not be to the interest of the House of Lords not to pass it. They are not above passing even a bad Bill if they think it is to the advantage of their party to do so.

The Worst That Could Happen.

I will give you another consideration. The worst that could happen to this country if the Budget were passed would be that ten millions of money would be extracted out of the pockets of the rich for the purpose of paying for Dreadnoughts and old age pensions. (Cheers.) I think this country could stand that for twelve months at any rate without being utterly ruined. (Laughter and cheers.)

My third reason for believing that that was not their motive was this: If trade had gone from bad to worse since the introduction of the Budget, then the Lords might have said, "We must put an end to it. We cannot stand this any longer in the interest of the country, and therefore we must throw it out, whatever the consequences may be."

But that was not the case. From the moment the Budget was introduced trade improved. Our foreign trade went up month by month, I think by something like ten millions. Unemployment went down steadily from the month of April something like 2 per cent. From April down to November the traffic on our railways improved.

Moreover, there is every indication that we are in for better times, and so far from the Budget having shaken confidence, destroyed credit, and injured the trade and industry of the country, things have improved, and I think we can say will improve for at least twelve months.

Peers' Fears of Land Valuation.

Therefore I dismiss that as an explanation of their reason. What was it then? (A Voice: "The land taxes.") I will give you two. The gentleman there has anticipated me with the first. The first reason undoubtedly was this—that in the course of the next twelve months, before they would get any opportunity of calling upon the country to express their opinion on the Budget, great progress would have been made with the land valuation. (Cheers.)

Now I want you to consider what that would have revealed. (A Voice: "Good-bye to Tariff Reform," and laughter.) It would have revealed startling results. It would have shown at any rate the extent to which the great ground landlords of this country have escaped their fair share of the burden of taxation. Lands rated at a few scores of pounds a year, or at the outside a few hundreds, are described as agricultural land, and get half their rates paid out of the taxes of the country. The official valuation would have proved that lands of that kind are worth scores and hundreds of thousands of pounds.

What would that have meant? The tradesmen of the country, the business people of the country, who are now being crushed by the heavy burden of local taxation, would have turned round and said: "Where is our share of all this?" The working men of the country, whose rents now are in many cases almost impossible of payment owing partly to the price of the land on which their houses are built, and partly to the heavy rates, like the tradespeople, business people, and commercial elements of the country, would have insisted on the great ground landlords paying upon the real value of their land.

By throwing out the Bill the Lords for the time being have avoided that catastrophe—(laughter)—and naturally they are anxious about the future, and want to talk about something else. . . .

The Land System.

Now we come to business. (Cheers.) We make less out of our land than any country in Europe. Why? It is the land system. It discourages expenditure of capital. It does not give security to capital.

The first essential condition in fully developing the resources of this country is to give absolute security to the man who spends money upon developing. (Cheers.) We are spending money on scientific education in agriculture. In the Development Bill, as I pointed out to you, I have set aside a good many hundred thousand more for the

purpose. It is essential. But what is the good of teaching them scientific agriculture? It all means money. It means spending more money, and you will not get them to spend money until they have absolute security that they will get back every penny of that money with all the profit that it makes. (Cheers.)

The farmer is not to blame. The laborer is not to blame. They are all working hard. They are facing great anxieties. They are doing their best within the limitations imposed upon them.

What is to blame is our land system. (Hear, hear.) Our idea as to land is fundamentally wrong, and I will tell you why. The idea which is fostered by a certain section of people is that the land of this country was created for the benefit, for the enjoyment—(A Voice: "Of dukes," and laughter),—for the amusement, for the amenity of a small class of superior persons. (Laughter.)

The land of this country was given for the rearing of a strong, healthy, happy race of men, women and children upon it. (Cheers.) . . .

Overcrowding in Towns.

Why is there all this overcrowding in towns? Why is it that you get two men running after one job? It is because you have got a flood of people who have been flowing steadily from the villages and the rural districts into the towns to find work that they ought to have found at home.

I will give you one of my experiences in the last few days. I visited my old home. (Cheers.) I went round the old village and over the old fields, and what struck me was the number of old cottages I remembered which were in ruins—cottages which used to be full of bright children playing about, many of them my old schoolmates, people not rich, not prosperous, but living in healthy abundance. Nobody starved there. They had plenty of good, healthy food. They reared strong, healthy children there, and I remember them inhabited by men, women, and children of that type. What are those cottages now? Mere heaps of stones, with the brambles and nettles covering them.

I made inquiries, and I asked a man who, I knew, had been writing up a history of that little village—I said: "How many are there of these little cottages in the whole parish?"—there are only about 200 or 300 of them altogether—and he replied: "Curiously enough I have been investigating this myself, and I find that within living memory seventy-two cottages have disappeared."

What has happened to the people? The people have gone—some perhaps to America—most of them to Liverpool, to London, to Birmingham. They and their descendants are helping to glut the labor market in the conflict for work. It would have been far better for them, far better for their children, if they were working on the old fields at home.

But I tell you another fact which I discovered, and it is by no means an irrelevant one. I find that whilst the cottages have gone out, the population had gone down—the cotters had gone away. But game preservation in that parish had more than quadrupled. (Cries of "Shame.")

They said it was the poverty of the district sent them away—it was the foreign competition sent them away. (Laughter.) I saw no Germans there. (Renewed laughter.) I don't think I saw any German goods there, anyway. Foreign competition drove them away? Not at all; not at all. It was not the poverty of the district. It is the richest as it is without doubt the most beautiful land in the world. (Cheers.)

Well, now, what was it? You must remember this, and I am not putting it as a point of prejudice, but as a point which is of growing importance—

Four or five times the amount of game preservation which I remember in my young days there.

Now, a gamekeeper would rather not have too many cottagers spread about the estate. Some of them occasionally go out at nights. (Laughter.) That is, an occasional partridge, or hare, or pheasant may find its way into the cotters' soup. So game preservation never encourages the development of these small holdings. But it is not simply that. Landlords say: "We cannot afford to build cottages. It does not pay. We only get one or two per cent on them."

That, I think, is a very short-sighted policy. The landlord gets more; he gets more rent, and there is more labor, and especially contented labor on the property. Half the money spent in game preservation in that village during that period would not have merely built those seventy-two cottages better, more commodious, and more airy, but it would have built double the number.

I say this: the land of England was not made for the partridges, but for the peasants of England. (Prolonged cheers.)

Every other country in the world is paying attention to this. They are encouraging these little cotters. They are doing their best for them, and we have got to do the same thing, otherwise the proportion of unemployment will grow, not from foreign tariffs, but from the home landlords. (Cheers.)

Why Houses Don't Increase.

One other consideration of the land question which I want to put to you. The building trade, I am told, is very depressed. So it is in every other part of the world. But one reason why it is more depressed here than it ought to be. You go to any village in the country and ask: How is it you do not build here, there are very eligible

sites? Do they say it is because of the Germans? (Loud laughter.) No. It is the home-grown product, and they will tell you who he is. They will say, "Look over at that mansion there. You cannot get land here. If you do get land, it is always in the spot where you don't want it, and when you get that you never get enough of it, and when you get that which is not enough, you pay ten times as much for it as it is worth." That stops building. (Hear, hear.) You see towns crammed and crushed in. They are not allowed to spread out at all. There is something unseen, an influence sinister, which seems crushing them in with a bear's hug. Now you have got to clip their claws. (Loud cheers.)

It is not merely the towns. Go to little villages. (Hear, hear.) Occasionally you get men there who have saved a little money and would like to build. They cannot build. Why? It is with the greatest difficulty in the world that they get a plot of ground, and if they do they will only just get enough, without any gardens around it, and look at the price they pay. You find that the land is probably worth about £1 an acre. I think it is fair that if you cut a piece out of a farm, you pay more than £1 an acre for it. You must pay for the disfigurement—(laughter)—at 100 per cent. Double it—that is £2 an acre.

What will you find? You will find the little plot of ground in the village where land is or rather ought to be cheap, charged at twenty, thirty, forty or even fifty times its value. That kills building. (Hear, hear.) Take another case, of which I have had some experience as a solicitor. (Laughter.) Not a bad thing for you to get a lawyer on your side. (Renewed laughter.) He knows so many of the tricks of the other side.

Acting for tradesmen and business men, you go to any town and you say to the tradesmen, "You seem to be doing very well here, but you seem to have very little room. Why do you not open out? "Open out," he says, "where am I going to open out? I cannot build in the clouds, and if I did I should be charged ground rent." (Loud laughter.) Because, by the laws of England, you can charge a ground rent if you build right up to Mars. He is the owner up to the heavens. (Laughter.)

The tradesman cannot get land for the purpose of extension, and he cannot alter any of the premises on his land without consent. If he wants to put in a new window, he must get the consent of the landlord. The landlord graciously gives his consent for a consideration. If the tradesman wants a few square yards at the back, the landlord knows perfectly well it is the only place he can build on. He cannot cart his business away on a costermonger's barrow and plant it in the next street. The landlord knows it, and takes advantage of it.

What is the result? The tradesman leaves matters to the last moment. He does not build unless he is forced to, and when he does a good share of the money he would have put into the building goes towards paying the landlord, who does not utilise it for employment.

Most men have a certain amount they can spend on building and no more. A man may have £1,000 to spend on a house or shop, but if he has to pay three, four, or five hundred pounds for the land he has less for the building, and if he has less for the building less material is required, there is less employment for the workman, and everybody suffers for this greedy ground landlord. (Loud cheers.)

Why Capital Goes Abroad.

They are all talking about capital going abroad. But look at it! Tens and scores of millions going every year! Capital must go somewhere. Capital must have elbow room, and if it does not get room here, it must go somewhere where it can get it. If they do not allow British money to be spent on British land and British soil, the capitalist must get a return for his money, and so he invests it in the Argentine or somewhere else.

You make British soil as profitable to the British capitalist as the soil of the Argentine, and British capital will not run away.

Experience proves that the capitalist prefers the home investment. That is something he sees with his own eyes. If you are in for a gamble you prefer something you cannot see, because you depend upon faith. (Laughter.) A man naturally prefers something he knows and sees, and the land is something he can see. There is no land under the sun that repays capital more than the land of England. It is the richest under the sun. That is why the Saxons took it away from us—(cheers and laughter)—and left us the hills. I would not exchange.

What would happen if you had a rational land system? The people would flock to the land exactly as they have been flocking to seek a job anywhere in the great commercial and industrial centres. The people prefer the land in every country. A man will take less for laboring on the soil, and he is right. He gets something from the land that no gold can ever pay him for. He draws a strength, a hope, a security from that which he cannot get anywhere else. Send him back to the land. That is where you want the men now who are seeking their work, as it were, in charity. That is the policy which will settle unemployment.

I want the workmen of this country to build their hopes not on the mists and myths of Protection—(cheers)—but on the solid foundation of the land of Britain.

What are these Protectionist visions and

dreams?—(A voice: "Humbug")—and the great things that would come through taxing food?

The Protectionist Heaven.

I was passing, the other day, on my way to one of my boroughs, when I saw one of the most beautiful skies. The whole firmament of heaven was just paved with a fine white wool, and if you looked towards the west there was a solid bank of gold of the richest hue; and you might have imagined that at the first shower the whole country would have been covered with enough wool to clothe the inhabitants for the rest of their time, and enough gold to keep us above want for the rest of our days.

All that would have happened if it had fallen would have been that we would all have got a good drenching. (Laughter.) That is nothing but vapor. That is the Protectionist heaven. (Cheers.) Aye, it's the Protectionist heaven paved with food and raiment, and riches golden in hue. But it is nothing but vapor, which if it once comes down on this land will drench it in hunger.

We have tried it before. What did it bring? It brought famine to hundreds and thousands of our people. It is bringing black bread to Germany. Why should we try it here? Let us rather get back to the free, unfettered, unshackled, cultivation of the land of England.

The land makes no promises to the tiller that it does not fulfill; it excites no hopes in the springtime that it does not realize at harvest. The land is the bountiful mother that gives to the children of men sustenance, security, and rest. (Loud Cheers.)

✝ ✝ ✝

The most impudent hypocrite of all is the great proprietor who, being a principal cause of the misery which he affects to deprecate, would be disgusted and furious if he were to be shown in his true colors, and so trusts in ignorance and sophistry when he laments the condition of the poor, but secretly and steadily adds to their burdens.—Professor Thorold Rogers.

BOOKS

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Readings on American Federal Government. Edited by Paul S. Reinsch, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. Author of "World Politics," "Colonial Government," "American Legislatures," etc. Published by Ginn and Company. Boston, New York, Chicago and London.

A collection of materials for the study of American Government suggested to its editor by his own experience in studying the processes of American government with his university class. It consists of selections from articles and statements written by representative men, forming altogether a body of information designed to be useful to any one—whether student or general reader—interested in understanding somewhat in detail the manner in which public affairs are actually managed.

An idea of the character of the editor's work may be gathered from a brief reference to some of his selections. To explain the inauguration of the President, the description, by Frederic Harrison, of President McKinley's inauguration in 1900, has been taken from Mr. Harrison's "Impressions of America" in the Nineteenth Century Magazine; while the Presidential powers are outlined in Congressional speeches by Senator Rayner, Representative Towne, Senator Bacon and Senator Spooner, and in ex-President Cleveland's article in McClure's, on the Debs strike in Chicago. In this manner the editor has covered such subjects—in addition to the President, his powers and his relation to Congress—as the Senate, Congressional conference committees, rules of the House, finan-

cial legislation, the Departments, legislative and administrative problems, army and navy, American foreign service, civil service, the courts and national conventions.

On the whole the selections appear to have been made with due regard for a fair balancing of controverted matters. But there is one slip in this respect which ought not to be ignored. We refer to the point of Executive power as presented by Mr. Cleveland's article in McClure's. It is in the highest degree proper that this article should appear in such a compilation; but it was culpable in such a compilation to use that article without either using or referring to Governor Altgeld's historic protest against President Cleveland's new interpretation of Executive powers.

PERIODICALS

The enterprising secretary of the Chicago Single Tax Club, Mr. A. Wangemann, is issuing from the headquarters of the club, 508 Schiller Building, very readable bulletins. They not only furnish meat; they pound the eater.

✣

In Hampton's (New York) for January will be found a paper of peculiar value, by Judson C. Welliver, which explains the intimate relations of the Sugar trust with the Morman Church, thereby accounting for some amazing fellowships in Senatorial politics. Peary begins his story of North Pole discovery in this issue of Hampton's.

✣

The February number of the Twentieth Century Magazine is brim full of life and its keynote theme is the might of the pen, with the opening a critical essay on the poetry of George Cabot Lodge. The editor, B. O. Flower, contributes a review full of encomium and fine quotations, of Patterson's play "The Fourth Estate: A Drama Revealing Privilege's Assaults on Democracy's Bulwarks." Speaking of the same topic—the debauchery of the American daily press by privileged capital—William Salisbury in an article on American Journalism asserts that "monthly magazines are doing more real reform work, letting more of the pure white light of truth shine upon the festering sores of the body politic, than all of the daily newspapers combined. And they are doing it by the aid of writers who were discouraged rather than encouraged by the daily press." Three suggestions for improvement are offered, one of which seems eminently practical—"that newspapers be forced to keep standing in each issue a list of all their stockholders and bondholders, and a list also of all corporations in which their stock and bondholders are interested." Direct Legislation as the great guide to true democracy is pleaded for in an article entitled "Power versus Patriotism," by Isaac N. Stevens, and illustrated by John D. Works' brief story of the "redemption" of Los Angeles, which finishes with the magazine's February keynote—the power of the press, only this time for good. In Los Angeles a Democratic and a Republican paper "operated together, in perfect harmony, and rendered valiant and effective services for the good government forces,"—a fact which after all harks the reader back to his secretly cherished notion that the press is naturally the servant of the people and never of the privileged.

A. L. G.

✣ ✣ ✣

Gilbert K. Chesterton on the Present Crisis.

This is the one historical election that I have seen since I was born, and perhaps the only one that I shall see before I die. And if you ask why it is possible that before I die I may not see a bigger election, I can answer quite shortly and sincerely. I answer that it is possible that before I die I may see an

England without any elections at all.—In the London Daily News of Jan. 15.

✣ ✣ ✣

"Ought to have gone with me last night—there was a fancy cake-walk of blondes, ten of the cutest Bacchantes, a lot of living pictures, and ——"

"Great! What theater?"

"Theater? It was the society entertainment for the benefit of the Little Orphans' Home."—Puck.

✣ ✣ ✣

Lady Visitor: "What are you studying in school now, Johnnie?"

Johnnie: "Oh, readin', 'rithmetic, an' 'ritin'."

L. V.: "How far are you along with your arithmetic, Johnnie?"

J.: "We're studyin' guzinter, now."

L. V.: "Guzinter, guzinter? Why, what's that, Johnnie?"

J.: "Aw, don't you know? Don't you know about 4 guzinter 8 two times, and 2 guzinter 4, uh?"

J. J. S.

✣ ✣ ✣

Alexander Ure, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, is a keen golfer, and he has a good store of golfing tales. These he is always ready to relate even if they tell against himself.

Playing on a certain course in Scotland, he remarked incidentally to his caddie:

"By the way, I played a round with Todd McGregor the last time I was here. Grand player, McGregor!"

"Ay," said the caddie, "but ye could bate McGregor the noo."

"Do you think so?" exclaimed the gratified lord advocate, being well aware of McGregor's prowess.

"Ay," drawled the caddie, "McGregor's deid."—Golfing.

✣ ✣ ✣

Waiter: "Like some breakfast food, sir?"

Guest: "No; I'm a manufacturer of breakfast

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.

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Bldg., 357 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

Terms of Subscription

Yearly	$1.00
Half yearly	.50
Quarterly	.25
Single copies	.05
Trial subscription—4 weeks	.10

Extra copies in quantity, $2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, $3.50 per 100.

Free of postage in United States, Cuba and Mexico Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts, postoffice money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders or Chicago, or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due, or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired.

Advertising Rates

One page, each insertion	$20.00
Half-page, each insertion	10.00
Quarter-page, each insertion	5.00
One inch, each insertion	1.20
Half-inch, each insertion	.60

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

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

foods. Bring me some pork sausage, hot biscuits, fried potatoes and real coffee."—Chicago Tribune.

✣ ✣ ✣

And still the cost of living
Gets higher every day,
And the ultimate consumer
Is in the consommé.
—Kansas City Times.

✣ ✣ ✣

"I give you my word, the next person who interrupts the proceedings," said the judge sternly, "will be expelled from the courtroom and ordered home."

"Hooray!" cried the prisoner.

Then the judge pondered.—Judge.

✣ ✣ ✣

Farmer (to editor of local paper): "I want to put a notice in your newspaper o' the death of my brother. What's yer price?"

Editor: "Ten shillings and sixpence an inch, sir."

Farmer: "Oh, I can't afford that; my brother was six feet two."—M. A. P.