

(1887) he also contributed freely with money and personal effort when George was an unwilling candidate of the United Labour Party for Secretary of State for New York.

It was about this time that George advised Johnson to enter politics. He protested that the impossibility of his being a public speaker stood in his way. "But," said George, "you have never tried to speak; if you put your mind to it you can succeed at speaking as well as in business." So he tried. It was a large Mass Meeting in Cooper Union, New York, in 1888. He spoke for five minutes; crudely, timidly, but with evident sincerity. To-day he is one of the most effective and convincing speakers in American public life.

Convinced by Henry George that the cause to which they were both devoted demanded his personal service in political life, Johnson accepted the Democratic nomination for Ohio for Congress. His Congressional district was strongly Republican, and he was defeated after an unreserved Free Trade campaign. He stuck to his task, however, and two years later was returned for the same district by a majority of 3,000.

He entered Congress in December 1891 and was appointed to a local Committee on the District of Columbia. In five months he secured the passing by the House of a Resolution declaring for a thorough investigation of the methods of the taxing officials. The resolution, after reciting the fact which the Committee had unearthed, that the land values alone of the district were tremendously under assessed, authorised a Select Committee of three to inquire into the method of assessing land values in the district. Johnson was appointed Chairman of this Committee. The other two members were exceedingly conservative and objected to Johnson's recommendation for taxing land values on the ground that the change was too radical. The only result of the inquiry was a few trifling reforms, but the body of the Report was a splendid testimony to land values taxation and did a great deal to educate public opinion.

In 1892, Johnson came up for re-election and was returned by a majority of 3,224. This was the second year of Cleveland's second election to the Presidency when Free Trade carried the day against Protection. Johnson had no small hand in this victory. He had noticed that Congressmen were accustomed to lengthening their speeches with statistics and quotations from books under "leave to print." These matters, though never uttered on the floor of the House or Senate at all, duly appeared in the Congressional record as if they had been actually uttered, and, having appeared in the record, they had full and free rights to the mails under any Congressman's frank. In this way tons of election literature were sent through the post free. After overcoming the objections on the score of precedent of some sympathetic Free Traders, Johnson persuaded them to each contribute at different times parts of Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade." This was done and afterwards the different parts arranged in their order. In this way it was made possible to send over a million copies through the mails free. They were judiciously placed in the campaign of 1892, and the extent to which they helped the Free Trade cause cannot be over-estimated.

Johnson expected much from President Cleveland in the direction of Free Trade, but to his disappointment, Cleveland shelved the question. Johnson attacked the Senate for their surrender to the Protectionists and predicted early defeat for the Democratic Party. His prediction proved correct; for in the election of 1894, the Democrats were swamped, their majority of 95 being turned into a minority of 140. Johnson went under with his Party at this election. He was back again, however, in 1900.

In 1901 Johnson was nominated for Mayor of Cleveland at the Democratic Primaries. He was elected on April 1st, 1901, by a majority of 6,033. Thrice again he was elected Mayor of Cleveland, in 1903, 1905 and 1907, but in November, 1909, he failed to hold his seat, being in a slight minority at the poll.

The long and severe strain of business and politics has told on Mr. Johnson's health, and he has come to Britain for a much-needed rest and change. The followers of Henry George on this side have looked forward to such a visit for many years, and as many of them as have found it possible have joined in welcoming him.

The Imperial Pioneers, a new association which under cover of preaching Imperialism preaches Tariff "Reform," held its first meeting at the Walworth Baths on March 12th. A somewhat stormy meeting closed with the National Anthem, but some of the audience remained to give cheers for Lloyd-George and sing the Land Song, much to the surprise of the speakers.

## POLITICAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

### THE VETO RESOLUTIONS.

The text of the Veto Resolutions brought forward by the Prime Minister, and passed by the House of Commons, is as follows:—

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES AND DURATION OF PARLIAMENT.

(1) **MONEY BILLS.**—That it is expedient that the House of Lords be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a Money Bill; but that any such limitation by law shall not be taken to diminish or qualify the existing rights and privileges of the House of Commons.

For the purposes of this resolution a Bill shall be considered a Money Bill if in the opinion of the Speaker it contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely:—

The imposition, repeal, remission, alteration, or regulation of taxation, charges on the Consolidated Fund, or the provision of money by Parliament;

The supply, the appropriation, control, or regulation of public money;

The raising or guaranteeing of any loan or repayment thereof, or matters incidental to these subjects or any of them.

(2) **BILLS OTHER THAN MONEY BILLS.**—That it is expedient that the powers of the House of Lords as respects Bills, other than Money Bills, be restricted by law; so that any such Bill which has passed the House of Commons in three successive sessions, and having been sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session has been rejected by that House in each of those sessions, shall become law without the consent of the House of Lords on the Royal Assent being declared.

Provided that at least two years shall have elapsed between the date of the first introduction of the Bill in the House of Commons and the date on which it passes the House of Commons for the third time.

For the purposes of this resolution a Bill shall be treated as rejected by the House of Lords if it has not been passed by the House of Lords either without amendment or with such amendments only as may be agreed upon by both Houses.

(3) **DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.**—That it is expedient to limit the duration of Parliament to five years.

### MR. CHURCHILL ON THE LORDS.

Speaking in the House of Commons on March 31st, Mr. Churchill said:—

Unless the House of Commons carries the Budget it is idle to look to the King or to look to the country to carry the Veto. It is not merely a question of regularising the financial situation. The great series of Democratic taxes which constitute the policy of the Budget are not merely the pathway to future democratic reform, the barrier which we erect against a Protectionist system, but they are the actual gauge of battle with the House of Lords. (Ministerial cheers.) That they should be effectively affirmed by the new House of Commons is the only possible foundation of any successful attempt to punish the House of Lords for their unquestionable constitutional outrage—(Opposition cries of "Oh, oh")—in refusing to pass the Budget. (Ministerial cheers.) Having followed carefully the course of recent political affairs, I believe that at the proper time and in the proper manner and under the proper circumstances we shall succeed in carrying the Veto and the Budget to the steps of the Throne. (Ministerial cheers.) There is a substantial majority of British members in this House resulting from the election in favour of the Budget. (Ministerial cheers)

Parties are associations of men gathered together to pursue common objects and to defend common interests, and if one party or group of parties is unable even in the period of its greatest prosperity and success to give any effective satisfaction to the forces which compose it and is unable to achieve any of the objects for which its members have come into association, that party must perish and dissolve. (Ministerial cheers.) If the Liberal Party can hold office from year to year and month to month only by the sufferance of its political opponents, if at any moment on any ground, financial or otherwise, a Liberal Government is liable to have its whole structure pulled about its ears, then it is certain that Liberal Governments will have become finally impossible, and that in the long run the two historic parties, differing no doubt in method and conviction, but agreed on an enormous body of valuable precepts and principles, must come to a close, and you, the Opposition, will have made it

finally impossible for any but Tory Ministers to render faithful service to the Crown. (Opposition cries of "Oh, oh" and Ministerial cheers.) Do not suppose, however, that you will thereby escape the democratic movement. Those who are now grouped under the standard of party will re-form themselves under the standard of class. When the party system is shattered the class line must be the line of demarcation. See what has happened in Germany. There you have a tremendous Social Democratic Party held down by brute force, utterly estranged from the fundamental institutions of the State, holding rigidly to abstract doctrines, increasing in number and in power, yet wholly divorced from any share in government or responsibility. That is a condition to which we may find ourselves reduced, and so far from realising the ideal of becoming one people and—if I may coin a word—a national nation in which one and all have a share, and where every shade of opinion brings some influence to bear on the business and conduct of the State, that dream will pass away for ever and we shall be reduced to the position from which foreign Governments are struggling to raise themselves. That is why there is a great crisis now. That is why we bring forward our Veto resolutions now while time remains. That is why we shall not hold office unless we have reason to believe that we can carry our resolutions into law. That is why we propose no social legislation though, Heaven knows, it is sorely needed. That is why we have no other object or thought in our minds but to deal with this tremendous danger now. (Ministerial cheers.) We have reached the fateful period when the time for words has passed and the time for action has arrived. (Ministerial cheers.) Since the House of Lords have used their veto to affront the prerogative of the Crown it has now become necessary that the Crown and the Commons acting together—(Ministerial cheers)—should restore the balance of the Constitution and restrict for ever the veto of the House of Lords. (Renewed cheers.)

#### LORD CREWE ON THE CREATION OF PEERS.

Speaking at Winchester on April 5th, Lord Crewe said:—

In connection with the Budget, he would like to say a word on the attitude of the Irish Party in the House of Commons. The first object of the Irish Party—they would say their only object—was the national one of obtaining self-government for Ireland in purely Irish affairs—(cheers)—and to that they subordinated everything else. He for one was not going to blame them for that. They also undoubtedly thought that there were certain provisions in the Budget, chiefly of a minor character, which pressed with undue hardship upon Ireland. That was a matter upon which each man was entitled to his own opinion. But it was utterly untrue to say that the Irish members or the Irish people were opposed to the Budget as a whole class, and if they felt themselves at liberty to do so they would undoubtedly vote for the Budget. If the Irish members did not vote for the Budget, and, as was known from a process of simple arithmetic, they had the power to reject it, it would be because by some logical process which he was unable to follow they had convinced themselves that to reject the Budget was the best thing for the cause of Home Rule. (A Voice: "No.") He quite agreed with the observation made below. That seemed to him a most illogical proceeding, and he did not believe himself that it would occur; but if it did occur, it would be not because the Irish were opposed to the provisions of the Budget as a whole, but because they had arrived at the somewhat peculiar political conclusion that he had indicated.

With respect to the question of the relations of the two Houses of Parliament, first of all they had to deal with the position of the House of Lords in connection with finance, they having taken up the position that they had a right to throw out the Finance Bill. No one denied that they had the power to throw out a Finance Bill, and the power, he supposed, constituted a legal right; but he was equally convinced that they had no such constitutional right. To throw out the Budget, to make it impossible to collect the taxes, was a breach of the unwritten law which had obtained for hundreds of years between the two Houses of Parliament. It was a breach of the unwritten law in two ways. In the first place the House of Lords by this act declared itself capable of doing what we had always believed only the Crown could do, namely, to dissolve Parliament. That was a breach of the Constitution, an invasion of the prerogative of the Crown. (Cheers.) He would go further and say that even if the House of Lords had been right they

would still have been wrong. (Laughter.) Even if the Budget had been unpopular, and as the result of a Unionist majority a Unionist Government had been formed, he should still say that the House of Lords was absolutely wrong in taking the action it did.

With respect to the creating of Peers by the Sovereign for a particular purpose, that was a universally admitted remedy by all constitutional authorities for a dead-lock between the two Houses. "That is to say," proceeded the noble Lord, "if a deadlock exists between the two Houses and the country has clearly expressed its will, the Minister of the day is entitled to advise the Sovereign to create a sufficient number of Peers to override the opposition of the House. (Cheers.) That is a power which has only once been used, and used to a small extent, and might have been used on another occasion if the House of Lords had not given way. It is obviously a power which only ought to be used in the last resort and under circumstances of the most special character. But I want to impress upon you that it is a power which exists, and has never been abandoned, for the simple reason that if it were, no remedy would exist whatever for the continued and perpetual standing out of the House of Lords against the declared will of the country. It is not for me to indicate in what circumstances such power might conceivably be used. It is to my mind altogether improper even to consider such a contingency until the occasion has actually arisen, if it ever does arise, because its exercise must depend upon a great number of issues. I should like to say, and it is important to remember the distinction, that if ever such an occasion does arise, it is not a question of the Minister going to the Sovereign and asking the Sovereign to create a certain number of Peers as a favour, but it is the constitutional exercise of the power of advice by the Minister to the Sovereign. That is an important distinction. (Cheers.) It is important because it carries this. The Minister has no right to give the advice unless he is prepared to say he would act upon it."

Continuing, Lord Crewe said that there was a great constitutional issue at stake. "If," he went on, "the Opposition win this fight, and it is a fight which may last for some time, if they win, it undoubtedly means that the House of Lords will become the paramount power in the State. The virtue will have gone out of the House of Commons, because the House of Lords by claiming control over finance will thereby claim control over the existence of the Government of the day, and there will be something of a permanent blight upon the progress to which we all look forward. The Unionist Party mean to get this power if they can, and unless we can create in the country a sufficient sense of the real importance of the constitutional issue involved the Unionist Party will obtain what they want. To a great extent the existence of the Liberal Party depends upon the issue of this particular conflict. If we lose this conflict the Liberal Party will not nominally disappear, but with its power of action gone it will tend more and more to become what the Liberal Parties are in many countries on the Continent, that is to say, a band of thinkers and theorists without a really acting and active effect upon the political life of their country." (Cheers.)

#### MR. CHURCHILL ON LIBERAL AIMS.

Speaking on the Veto resolutions in the House of Commons on April 12th, Mr. Churchill said:—

It is not a mere question of pique or pride. We cannot make any plan either for social reform or political change, or for the ordinary thrifty and careful administration of national affairs. We cannot do that, for the House of Lords now claim, and unless their claim is repudiated at once, have won, the power over finance, including the right of dissolution whenever they are dissatisfied with a Budget or with a naval policy, or on a question of foreign policy. Does the right hon. gentleman really expect us to go on sitting here occupying high offices of State and drawing our salaries at his pleasure, liable to be dismissed at any moment when their lordships have come to the conclusion that there is a chance of the Tory Party bettering their position? (Cheers.) What measures, says the right hon. gentleman, are the House of Lords blocking? Let us be quite frank. We wish to make a national settlement with Ireland (loud cheers), we wish to free Wales from its alien church (cheers), we wish to deal with the grievances of Nonconformists (cheers), we wish to sweep away the electoral anomalies which distort representation