
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 in 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

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

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 workmen 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 workmen 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

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.

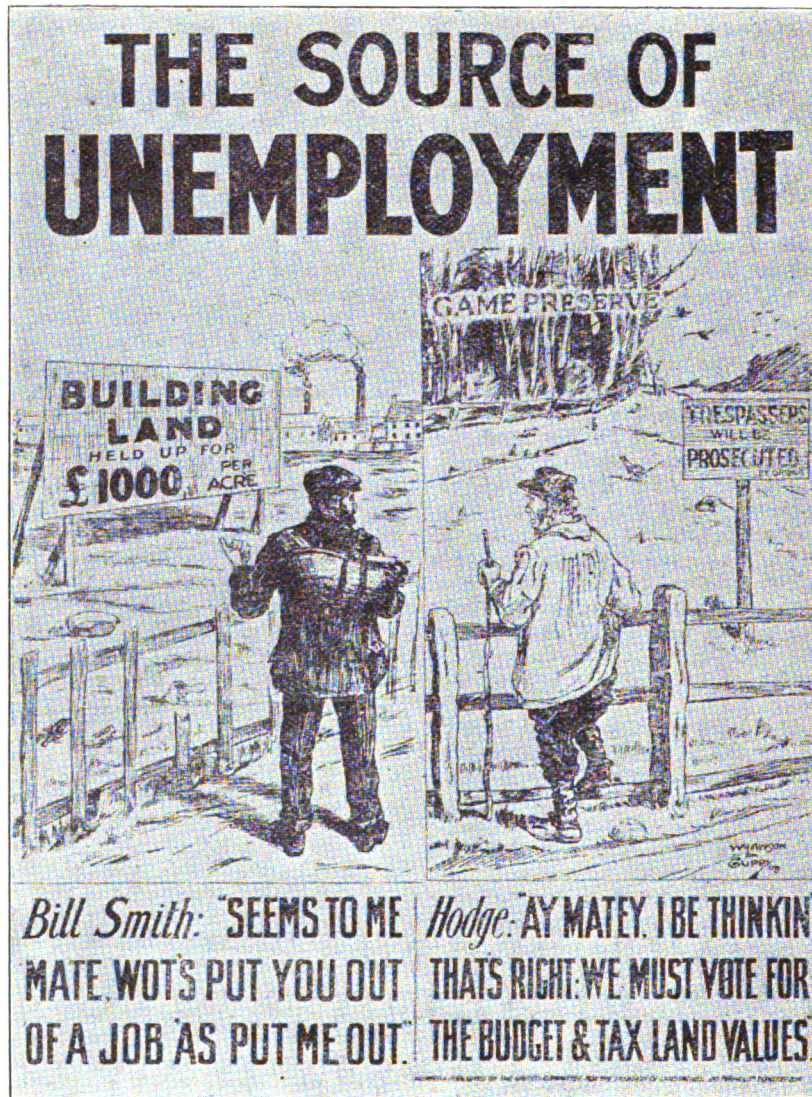
The old Parliament was formally dissolved by the King's proclamation on the 10th (yesterday), and the new Parliament called for February 15. The elections are to be held meanwhile. Some will come off on the 15th, the earliest day possible—the lapse of at least five days between the issuance of writs 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 argumen-

tative, 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,