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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

Distinguishing Differences.

Economic controversy is almost unique for its confusions. It is this, no doubt, that has made the simplest and most obvious of the sciences seem even to economic teachers as no science at all. The worst offense in this connection is the disposition to obliterate such essential differences as plainly exist between those primary or natural instruments of industry which students have classified as "land," and those secondary or artificial instruments which they have distinguished as "capital." This confusion originates in business circles; there it does no harm, since the business objective consists in gaining control of both land and capital. For business purposes, therefore, there may be no difference between the two. But when the relation of private business to public or common concerns is considered, the difference is vital. It is because business statesmen and socialistic statesmen alike ignore this vital difference, that the former fall into the error of supposing that all capital should be private, and the latter drift off into the correlative error that all capital should be common.

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Many of the economists of our colleges, some of them socialistic and some of them businessistic in reference to the confusion noted above, have so entangled themselves in it, that a statement as clear as the following from Professor Carver of

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Harvard in the quarterly *Journal of Economics* for last November, is very refreshing: "The fundamental purpose of all economic analysis," Professor Carver writes, "is not mere academic curiosity, but to discover its bearing upon the problems of economic justice. Is the present order of society just? It may not be the function of the economist to solve that problem, but economic analysis must at least precede the solution of the problem. One must make a clear and thorough-going analysis of what is, before one is in a position to make any suggestion whatever as to how things may be changed in the direction of what ought to be. Therefore, if there is any distinction between the ownership of land and the ownership of capital, it ought to be shown by our economic analysis. There can be no distinction shown except by a study of the economic characteristics of land and capital, especially on the side of supply. What are the factors which limit the supply of land, and what are the factors which limit the supply of capital? Are they the same or are they different? It is only by ignoring questions of this kind that any writer has ever been able to obliterate the distinction between the two forms of wealth."

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With the same decisiveness of apprehension and clearness of expression, Professor Carver goes on to intimate that nothing but the abolition of slavery has prevented an extension of the confusion in question to labor, so that land, labor and capital would all be indistinguishable in economic analysis. "It is quite conceivable," he continues, "that a collectivist community, like the Spartan Commonwealth, might collectively own a body of slaves to do all its work. It might then be claimed that there was no distinction between labor and capital. The labor would be placed in an inventory along with other productive factors. It might even be capitalized and its quantity expressed in money. For certain purposes this scheme of definition would be entirely satisfactory. But, if economics is to be a basis for a science of statesmanship,—that is, if it is to throw any light whatever upon questions of public policy,—it would still be necessary to make a distinction between labor and capital, or, what amounts to the same thing, between laborers and instruments of production." It is, indeed, quite unnecessary, as Professor Carver implies, to retain such particular names as land, labor and capital. If for any reason it may be desirable to denominate all productive forms of wealth as capital, that need make no difference, provided that natural capital be still

distinguished from artificial—the kind that Nature supplies perpetually and ready to hand, from the kind that men prepare; and provided, of course, that the men themselves be distinguished, regardless of whether they are somehow owned by capitalists or not, from the capital which they prepare and use.

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The World's Money Supply.

An official summarization of the forthcoming *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, puts the world's stock of gold money at 75 per cent more than it was ten years ago. This fact tends at once to confirm an important contention and to refute the primary theory of the advocates of abundant money. It confirms their contention that the enhanced supply of money which they sought through silver coinage, has been secured through greater gold production. But, considering the business depression, it militates against the quantitative theory of money.

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Bryan's Consistency.

Among the commonest criticisms of William J. Bryan is the statement that in his day he has advocated many policies. It is a curious criticism to make of a man in active public life. Of an academic dreamer who gets himself apart from the world, the criticism might be made with some show of reason; but of a man like Bryan, who is in and of the public life of his time, such a criticism reacts in no complimentary way upon the critic. For public life is characterized by a constant succession of specific controversies. In our own national life, for instance, these controversies have been kaleidoscopic. They have sprung up over boundary lines between free and slave territory, over Constitutional constructions, over various money questions and tariff questions, and so on. No statesman worthy the name but has come before the people at each new turn of this kaleidoscope with something new in the way of an issue. Webster and Clay even swapped sides on the same issue. The real test, therefore, of the consistency of a public man is not that he identifies himself with one of these issues to the exclusion of the others. To do that would be to become a political hermit. The test of his consistency is that with all issues that take shape in the popular mind, he shall be found upon the same side of the principle they involve. For specific controversies are but outward forms or expressions, more or less perfect, of one general controversy over a principle. All of the many political issues in this country

have in one way and another given expression to the essential controversy of equal rights against special privileges, of democracy against aristocracy or plutocracy; and to that controversy, whatever the special issue and whether he has been mistaken or not in his particular apprehensions, William J. Bryan has been consistent throughout. When the issue was over the tariff, his voice sounded the democratic note of free trade; when it was over the money question, he resisted the plutocratic interests; when it was imperialism, he stood for democracy. To say of him that he veers like a weather-cock with every turn of the wind, is to confess to an utter lack of apprehension of the difference between constant political principle and the ephemeral policies through which political principle, from time to time and in changing form according to varying circumstances, finds concrete expression. It is as if his critic were astride the weather-cock, and judging Bryan's attitude from his own shifting viewpoint.

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Good Times Ahead.

This year's silly season in journalism began last Sunday. For lack of exciting news, the Sunday editors clipped from their files their last season's prophecies of "good times at hand," and worked them over for this season's use. These prosperity prophecies have almost driven sea-serpent tales and Port Jervis anecdotes out of the silly season manuscript market.

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Death of H. H. Rogers.

Henry H. Rogers was in no sense an ordinary man. He was a great man by the standards of his time. Had he lived in an era of military conquest, his name might have come bounding down the centuries and into modern school books as a conquering hero, the head of a line of despots. Had he lived in a golden age that despised all conquest but such as brotherly justice achieves, he might have been loved by all his contemporaries, and for untold generations, with the intensity that he seems to have been loved by a narrow circle of personal friends. Living as he did in an era of industrial exploitation, his great qualities placed him in the front rank of industrial exploiters. Let him be judged charitably. No man is to be lightly condemned for excelling in a career in which nearly all his able contemporaries strive to excel; and especially true is this when his career is at an end and criticism can only fall ineffectively. The tendency is nevertheless natural to wish at

least that the greatness of such men might serve better purposes than typifying the more or less savage characteristics of their own time. Who can tell what the great qualities which Mr. Rogers devoted to conquest in industrial warfare, might not have accomplished for the good of mankind had they been devoted to the establishment of industrial peace on the basis of social justice?

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The Money Value of Personal Reputation.

The telegraph wires buzzed last week with reports of a shocking judicial discrimination. A Negro porter of a Pullman car had been arrested at the instance of a passenger upon a false charge of stealing a pocketbook. Being released he brought suit, and a jury awarded him \$2,500 damages. But the trial judge set the verdict aside as excessive. The reasons the judge gave were that the Negro's loss of income from the arrest was only two or three dollars; and as to humiliation and mental anxiety, that a Negro could not suffer the shame a white man would. Having been sustained by the appellate court, this decision is circulated as an instance of judicial discrimination against Negroes. But it is not quite that. Courts have been long accustomed in cases of damage for personal wrongs, to discriminating in favor of the rich and against the poor. Damages for personal injuries which would stand in favor of a man of large income, would be set aside as excessive if in favor of a man of small income. And this seems reasonable enough provided the element of suffering endured and the penalty imposed by means of damages, be given equal weight regardless of the wealth or poverty of the person injured. But in the New York case a step has been taken toward class discriminations as to suffering. Incidentally, the case happened to turn upon class differences between Negro and white man; but the principle is broader. It embraces analogous class differences between "lower" class and "upper" regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

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Emma Goldman.

What the mystery is that lurks behind the persistent efforts of police officials to suppress Emma Goldman's meetings, can only be guessed at. That their conduct is flagrantly lawless every one now knows. They themselves are no longer ignorant of it. Yet reports come, now from one city and again from another, of the dispersal of her meetings under circumstances calculated to excite the resistance that would furnish apparent excuse for

"putting down a riot." Whatever the motive, this police lawlessness is evidently concerted. The Chicago police have engaged in it; so have those of San Francisco; a few days ago it was the police of New Haven, and now it is those of New York. Yet Emma Goldman has spoken in Cleveland, in Portland, and in many other cities, without leaving behind her the slightest evidence of unlawful utterance. Although she was arrested in San Francisco, she was acquitted upon jury trial; and in New York the District Attorney has warned the police that the utterances they have accused her of are quite within her rights. No pretense of unlawful speech is set up for dispersing her New York meeting. The police despotically dispersed it. If they are permitted to disperse her meetings with impunity they can disperse any others at their own will. Whether they are acting for some astute press agent to enhance Miss Goldman's audience-drawing power in the early future, which is hardly conceivable, or are hounding her down in Russian style, they play a dangerous game—dangerous to all the people, whose rights of speech and assembly are menaced by this tendency to subject public meetings to police censorship. The practice should be peremptorily stopped. The right of free speech and free meeting is an American principle and not a police privilege.

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Why Women Should Not Vote.

All the stock objections to woman suffrage have been ably condensed into one, by an English adversary no less distinguished than Lord Cromer. In an address to the L. O. W. S. (League to Oppose Woman Suffrage) in London on the 18th, Lord Cromer is reported to have said that the whole argument against enfranchising women could be summed up by saying "they are unfitted to vote because they are not men." This is candor indeed. For it is quite true that all the arguments ever made in opposition to woman suffrage are part and parcel of this one; and could any argument be more catholic in possibilities of application, more strictly historical in connotations, or more frivolous in substance? See how comprehensive it is. Commoners are unfitted to vote because they are not lords, the poor are unfitted to vote because they are not rich, the illiterate are unfitted to vote because they are not academy bred. What a delightful specimen of begging the question Lord Cromer's accurate summing up of the arguments against woman suffrage is, to be sure. And note how useful the principle might be made in other fields of controversy, as that black men are unfitted for freedom because they are

not white, or that workingmen are unfitted for wealth because they are not wealthy. Read it again. Women are "unfitted to vote because they are not men"! Might it not have been as well said in the days of Tom Jones that women were unfitted to read because they were not men? Or at this day, and conversely, that men are not fitted to cook because they are not women?

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Bernard Shaw's Censored Play.

The official suppression of Bernard Shaw's new play because it makes effective dramatic use of a vital force which conquers the will of the human brutes who call it God and despise as sentimental weakness any expressions of respect for it, is not strange. Acknowledgments of the living God have always offended the worshipful servants of dead ones.

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LAND VALUES TAXATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

There seems now to be little doubt that the Lloyd-George budget (pp. 481, 487, 494, 510) is destined to insert the "thin end of the wedge" which, when driven home, will split British land monopoly wide open.

Whereas the Conservatives have all along been jeeringly calling upon the Liberal ministry to resign and bring on a general election immediately, they are now looking contentedly three years forward for the earliest probable general election date. This indicates that they are disposed to agree to the Lloyd-George budget, rather than meet its issue before the people; for in three years its basic principles will have been fixed in British policy. Their prudence does not desert them, bitter though their anger is and deep and loud their curses.

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While the curses of the Conservatives are distributed with judicious impartiality over the entire budget, their anger really centers upon the land value items; and with much less intensity upon the trifling tax of a half penny in the pound on the capital value of vacant urban and suburban land, or upon the more stinging one of 20 per cent on future increments of value, or upon the moderate one on the value of unmined minerals, than upon the plans which these taxes necessitate for an Imperial valuation of all land—urban, suburban, agricultural and the rest. For it is only by such a valuation that the budgetary discriminations can be made. As this valua-

tion would not only expose the enormous existing values of British land, both that which is in use and that which is held out of use either arbitrarily or through exorbitant prices, but would also pave the way for successive increases and extensions of land value taxation until industry was emancipated and land capitalism alone bore the financial burdens of the social state that fosters land values, the landed interests of Great Britain, alert for the protection of their parasitical privileges, are angered to their very hearts' core.

Never since land capitalization has become a pronounced phenomenon of industry has there been a fiscal valuation of British land values. Not since the time of William and Mary has there been any attempt at such a valuation. With the growth of British industry, landlords and land capitalists have flourished parasitically upon "unearned increment" at the expense of the state, and prospered unjustly upon the earnings of large classes forced by a stunted land market to bid for wages in a glutted labor market. The indication, slight though it be, of a tendency to uproot this indefensible system by the automatic processes of land value taxation, seems to the land value parasites and industrial exploiters like a premonition of doom.

And that is indeed what it is. The valuation of all the land of Great Britain, for purposes of present and future taxation, and for the express reason that land capitalization constitutes a social and common, and not a private fund, can have but one outcome. And that outcome is land value socialization.

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The strength which this movement has in Great Britain is evident from the inane, incoherent and hysterical protests it evokes from the privileged interests. They sense its progress much more keenly than do the interests whose working rights and incomes it would restore and conserve.

Some of them claim that land is not a monopoly. Isn't this farcical in a community where the land to be taxed runs up to enormous sums in capital value?

Others argue that land values are the same as other values. This is like arguing that land is the same as products produced by labor from and upon land, which is in turn the equivalent of an argument that the field and the crop or the site and the structure are identical.

Others whine that they must quit charity giving if the common social income they appropriate is taxed away from them. Of course they must; but what of that if the taxes take care

of charities? Shall we let private individuals keep the common income because they distribute some of it in charity? This harks back to the generosity of Dick Turpin. And though worst come to worst in that respect, isn't it quite conceivable that new charity dispensers might be had on better terms pro rata, if the function were offered to the lowest bidder—the least "unearned increment" for the highest annual charity dole?

Another set give warning that the small landowner and the tenant will have to bear the brunt. This is a sordid wish, but not a rational thought.

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All the objections to the Lloyd-George land value tax simmer down to the test of a simple moral principle: By what conceivable moral right do the land owners of Great Britain retain the social values of British land?

Surely not by right of ownership of the land. They can show only a conventional title, and conventional titles must yield to moral rights. The land of England belongs of moral right to the living people of England. So with the land of Ireland and Scotland and Wales and the islands round about—it belongs in usufruct to the living people respectively of Ireland and Scotland and Wales and the neighboring islands.

Do the landlords and land capitalists of Great Britain then own by moral right the values of British land because they cause the values? They do not cause them. Those values are caused by British industry, by British growth, by those subtle influences which spring from social co-operation as distinguished from individual activity. We may assign the value of a product to its individual producers; but the values of the planet can be assigned only to social wholes.

Upon no moral plea whatever can the owners of British land claim exemption in any degree from taxation on its social value. The whole of this value belongs, by every sane moral test, to the whole community; and every penny the community leaves in the land owners' hands is a penny morally misplaced.

By their flimsy protests the landlords and land capitalists of Great Britain, and their hangers on in Parliament and in the press, make very great fools of themselves in stimulating discussion of their case in the forum of morals. They would be wiser to appeal, as heretofore, to the doctrine of might rather than to the doctrine of right.

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The first thing which the democracy will write upon the slate will be the nationalization of the land.
—Thomas Hughes.

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, May 25, 1909.

British Politics.

In the British House of Commons, discussion of the items of the Lloyd-George budget (p. 487) is proceeding, and now and again the cable reports a vote. On the 20th the proposed death duties, settlement duties, legacy succession duties, and automobile taxes were adopted, and the piecing out of the deficit with a withdrawal of part of the sinking fund was authorized. For the death duties the vote was 298 to 122; for the settlement duties 300 to 123; for the legacy succession duties 300 to 127; for the automobile tax no pronounced opposition, and for resorting to the sinking fund 203 to 50. The land tax questions had been voted on the week before, but if the result was cabled the report has escaped us. It is given below.

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In harmony with the spirit of the budget, Winston Churchill, president of the Board of Trade, outlined on the 19th the plans of the Ministry for establishing labor exchanges and state insurance against unemployment. According to these plans there will be about 220 exchanges, with advisory committees representing employers and employes, at an estimated cost of \$1,000,000 yearly the first ten years and thereafter \$750,000. A bill establishing these exchanges was introduced in the House on the 20th. The insurance scheme will be dealt with at the next session. It is to involve compulsory contributions from employers and employes in addition to a state grant. Following the German plan, insurance books will be issued, to which stamps will be affixed each week, and the worker on losing his employment may take his book to the nearest labor exchange, which will either find him work or make him an allowance.

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T. P. O'Conner, M. P., illuminates the news in his London letter of the 22d, in which, as published in the Chicago Tribune, he says:

Lloyd George is revealing great powers every night, and smashing his critics with the readiness of his responses and by timely concessions reconciling some interests and attacking others.

Winston Churchill also provided a sensation this

week. His gigantic scheme of state insurance and other remedies against unemployment received a chorus of praise from all quarters and was notable besides as proof of the unexhausted vital energies of the Ministry and as revealing its resolution to go on for two or three years more till a program of social reform is complete. The people who talked of a general election as certain this year now talk of 1912 as the probable date.

I always thought there would be a terrible fight over the budget, but the budget is bigger, more drastic, and more daring than I ever anticipated; and the fight, accordingly, will be more terrific than I thought. . . . The liquor trade and the tobacco trade are most resonant in the attack, and they are the most formidable opponents. For the liquor trade is rich, and, what is more important, has behind it two powerful factors. In the first place, the Irish members of all parties must oppose a tax on whisky—not as whisky and not in the desire to oppose the spread of temperance, but because whisky has become about the only industry left to Ireland by the evil laws of the past.

The 100 Irish members are a considerable addition to the difficulties of Lloyd George, who is engaged in a struggle so supreme and so vital that he requires all the help he can get, and that help he would have got most cordially if it had not been for this unfortunate whisky tax.

The liquor interest has even more powerful backing in the workmen of England. Nobody in the world hates so much any interference with its pleasures, and even a halfpenny or penny added to the price of beer or of tobacco will produce a big growl from all the artisans of the country. These emotions are, of course, being steadily fanned into flame by the wealthy distillers and brewers anxious to fight for their property. And as the Liberal party finds its main support in the working classes this is carrying the war into their camp in a formidable way. . . .

Turning to the wealthier propertied classes, their fury knows no bounds. The proposal for the first time in English life to put a tax on what is called the unearned increment, looks to them like the first invasion of the mighty cohorts that march under the banner of the late Henry George. Joined to this is the increase of the tax on big incomes; so that altogether the rich man sees before him an amount of increased taxation that is a serious attack on his comforts and luxuries.

Smaller taxes produce other enemies, such as the taxes on automobiles; and altogether Lloyd George has a big army of frantic opponents. But it must be added that he has also a large army of fanatical friends. The budget has come as a welcome surprise and as a great trumpet call to battle to all the friends of the Liberal party. First, it is the answer of the Liberal party to the absurd and violent assertion of their powers of wrecking Liberal legislation by the House of Lords. Last year the Lords rejected a licensing bill; this year they will have to swallow a big license duty, which is more oppressive to the liquor interest than the licensing bill. Last year the Lords rejected a land valuation bill; this year they have to swallow it in the budget. Representing the rich and the idle the House of Lords is confronted with a budget which mulcts every rich man more than he has ever mulcted before. Representing the

landed class, the House of Lords is confronted with the first real land tax since the Norman times. Never did the popular party and the popular Ministry strike back a heavier blow for the accumulated insults of generations, if not centuries. It is around this budget then that at last the Lords and the Commons are to fight out their secular struggle.

The budget appeals to the Liberals in other ways. Most of them have been clamoring for years for a tax on the unearned increment, as it is called, of the land in the towns. It was John Stuart Mill who first suggested this method of taxation. Since then his proposals have received enormous corroboration from the vast accumulation of wealth in a few hands which have taken place in many big new towns and in some old ones. The prospect of making these big landowners pay their share of the taxation of the country delighted the radical heart, especially in view of the hollow and dishonest cry for more Dreadnaughts which these same classes recently raised.

There is, for all these reasons, a spirit of pugnacity and hopefulness in the Liberal ranks such as there has not been for several years, and even losses at by-elections do not damp their confidence. Energy has succeeded to despair; union to discord.

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Advices by mail tell of the adoption of the land-tax proposals of the budget on the 12th. Lloyd George had made the motion on the 11th by resolution in this form:

That on and after the 30th day of April, 1909, the following duties be charged in respect of land: (1) A duty on any increment value accruing after the said date at the rate of £1 for every full £5 of that value, the duty to be taken on the occasion of the transfer, or the grant of a lease of the land, and on the occasion of the death of any person where the property passing on his death comprises any such land, and in the case of land belonging to a body corporate or unincorporate on such periodical occasions as Parliament may determine; (2) a duty on the value of any benefit accruing to a lessor by reason of the determination of a lease at the rate of £1 for every £10 of that value; (3) an annual duty in respect of the capital site value of land which has not been developed for building or other purposes, and the capital value of ungoten minerals, at the rate of one halfpenny for every £ of that value.

The debate on this resolution was interesting. Mr. Mason protested that there is no monopoly in land. Dundas White said that any one who thought land was cheap should try to buy some. Mr. Pretyman thought the great burden would fall upon small owners. Keir Hardie (one of the leaders of the Independent Labor party) closed the discussion for the night, saying that—

this was not the last that would be heard of land taxation for national or for local rate purposes. He was glad this budget was called socialism, because it was robbing that term of much of its terrors—it was popularizing the term. If the land of the country had all along borne its proper share of taxation, the burdens upon industry and labor would be lighter than they were to-day. The rating value

of the land upon which London was built had increased in thirty years from £20,000,000 to £43,000,000. Nearly the whole of this increment was due to municipal socialism—the making of roads, drainage, and the opening of parks, all done at the public cost—and it was only right that it should be taxed for the public benefit. The Labor party would support the resolution, hoping and expecting it would be the forerunner of many similar resolutions in the future. This budget had unmasked the tariff reform movement. Tariff reform now stood out in all its nakedness as a device to extort more from the laboring poor in order to protect the interests of the rich.

The debate was resumed on the 12th. Harold Cox contended that land is the same as other classes of property and should not be subjected to special tax burdens. Josiah C. Wedgwood (president of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values) charged unemployment to shortage of land, and said it was time the ancient privileges of land were cut down. Loud protests from the Conservatives were made when Lloyd George moved closure on this subject, and Austen Chamberlain attacked him bitterly; but his closure motion was carried, and the resolution for land value taxation as quoted above was then adopted by 330 to 120.

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Progress Toward a Federated South Africa.

The Draft Constitution for a Federated South Africa prepared by the Convention which met at Durban last October (vol. xi, p. 732; vol. xii, pp. 208, 252, 275, 492), has been approved, with suggested amendments, by the legislatures of the several South African states, and on the 3d came again under consideration by the Convention, meeting in second session at Bloemfontein. The Convention sat for two days, and adopted various amendments. These include provision for free trade throughout the proposed Union; for elimination of most of the proportional representation proposed in the original draft (p. 275); and for the striking out of the words "of European descent" in the phrase in section 139 which reads, "All persons of European descent who have been naturalized in any of the colonies shall be deemed to be naturalized throughout the Union" (p. 492). The Convention delegates added a recommendation that delegates who will proceed to London to represent South African Governments during the passage of the Union Bill through the Imperial Parliament, shall be authorized to agree to necessary amendments which do not involve a change of principle. The old racial lines between Briton and Boer are declared by the Governor of Cape Colony, Mr. Merriman, to be wiped out by the proposed Constitution.

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The French Strike Comes to an End.

Although, as reported last week (p. 493), the strike of the postal employees was losing ground,

the General Federation of Labor continued to urge a sympathetic strike on the part of the unions of the various trades; and on the 19th the unions of the seamen, the copper moulders, the cabinet makers and the diggers decided to strike, and the secretaries of other trades, including the electricians, the provision trades and the biscuit makers, declared their readiness to follow the lead. But no large number of men seem to have fallen in with the program when the strikes were called, and on the 21st the General Federation of Labor terminated the labor union strikes, and issued a manifesto in which it was explained that the postal employes had been overconfident of the success of their second strike, "which everything shows was prepared and instigated by the government, which was desirous of an opportunity for avenging itself against the leaders of the first strike." The statement adds, according to the Associated Press reports, that the strikes of the diggers and other workmen having sufficiently demonstrated the solidarity of the proletariat and the postmen, there was no reason to call out other unions, notably the electricians, who had expressed their readiness to enter the fight. With the withdrawal of the sympathetic strike the postmen's strike also terminated, and the remaining strikers set themselves to obtain reinstatement as far as possible.

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The Tariff in Congress.

In the course of the proceedings in the Senate on the tariff bill (p. 490), a duty of \$2 a dozen on imported razors was carried on the 18th. The next items were those of the lumber schedule, but Mr. Aldrich secured a postponement of their consideration. After two or three days, however, devoted to the consideration of miscellaneous items, the lumber schedules were brought into debate upon a resolution of Senator McCumber's proposing to put lumber in the free list. This resolution came to vote on the 24th. It was defeated by 56 to 25. Only 10 Democrats voted for it. They were Clay, Culberson, Frazier, Gore, Hughes, Newlands, Paynter, Rayner, Shively, Stone. They were supported by the following Republicans: Beveridge, Bristow, Brown, Burkett, Burton, Clapp, Crawford, Cummins, Curtis, DuPont, Gamble, Jonson (N. D.), La Follette, McCumber, Nelson.

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The Filipino Assembly Again Asks for Independence.

Just as the Filipino Assembly closed its session last year with a resolution declaring independence to be the aspiration of the Filipino people, and asking it of the United States (vol. xi, p. 300), so again at the close of this year's session on the 20th, a similar resolution was passed, asking for independence for the islands. In moving this resolution the Speaker, Mr. Osmena, said that though the policy of the Assembly was to work in harmony

with and support the government in all measures calculated to advance the interests of the Filipinos, nevertheless the members had not abandoned their original aspiration for independence; and therefore he moved that the Filipino delegates to the Congress of the United States be instructed to present the question to that body whenever an opportunity was offered. The members of the Progressista or minority party, asked permission to abstain from voting, which was granted. All the Nationalists then voted in favor of the resolution.

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The Farmers of Oregon on Direct Legislation.

Important action of national interest was taken by the State Grange of Oregon at its convention at McMinnville, which closed on the 14th. It related to the movement to kill direct legislation in a Constitutional convention (p. 459). Following is the resolution on the subject which the Grange adopted:

Whereas, House Bill No. 186, introduced by Mr. Buchanan, to provide for a Constitutional convention to revise the Constitution of the State of Oregon, was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its recent session; and whereas, it is the reported intention of the machine politicians and corporate interests responsible for the introduction and passage of this bill to have the Constitutional convention promulgate and adopt the Constitution it draws without submitting it to a vote of the people for approval or rejection, and thereby repeal the Initiative and Referendum, the Recall and the people's selection of United States Senators by the Statement No. 1 method, as well as other measures by which the people of Oregon directly control their public officers and government; and whereas, a new Constitution is followed always by many years of uncertainty and costly litigation to determine the meaning of its various provisions, and this bill will cost the taxpayers of Oregon for the two special elections and the convention itself at least \$200,000, if they are permitted to vote upon the Constitution at all, and because it is very clear that no good for the people can possibly be obtained through such a convention that cannot be much more safely and cheaply obtained by amendment; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Oregon State Grange in regular session assembled, that we are unalterably opposed to a Constitutional convention, and we do hereby call upon the Pomonas, Councils, Subordinate Granges, Federated Trades Union, and all citizens of Oregon who believe in self-government by the people, to aid in rejecting the proposed Constitutional convention at the November election, 1910, and thus retain for the people of Oregon their unimpaired power to initiate and enact legislation and to discharge public officers by their vote at the polls.

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Taxation Reform in Oregon.

At the same session at which the Oregon State Grange adopted resolutions opposing a Constitutional convention as menacing to direct legislation

(p. 512), W. S. U'Ren, the "father of the referendum" in Oregon, was invited to address the body on the subject of taxation, and the Oregon papers report him as having said:

The referendum should be obligatory on all tax and exemption laws, because the legislature has failed to understand the bills it passed. Twice in the past five years it has been necessary to make emergency tax laws to get any revenue for the State. Once a special session was necessary. Last Winter the legislature repealed the laws for taxing incomes of telephone, telegraph and express companies. Either there was a joker in the bill that the legislature did not see, or else the members did see the joker and left it hidden from the people. It is bad enough either way.

Taxation is one of the most important functions of government. It is well that the people should feel their own responsibility for the tax and exemption laws. The amendments to the Constitution submitted by the legislature last winter, if adopted, will permit laws to exempt any kind of property, and also to tax different kinds of property at different rates, as they are said to do in some of the Eastern States. With these great taxing powers added to the law-making power, I believe it will be safe and wise to require that every tax and exemption shall be approved by the people before it takes effect.

Legislatures have never yet made satisfactory tax laws; possibly the legislature and the people may succeed.

In acknowledgement of Mr. U'Ren's address, the following resolution was adopted by the Grange:

Whereas, By reason of legislative carelessness and incompetence, the tax laws of the State of Oregon for the past five years have been made under the emergency clause, and no tax laws have yet been made by any legislature that are just and satisfactory to the taxpayers, therefore be it,

Resolved, by the Oregon State Grange, That our legislative committee is authorized on the part of the Grange to assist in organizing any movement that meets its approval for the purpose of proposing by Initiative petition an amendment to the Oregon Constitution, making the Referendum obligatory on all tax and exemption laws passed by the legislature, and providing that any tax or exemption law approved by the people shall be effective, notwithstanding any limitations of the Constitution on the power of the legislative assembly.

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The special committee on taxation had already made, and the Grange had adopted, a declaration on taxation which was ordered to be printed in sufficient quantity for educational purposes throughout the State. The position taken by the Grange on this subject is that—

the State Constitution should be amended so as to permit all property to be classified and taxed at different rates, retaining a uniform rate in each class. A more rigid enforcement of tax laws is necessary. All privileges should be obliged to contribute their just share of the burden. The last legislature is com-

mended for its creation of a State Tax Commission, the Grange believing the system to be the most effective means of finding intangible property and classifying same and making fair adjustments of values. The Grange believes such a commission should be elected on a non-partisan ticket, and believes a fine of from \$100 to \$500 should be imposed for refusal to list property with the assessor, or imprisonment of from six months to one year. The Washington State plan of collecting delinquent taxes is recommended for adoption.

The Oregon Grange would also make all bonds and securities, not exempt, worthless unless they bear the official seal of the assessor.

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Use of the Recall.

In one of the smaller cities of Oregon, Estacada, all the officials except the Recorder, have been recalled. The grounds of recall, printed on the official ballot, were—

First—They have conducted and managed the business affairs of the city in an unsatisfactory manner, diverting the different city funds and applying them unlawfully to the payment of certain debts not in the class for which said fund was created.

Second—They have repudiated the city's indebtedness by their refusal to provide for and pay the interest on such bonds.

Third—They have and still continue to spend the city's funds in a manner not approved of by your petitioners.

Fourth—By their acts and arbitrary manner they have involved the city in such a manner that your petitioners believe will involve the city in costly litigation.

This is the second use of the recall in Oregon since its adoption as an Initiative amendment to the Constitution at the election last June (vol. xi, p. 250; vol. xii, pp. 82, 98). The first, at Junction City early this spring, resulted in the recall of the Mayor by a vote of 4 to 1.

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The Cleveland Traction Situation.

What is reported by the Cleveland Press as "one of the stormiest sessions in the series of traction peace meetings" (p. 394) occurred on the 17th. The Council then went on record in favor of a separation of the properties of the old Cleveland Electric Company and the Forest City Company (which were united in the Cleveland Railway Company), in case any revaluation of the property is made. Mayor Johnson insisted that Forest City stockholders must neither profit nor lose by a revaluation. President Andrews insisted upon having all the property treated as a single interest, saying he would not concede this point. But the Council were against him.

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At the regular meeting of the Council, the same evening, a resolution fixing the maximum fare for

a settlement ordinance at 4 cents cash, with 7 tickets for 25 cents, and a penny for transfers with a penny rebate, was adopted by 23 to 8. Also at this meeting an ordinance was introduced in behalf of the traction company. It had been prepared by their attorneys. Nearly all the provisions asked for by the city are embodied in it, says the Plain Dealer, except the maximum fare, which is here put at six tickets for 25 cents. At an adjourned meeting on the 22d, a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the traction company, offering to refer all matters in dispute to Judge Tayler, was submitted, accompanied with a suggestion that Judge Tayler be invited to prepare an ordinance according to his own views of the best manner of accomplishing his general plans. A motion at the peace meeting on the 21st to request Judge Tayler to draft an ordinance was defeated by 12 to 3; and when the general question was voted on at the peace meeting on the 24th the Council directed Mayor Johnson to prepare a list of arbitral questions for submission to Judge Tayler, but ordered by 16 to 5 that the question of maximum fare be excluded.

Bids for new franchises on four routes were opened on the 18th in accordance with the ordinances of two or three months ago (p. 394). There were only two bidders. They were the Cleveland Railway Co., which bid for all the routes at 5 cents cash fare and free transfers with 6 tickets for 25 cents, but made no deposit; and Herman J. Schmidt, who bid for only one route, the Payne avenue, offering service at a 3-cent fare, and making a deposit of \$18,000.

Chicago Harbor Rights.

A bill repealing the charter of the Chicago Dock and Canal Co. (p. 491) passed the lower house of the Illinois legislature on the 21st by a vote of 93 to 0. This charter, granted in 1857 by a private act, is the basis on which the company is planning to build piers into the lake. The repealing act was put in as emergency aid to Chicago in the protection of a municipal harbor plan.

It is now reported that the application for the exclusive permit granted by the War Department to this company was applied for January 5, 1909, that it was expedited by the official direction of Luke F. Wright as Secretary of War, that the Secretary of War was induced to do this by James E. Pugh, the principal promoter, in company with Congressman Lorimer and Senator Cullom. A resolution adopted by the City Council on the 24th, authorizes Mayor Busse to ask the War Department to revoke the permit "in order that the City of Chicago may in no wise be hindered in

carrying out fully and promptly the harbor plans and policies now being formulated, as soon as they can be definitely determined."

The Department has explained in response to objections that—

the War Department's only jurisdiction is to protect the navigable water and the Department assumes no ownership over the beds and shore of these waters. Its jurisdiction extends to the high water mark. The permit conveys no right to the grantee for occupation of any land in the vicinity as against the lawful owner, and distinctly provides there shall be no invasion or infringement of the existing State, county, municipal or individual rights. It is simply a formal expression of consent of the War Department to the erection in navigable waters of a structure which it believes will not obstruct navigation.

Certain affiliations of the Dock and Canal Company with the Pugh Terminal Company and the Chicago Lighterage Company, together with works of construction participated in by the traction companies and now in progress north of the Chicago river near its mouth, have started suspicions of a gigantic scheme of corruption involving Big Business interests and local officials.

NEWS NOTES

—The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition opens in Seattle June 1st, to continue open until October 16.

—The quinquennial session of the International Council of Women is to be held in Toronto, from June 15 to 29.

—The Brooklyn (New York) Progressive Suffrage Union offers a prize of \$100 for the best design for a woman suffrage banner.

—The annual per capita expenditures of the Federal Government, calculated on the 20th, are \$11.55½. Twenty-five years ago they were \$6.60.

—Eighty-six German cities and towns have peace societies, most of them branches of the general German Peace Society which has headquarters at Stuttgart.

—The efforts of "short" sellers of wheat to "cover" their obligations for May delivery (p. 419) with final delivery day almost at hand, drove the price up on the 25th to \$1.35¼.

—The Senatorial deadlock in Illinois (p. 300) remains unbroken. On the 90th joint ballot taken on the 20th, the vote for Senator Hopkins was 87, and on the 91st, taken on the 20th, it was 88.

—An Aeronautic Carnival in which airships of the dirigible-balloon and of the heavier-than-air types are having their first competitive trials in America, opened at Arlington, N. J., on the 25th, to continue for a week.

—The Billings bill for woman suffrage, pending in the Illinois legislature (p. 394), was defeated in

the Senate on the 20th for lack of one vote. There were 18 votes against it and 25 for it; but 26 votes were necessary for adoption.

—The regents of the University of Nebraska elected Samuel T. Avery as Chancellor on the 20th, in place of Benjamin E. Andrews, who had resigned (vol. xi, p. 782). Chancellor Avery had been acting as Chancellor during the vacancy.

—Magon, Villareal and Rivera, the Mexicans charged with violation of the American neutrality laws (pp. 411, 490), were convicted in the Federal Court at Tombstone, Arizona, on the 20th and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

—The Chicago consolidation bill, the first of the 11 bills loosely called a new charter, which the charter convention (p. 325) recommended for passage, was defeated in the State Senate on the 19th by a vote of 21 to 26, and in the House on the 20th by a vote of 97 to 34.

—Charles W. Eliot relinquished the presidency of Harvard University on the 18th (p. 85) having held it for forty years, and on the 19th the new president, Abbott Lawrence Lowell, assumed the duties of the office. President Lowell is to be formally installed in the autumn.

—A proclamation providing for the opening up to private acquisition of nearly 1,000,000 acres of public land was issued by President Taft on the 22nd. The land lies in Montana, Idaho and Washington. Regulations for entry will be available at the Department of the Interior on the 1st of June.

—A resolution calling for legislation to secure payment of members of Parliament was adopted by the British House of Commons on the 12th by a vote of 242 to 92. While the Ministry gave general support to the resolution they stated that inadequacy of money prevents their promising legislation.

—Julia Ward Howe's ninetieth birthday, May 27, is to be observed by woman suffragists in significant fashion. The Interurban Council of New York City was the originator of the plan to set apart this day as "Petition Day" and to urge all members and friends to celebrate it by securing 90 signers each to the national petition for woman suffrage.

—The fifth annual meeting of the National Purity Congress will begin on the 18th of October at Burlington, Iowa, and remain in session five days. A general invitation is extended to all organizations in sympathy with the movement against the "white slave" traffic, to communicate with the president, B. S. Steadwell, La Crosse, Wisconsin, with a view to participating.

—Algernon Hilton, a Southern disciple of Henry George, died at his home in Alexandria, La., on the 27th of March, at the age of 85 years. Mr. Hilton had been a Free Mason since 1855, and since 1831 had lived in Alexandria, which grew in his day from a small village to a city. His adoption of Henry George's views dated back into the '80's. He was born in Ohio.

—Friends of Henry George are arranging to celebrate his seventieth birthday in many cities on the 2nd of September next. The purpose is being stimulated by Frederick H. Monroe as president of the

Henry George Lecture Association, and Mr. Monroe reports that he is expecting at least 50 cities to participate. Prominent sympathizers from Canada and the United States are to be invited to speak at the different places.

—Henry H. Rogers, vice president of the Standard Oil Company, whose period of publicity began with the exposures of Thomas W. Lawson through *Everybody's Magazine* (vol. viii, pp. 51, 502), but who had for many years been a giant in the struggle for plutocratic concentration of industry, died suddenly on the 19th at his home in New York City, at the age of 69. The burial was at Fairhaven, Mass., his native place. His fortune is estimated at \$100,000,000.

—At the organization meeting of the Municipal Democracy of New York city, held on the 24th, to concentrate opposition to Tammany Hall at the Fall election, a plan of campaign was outlined, and the following officers elected: Frederick Cyrus Leubuscher, chairman; C. Augustus Haviland, Bolton Hall, Alexander S. Bacon, Edwin S. Merrill and William F. Schneider, Jr., vice chairmen; Gustave W. Thompson, secretary, and William S. Grey, treasurer.

—At the opening of the Presbyterian General Assembly of the United States (vol. xi, p. 229) at Denver on the 20th, Dr. James M. Barkley of Detroit was elected Moderator by 503 votes over Dr. Edgar P. Hill of Chicago, who received 292. Until the third ballot there was a deadlock, the candidacy of Dr. William L. McEwen of Pittsburg on the first and second ballots, preventing any of the three from getting the 300 votes necessary for election. Sunday amusements, divorce and religious education were the principal subjects of discussion on the 21st.

—Lieutenant General A. M. Stoessel, serving a ten years' sentence in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul for surrendering Port Arthur to the Japanese in the Russian Japanese war, and Rear Admiral Nebogatoff serving a like sentence in the same place for surrendering in the battle of the Sea of Japan, were released from confinement on the 19th by pardon from the Czar. Admiral Nebogatoff began his sentence April 15, 1907, and General Stoessel began his March 20, 1908 (vol. x, p. 1213). Both officers had been originally sentenced to death, but their sentences had been commuted.

—John Kirby, Jr., president of the Dayton Manufacturing Company, was unanimously elected president of the National Association of Manufacturers (p. 446) at their convention in New York on the 19th. He succeeds J. W. Van Cleave. In his inaugural address at a banquet on the 20th, Mr. Kirby announced his opposition to compromising with "labor union criminals"; and at the same banquet. Mr. Van Cleave was presented by the Association with a bronze tablet commemorative of his administration, a ruby stick pin, and a check for \$10,000, in token of "his heroic fight for industrial freedom as against trade union tyranny."

—An invitation to the Zionist colonization associations (vol. x, p. 540; vol. xi, p. 370), from Ahmed Riza Bey, president of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies under the new Constitutionalism in Turkey, for the creation of a Jewish state in Mesopo-

tamia under local self-government, has aroused the hopes of the Zionists. Jacob H. Schiff, the New York banker, and Israel Zangwill, the English author, are believed to be handling the proposition. Properly irrigated the country under consideration should support, it is said, a population of 10,000,000. As Mesopotamia lies just to the northeast of Palestine, its occupation by the Jews would lead near to the fulfilment of their ancient hope.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 397) for the ten months ending April 30, 1909, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for April, 1909, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$1,422,295,096	\$1,071,247,953	\$351,047,143 exp.
G	72,014,107	39,375,779	32,638,328 exp.
S	45,749,307	35,609,504	10,139,803 exp.
	<u>\$1,540,058,510</u>	<u>\$1,146,233,236</u>	<u>\$393,825,274 exp.</u>

Since July 1, 1897.....\$6,006,466,960 exp.

Since 1834\$8,629,444,591 exp.

—Centennial meetings in memory of Thomas Paine will be held at the Long Island Business College, South Eighth street, near Bedford avenue, Brooklyn, New York, on the 30th at 3 p. m., and at New Rochelle, near the Paine monument, on the 5th at 2 p. m. The former meeting will be addressed by the Rev. Robert J. Lockhart, the Rev. Henry Frank and Henry Rowley; the latter by Thaddeus B. Wakeman, the Rev. Thomas R. Slicer and David S. Muzzey. Dr. E. B. Foote, 120 Lexington avenue, New York, is treasurer of the meetings, which are under the auspices of the Thomas Paine Historical Association, the Paine Memorial Association, the Brooklyn Philosophical Association, the Society for Ethical Culture, and the Huguenot Association of New Rochelle.

—George Bernard Shaw's latest play, "The Showing up of Blanco Posnet," has been censored off the British stage by the official censor (vol. xi, p. 350). Of this interference Shaw is reported by cable as saying: "The play is in the nature of a theological discussion. A set of ungodly people awake to a perception that God is a real, vital, active entity. What baffles me is that a license is refused not because the play is irreligious but because it is religious. There is no question of sex objection this time. It is remarkable that God may be presented on the stage as a quaintly, even ludicrously, costumed figure, in plays like 'Everyman,' but a verbal allusion to him, as here, is immediately tabooed. I am afraid it is hopeless to try to meet the censor's view. I gladly would alter any offending passage, but he demands practically that the whole play be cut out."

—In the case of Sheriff Shipp of Tennessee and five of his deputies, the Supreme Court of the United States decided on the 24th that they were in contempt of that court for their part in the lynching of a Negro prisoner at Chattanooga in March, 1905. Johnson had been taken out of the jail by a mob and murdered, with the alleged connivance of the sheriff and these deputies, after the granting of an appeal to the Supreme Court with

stay of execution; and the court now holds that he was then in Federal custody and that all persons participating in the lynching were therefore in contempt. Chief Justice Fuller writes the opinion of the court, saying: "It does not admit of question on this record that this lamentable riot was the direct result of opposition to the administration of the law by this court. It was not only in defiance of our mandate, but was understood to be such." Justices Peckham, White and McKenna joined in a dissenting opinion. The respondents are to be brought before the court for sentence on the 1st.

—The New York police stopped a lecture by Emma Goldman (pp. 86, 123), at Lexington Hall on the 23d. As the affair is reported in the press dispatches, Miss Goldman had been delivering a series of lectures, on "The True Significance of Anarchism," and when she took the platform on the 23d she stated her intention that morning to lecture on the modern drama as a disseminator of radical thought. Her exordium displeased Detective Rafsky, who stepped up to the platform and said: "Now you will have to confine your remarks to your subject or I shall not permit you to go on. We don't want any dissertations on radical thought as you people see it." After two such episodes Rafsky jumped upon the platform and shaking his finger at Miss Goldman, said: "I have warned you three times to stick to your subject, and since you don't see fit to obey the law this meeting can't go on. I shall clear the hall." A call was sent in for the reserves and the police made those in the hall leave. Miss Goldman announced that she would deliver her lecture at the same place in the afternoon. There were then 1,000 people there trying to get into the hall, but the police kept them out and cleared the street with their clubs. Two arrests for resistance were made.

PRESS OPINIONS

The British Budget.

The (London) Nation (radical), May 8.—The owners of large properties and high incomes, of land values and liquor values, the products of privilege or natural scarcity, must necessarily find the bulk of the required revenue, for there is no other course from which it can be got without inflicting obvious and grievous injury on industry and the efficiency of labor. Two impregnable principles dictate this national finance. The first is that in imposing direct taxation, unearned incomes and property are to be preferred to earned; the second, that wherever it is desirable to retain indirect taxation, whether in the interests of revenue or public order, luxuries and superfluities are to be preferred to necessities as objects of taxation. These two principles afford a triumphant defense of this democratic budget.

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The (London) Labour Leader (official organ of the Independent Labor Party), May 14.—We are disposed neither to join in the fulsome praise of the budget which is being showered upon it by certain socialist writers, nor in the denunciation which is

being hurled at it by the Tory press. . . . But socialists have reason to welcome the budget because it does, more definitely than ever before, embody the ideas that great wealth should contribute more generously to the cost of the public services, and that there is a form of wealth which is social in its origin, and which therefore ought to be available for social purposes. These two principles are to be found adopted to a partial extent in the budget; and the methods of applying these ideas are on the whole on the lines which socialists can approve. . . . The indirect taxes to be imposed by the budget cannot be defended by socialist theory: These taxes will add greatly to the sums, already far too excessive, paid in taxation by the working classes out of their inadequate means. It has no bearing on the economic argument to point out that the liquor and tobacco taxes are voluntary and upon non-necessary articles. . . . The state has no right, it is not social economy, to tax any section disproportionately simply because they happen to have special habits or tastes. . . . It is, perhaps, too early to estimate the political effects of this budget. But two things it seems to have made clear—it has proved that a free trade fiscal system can provide for national financial requirements; and it has exposed the real purpose of the tariff reform agitation, which is not so much Imperial preference and the protection of home trade as a conspiracy to "broaden the basis of taxation" by relieving the rich of even their old burdens, and placing that relief and all new taxation on the commodities needed and used by the people. The debates on this budget have already clearly shown that this is the issue. The budget is, on the whole, better than we expected. It is a budget the Labor party is well justified in supporting, and it lays a basis on which more substantial reforms may be established.

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The Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), May 20 (weekly edition).—In discussing Lloyd George's new land taxes, the Daily News scrapes over some sore spots in the cuticle of the conservative classes. Fancy the descendant of a dozen earls, possessed of some valuable urban ground sites, reading this passage: "Starting from the present level of values, at every transfer of an estate, whether by sale or death, 20 per cent of the unearned increment—the enhanced value due not to the improvements of the landlord, but to the industry of the community—will be annexed by the state. It is a mere ransom. In strict logic the state has a right to the whole of the unearned increment." The position thus taken is that Mr. Lloyd George is treating the land owner with much generosity, inasmuch as he leaves in his possession four-fifths of a sum not a particle of which rightly belongs to him. It is a point of view that must seem revolutionary, if not actually anarchical, to many of the landlords of the realm. For if they are to be left with 80 per cent of the unearned increment by the mere favor of the government, the time is coming when a thoroughly just and fearless government, backed by a majority of the people, will gather into its coffers the whole sum in question. Indeed, the Daily News bluntly says that

while the new land taxes "go far to realize the hopes of land reformers," "they are not complete." "They will do little or nothing to break up great estates in the country, or to force great landlords to encourage small holders. But they recognize all the principles for which we have been contending, and ultimately they promise a considerable revenue and a still larger indirect benefit." The battle over the budget, it is clear, has a deeper significance than has attached to any previous one in years. The bitterness of the opposition arises out of the quick perception of vested interests that the budget unchains social democratic forces whose future progress they have reason to dread. And there is every sign that the younger politicians of the Lloyd George and Churchill type are looking far beyond the next election, which the Liberals are very liable to lose, and are reckoning upon the ultimate triumph of the forces the budget represents.

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Detroit (Mich.) Journal (Rep.), May 14.—The proposal of the British chancellor of the exchequer to impose a tax of 20 per cent on the unearned increment to land values growing out of the enterprise of the community, and the further tax of one cent in the pound on the capital value of undeveloped land, is naturally alarming the big landholders. Yet there is no tax that would bear less heavily on the people who make the prosperity of the country, and none which could be imposed with more justice.

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Chicago Daily News (Ind.), May 21.—The ideas of Henry George with reference to taxation of land values seems to be making more rapid headway in Europe than in this country. Some German cities already have put in practice the plan of taking for the public a part of the future increase in land values. Now David Lloyd George, the daring British chancellor of the exchequer, proposes the adoption of a similar plan as a feature of the British taxing system.

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The (Wisconsin) Catholic Citizen (religious), May 22.—Henry George has been dead "these ten years syne," but his soul goes marching on. It incarnates in Lloyd-George, chancellor of the British exchequer, who incorporates in the new budget an important Georgian principle.

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The Town-Meeting the Prototype of the Commission Plan of Government.

The Peoria (Ill.) Star (Ind.), April 25.—Those who oppose government by commission say that it is not in accordance with our representative system of government, and the supreme court of Oregon took this stand. It only shows that our lawmakers are ignorant of history and ignorant of the very principles that underlie our system. For this very plan was the beginning of the representative system. The old township sent its representative, duly instructed. His powers were limited and if he exceeded them, or in any way departed from the rules which they laid down for him, he was deposed, fined and some-

times his rights as a freeman were taken away from him.

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Mayor Johnson's Following.

Northern Illinois (Dupage County) Democrat (ind. Dem.), May 21.—Tom L. Johnson has a following of young men as well as old. They are not hard to get for the man who does not sit on the fence. Yet Tom L. Johnson is a politician and cannot be sand-bagged nor soft-soaped, the only modern machinery now used to prevent the success of nominating conventions in the interest of real democracy. He never swerves from his purpose and his followers know the object of the journey, although they may not always know the road to be taken. Special privilege has no more relentless nor more resourceful enemy than Tom Johnson, and no one knows it better than they.

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The Chase of Emma Goldman.

Chicago Record Herald (ind. Rep.) May 25.—Emma Goldman manages to be martyred several times a week. It isn't the stupidity of her own creed but the stupidity of the police which is responsible. Usually she is driven out of some hall in which she is going to speak. Occasionally she is arrested. But if she is arrested she always gets free quickly enough to advertise another speech without undue delay, and the process begins over again. . . . Either she advocates violence or other crime, or she doesn't. If she does she ought to be properly punished for it. The police would do well to wait until they can make out a case and then insist on a conviction and a sound sentence. If she does not advocate violence she ought to be let alone.

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Elastic Neutrality Laws.

The Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), May 24.—Some Mexican workmen are alleged to have attempted to organize a revolution against the blood-thirsty Diaz. . . . They are accused of having risked their lives that their fellow workers might be made free. All these acts are undoubtedly illegal. . . . It is an accepted principle of international law that one nation cannot allow its territory to be used as a basis from which to make war upon a "friendly power." But in cold practice it makes a great difference who is organizing the revolution upon a friendly power. . . . When an American corporation fails to secure the favors it wishes from any government it proceeds to "organize a revolution." . . . To all of this the government of the United States is discreetly blind, if not openly favorable. Indeed, when the asphalt trust organized a revolution in Venezuela . . . the United States government kindly took a hand, recalled such of its representatives as did not suit the trust, and has now used its diplomatic service to secure the co-operation of other nations in exiling the legal ruler of that country. When a revolution was needed in Panama in order to secure control of the canal zone the President of the United States took a hand directly and assisted in organizing a successful revolution against a "friendly power." Of course no one suggested the imprisonment of Theodore Roose-

velt for violating the laws he had sworn to enforce. But the Mexicans were just workmen. The people they were seeking to benefit were just plain peons. The object of the revolutionists was the welfare of men and women and children and not the increase of profits. Therefore the Mexicans are on their road to the penitentiary while Roosevelt is shooting lions in Africa.

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Roosevelt's "Outlook" Editorial on Tolstoy.

The Commoner (Dem.), May 21.—Tolstoy has incurred the wrath of ex-President Roosevelt by saying that "Bryan represented the party of peace" in the last campaign; and the "mighty hunter" pauses long enough to administer a rebuke to the Russian philosopher. He says that Tolstoy has swayed "only the feeble folk and the fanatic folk." There now, let Tolstoy wipe the blood off his face and take a back seat. No wonder Mr. Roosevelt does not like Tolstoy—they represent opposite schools of thought. Mr. Roosevelt is the exponent of the brute force idea. With him man is an animal and must be ready to kill any other animal that opposes his plans. With Tolstoy man is the spiritual agent of God and is bound to observe spiritual laws. Mr. Roosevelt thinks that man would degenerate without an occasional opportunity for blood letting. Tolstoy believes that love is greater than force and that man is ennobled by accepting love as the controlling principle of life. Naturally Mr. Roosevelt thinks that the world can be scared into peace when armaments become great enough to make each nation afraid of every other nation. Tolstoy believes that the spirit that leads nations to desire big navies will lead them to use them without excuse, and he insists that a good example will do more than a threat to prevent war. This fundamental difference between Roosevelt and Tolstoy is not, however, new. When Jesus visited a village of Samaria and the people refused to receive him, some of the disciples suggested that fire should be called down from heaven to avenge the insult; but the Master rebuked them and said: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Suppose he had said: "We will thrash them until they understand who we are," how different would have been the history of Christianity! Compare, if you will, the swaggering, bullying, brutal doctrine of Roosevelt with the golden rule of Tolstoy and the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Again, Christ answered one who would use force to defend him by saying: "They that draw the sword shall perish by the sword." Tolstoy has good authority for his position—better than Mr. Roosevelt can offer for his bullying and swaggering policy. Mr. Roosevelt will hardly charge all the followers of The Prince of Peace with being "feeble folk and fanatic folk."

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"But how, then, is my brother's unkindness to be cured?"

"Bring him to me, and I will tell him, but I have nothing to say to you about his unkindness."—Epicetetus.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

EASTWARD THE COURSE OF FREEDOM TAKES ITS WAY.

For The Public.

Eastward the course of freedom takes its way

While westward, like the soon descending sun,

The dazzling course of empire soon is run,
And darkening gloom succeeds its waning sway.

Dawnward from high peaks where eagles play,

Clean winds, from Washington to Washington

Winnow the fertile plains for freedom won,
And clear our skies of murk that hid the day:

So tidings come of many a manly deed

Done in the West to serve the people's cause

Against the proud imperial hosts of greed.

Wise Westerners, to worthy promptings true,
Strive on for just and unevadable laws!

The hindered hopes of ages look to you.

FREDERICK LEROY SARGENT.

* * *

GOVERNING CITIES BY COMMIS- SIONS.

Don E. Mowry in La Follette's Weekly for March 27

You are interested in bettering your city. I am interested in bettering mine. What are we going to do? Clean out the old party lines and create new ones without changing the system? It will never do. The result will simply be purification of the dilettante and sporadic type.

One by one the cities are adopting the centralized form of government known as the commission plan. Notice this: In places where the commission idea has taken hold there is no return to the old, complicated, power-distributed plan where freedom has full swing in the management of the city's affairs.

And more.

Over twenty-five cities, that I can name, off hand, have seriously considered the adoption of the commission plan within the past six months.

What is the idea?

Simply this: City administration is carried on by commissioners, usually five in number, who direct, control, and are responsible for every department, and even the department executives. Party politics is removed from city elections; complexities of administration are reduced; the ward systems abolished; the finances are placed upon a business basis and responsibility is definitely fixed in case of mismanagement.

Galveston Led the Movement.

Galveston was the first city to try the new experiment, in 1902. Its success is now undisputed. All officers are now elective. The five commission-

ers appoint the subordinate officers, and are themselves elected by the people at large. The president of the commission is elected separately and is called the mayor.

Different departments are assigned to the commissioners; that is, streets and public improvements, fire and police, etc. This body or board determines the budget, and each commissioner has a voice in the final estimate for his department. There is no one-man power, you notice, and all accounts are gone over in a business-like manner.

Salaries?

For all of his responsibility the mayor of Galveston receives \$2,000 a year, and the other commissioners \$1,200 each. Think of it! And Galveston does not contemplate returning to the old cumbersome way of handling city business.

Other Texas Cities Followed.

Houston has followed the general features of the Galveston plan. All elections are from the city at large, and elective officers must be owners of real estate and have had a residence of five years in the city. No financial measure is ever considered as an emergency measure, and so cannot be passed on the day it is introduced. Provision for the referendum is made on petition of 500 voters or more, upon all matters of franchises and propositions for municipal purchase. Members of the council cannot hold other offices or be interested in any public work.

In 1907, the legislature granted new charters to Fort Worth, Dallas, Denison, El Paso, and Greenville, along similar lines.

The Des Moines Plan.

Two years ago, Iowa passed a law allowing cities to organize under the commission form. Des Moines, being the first city in the State to organize under this law, is often spoken of as the Iowa model and the plan is called the Des Moines plan.

This is the best plan, I believe, for many reasons. A uniform system is provided for cities of a given population. Penalties are imposed for bribery during elections and for violations of the election laws. A majority vote is necessary to pass a measure. A sliding scale is provided for the salaries of the mayor and councilmen, according to the size of the city. All franchises to public service corporations must be submitted to the vote of the people for approval.

Civil service, uniform city accounts, the recall, the initiative and the referendum are all given a place, and provision is made for municipal ownership of all public utilities.

The Des Moines plan is the most advanced form of commission government yet put into operation. The people have an absolute check upon the administration. They can assert their rights at any juncture. They control their representatives. Responsibility is fixed.

Many Cities Falling in Line.

Boise and Lewiston have such charters in Idaho. In Lewiston franchises are limited to twenty-five years, after which time the city may acquire the property. In Boise, no special elections are held.

The South Dakota law follows the Galveston plan.

The Kansas law is applicable to cities of the first class. Cities in the States of Massachusetts, Maine, Tennessee, Virginia and Oregon have fallen in line. The commission idea is here to stay, and simply because it is meeting with unmistakable success.

The idea has awakened more civic spirit in Cedar Rapids than was ever before known there. This new idea is making a new Cedar Rapids. Men and women consult the members on a hundred things, seemingly trivial as a single proposition, yet important in the civil development as a whole. These matters, great and small, receive prompt attention—so prompt, indeed, that men of years of experience under the old plan are really dazed by the suddenness of action at times.

The commission appointed to investigate the departments of Lynn, Massachusetts, has very recently made its report. The commission states that it is of the opinion that it is impossible to get the best results under the present form of city government. It recommends that action be taken to obtain a new charter and a new form of government based on the Des Moines or Haverhill (Mass.) plan, consisting of a board of five members elected by the people.

Committees in Portland and Tacoma, Washington, indorse the commission plan.

Governor Stubbs of Kansas announced recently that he would urge the next legislature to amend the enabling law for cities of the first and second class so that they can, if they choose, adopt either the Des Moines or the Galveston plan of commission rule.

At the present time, cities of California are endeavoring to have new charters adopted by the people and ready for ratification by the legislature. The popular clamor seems to be for a centralization of power in order to govern more economically.

Value of the New Idea.

Here is the value of the commission plan of government.

It shows us that the movement for reform extends across the continent, marks the general dissatisfaction with the results of the existing system of municipal administration, and opens the way for simplified, economical administration.

More expensive? No, by no means.

In Cedar Rapids, after one year's experience, it is seen the salary list is much larger than under the old plan, this being still further increased by the fact that more clerks are employed than for-

merly. In return for this, however, the city's business is kept written up, and is checked up and indexed like the business of a bank, and is always ready for inspection.

The commission started in with the plan of paying cash for everything purchased and adhered to it. More paving, curbing, and sidewalks have been built this past year than ever before; the streets and parks are said to have been kept in better condition; the municipal water plant has been improved and extended and a new fire station is being erected. Notwithstanding the increased amount of improvements being carried on, it is stated that the end of the year will find a surplus in the city treasury.

You and I want to see the commission idea win more successes. We want to simplify our city government. We want better service.

Don't you think this plan will do it?

The growing popularity and success of the idea seems to leave no doubt in my mind.

The one great need for permanent and genuine municipal reform is a quickened civic spirit among business men and more substantial citizens. But it may also be admitted that so complicated a machinery of municipal government as has existed, with its divisions of power among numerous departments and petty places of divided or doubtful responsibility, has played a part in repelling the active interest of business men and turning the city government over to ward leaders and their professional following.

* * *

THE FELS FUND OF AMERICA.

An Address Delivered by Daniel Kiefer at a Dinner Given at Hamilton, Ohio, May 20, in Honor of John Z. White.

Shakespeare's remarks about "A tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," may be applied to the Single Tax movement.

That opportunity is now here. I know that this is not the first time that Single Taxers have been told something of this kind. Those of you older in the movement than myself, can remember how it was thought that Cleveland's tariff message of 1887 was the opportunity. The Single Taxer who has not learned better by this time need throw no stones at the farmer who still believes that the Single Tax will place all taxes on farmers, nor at the workingman who still thinks that Protection protects him.

Then the Delaware campaign was considered the great opportunity. This, too, was before my time, for then I was still hopelessly asleep. It proved not to be so, chiefly because circumstances rendered it necessary to make this campaign an attack along the line of the greatest resistance, instead of the least.

Then followed the opportunities which the campaigns for home rule in taxation presented in Washington and Colorado. The fatal weakness in both cases was that the opportunity came as the result of a temporary and accidental control of the legislature by reform forces. This made success depend entirely upon the result of a single election in each State. Failure to carry these elections, coupled with loss of control of the legislatures, put an end to the opportunities.

Since then conditions have changed in many States. It is no longer necessary in some of them to have the slightest influence with the legislature to submit our proposition to a popular vote a dozen times in succession if necessary, and the number of States wherein this condition prevails will doubtless be materially increased in a very few years.

Oregon, Oklahoma and Missouri have the Initiative and Referendum. Single Taxers in those States can make the Single Tax an issue at any time they see fit. It is not necessary in order to do so to elect anybody to office. It can be done without asking Republicans to vote for a Democratic candidate, or Democrats for a Republican. Neither is it necessary to ask voters of either party to vote for a third party man. The signatures of eight per cent of the voters will do the job. Then if the result at the polls should be unsatisfactory, the same voters can have the question re-submitted at the next election, and at as many succeeding elections as may be necessary to secure the right result.

You all know that a measure more nearly approaching the Single Tax than anything ever submitted by any legislature, was voted on in Oregon last year. You know that as far as the reception that measure received by the voters was concerned, it might just as well have been straight out Single Tax, since most of them understood it to be so. You all know that more than a third of the voters voted in favor of this measure, thinking they were voting for the Single Tax. It is needless to add that most of those who voted against it did so because they knew nothing either about the proposition submitted or the Single Tax. During this campaign the Oregon workers were handicapped by lack of funds. Had it not been for this, they could have carried on a better campaign of education, the question would have been better understood, and the favorable vote would have been much larger. But nothing can prevent a re-submission, and resubmitted it certainly will be. The only question is whether the next vote on the measure shall be taken in 1910 or 1912, and that will be decided by the Oregon Single Taxers, not by the legislature of Oregon; and fortunately there will not be the same difficulty about funds during the next campaign.

You have all heard of the generous offer of Joseph Fels. You know that he has agreed to give \$25,000 a year to the Single Tax cause in

the United States on the sole condition that all the other Single Taxers in the country combined give as much as he will give by himself. This is the opportunity which should bring success to the movement. It removes the great handicap to our efforts. It makes success in the near future more than a possibility, not only in Oregon, but in Rhode Island, Missouri and Oklahoma as well.

Your guest of the evening can and will no doubt tell us of the great work accomplished in Missouri. He himself had no small part in securing the favorable vote of the people—embedding the Initiative and Referendum in their Constitution. He will tell you of the powerful work done by those later "U'Rens", Dr. Wm. P. Hill and Mr. S. L. Moser, who within the past few weeks saw to it that their General Assembly put through the enabling act rendering the Initiative and Referendum operative and regulating their operation; and, as is always the case, in spite of the opposition of powerful interests. Dr. Hill wrote me that he had despaired of getting this measure passed, but that Mr. Moser had managed to pull it through. The generalship of these two of our Single Taxers calls for the loudest acclaim from all of us, and the assurance to them that they will be supported in their next steps. The ability of these two men is additionally evidenced in their defeat of a proposed Constitutional convention, the purpose of which was—what the Oregon friends are also facing—the determination of the powerful interests to remake a Constitution that shall be valuable to them for its omission of any reference to direct legislation. Dr. Hill and Mr. Moser, learning that the Republican majority had caucused in favor of a Constitutional convention, wrote Gov. Hadley that they accepted the challenge to a test of strength with the Republican party in Missouri, and that they were not afraid of the issue. The Cincinnati Enquirer of Sunday last carried a brief mention of an interview with Governor Hadley, in which it would seem the Governor was—so to speak—ready to "eat out of the people's hands." He said that while he did not vote for the Initiative and Referendum, now that the people have adopted it he will personally see to its complete enforcement.

I feel so elated at the opportunities now presented in Missouri that I am wondering which of our States and their leaders—Oregon under U'Ren, Rhode Island under Gov. Garvin, or Missouri under Dr. Hill and Mr. Moser—will be the first to invite the attention of the world to the Single Tax in operation.

It is because of this situation, and my part in the Joseph Fels Fund effort, that I have availed myself of this opportunity to speak to you. I want to secure from all directions, for the Fels Fund Commission, the approval of the view they almost as a unit hold, that the use of the Fels Fund should be confined to such efforts as offer

some reasonable hope of practical results. The Commission believes that this fund should not be dissipated by being used to aid fantastic propaganda schemes, such as are being almost daily proposed. Indeed, it believes that it should not be largely used at any place where the movement has not gotten beyond the propaganda stage.

It believes that the Chicago Public and the Single Tax Review should receive help because the movement needs them both. But this does not mean that it would be wise to help in this way every publication, no matter how worthy, that may be advocating our principles. To try to do that would probably not leave enough for efficient work in the directions the importance of which I have tried to show you.

The Commission is finding it hard to refuse the appeals that are, as I have said, coming to it for aid from many sources. Appeals for help in local propaganda work from places where it must be many years before the situations in Oregon, Rhode Island, Missouri, and even Oklahoma can be duplicated, should certainly not come to the Fels Fund Commission.

This does not imply that either the Commission or its chairman believe that local Single Taxers in such places should relax their efforts in endeavoring to convert their neighbors, but they should not ask for the aid in doing this that properly belongs where it can bring comparatively immediate concrete results.

The Commission values every encouraging word along these lines. One received within the past few days from a New York Single Taxer (to me personally, unknown) is so forceful in its brief statement that I quote it to you. The writer says: "I hope your Commission will conclude to concentrate rather than diffuse your efforts. What is wanted is an experiment station where results can be watched. Oregon or Rhode Island carried for the cause, and showing good results, will be worth many newspapers and press bureaus." Similar expressions are coming from various sources and localities—all voiced in the simple phrases: "Don't scatter", "Direct yourselves and your resources to the real experiment stations", "We have passed the propaganda stage", etc.

While not myself willing to altogether subscribe to this last thought, I do feel that all who are desirous of exerting energy in that direction should see the wisdom of waiting until the greater opportunities are sufficiently provided for and pushed forward.

Let the Single Taxers respond to the extent of their ability to the appeals for the Fels Fund; so too, every sympathetic heart that longs for a better order of things. No subscription is too small to be welcomed by the Commission. And a "long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether", will bring the Single Tax into operation in the United States within a very few years.

OLD TOM HARDER REMARKS THAT—

A Monologue That Wanders.

For The Public.

"That big buildin' over to the west—the fine lookin' one? That's the County Infirmary. They used to call it the poorhouse; but that was some time ago when paupers was scarce an' the poorest of us had as good a chance to make a livin' as the richest. The poorhouse wasn't so high-toned as the infirmary, but it was comfortable-like for the poor fellers that couldn't make a livin' on account o' sickness an' old age an' lack o' relations to look after 'em. Them was the only kind o' paupers we had then. The kind that goes beggin' to Congress for protection an' subsidies come in later.

"Yes! It's a fact that along in them times there was so much work to be done in layin' out farms an' buildin' houses an' fences, an' so much independent prosperity stalkin' round, that most of us wouldn't stop to boss the poorhouse an' we had to send way off east for a boss. We liked to hustle round an' plant things an' see 'em grow, too well to coop ourselves up among the paupers. Most of the sick an' the feeble an' the old was taken care of by their relatives, but there were a few that didn't have any, so we put up a little buildin' on the farm an' sent 'em there to board.

"That other big buildin' over to the east is the Insane Asylum. That's the best evidence o' prosperity we've got. When we was young an' busy puttin' in the foundations o' the county, laying out roads an' makin' farms, we didn't have time to go crazy, so we had no use for asylums.

"Prosperity wasn't so big an' strenuous then an' didn't make half so much noise as it does now. The percentage o' taxes for charitable things was a good deal less strenuous too. Land was cheap, an' everybody had enough to eat an' wear an' a place to sleep. Nobody had to chase around lookin' for a chance to work. If nobody wanted to hire us, we went out an' made a livin' raisin' corn an' wheat an' hogs. When we needed help we swapped work with our neighbors. Everybody worked, an' I don't remember anybody goin' around the country tryin' to make a livin' lecturin' about elevatin' the lower classes. We didn't have any lower classes. The richest man in the county worked right beside his hired man, an' the hired man didn't look up to him an' he didn't look down on the hired man. They jest naterally moseyed along to see which of 'em could do the best job, an' the feller that beat crowed over the other one.

"We didn't lock the doors o' nights then. Everybody was so busy workin' they didn't have time to steal. Yes! It's a fact that workin' in them times was more profitable than stealin'.

"I remember the first man that found out that he could make a livin' without workin'. His

grandson is over there in the asylum now. He thinks he is a billionaire, an' goes round signin' checks for millions every minnit he's awake.

"Yes! His grandad found out how he could live without workin', but he didn't do it on purpose. It was accidental. He started out in life with a habit o' workin' that he got from his father. He had no notion o' gittin' rich, but being' naterally savin' he bought some land, an' keepin' up his savin' habits bought some more land. He taught his children to work. an' everything was right an' square till the railroad came along an' put a station on his land. Then the trouble began. He put the biggest part of his farm into town lots an' sold them to people that wanted to come there an' live. He quit workin' an' went to livin' off the money he got by sellin' other folks a chance to work. He tried to keep his boys in the notion o' workin', but they knew that he had plenty o' money so they had no need to work, an' they jst naterally hounded the old man to death a pesterin' him for money to buy fine clothes an' fast horses an' worse things; an' when he died an' went to his long rest the boys made short work o' the old man's savin's. They turned up their noses at the work, an' looked down on the folks that had to work. They made short work o' the property, havin' plenty o' help to spend it; an' it wasn't but a few years till they was all dead but one, an' we had to build an ironclad addition to the poorhouse to put him in.

"After this the speculatin' in land an' in other things spread so fast that we had to put an extra tax all over the county to build a new poorhouse, an' that special asylum to put the folks in that tried to live without work an' wasn't smart enough to find out the way to do it. Yes! That's a sort of imposin' lookin' place as it stands, but the inside of it—the less said about it the better.

"The higher the price of the land went the more paupers we got, an' the more our people got to dislike work, an' to look down on them that had to work, an' the bigger the appropriations for the poor fund an' the insane asylum got. Maybe there's some connection between the two things. Maybe that when the same land has to support two sets o' people, with one of the sets doin' no work, that it tends to make hard times, an' discouraged workin' men, an' asylums. You can figure that out later.

"I might remark in passin' that our praisin' industry, an' braggin' on the man that tackles work as if he loves it, an' then turnin' up our noses at the feller that gits dirt on his clothes tryin' to do some useful work, is not consistent. It's Christianity is terribly diluted. They did it better in slavery times when they made no bones about sayin' that work wasn't made for the smart white man that had the grit to stand over the workin'-men with the whip an' see that they put in full

time an' didn't git too much wages. We've got a big job, to git the people to look into the heart o' things an' find out what real righteousness leads to. Tomkins has some real good impulses an' lots o' sympathy for people that's poor, but he says to me—in a serious way, too,—'If all the people was well off an' there wasn't any poor people, who'd we git to do the work?'

"I told him to look up the law that Nature had published, sayin' that some men should work an' others should be exempt from work. If he couldn't find that law the conclusion must be that *all* men ought to work, an' that the man who was exempt was violatin' Nature's law. If all men was well off an' independent, the only way we could git the work done would be for every feller to pitch in an' do some of it; an' when he found somethin' he couldn't do alone, swap work with his neighbor. The final result would be that we would be swappin' work for work in a kind of a square deal all round, so that each one would git about what was comin' to him. Nobody that hadn't a twist in his mind would kick at such a condition o' things.

"Yes! The swappin' work is goin' on now, but there's so much swappin' of chances to work for real work that the worker gits behind in his rent an' grocery bill most o' the time. Things is fixed so that we can't do business without gittin' into this kind of a swappin' game. Ye buy a farm, an' some railroad comes along, an' folks want to build a town on your farm, an' first thing you know ye git enormously wealthy swappin' chances to work, for work an' the results of work. Folks remark what a long head you've got on you, an' how smart your wife an' daughters are, an' you git stuck on yourself before you know it. You buy a coat of arms, an' go to Yurruap to play with Monty Carlo an' the rest o' the titled gamblers. Same thing happens on the Board o' Trade, the Stock Exchange an' other places where gamblin' is legalized.

"Puts money in circulation, you say? promotes business? Yes! It does, an' the promoter gits the most o' the profits, an' the real question drops out o' sight. You paid money for the fine clothes an' the fine other things, but how'd ye git your money? Did you give equivalent service for it? If not, you're in debt to the rest of us, an' not square with the world.

"No, I never could imagine the Master as engagin' in sellin' town lots or buyin' July wheat. The Christ that we read about, wouldn't hold the title deeds to a million dollars' worth of land, an' say to the hungry people, 'That's my land. I can't use it myself. If you will give me half of everything you raise on it, you may live on it an' try to git an' honest livin'. Be industrious, an' you'll be prosperous.'

"No! I can't imagine anything like that, an' Ma says she can't either."

GEORGE V. WELLS.

THE CALF PATH.

One day through the primeval wood
 A calf walked home, as good calves should;
 But left a trail all bent askew,
 A crooked trail, as all calves do.
 Since then, three hundred years have fled,
 And, I infer, the calf is dead.
 But still he left behind this trail,
 And thereby hangs my moral tale.
 The trail was taken up next day
 By a lone dog that passed that way;
 And then a wise bell-wether sheep
 Pursued the trail o'er vale and steep,
 And drew the flock behind him, too,
 As good bell-wethers always do.
 So from that day, o'er hill and glade,
 Through those old woods a path was made,
 And many men wound in and out,
 And bent and turned and dodged about,
 And uttered words of righteous wrath,
 Because 'twas such a crooked path;
 But still they followed—do not laugh—
 The first migrations of that calf,
 And through this winding woodway stalked
 Because he wobbled when he walked.
 This forest path became a lane,
 That bent and turned and turned again;
 This crooked lane became a road,
 Where many a poor horse, with his load,
 Tolted on beneath the burning sun,
 And traveled some three miles in one.
 And thus a century and a half
 They trod the footsteps of that calf.
 The years passed on with swiftness fleet,
 The road became a village street,
 And this, before men were aware,
 A city's crowded thoroughfare.
 And soon the central street was this
 Of a renowned metropolis.
 And men two centuries and a half
 Trod in the footsteps of that calf.
 Each day a hundred thousand rout
 Followed the zigzag calf about;
 And o'er his crooked journey went
 The traffic of a continent.
 A hundred thousand men were led
 By one calf near three centuries dead.
 They followed still his crooked way,
 And lost one hundred years a day;
 For thus such reverence is lent
 To well-established precedent.
 A moral lesson this might teach,
 Were I ordained and called to preach.
 For men are prone to go it blind
 Along the calf-paths of the mind,

And toil away from sun to sun
 To do what other men have done.

They follow in the beaten track,
 And out and in, and forth and back,

And still their devious course pursue
 To keep the path that others do.

But how the wise old wood-gods laugh,
 Who saw the first primeval calf!

Ah! many things this tale might teach:—
 But I am not ordained to preach.

—Sam Walter Foss.

BOOKS**EVERY'S HISTORY.**

A History of the United States and Its People. From their earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In Fifteen Volumes. Volume IV. Published by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio. 1908. Octavo. Heavy Paper. Size, 6¾ by 9¾ inches, 397 pages. Profusely illustrated with contemporaneous maps, views, documents and portraits. Prices: Cloth or buckram, \$6.25 per volume; ¾ levant, \$12.50; full levant, \$1.50.

In what he originally described as "an attempt to tell the story of the men and measures that have made the United States what it is" (vol. viii, p. 110), in such manner as to invite and secure general reading of an accurate record (vol. ix, p. 140), Dr. Avery has now completed his literary journey through the romantic period of American discovery and across the area of confused Colonial facts, and come out upon that highway of our national career as a democratic Republic toward which all the multifarious courses of his previous volumes purposely converged.

The present volume begins in 1745, with the Colonial events immediately preceding and following the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the War of the Austrian Succession and restored to France important conquests that the British colonists had made in America. It was not long before this international "breathing spell" came to an end in the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, which had been going on in a state of nominal peace for two years but developed into formal hostilities in 1756. This war, known in the Colonies as the French and Indian War, decided the mastery of the North American continent in favor of Great Britain, and prepared the way for the War for American Independence.

The story of its progress and triumphant conclusion in the Colonies, occupies the greater part of the volume and is alive with interest for American readers. For here the author presents, in a rapid succession of moving pictures, the personalities and the exploits, not only of the British and French celebrities whose careers ended with the

peace of Paris, but also those of British and Colonial participants whose fame flowered in the ensuing Revolution. Among them are Braddock, who fell on his way to Pittsburgh; William Pitt of the British Commons; Morgan and Mercer and Gates, and also Gage; Montcalm, who fell as he lost Quebec, and Wolfe who fell with its capture; Benjamin Franklin with his plan adopted by the Albany convention of 1754 for a union of the Colonies, which was rejected by the Colonies as too monarchical, and by Parliament as too democratic; and also, of course, the youthful Virginian who survived the ill-fated Braddock expedition to dedicate his military genius to Colonial independence and stamp his memory indelibly with the fame of the father of a new nation.

The ensuing Cherokee and Pontiac wars are included in this volume, which brings virtually to a close the story of our country as a loyal appanage of the British crown, and rounds out the historical developments from which the new nation was soon to spring.

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"HASHIMURA TOGO."

Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy. By Wallace Irwin, author of "The Love Sonnets of a Hoodlum," "Shame of the Colleges," "Nautical Lays of a Landsman," etc. Illustrated by Rollin Kirby. Published by Doubleday, Page & Company, New York. Price, \$1.50.

These might almost be called the letters that made Collier's famous (vol. xi, p. 269); for while Collier's is famous for many other things, from vigorous and complete exposures of patent medicine grafting throughout the United States to curiously incomplete exposures of big business grafting in Chicago, the Togo letters have probably been the only feature to make it attractive to all its readers, regardless of place, time, race, social status, and condition of servitude or financial cinch. Mr. Irwin has imported a new character into the humorous literature of the United States. What Lowell did with the New England Yankee and Dunne with the Americanized Irishman, Irwin does with the Jap in process of Americanization. For instance:

"I am entirely flabbed. So I go to Carnegie Library of them Colledge to see by quiet look how many of them student was improving inside of skulls by books. And there what see? Three Japanese students setting in bench for lonesome company. One of them was studying 'Antique War Map of Battle of Marathon,' other was taking light chew from 'Co-tangent Theory about Circular Orbits,' and other one was trying to translate works of James Whitcome Riley into Japanese. I sneak silently out with mollycoddle feelings of instep."

For American education along sociological lines, here is an example:

"'Faith, Hope & Charity is celebrated triplets for sculptors to make,' I allude. . . . Hon. Oscar Casey, dough baker for wages, suddenly become unemployed by no job. He would be delighted to make bread somewhere, but he is not required there, thank you. So he soonly begin enjoying hunger & faint symptoms of esophagus. He make street-walk to see what. In midst of promenading he observe one intensely beautiful sky-scrape palace with sign on it, 'Organized Mag-nate Charity Co.' 'Oh, ha!' say Hon. Casey for blissful ankles. 'I will apply myself to this charitable place and require some of it.' In Italian marble hallway Elevator Man meet him to enquire, 'Name, if convenient!' 'I am name Oscar Casey, formerly skillful at dough-baking.' 'This is very wrong doorway for bakers,' collapse Elevator Man. 'Apply to trademan entrance.' So down to trademan entrance this Hon. Casey go, where he is collided by Hon. Janitor. 'What suffering from?' declaim this Hon. Janitor. 'I am enjoying hunger,' signify this Hon. Casey. 'What degree of hunger?' he inquire to know. 'Thirty-third degree, please,' pacify Casey who is sure of it. 'Have you one Doctor's Certificate to prove such a conditional appetite?' decry Hon. Janitor. 'I have neglected to get!' profess this Casey. 'Then go get!' say Janitor. 'Come back next Wednesday noon with doctoring Certificate to prove you are habitually hungry; also deliver references from 3 clubs and 2 banks to prove that you are financially responsible.' Saying so this Janitor make slam-door. Hon. Casey exist, maybe, on Faith & Hope, waiting for Charity to arrive by Wednesday noon."

BOOKS RECEIVED

—An Anarchist Woman. By Hutchins Hapgood. Published by Duffield & Co., New York. 1909. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Misery and Its Causes. By Edward T. Devine. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1909. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Human Nature in Selling Goods. By James H. Collins. Published by the Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia, 1909. Price, 50 cents.

—Racial Contrasts, Distinguishing Traits of the Graeco-Latins and Teutons. By Albert Gehring. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1908.

PAMPHLETS

Thomas Jefferson.

What the pen of Thomas Jefferson did, and also what it attempted in vain to do, in the formation of the Constitution, is told in this pamphlet by Sterling E. Edmunds. (Price 5 cents: The Public, Ellsworth

Building, Chicago, with the precision of an industrious investigator and the simple eloquence of genuine oratory. Concise as the pamphlet is, it is so full of material that it should be in every Democratic speaker's vest pocket.

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Henry George and the British Labor Party.

The Independent Labor party (23 Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E. C.), publish in their collection of penny pamphlets, a good condensation by George N. Barnes, M. P., of the life of Henry George, of whom Mr. Barnes says in his conclusion, what every thoughtful believer in George's teachings will echo: "Whether freedom will come by his methods or by those of others is a matter which does not concern me here; but of the man it can with confidence be said that he fought bravely for the truth as he saw it, and, better still, that he loved his kind and served them with all his might."

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Labor Injunctions.

The prize papers of the Woman's Trade Union League of Chicago (275 La Salle St.) make a unique collection of working women's thought on the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison injunction case. The contestants are book-binders, stenographers, necktie makers, glove makers, waitresses and hat makers; and their papers go far toward confirming an impression that the rank and file of labor organizations, women as well as men, have a keener and more intelligent appreciation of the essentials of American citizenship than business organizations usually exhibit. These papers compare most favorably in that respect with the speeches on the same subject at the recent conference of the National Manufacturers' Association.

Church Usefulness.

Herbert Bigelow's sermon on "The Mission of a Liberal Church" (price 5 cents: The Public, Ellsworth Building, Chicago), which was delivered in the Vine Street Church of Cincinnati and originally published in the St. Louis Mirror, from which it was reprinted in The Public (p. 422), is characteristically eloquent and impressive. And there is nothing mystical about it. "All we need do," says the preacher, "is to take orthodox Christianity at its word;" for "there is enough truth there, if it were really taken seriously, to save the world." Could the greatest truth of religious life be better stated than in these concluding words of the sermon: "We are saved individually when we want justice for others; we are saved socially when we know how to get it"?

+ +

"Correct Thinking."

Parker H. Sercombe's revolutionary pamphlet on "Correct Thinking" (Tomorrow Publishing Co., 139 East 56th street, Chicago, 25 cents), might have a better chance to command the attention of the "thinkers, teachers, judges, and statesmen" to whom it is addressed, if it were less revolutionary in form of presentation. Its "scrappy" style, however well adapted it might be for picturesque characterization of things already generally understood, is not so well adapted for promoting a scheme of intellectual revolt from prevailing customs. Correct thinking cannot really be quite so alien, one might suppose, to orderly formulation and lucid expression of thought. The stated object of the pamphlet is "to arouse honest educators, thinkers and philanthropists to the need of immediately organizing an institution of learning based upon modern world knowledge, wherein the unfolding mind of childhood may be early

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brought into contact with those forces which mould character to habits of industry, alertness and democracy, make for good citizenship, enshrine the spirit of human brotherhood, and point the way to solving the contention between labor and capital."

* * *

"We hope," said the spokesman of the committee, "to enlist your support in favor of a clean stage."

"You have it," responded the theatrical manager heartily. "Why, almost every one of my plays opens

with a girl dusting everything in sight."—Philadelphia Ledger.

* * *

A little girl of seven, with sunny eyes and yellow hair, stood by at that moment, and for love of the child's happy face the Bishop touched her head and said, "God bless you, my sweet child."

The little one lifted her innocent eyes to his eyes, and answered with a courtesy, "And God bless you, too, sir."

"Thank you, child, thank you," said the Bishop.

Ernest Crosby's Last Book

Labor and Neighbor, Ernest Crosby's post-humous economic message, which appeared serially in *The Public* last winter, is to be had in book form, simple but readable, bound in stiff drab paper with portrait of the author. ¶ The book has been put out plainly, and it is sold as close to the margin of cost as the publishers dare to carry it—that every one who finds Crosby's message in these pages may be able to make it his own message to every other man of whom he believes that he has ears to hear. ¶ We send, without charge for postage, one book for twenty-five cents; and for a dollar, six books; and for three dollars, twenty books. ¶ The subjects of the chapters run as follows:

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- XI. " Justice, Freedom and Co-operation.

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✦ ✦ ✦

A firm of shady outside London brokers was prosecuted for swindling. In acquitting them, the court, with great severity said, "There is not sufficient evidence to convict you, but if any one wishes to know my opinion of you I hope that they will refer to me." Next day the firm's advertisement appeared in every available medium with the following, well displayed, "Reference as to probity, by special permission, the

Lord Chief Justice of England."—Everybody's Magazine.

✦ ✦ ✦

Flaherty (to Hogan sitting in the current flowing over a milldam, at the close of St. Patrick's Day): "Thot's a dam foony place to be takin' yer aise, Hogan, Aren't yez cowld?"

"Oi t'ink Oi am, but Oi'm not. Oi've become a Christian Scientist."

"But wuddent yez be more coomfortable on the bank?"

"That's the divil uv it, Flaherty; Oi'd t'ink Oi wuz, but Oi wuddent be."—Life.

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For description of "Labor and Neighbor" see previous page.

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