

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

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President Taft's Sneer at Oklahoma.

In view of his judicial training, his alleged knowledge of the principles of government and his asserted ability to look into the very marrow of great public questions, President Taft should not have contented himself with throwing an epithet at the Oklahoma Constitution when he spoke at Phoenix, Arizona. It was worth the Presidential while to explain the dangers of the Oklahoma Constitution—to make a definite bill of complaint. Still, one need not marvel that the President who praises Aldrich as an unselfish statesman, and the Taft-Aldrich-Payne tariff law as a good law, stands in Arizona and throws a brick at the people of Oklahoma because they knowingly adopted a constitution that enables them to govern themselves.

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Democracy and Justice.

In San Francisco is a weekly paper published in the name and for the upbuilding of "good government," which says that "only the heedless disregard the truth that democracy is still on trial." Before what court is democracy on trial? What is the indictment, who is the prosecuting attorney, who are the jurors? And if democracy be found guilty of inefficiency, what shall be done with it—and what shall we substitute for it?

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This "good government" promoter has grave

doubts of the advisability of permitting the people to have direct legislation, lest they injure themselves. It grows pale green under the gills at the very idea of public ownership of public functions as a principle, or the logical corollary of a principle, but is willing to permit public ownership of water supplies in most cases, and public ownership of street railways provided the private owners do not give good service.

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Democracy is merely public ownership of public functions. Anti-democracy is private ownership of public functions. The latter is more dismal as a failure than political economy ever was as a science. The former we are trying to try. Why not give it a chance? Men cannot make principles, but we can make men by giving principles free play. Justice is principles in action. Democracy is justice in action.

+ +

The Ship Subsidy Bunco.

A committee of Congressmen which recently visited Hawaii, was gloriously deceived at San Francisco by the ship subsidy advocates of the Golden West. They were taken to the mouth of the estuary that forms Oakland harbor, from which they saw "a forest of masts of the ships that are idle because there is no subsidy to induce their owners to run them." It happens that those ships are mostly sailing vessels, which would not come under a subsidy law. On the San Francisco side of the bay they were shown one of the big Spreckels steamers, "idle two or three years because there is no ship subsidy," the Congressmen were told. But that Spreckels ship is registered as a British ship! Again, they were told that our Navy Department is chartering "subsidized foreign tramps" to bring coal from Newport News to the Pacific Coast. But foreign governments do not subsidize tramp steamers. Ship subsidy advocates are not above using deceptions similar to those practiced by protectionists.

+ +

A Bone of Aristocracy.

"The liberty of the press must be liberally, not wantonly, construed," says an advocate of the kind of "good government" that is good only when granted to the people by self-appraised respectability and superiority. "Howbeit," continues that advocate, "the action of the Indianapolis News in traducing notable men without evidence was wanton, Judge Anderson to the contrary notwithstanding." Which means, of course,

that a paper may, with or without wantonness, traduce men who are not "notable." How the bones of aristocracy stick out through the rags of indignation! Why did not the "notable men" sue the News in its own home, Indianapolis, instead of trying to drag it to Washington? Are the Federal courts in Washington the only harbors of refuge for traduced notability?

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Mexican Despotism.

American organs of American Big Business in Mexico, are sneering at John Kenneth Turner and the American Magazine as "muck-rakers" for their exposure of Mexican barbarities. What have the rest of our people to say of these barbarities? Will they be silent in the presence of such crime, merely because some of their exploitative countrymen profit by it? Let them know that men and women in Mexico are outraged beyond the limits of civilized toleration. Turner's story proves it; and even on the surface of things it is evident in some of its aspects to ordinary observation.

+

One of the facts that anyone may easily satisfy himself about, is the throttling of the opposition press in Mexico. Here is an instance in which an American citizen, a woman, is involved. Paulino Martinez, now a political exile in the United States, is a publisher of Liberal newspapers in Mexico. His wife, born in Laredo, Texas, in 1875, is now in the Belen prison, the Mexican bastille. She was placed there on the 3rd of September last by arbitrary order and for no offense against the Mexican laws. Her imprisonment is part of a systematic persecution of her husband for opposing the reelection of Diaz and Corral. No opposition to Diaz in Mexican politics is permitted. Protesting to the civilized world, Mr. Martinez makes this restrained but stirring appeal:

If, in order to defend ourselves from the evils that afflict us and from the outrages of which we are victims, we should use insult and calumny and incite revolt, nothing more natural than that the government should suppress newspapers and confiscate printing offices of those who do not know how to combat within the law. But when by means of violence and infamy, they want to silence the clamor of an oppressed people, when they perpetrate the felony of imprisoning innocent women in order to silence the men, the government that does it demonstrates its weakness by the injustice of its acts and merits the censure of the whole world—of all well born people who love justice and morality. It is necessary that all of us who are victims of the present tyranny, who do not exploit

the public treasury in order to live, nor profit by the riches of the nation to the detriment of the people, that we unite as one man to make the laws respected and to terminate the infamies heaped upon us by the abuses of power. We do not need to resort to revolt to compel respect. In that way we would put ourselves outside of the law and would give our persecutors more cause for oppression. What we need is civic courage to protest a thousand and one times against the outrages committed upon us. We ask nothing unjust. I am persecuted without having done any crime and only because I combat, within law and order, the re-election of Gen. Diaz and Ramon Corral, believing it to be noxious to the true interests of my country. I am hated because I ask liberty for an enslaved people, and in the name of outraged public nobility I condemn the scandalous abuses, the crimes, that are committed from one end to the other of the Republic. My wife is jailed only because she is my wife. She is brutally torn from her home, leaving orphans my little children, the last of which is only two months old.

The case is evidently one of autocratic suppression of the press. Mr. Martinez's compositors have been imprisoned, so has the manager of his printing office, and so has the owner of a press on which one of his papers was printed. Are none of the large newspapers of this country or Great Britain public spirited enough to investigate the truth of these complaints of arbitrary power, and either satisfy the world that they are false or else hold the Mexican government up to the execration it deserves if they are true?

† †

Cannonism.

Speaker Cannon is clearly within his rights when he refuses to be a Jonah for the pluto-Republican ship. He is the truest representative the Republican party has as at present organized. It would be the same rotten hulk if he were overboard as it is now. The only effect of dumping him would be to fool the innocent men in the fore-castle. Having personified Republican rottenness as "Cannonism," they might think the rottenness had been sweetened if Cannon were sacrificed. But Cannon doesn't intend to be sacrificed. No whale's belly cot for him. He believes that he represents the dominant interests in the party, and he is right. Cannon is an effect, not a cause; a mere smell and not the putridity.

† †

Chicago School Board Affairs.

Otto C. Schneider, who was recently ousted by his own friends from the position of president of the Chicago school board (p. 707), has taken due advantage of his annual report to read a post-

mortem lecture to those whilom friends of his—some of it wholesome and some of it only resentful.

†

On the subject of the Federation of Teachers, Mr. Schneider echoes the foolish argument that public school teachers ought not to be allowed to join labor unions, since some of their pupils are children of union and some of non-union parents. It would be as sensible to say that they ought not to join a political party, since some of their pupils are children of members of one party and some of another; or a church, since some of their pupils are children of Roman Catholics, some of Protestants and some of nonreligionists.

†

When Mr. Schneider argues against "headless" school boards, he makes a plausible point in citing the case of the Potter Palmer estate which saddled a \$9,000 building lot upon the board for \$25,000 through orthodox "business methods." But the board was not "headless" when (with only two dissenting members) it allowed the Chicago Tribune to bunco it (vol. ix, p. 939; vol. xii, p. 409) into striking out ten year revaluation clauses from its 99-year ground lease, thereby giving it school land which is even now worth \$50,000 a year, for only \$30,000 a year and for 80 years to come. In fact, the board had a "head" at that time. Its head was the Tribune's own lawyer.

†

And now there is complaint over the fact that a pugilist of celebrity has made speeches in one of the Chicago schools—not over the speeches, for they were proper enough, but over the fact that they were made by a pugilist. It is hardly clear why a professional fighter with the unsanguinary fist should be persona non grata in school rooms where the professional fighter with death dealing machines would be welcome. The distinction cannot be due to any repugnance to brutality, for on that score prize fighters might have the advantage.

† †

John Z. White in Western Canada.

At Winnipeg John Z. White appears from the local press to have scored as fine a success as he did at Minneapolis and St. Paul (pp. 1035, 1046) a few days before. Before the Royal Templars, in whose hall a large audience of influential people had assembled, he made an exposition of direct legislation with so much effect that the president of the Grain Growers' Company, a farmers' organization largely represented at the meeting, moved

the vote of thanks with an unqualified endorsement of the direct legislation movement. At a banquet tendered by some of the leading citizens of Winnipeg—lawyers, clergymen, doctors, business men and workmen, including members of Parliament—Mr. White explained the single tax problem, appealing with good feeling and truth to the men there of the English speaking race as one race with like institutions, "though artificially separated by absurd tariff regulations." During his stay in Winnipeg, he gave a public lecture on Henry George, and one on Free Trade; and besides addressing the Trades and Labor Council on public ownership of public utilities, he spoke on Sunday night from the pulpit of the Young Methodist Church. Local advices state that Mr. White has given a tremendous impetus to the democratic movement in Winnipeg. His present trans-continental tour appears thus far to be by long odds the most effective of any he has made, highly useful as all of them have been.

+ +

The Police "Sweatbox."

In Cleveland the "sweating" (p. 1036) of prisoners by policemen has been stopped. "Golden Rule" Kohler, the chief of police of Cleveland, has given orders to his force that under no circumstances will they be allowed to use the "sweat-box," or resort to any other brutal treatment of prisoners. Prisoners must be "booked" as soon as they are locked up, and must be taken to court at the first session after their arrest. As all this is in strict compliance with the law, we may expect to hear Kohler denounced by pharisaical advocates of "law and order."

+ + +

AN IDEAL CHICAGO AND THE COST OF IT.

IV. Of the Fund Proposed for Meeting the Cost.

The method suggested in the third editorial of this series (p. 1036) for overcoming the only baffling obstacle in the way of realizing the Ideal Chicago of the Commercial Club's planning, may be presented in broad outline somewhat as follows:

First: The municipality of Chicago is about to adopt and execute plans for realizing an Ideal Chicago, whereby the ground rent value of most of the land within the contemplated area of this Ideal city will be increased in varying degrees, some more some less.

Second: To compensate for any destruction or depreciation of property interests thereby caused,

the municipality will pay the owners fair amounts for their loss.

Third: In order thus to compensate the land owners whose ground rent values are lessened by this reconstruction of the city, an exaction will be made of those land owners whose ground rent values are thereby increased; payable, however, from and in proportion to the actual increase as the same may be ascertained from time to time.

Fourth: In order to meet the other expenses of this municipal reconstruction, a further exaction will be made of those whose ground rent values are thereby increased, also payable only from and in proportion to the increase.

Fifth: Should any other property than land be increased in value by the proposed municipal reconstruction, a proportionate exaction will be made also of the owners of such property,—payable, as in the case of land, only from and in proportion to ascertained increases.

Details for executing this plan of providing for the cost of realizing the Ideal Chicago, depend upon only one consideration. Since this consideration is the same as that upon which the plan itself depends, the latter should receive attention first. To discuss details for executing an impossible plan would be a waste of space.

Our contention, then, is that it is well within the limits of reasonable probability that the consequent increase in Chicago land values in the next fifty years would, if the city were reconstructed in some such manner as is proposed, be enormously greater than the cost of the reconstruction.

How has it been with Chicago in the past fifty years, even without the tremendous impulse and sustaining power of the economic forces which the proposed idealization would generate and perpetuate and intensify?

From the history of the past we may fairly infer the future.

+

A suggestive instance is afforded by a Wabash avenue transaction. During the present summer, Mandel Brothers completed the purchase of a Chicago site at the northwest corner of Wabash avenue and Madison street—70½ by 150 feet—by buying an outstanding one-fifth interest for \$150,000. As this was by court decree and for less than the tax valuation, the price could not have been excessive; and as it was for the land alone and for only a fifth interest, that little piece of land must be worth at least \$750,000. We get the facts from the Chicago Tribune of September 1, 1909. It appears from the same

source that the same property was leased ten years ago for 99 years at an annual rental of \$28,500. Estimating, then, upon the usual basis of a 20-years' purchase, the lot must have been worth \$570,000 when that lease was made. There was, therefore, an increase in its value of \$180,000 between 1899 and 1909. Meanwhile the owners received 5% on the 1899 valuation.

A more striking instance of increase, more striking because, being spread over a longer period, it is more certainly normal, appeared in the real estate columns of the Chicago Examiner of August 19, 1909. It was a sale to the Central Electric Company (or, strictly speaking, to its president, George A. McKinlock, for corporation landholding is restricted in Illinois) of a building site at the southwest corner of Fifth avenue and Jackson Boulevard, for \$450,000. This site, which has a frontage of 87½ feet on Fifth avenue and 163 on Jackson boulevard, was sold in 1835 as part of a 3-acre block at \$230 for the entire block, and separately in 1856 for \$20,000 for this particular site. The increase for the 53 years from 1856 to 1909, was therefore \$430,000. In the interval the property has produced a rich net profit annually.

Another suggestive instance may be found in the Record-Herald of June 20, 1909, relative to the very inadequately improved site at the southeast corner of Jackson boulevard and Plymouth court. This site was bought by William C. Lobenstine of New York City in 1885 for \$200,000 and sold by him in 1909 for \$900,000. As the Record-Herald observed, "by holding this land for 24 years, Mr. Lobenstine made a clear profit of more than \$700,000;" for "a one-story building on the lot furnished sufficient income to pay taxes and interest on his money while holding the land." It might be significantly added that this enormous profit was in every sense a drain upon Chicago, Mr. Lobenstine being a non-resident.

Several instances of increase in Chicago land values are cited by Wilbert L. Bonney in the Chicago Economist of July 24, 1909. He cites them to support, for investment purposes, the identical generalization we are leading up to for civic purposes. Mr. Bonney tells of a friend who consulted him five years ago about investing \$6,000, and "looked pained" when Mr. Bonney "suggested a small real estate investment." But he took the advice, and netted 8 per cent annually on the investment until recently, when he sold out his \$6,000 purchase for \$11,000.

But Mr. Bonney realized, as we do, that a

short turn like that does not prove that land value increases are constant. So he turned to a block of Chicago land and followed its value history. The block he chose is bounded on the south by 25th street, on the west by Wabash avenue, and on the east by Michigan avenue, and contains about three acres. It was sold in 1851 for \$750, and in 1857 for \$15,000; in 1858 a quarter of an acre of it was sold for \$4,875, in 1860 for \$6,200, and in 1868 for \$7,941.18; and at the present time the original three acres is worth "about half a million dollars aside from improvements." Here, then, were increases per acre, from \$250 in 1851 to \$5,000 in 1857, to \$19,500 in 1858, to \$24,800 in 1860, to \$31,764.72 in 1868, and to about \$166,666 in 1909. It might be argued that possibly these increases were not more than enough to meet interest on the investment and taxes. Although unlikely, this may have been so. But if it was so, the owner was guilty of a breach of trust in not utilizing the lots. There is only one excuse for private ownership of land, and that is that the owner will put it to its best use. Owners who neglect to do this are violating their duty as land owners. Owners who do it are getting interest on their investment and taxes as they go along, and the extra price for which they sell is what gamblers call "velvet."

In this connection it may be well to recall the economic history of a quarter acre lot in Chicago, prepared in 1894 by F. R. Chandler, one of the distinguished real estate experts of that time in Chicago, and published at page 277 of the eighth biennial report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor statistics. The quarter acre to which this economic history relates is at the southwest corner of Madison and State streets. It belongs to the Board of Education and has never been sold; but Mr. Chandler made a collection of prices in the neighborhood and in other valuable neighborhoods, and with these data and other sources of expert information, he constructed for the Real Estate Board the annual range of values from 1830 to 1894. We quote by decades in order to save space: 1834, \$200; 1844, \$1,200; 1854, \$35,000; 1864, \$36,000; 1874, \$95,000; 1884, \$250,000; 1894, \$1,250,000.

There is nothing peculiar to Chicago in those instances—nothing to justify any supposition that these increases of land values may be accounted for by local or temporary circumstances. Every prosperous and progressive city, little and big, old or young, shows the same phenomena of increase, and shows that it is constant in its tendency.

The Daily Oklahoman for July 23, 1909, tells of a "romance in realty" in Oklahoma. At the founding of that city in 1899, a Cincinnati, James Weaver, staked a 50 by 140-foot lot claim. In 1897 he declined \$1,700 for the lot, in 1901 \$12,000, in 1905 \$24,000, in 1907 \$60,000, in 1908 \$100,000, and in 1909 \$140,000; later in 1909 he executed a 99-year ground lease at a 5 per cent rental on a valuation of \$160,000. This is probably not a typical case as to rapidity of increase, but as to the rising tendency, it is typical.

In Pittsburgh, similar data may be found, not as an exception but as a rule. We give a Pittsburgh instance, reported August 23, 1909, by the New York Committee on Congestion of Population. A lot at 311 Fourth avenue, Pittsburgh, which sold in 1884 for \$30,000, in 1887 for \$52,000, in 1888 for \$55,000, and in 1896 for \$185,000, was worth \$400,000 in 1908.

Boston, with a record of 250 years of land value increases behind it, is another city in which this phenomenon persists. The Boston American's real estate column for July 4, 1909, reports what it calls "a striking example, but one which can be duplicated in other parcels in the city." It is the corner lot at Washington street and Temple place, known as the Blake building. "An expert," continues the report quoted from, "who is in close touch with this property, stated that it was his conservative opinion that after allowing a 4 per cent income on the original investment and nominal charges each year, over \$6,000,000 has been taken out in profits from about 1845 to the present date." In 1840 this land was assessed for taxation at \$5.50 a square foot, in 1860 at \$10.40, in 1880 at \$41.61, in 1885 at \$49.20, and in 1909 (after intervening increases) at \$148.

New York is another city whose site values have for 250 years been steadily rising. It was supposed that they had reached their climax in the '30's, and again in the '50's and again in the '70's, but they are still rising. Of outlying parts of New York the Committee on Congestion of Population reported on the 23rd of August, upon four sites. Nine lots on 170th street sold in 1903 for \$68,000, in 1904 for \$82,000, and in 1905 for \$100,000. A block of 52 lots from 153rd to 154th streets on 8th avenue rose from \$300,000 in 1905 to \$572,000 in 1909. These values are typical of the newer New York, of that part which was farming land before the great transportation improvements came in. But it is the same in lower New York, where the old

Knickerbockers settled. Records of what at each interval was regarded as marvelous increases in land values, may be found at brief intervals of time all through the history of lower New York.

Since 1906 the New York tax laws have required separate valuations of improvements and sites, and the report for 1909 shows for the whole of greater New York an increased value of sites alone since 1906 of \$518,493,461. This is more than \$100 for every present inhabitant. As the aggregate values for those years were \$3,367,233,746 for 1906 and \$3,885,727,207 for 1909, the proportion of increase has been 15 per cent. And this does not include special franchises, the increase of which in value in the same period is over \$100,000,000. In the borough of Manhattan alone—the old Manhattan Island that was bought from the Indians less than 300 years ago for \$26—where the limit of land values has several times been supposed to have been reached, the increase of ordinary site values from 1906 to 1909 was \$229,606,660, an average of \$76,535,553 annually, a percentage increase of 9%, and a per capita increase of nearly \$100 for every present inhabitant of the old Island.

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Public improvements evidently enter into these increases of city land values. Were public improving to cease in any city, increase in its land values would encounter a heavier and heavier pressure, which would finally bring the increase to a standstill, and probably reverse the tendency. If there had been no street grading and paving in Chicago, no public-service utilities, the city might long ago have ceased to grow and its land values to rise. Public improvements manifestly add to the land values of the localities they are expected to serve.

A case in point is reported in the Chicago Tribune of July 28, 1909. The property at 347 and 349 State street was bought by Daniel W. Volz for \$150,000 and sold by him to Edward B. Butler within 24 hours for \$160,000. "This was part of the movement," says the report, "that set in about 90 days ago, due to the reports concerning the construction of a magnificent terminal for the roads coming in over the Chicago and Western Indiana railroad at the southwest corner of State and Polk streets." The mere expectation of that public improvement had given such an impulse to land values in the vicinity, that a lot with a 40-foot frontage rose in value in one day from \$150,000 to \$160,000.

In New York, the subway had in 1908 so increased the value of the land along the route (p.

435) as to make the increase of only a part of it greater than the total cost of the entire subway.

In Glasgow, the success of municipal ownership and operation of the street cars, has vastly increased the value of Glasgow land.

On this point of public improvements as the cause of increase of city land values, there is an illuminative editorial in the Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury of August 17, 1909. We quote from it as follows, especially for the facts it reveals regarding the influence in Great Britain of public improvements upon land values:

Every work of public improvement reacts to the benefit of the owner of the soil. The opening of a ferry or a tram route at once raises the rents and land values in the districts served by the new facilities. Everybody knows that when parks and open spaces are provided at the public cost the price of land in the neighborhood goes up at once, so that the poor cannot afford to live in the neighborhood and enjoy the improvements. From the examples given in the Budget League handbook we may quote the case of the Corporation of Glasgow, which paid £29,000 for 82 acres of land, to be laid out as a park, at the rate of £350 per acre. The price of land in the immediate neighborhood at once rose from £350 to £500 per acre. Another example is quoted from Govanhill, where the whole of the land belongs to two owners. A park was made at public expense in the center of the district; one of the first effects was to increase the value of the surrounding land from 20s per square yard to 25s, or even 30s. An even more striking result occurred at Darwen, where two parks were formed, for which the land alone cost the Corporation £3,500. As a result, land in their neighborhood, which was let eight years ago at ¼d per yard, has since been let at 3d per yard, and latterly at 4d. The monopoly which enables the price of land to be raised in this way as a result of public improvements also gives the landowner the power to extort an unduly high price when land is required for public use. Cases of sales to the Government or to public bodies at extortionate prices might be multiplied indefinitely.

And so it is everywhere. The values of city land are kept constantly rising by public improvements. It is a natural law, as we shall show upon good business authority in our next editorial on this subject.

In the foregoing glance at instances of the increase of city land values, while we have stopped far short of the exhibit that might be easily made, we have gone farther than would be necessary if these common facts of every day life were not elusive. It is when his spectacles are on his head that the average man hunts for them. And so with this obtrusive phenomenon of the persistent increase of city land values. It is so familiar that the average city man seldom sees it—except,

perhaps, for money-making purposes. He is "from Missouri and has to be shown," when common interests are at stake; which is our excuse for devoting so much space to instances of a fact so universal and commonplace. But fact it has been in the whole history of cities, and fact it is in every city today. Of course this includes Chicago.

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, November 2, 1909.

The Election in Cleveland.

The municipal election in Cleveland (p. 1043) came off on the 2d, with the defeat of Tom L. Johnson in his campaign for Mayor for the fifth consecutive term.

From the 26th to the 30th, both days inclusive, the issues were debated, on alternate days, in the Cleveland Press, upon its invitation, by the Republican candidate, Herman Baehr on one side, and Mayor Johnson on the other. Senator Burton entered the campaign for Mr. Baehr on the 26th. This introduced a note of national politics, from the fact that Senator Burton had followed the lead of Senator Aldrich on the tariff bill in the United States senate. He defended his course in this respect on the ground that he is a protectionist, and that "President Taft has justified the course of those who voted for the bill." Mr. Baehr received a challenge from Mayor Johnson to meet him in debate at any time or place—"in my tent, in his tent or in the Public Square"—but the challenge was ignored. As Mr. Baehr is not accustomed to public speaking, Mayor Johnson broadened his challenge so as to include any representative Mr. Baehr might name, but this challenge also was ignored. According to the Plain Dealer of the 29th, Mr. Baehr's candidacy represented the court house ring. The betting in Cleveland on the result rose from odds against Johnson, to \$100 for Johnson against \$60 for Baehr.

The returns are as yet very meager, but Mayor Johnson concedes his defeat and announces his intention of being a candidate two years hence. He will meanwhile stand guard as a private citizen against corporation influences.

Traction Settlement in Cleveland:

While the arbitral hearings before Judge Tayler (p. 1042) are in progress, expeditiously, as Judge Tayler declares, the City Council has pledged itself to adopt the ordinance as now drafted, with the blanks filled in by Judge Tayler, when he shall make his decision, and to submit it to the people on referendum at the earliest date allowed by law. Mayor Johnson has signed the resolution.

* *

The Election in Toledo.

At the Toledo election (p. 1043) on the 2d, Brand Whitlock was re-elected by a plurality of about 4,000. The betting offers were 2 to 1 on Whitlock, with no takers.

* *

The New York City Election.

At New York on the 2d the municipal election (p. 1042) resulted in the overwhelming election of Gaynor, the Democrat, with Hearst a good third, and the defeat of Gaynor's associates on his ticket.

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Mr. Hearst's managers prophesied a vote for him of 270,000, and of course his election. Mr. Ivins calculated, according to the Hearst papers of the 30th, that Mr. Hearst would poll 243,000, with Gaynor 183,000 to 185,000 and Bannard 167,000, leaving Hearst a majority of about 50,000. The Associated Press reported Mr. Ivins in the same way. George Harvey, the editor of Harper's Weekly, was reported by the Hearst papers of the 31st as predicting Hearst's election and saying that "if Hearst ever is elected Mayor of New York that town will be turned upside down, for he will conduct a housecleaning that won't stop until New York is thoroughly cleansed and fumigated." One of the significant facts of the campaign was the lining up for Hearst of the Brooklyn Eagle a pluto-Democratic paper which has always opposed Bryan and supported corporation policies in politics. The Republican county committee officially prognosticated on the 30th that Bannard would poll 260,000, Gaynor 190,000 and Hearst 140,000. No prognostications for Gaynor were reported, but the betting was in his favor. In Chicago 3 to 2 for Gaynor was offered, with 1 to 2 for Bannard and 1 to 5 for Hearst; in New York it was 2 to 1 for Gaynor. A New York report in the Chicago Tribune of the 31st described Judge Gaynor as having—

ignored all the known forms of campaigning. He has had no campaign headquarters, he has not been to a headquarters once, and has stayed at his quiet home in Brooklyn, having no communication whatever with politicians. He has conducted no campaign outside of his speeches, and he has sent back all the contributions of money that have been sent to him. He has been the despair of Tammany. They have wrung their hands as he has gone on, doing one erratic thing after another and making one

break after another, as they considered it. None of their entreaties moved him, and now they are beginning to wonder if Gaynor does not understand the plain people a great deal better than they do and whether his style of doing things has not appealed to them.

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The election returns as far as received are as follows:

Gaynor (Dem.), 243,870; Bannard (Rep.), 173,399; Hearst, 148,549. Gaynor's plurality (with 36 precincts missing), 70,471.

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The San Francisco Election.

In San Francisco, the Labor Union candidate for Mayor, P. H. McCarthy, was elected; but Francis J. Heney, for District Attorney, was defeated.

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President Taft's Journey.

In the course of his journey (p. 1042) President Taft spoke at Helena on the 27th, at Vicksburg on the 28th, at Natchez on the 29th, and on the 30th at New Orleans, where he addressed the deep waterways convention. He left New Orleans for Jackson on the 1st and was at Birmingham on the 2d.

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The De Lara Case.

De Lara's arbitrary arrest (p. 1041) has aroused indignation in Los Angeles, where a meeting of 2,000 was held on the 23d to protest. It was presided over by Reynold Blight of the Los Angeles Fellowship and addressed by John Kenneth Turner (author of "Barbarous Mexico" in the American Magazine), by Job Harriman, by Stanley Wilson (editor of the Citizen), and by ex-Judge John D. Works. In describing his professional experience in connection with the case, Judge Works said:

I sought information regarding the De Lara case at the United States District Court, without success. I asked the Immigration Inspector for a copy of the charges against him, and he declined to give them to me. I asked the Chief of Police for a copy of the charges and he declined. His excuse was that in making disclosures regarding the case, he might disclose the case of the government against this man, who was imprisoned without knowledge of the charges against him. De Lara was arrested at the plaza, after making an address to his own people. He was arrested without any charge being preferred against him, as the Constitution requires. He was held in the county jail without warrant or authority. He was detained there in violation of the law. Requests of his loved ones to see him were refused. He was guarded as a dangerous character, who threatened the life of the President. I want to say to you that there never was a greater outrage perpetrated in a free republic than this. They kept him in jail without charges, and then they trumped up a misdemeanor charge. It was a fraud. It was done to justify the police in their action. When he de-

manded a jury trial, they were compelled then to release him, but his imprisonment had served its purpose of holding him in violation of the United States Constitution, in violation of the oaths of the Constitution; it had served its purpose, in its pretense of protecting a President who took an oath to support the Constitution, to protect every man within our borders, citizen or not, high or low, rich or poor; a Constitution which says no man shall be arrested without the oath of some person charging a crime against him. We have a statute in this State that in case of a man's arrest, he must be allowed to go before a magistrate and give bail. This statute was violated. The most serious phase of the problem is that the American people seem indifferent. They say such action is necessary to prevent crime. The same excuse would have justified the Spanish inquisition. There never was a time when the violation of the Constitution was necessary to prevent crime.

* *

Woman Suffrage.

The first political convention of disfranchised women represented by delegates, was held in Carnegie Hall, New York, on the 29th. It was held under the auspices of the Interurban Suffrage Council. Mrs. Clarence H. Mackay moved the platform, which was adopted. This document promises to be of historic value, and we give it in full, as follows:

We, the delegates representing the Senatorial and the Assembly districts of the City of New York in convention assembled, hereby affirm our faith in the formal declaration of principles adopted by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance as the basis of the world's work for the enfranchisement of women:

1. That men and women are born equally free and independent members of the human race, equally endowed with intelligence and ability, and equally entitled to the free exercise of their individual rights and liberty.

2. That the natural relation of the sexes is that of independence and co-operation and that the repression of the rights and liberty of one sex inevitably works injury to the other, and hence to the whole race.

3. That in all lands those laws, creeds and customs which have tended to restrict women to a position of dependence, to discourage their education, to impede the development of their natural gifts and to subordinate their individuality have been based upon false theories and have produced an artificial and unjust relation of the sexes in modern society.

4. That self-government in the home and the State is the inalienable right of every normal adult, and the refusal of this right to women has resulted in social, legal and economic injustice to them, and has also intensified the existing economic disturbances throughout the world.

5. That governments which impose taxes and laws upon their women citizens without giving them the right of consent or dissent, which is granted to men citizens, exercise a tyranny inconsistent with just government.

6. That the ballot is the only legal and perma-

nent means of defending the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, pronounced inalienable by the American Declaration of Independence and accepted as inalienable by all civilized nations. In a representative form of government therefore, women should be vested with all political rights and privileges of electors.

Resolutions providing for an appeal to Congress and the State legislatures to amend our constitutions were adopted, as were resolutions calling for amendments to the charter of New York City, so that one-third of the members of the Board of Education and at least three members of the board of Bellevue and allied hospitals shall be women, and that the compensation of all municipal service employes, including teachers, shall be determined by the position and not by the sex of the worker.

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At the meeting of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association at Des Moines, on the 28th, Julia Clark Hallam of Sioux City was elected president, and the following resolution adopted:

Resolved, That the women of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, wishing to strengthen the cause, do indorse obstructive methods in the legislature, and do further resolve that arrangements be perfected to carry out such methods.

* *

The British Budget.

Although the formal third reading of the British financial bill (p. 1040) still remained for the House to do on the 29th, the bill was completed in all its details on that day. After its adoption on third reading, which may follow a three days' debate, of Austen Chamberlain's motion to reject, the bill will go to the House of Lords.

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The by election at Bermondsey on the 28th (p. 993) resulted in a victory for the Unionist (Tory and Protection) candidate. The reported vote is 4,278 for the Unionist, 3,291 for the Liberal, and 1,435 for the Socialist; a plurality of 987 for the Unionist, who, however, falls 448 short of a majority. This is treated as indicative of a general sentiment against the Budget, and it is inferred that therefore the Lords will reject the Budget and thereby challenge an immediate appeal to the country. This is what the radicals hope for, since they see in present circumstances an extraordinary opportunity for abolishing the veto of the House of Lords. We are advised, however, that Bermondsey is a district which not only fluctuates erratically, but is easily influenced by the liquor interests, which are opposed to the Liberals; and also that the Unionist candidate was a resident "good fellow," whereas the Liberal was a non-resident.

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American newspapers are beginning to awaken

to the profound significance of the political situation in Great Britain to which they have been oblivious (p. 937) for more than half a year. A New York World dispatch of the 30th from London describes the outlook in these words:

To-day the storm center in Great Britain presents a political cyclone. The frantic efforts made by protectionist Tories to defeat the Budget prove they are fully alive to the fact that when it becomes a law it will be much more difficult for any succeeding Government to carry through the protectionist scheme of passing on the burden of taxation from the banking accounts of the rich to the bread and meat multitude. This is the real issue on which this momentous general election will be fought in January, for, whether the Budget goes through or is rejected by the House of Lords, an appeal to the country is certain after the holidays. Party feeling has already attained a pitch of savage bitterness. The Tories calculate the general election will result in such reduction of the Liberal majority that the Liberals will be wholly dependent upon the Irish vote, and that in these circumstances King Edward will refuse to give Asquith *carte blanche* for creating the new peers necessary to force the Budget through the House of Lords, and that a further crisis will then follow, with another appeal to the country, on which the Tories hope to come in victorious. If this Tory calculation is falsified, they will have risked everything and lost, as with the Lords' veto power limited their greatest weapon will be broken.

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In the House of Commons the Prime Minister announced on the 27th that on Nov. 5 he would move for the rejection entire of the House of Lords' amendments to the Irish land bill (p. 923). He also stated that the House of Commons would adjourn on Nov. 5 until Nov. 23. During the adjournment of the lower House the Budget will be in the hands of the Lords.

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British Land Clubs.

Largely through rural England, but especially in Kent, what are called "Land Club Leagues" are being formed for the purpose of obtaining for the people country homes and land and to aid the revival of country life. The first general meeting of the League of these land clubs was held at the House of Commons on the 27th under a call of delegates for the adoption of a constitution and consideration of the following program:

To restore our people to the land, the first step to be taken is a complete valuation of the land of England. Rates and taxes must be placed on the land in accordance with the capital value given to it by the growth of population and the industry of the people. Power must be given to local authorities to take land needed for all public purposes at a price based on the valuation. On every parish and urban district must be placed the duty of providing homes and land needed for the people, and also

where required, village halls, reading rooms, and playgrounds. To secure that the cultivators of the soil, especially where grouped into co-operative societies, receive fair treatment in the sale of their produce, the restrictions on markets should be abolished, existing markets should be linked up with new markets wherever required, together with a complete system of collecting depots in the rural districts. Railways and canals must be nationalized, and road motor services arranged for transport. To improve the position of the laborer, a legal minimum wage must be enacted so as to enforce the fundamental principle that the worker has the first claim on the fruits of his labor.

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Land Values Taxation in Germany.

The Imperial government of Germany asked the governments of the federated States on the 27th to hasten their reports concerning the introduction of unearned increment land tax (p. 682), coupling this request with the explanation that the government will allow the municipalities a rebate for five years of the average amount raised by the unearned increment tax during the period of its operation. The Conservatives in the Reichstag, although to a great extent representing land-owning interests, are reported by Associated Press dispatches, to be willing that an unearned increment tax be imposed, because such a tax must rest heavily upon land owners and speculators in the cities, but lightly on land owners in the country districts, where values increase slowly or, as in some instances, depreciate. The measure is expected to raise \$5,000,000 annually and is possible of great expansion.

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More Land Values Taxation in Australia.

The efforts of the Australian State of Victoria (vol. x, p. 827), long frustrated (vol. xi, p. 718), to introduce in that State the land values tax now in successful operation in the sister State of New South Wales (vol. x, p. 386; vol. xi, p. 636; vol. xii, pp. 138, 199, 470, 990) were revived in August last, according to official documents just at hand, through the introduction by the Victorian Prime Minister, W. A. Watt, of a land-values taxation bill.

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As stated by the bill itself, "the object of this bill is to impose a progressive tax upon the unimproved value of land," which is defined in the bill to be "the sum which the owner's estate or interest therein if unincumbered by any mortgage or other charge thereon, might be expected to realize at the time of valuation if offered for sale on such reasonable terms and conditions as a bona fide seller might be expected to require and assuming that the actual improvements thereon (if any) had not been made." Upon

this value the progressive taxes proposed by the bill are as follows, stated in the bill in terms of the pound sterling, but here translated into dollars at the rate of \$5.00 to the £1:

\$2,500 to \$12,500, 2 mills per \$1.
\$12,500 to \$25,000, 3 mills per \$1.
\$25,000 to \$50,000, 4 mills per \$1.
\$50,000 to \$75,000, 4½ mills per \$1.
\$75,000 to \$100,000, 5 mills per \$1.
\$100,000 to \$125,000, 5½ mills per \$1.
\$125,000 to \$150,000, 6 mills per \$1.
\$150,000 to \$175,000, 6½ mills per \$1.
\$175,000 to \$200,000, 7 mills per \$1.
\$200,000 to \$225,000, 7½ mills per \$1.
\$225,000 to \$250,000, 8 mills per \$1.
\$250,000 to \$300,000, 9 mills per \$1.
\$350,000 to upwards, 12 mills per \$1.

The minimum tax proposed by the bill is 2s 6d, equal to about 62 cents; and the following exemptions are made:

To owners of land values of less than \$2,500, a total exemption; to owners of land values under \$12,500 an exemption on \$2,500 thereof; to owners of land values above \$12,500, the \$2,500 exemption diminishes at the rate of \$5 of the exemption for every \$10 of the excess in value, so as to leave no exemption on land values exceeding \$17,500. On land owners who do not reside in the State of Victoria the tax rates are increased 50 per cent.

In advocating his bill on second reading, August 31, the Prime Minister said:

This bill seeks to impose a progressive tax upon unimproved land values, first of all with the object of promoting conditions favorable to more extensive agricultural settlement, and, secondly, with the object of raising additional revenue to meet the approaching shortage in customs returns from the Commonwealth.

In seeking to place in this bill, as we do, such conditions upon the holders of land as will induce them to put it to a higher productive use or sell it to those who will use it to better advantage, the Government are animated by the conviction that a man who holds land out of use, or in comparative idleness, while others are searching for acres to cultivate, is opposed to the progressive development of the State. We are also desirous of putting a fair share of the charges of government upon the soil of Victoria, and of restoring to society some portion of that increment which the expenditure and enterprise of the State, and the consequent settlement of population, have created. This bill, therefore, I claim, rests upon the sure foundation of public necessity and public justice.

When proposals of this kind are in the air or before Parliament we often hear the argument that a tax on land is unfair, because it singles out one class of men and one class of interest for taxation. My answer is a frank admission that it does, but I see ample justification for it. I want honorable members to look at the holder of land in town and country in his relations to the rest of the community. Every land-holder derives many general and

many special benefits from society and government. As to his general benefits we can say that he shares those in common with the rest of the community, and pays for them, as a general taxpayer, when he pays on his consumption through the customs house or on his profits through the income tax office. This is in return for good government, which gives protection to his life and liberty, as it does to the rest of us. But the real property-owner, the owner of real estate, enjoys many special benefits for which he should make special returns to the State. He is specially indebted to society for the protection which its good government affords to his property. Land values—we are clear on this point, no one will dispute it—are highest in countries where government is stable and protective. Here is the argument in another form. What would the value of agricultural land in Victoria be in these days of keen international competition in staple products if the State did not mesh the country with roads and railways and other facilities for transportation and trade? Every advance in civilization and in the scientific development of production and exchange promotes, perceptibly or imperceptibly, but surely the interests of the land-holder.

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Disorders in Greece.

The army and navy of the little modern kingdom of Greece (p. 825) have never been brought up to modern European standards of efficiency, partly because of the national poverty, and partly apparently, from lack of executive ability on the part of the military leaders. The younger officers in both branches of defense, organized as the Military League, have lately made violent protests, coupled with demands for the removal of the Crown Prince Constantine from the position of commander in chief of the army. On October 15 the Chamber of Deputies abolished the right of the sons of the King to hold military commands. Earlier in the same day King George, grasping the situation, persuaded his sons—Constantine, George, Nicholas and Christopher—to resign their commissions. The Military League then demanded further, on the 27th, the enactment within twenty-four hours of an ordinance suspending all promotions for five years, the abolition of the post of Rear Admiral heretofore held by Prince George, together with two vice admirals and fifteen positions of lesser rank. A compromise offered by the Premier was refused, and thirty naval officers retired to the Island of Salamis, where they seized the arsenal. On the 29th a little battle was fought, between the insurgents in a flotilla of torpedo boats, headed by Lieutenant Tibaldos, and government forces, in the historic seas by the Island of Salamis, where in B. C. 480 Themistocles defeated the Persians. The insurgents were worsted, with but small bloodshed, on that day and again on the 30th; their force melted away, and the arsenal surrendered. The Military League has disowned Tibaldos.

Four British warships turned up near Athens on the 31st.

NEWS NOTES

—Gen. O. O. Howard, of Civil War and Freedman's Bureau fame, died suddenly at Burlington, Vt., on the 26th at the age of 79.

—Cremation has been declared illegal in Austria by the supreme court of the Empire, on the ground that it is opposed to the Christian idea of burial.

—Violent earthquake shocks were reported from northern California on the evening of the 28th. Chimneys and windows were shattered in many places, but no serious damage was done.

—The second deep water ways convention (vol. xi, pp. 684, 685) met at New Orleans on the 30th. At the conference of State Governors, one of the features of the convention, Governor Deneen presided.

—Menelik, the powerful old Negus of Abyssinia, whose health has been breaking for many months (p. 157), was stricken with apoplexy on the 28th, and on the first was reported to be at the point of death.

—Mayor Busse named on the 1st the committee for idealizing Chicago on the basis of the Commercial club's plans (p. 1060), appointing Charles H. Wacker as chairman. The committee, which was authorized by the City Council (p. 988) on the 6th of July last, consists of 300 members.

—Three deaths from football violence were reported on the 31st, making eleven in all for the football season of 1909. The most notable of the three was that of Eugene A. Byrne, a West Point Cadet, who was injured in the game with Harvard on the 30th. Football at West Point has consequently been forbidden for the year.

—Chicago friends of Charles R. Crane, whose mysterious recall as American minister to China (pp. 1009, 1018) has excited national comment, have tendered him a banquet at such time as he may indicate, but Mr. Crane, while expressing his appreciation of the tribute, has found himself unable to accept because of his early departure for Europe.

—The will of Francisco Ferrer, executed at Barcelona on the 13th (p. 1038), was published in Paris on the 27th. His executor is charged to continue the publication of Ferrer's works on the modern schools and education. The testator stated that history would vindicate his innocence, but adjured his friends not to bother about his memory, as "in this life only acts count."

—The thirty-second and thirty-third bomb explosion in connection with the war in Chicago of the "unprotected" upon the "protected" gamblers (pp. 623, 661, 685) occurred on the 31st. One explosion was at 260 State street and the other at 170 Madison street. Gambling implements were found in both places, and it is understood that both were "protected" pursuant to pre-election promises made two years and a half ago.

—The National Women's Trade Union League at its convention in Chicago (pp. 949, 970) adopted resolutions urging "the American Federation of Labor

to take action toward the formation of a labor party pledged to forward the higher interests of the toiling millions as against the selfish interests of a privileged minority, and which shall welcome to its membership all persons of whatever other affiliations who shall subscribe to the above line of action."

—The decision of Judge Wright ordering the imprisonment for contempt of Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and John Mitchell (p. 396) was affirmed on the 2d by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. Chief Justice Shepard dissented on the ground that so much of the injunction as the defendants had disobeyed was null and void because opposed to the constitutional provision regarding freedom of the press.

—Syrians in the United States who believe they are threatened with being regarded as neither white men nor Negroes and therefore disqualified for naturalization, have brought their appeal to Washington, on the basis of a letter written October 27, by Richard K. Campbell, chief of the division of naturalization of the Department of Commerce and Labor, to the United States Attorney, at New Orleans, suggesting that he refrain from bringing naturalization cases affecting Syrians before the courts.

—At the Boston election on the 2d there was a referendum vote on the new charter, the referendum proposition allowing a choice between "Plan 1," which provides a straight two year term for the Mayor, nomination by party convention, and for a Council of thirty-six; and "Plan 2," which provides for nomination of Mayoralty candidates by petition, a four year term with recall privilege at end of two years, no party designation on ballots, and a council of nine. The result of the vote is not yet at hand.

—The assassination of the Japanese statesman, Prince Ito, at Harbin, in Manchuria, by a Korean, on the 26th (p. 1045), has been followed by rioting at Seoul, the capital of Korea, with signs of revolt in the south. The assassin has been identified as Inchan Angan, a former editor of a Seoul newspaper. He has declared that he was one of an organization of twenty Koreans who had taken an oath that they would kill Ito. Prince Ito's body has been taken to Tokio, where it is to lie in state at his residence, to be interred on the 4th.

—An amendment to the constitution of the Universalist Church changing its congregational form by vesting administrative power in a single head to be known as the president of the Universalist Church in the United States, failed by a few votes, at the biennial convention in Detroit on the 26th, to receive the necessary two-thirds majority. The matter accordingly was laid over until the next biennial convention. A similar proposal came up at the convention two years ago but was ruled out of order. Charles L. Hutchinson of Chicago was elected president and Marion D. Shutter of Minneapolis was selected as preacher of the next convention sermon.

—The Nicaraguan revolutionists, under General Estrada, are still gaining over President Zelaya (p. 1045). The revolutionists occupy the east coast. The Charleston News and Courier says that "the master hand of President Diaz of Mexico" may be seen in this revolution, and remarks further, as is noted in The Literary Digest: "The suspicion has

been strong for some time that Mexico wishes to extend her borders to the south, and Zelaya has never been popular in Mexico. If the insurgents are able to achieve any victories at all it is not beyond belief that President Diaz will grasp the opportunity to acknowledge the provisional government, and such action by Mexico would probably be followed by a similar declaration by other nations."

—At a meeting of the Public Policy League of Chicago on the 28th, Raymond Robins replied to Judge Tuthill's defensive letter on his 10-hour-law injunction (p. 902), and the League adopted resolutions declaring that "the ten-hour law for working women is in the interest of public health, morals and general welfare; protesting against the action of Judge Richard S. Tuthill in enjoining the enforcement of the law; and resolving:

That we heartily commend the action of State's Attorney Wayman and Factory Inspector Davies in procuring the services of Attorney Louis D. Brandeis of Boston to defend the constitutionality of the law in the Supreme Court of Illinois; and that the board of directors be instructed to render all aid possible in trying to secure a reversal of Judge Tuthill's decision.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Power of a Death.

The Minneapolis Tribune, Oct. 28.—They who know the life of Professor Ferrer, as it has come to the world's knowledge since his most atrocious murder, might well agree that it was the most useful contemporary life to the people and nation of Spain. Yet it is probable that he has done even more for his country by his death. . . . Look at the prompt and humane results of his death. It has turned out a reactionary ministry and put the most liberal government Spain is capable of in power. It has startled a young fool of a king into some conception of what a people driven to desperation can conceive and do. Above all it has checked at once the savage war in the interest of sordid greed for gold that was draining the youth of Spain and crushing its labor with taxes. What more it may bring in the near future remains to be seen.

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A Just Tribute.

The (Chicago) Voter (ind.), Nov.—Alfred Orendorff is dead. A courtly gentleman and an honest man, his passing deprives Illinois of a citizen of the highest worth. He was adjutant general of his State during the administration of the late Governor John Peter Altgeld and served as president of the Illinois Bar Association. President of the Illinois Historical Society, he did much to make that organization a fitting repository for the story of the commonwealth, while in his private, professional and political life his conduct was of the sort which enabled him to stand rightfully as an example to his fellow men.

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The Police Sweat Box.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Nov. 1.—Confessions made by men while in police custody and repudiated by them when brought to trial have little weight

with judges, particularly when they are about the only evidence against the accused. The police ought to know that by this time, and govern themselves accordingly. In the first place they have no right to resort to illegal methods to extort confessions. In the second place if a man in their custody admits his guilt they ought to send word to the State's Attorney's office to have somebody come over to hear the confession, satisfy himself that it is not made under duress, and swear the man to it. A confession thus made, even if afterwards disavowed, would be treated with respect in any court. The chief of police should instruct his subordinates not to let their ardor to obtain confessions carry them too far. "Third degree" methods are unlawful. He should also direct them what to do when by fair means they shall have secured a confession. They may not get so many, but those they do get will count for more in court.

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Political Realignment.

The Daily Oklahoman (ind. Dem.), Oct. 22.—It is doubtful if such anomalous political conditions ever existed in the nation as we find at this time. About half of the Democracy as well as half of the Republican rank and file are ready to quit. Both find that they are traveling strange political paths. Just what the future will bring forth no one can say; but judging it by the past and taking cognizance of the signs of the times, it appears reasonable to expect to witness a new alignment of the political forces of the nation in the near future which will shake both of the old organizations to the very core.

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Socialism de Luxe.

Puck (ind.), Oct. 20.—The devoted advocates of a ship subsidy are now including President Taft among their number. The President says in effect that we look out for our manufacturers, our mine owners, and our farmers by means of a tariff, so why shouldn't we do something for the ship owners by means of a government grant of cash? . . . Thus the government enters practically into a commercial partnership, considerably relieving the manufacturer and perhaps the ship owner of all cause for worry or fear of want. It might be called a refined application of the socialist idea by the conservative Republican party, a sort of socialism de luxe. The socialists, unless we are misinformed, would remove as far as possible the fear of want from the minds of the poor. The Republican party, however, knows a trick worth two of that. It would dispel all fear of want from the minds of the rich.

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Taft's Tariff Talk.

The Rural New Yorker (ind.), Oct. 9.—It seems strange that in a country where agriculture is the chief business President Taft should offer the following: "Certainly no one will contend that protection has increased the cost of food in this country when the fact is that we have been the greatest exporters of food products in the world." If that is true, then the tariff on food products is no protection whatever. Everyone understands that we pay

extra for our clothing or our steel goods because the tariff prevents competition from foreign-made goods. No one denies this, the theory being that this extra price goes as a sort of bonus to our American manufacturers. In fact, this extra price is the protection which the manufacturers claim and demand. Now, if the tariff on grain or potatoes or other food makes no difference in the price, it is no protection at all. Yet whenever a tariff bill is before Congress the farmers are expected to swap duties—that is, agree to a tariff on steel, lumber, clothing, etc., and in return receive the great benefit of a tariff on corn, cabbage, eggs, etc. We have always claimed that these agricultural tariffs were simply part of a bunco game played again and again on our farmers. Evidently, without meaning to do so, President Taft has exposed the whole thing, for if these food tariffs make no difference in prices they afford no protection, and they amount to little or nothing as revenue producers.

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The Meat of the Eastern Question.

Milwaukee Daily News (dem. Dem.), October 15.—There is no occasion for the American people to be disturbed over the Eastern situation. It is merely a scramble between the great international financial interests—the great banking houses that have no national interests save as it may serve their own ends—to obtain concessions and privileges to enable them to exploit the undeveloped natural resources of China. It is, in fact, a phase of the worldwide movement of the money kings to monopolize the minerals of the earth. In South Africa it became necessary to use the “flanneled fools” of Britain to destroy the Boer republics. In China it may be necessary to embroil the United States with Japan, unless the threat of war may be used to compel the Japanese financiers to divide up with their European and American contemporaries. We do not believe, however, that the American people will permit themselves to be used to pull the chestnuts of “high finance” from the Chinese fire, but they will need to be alert. The jingo element ever is at hand to play the game of the world’s money sharks.

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The Bottom Cause of Poverty.

The Chicago Journal, October 16.—English protectionists blame free trade for the increase of poverty and demand a tariff on imports as a panacea for all ills. Perhaps they should not be blamed. The house of lords owns three-fourths of the soil of Great Britain. Its members and the millionaire manufacturers constitute the protectionist party. Together they have kept the British workingman in subjection ever since the Norman conquest. At first they denied his children education. Latterly they have been forced to some surrender. The workers have learned their strength and occasionally show it. The noble dukes and earls do not intend to relinquish their deer parks and pheasantries to be cut into farms. The mill magnates do not propose to lessen their profits by granting decent wages. Pauperism pays these gentry. That is why England has paupers, and not because of free trade. The liberal government is trying to make these rich men pay something like their fair share of taxes, and rich men are

trying to dodge by advocating a protective tariff which will throw the burden of taxation even more heavily than at present onto the mass of the people. The real pauper danger in Britain is not free trade, but in ownership of natural resources by a few men under laws that do not permit their alienation from the line of eldest sons, but do permit them to be held as game preserves or let go to rack and ruin because of spendthrift and dissolute ownership.

* *

Lloyd George's Power.

The (London) Nation (rad-Lib.), Oct. 16.—The characteristic mark of the Limehouse and Newcastle speeches is that he has addressed the masses in language which they understand, using the simple, vivid, concrete lines of illustration and argument in which for centuries their religious leaders have expounded the Bible to them. The result has been to impart a reality to certain important and deep-lying facts of our social life which they have never acquired before. The Limehouse and Newcastle speeches are going “like wildfire,” not because of their extreme doctrine or their class bitterness, but because they give our people the two things of which they stand most in need, hope and a vital interest in affairs—because they have quickened and illumined their sense of politics.

* *

A Tory Radical.

Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury (Lib.), Sept. 30.—Sir John Gorst is rather proud of being an “old Tory,” and of having been a member of “every administration of Lord Salisbury”; and he “does not know that he has very much changed his principles.” But he is a wholehogger in supporting the Budget. At present, he says, what is chiefly being run against it is that it is socialistic. This, he remarks, is utter nonsense, because the raising of money cannot be socialistic. That is to be found in the spending of it, and it is not the spending proposals that are regarded as revolutionary and socialistic, but the new taxes that are to be levied. The fact is that, as Sir John Gorst says, “nearly all the money spent must be socialistic, as it is not spent for the good of individuals, but for the benefit of the state as a whole.” This is putting socialism in its broadest form. But another accusation against the Budget is that it is confiscatory. “Of course it is,” says Sir John Gorst. “You cannot have a tax which is not confiscatory, as it consists in taking what is a man’s private property, and appropriating it to the public use.” Any payer of income tax who has to hand over two or three weeks’ earnings to the income tax collector will share Sir John Gorst’s opinion that taxation is confiscation; and it is not less so if he pays his taxes in the form of tea duty, or spirit duty, or in any other form of indirect taxation. Where taxation may most legitimately fall, in Sir John Gorst’s opinion, is where there is a monopoly, or where some special benefit has been conferred by the community or by the state, as in the case of licenses and the increment in the value of land. He anticipates—evidently with some degree of pleasure—that for using language of this kind he will be called a socialist.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

FRANCISCO FERRER.

For The Public.

From out a thousand years of gloom and night
A Fury leaped, and lo! the saddening sight.
He bleeding lies and still,—a Child of Light.

Brave soul, thy life has not been lived in vain;
The dart that hushed the music in thy brain
Has torn a link from blind Oppression's chain.

And will they see while cold in death he lies,
Inured so long to darkness? Will they rise
A people free, from this new sacrifice?

Shall vengeance strike the weak and puny boy
Men call a king—he but Oppression's toy?
Nay, 'tis the Hell of Hate men should destroy!

Cold-blooded murder! yet the world can wait:
Meet not the blindness of its hate with hate;
Love yet shall build the pillars of the state.

Here in this land of freedom young and strong,
We hail you hero in the war with wrong;
Grant you the martyr's crown, the victor's song.

DWIGHT MARVEN.

* * *

LAND QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

From the Speech of Alexander Ure, Lord Advocate in
the British Ministry, at a Meeting in Belfast, Ire-
land, Under the Auspices of the Society for
the Taxation of Land Values.

From the Ulster Guar-
dian of Oct. 2, 1909.

He was going to argue the case for the land taxes, said Mr. Ure, for he never promised them that he was going to be an impartial judge when he reached that corner. In his deliberate judgment the land taxes in the Budget were the fairest, most just, most moderate taxes that could be imposed. In his judgment there were no taxes so far removed from confiscation and robbery as the land taxes. In his deliberate judgment there were no taxes in the whole Budget which gave the people in that country so good a guarantee and protection for the rights of private property as did the land taxes. (Applause.) As long as the land taxes remained in the Budget every thinking man and woman in the community knew that the rights of private property would be rigorously respected. . . .

It was well worth their while to understand what these taxes were. The man who understood them had a complete, decisive, and conclusive

argument to all the attacks that had ever been made upon them.

The Increment Duty.

The first of the land taxes in the Budget was what was called the Increment Duty. Now, increment was a large and unfamiliar word. Let him in few plain sentences tell them what the increment duty was. The Chancellor of the Exchequer says: "When my bill becomes law"—as law it will become—(cheers)—"I would like to find out what is the value of the land which each landowner in the country possesses. I do not want to know anything about his buildings, nor do I want to know the value of his improvements. What I want to know is the value of his land, and when I have found out the value of his land I will write that down in the book." (Applause.) This is what is disliked most of all. They say: "We will pay all your taxes without a sneeze, but we resent it when you ask: 'What is the value of your land?'" Then says the Chancellor of the Exchequer: "When some day a landowner sells his land at an increased price—an increase of price which is not due to any improvement in agriculture, but an increase which is due to the land having become more valuable for building and industrial purposes—then I will ask him to give me a portion of that increased value to minister to the needs of the community." (Applause.)

He would offer an illustration. If at the time the valuation was made the land was worth £100, "that was written down in the book"—(applause)—and if some day the man sold his land for £200 the Chancellor says: "Now I find that you have got £100 increased value on your land, would you be kind enough to put £80 of that increase in your pocket, and give me £20 for the needs of the nation?" (Laughter.) That was the Increment Tax. He hoped he had made it plain. (Hear, hear.)

The Reversion Duty.

The Reversion Duty—that again was a large and unfamiliar word. In England (not in Scotland, and he was not sure if in Ireland) they had a system by which a man who owned land let it out on a long lease for building purposes—a lease which extended to 30, 40, 50, 60, 90, or even 99 years. They had not that system in Scotland. A Scotchman never liked to part with his property even at the end of 99 years. (Laughter.) Now the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "I would like to find out what is the value of a man's land at the time that he grants a lease, and when I have found that out 'I will write it down in the book'—(applause)—and when the lease comes to an end and the land falls back into the hands of the man who granted the lease, or his successor, if I find that the land has increased in value I will ask that man to give me a portion of

this increase in value for the needs of the country." (Applause.)

Again let him offer a simple illustration. If the land at the time the lease was granted was worth £100, that was recorded in the book, and if at the end of the lease it was found that when the land fell back into the owner's hands it was worth £200—(he was taking a very moderate figure, for he was a moderate man)—he would say to that man, "Sir, I find that your land, bare land, has increased in value by £100. You will please put £90 of that in your pocket and give me £10 to put into the coffers of the state." (Applause.) . . . That was the Reversion Duty. Some gentleman might say, "What right have you to take the increased value in a man's land and devote a portion of that increase to the services of the community?" Let them think for a moment, and they would see why. If that man's land were in the wilderness it would be worth nothing at all. If that man's land were surrounded by a thinly populated country it would be worth very little, but if it were surrounded by a busy, prosperous, energetic community then that man's land would increase in value owing to nothing which he had done or spent. (Loud applause.) He might bestow not a passing thought on it. He might be resident in the Antipodes, he might be sound asleep all the time, and whilst he slumbered and slept his land steadily increased in value, owing to nothing but the sleepless activity and energy of his neighbors. The Chancellor said, "There is nothing fairer than to invite from a man who is in possession of wealth which he himself has done nothing, and spent nothing, to create, which has been created entirely by the community, a contribution to the needs of the community out of wealth created by it." (Applause.)

The Undeveloped Land Tax.

The third tax was what was called Undeveloped Land tax. What in the world was undeveloped land? "Undeveloped land is not agricultural land." He thought he had said that a hundred times, and he was going to say it a hundred times more. He believed he would yet drive it into their heads if he repeated it. He supposed when they looked at the Tory papers on Monday morning they would see that they were still harping on the old string, "Heavy taxation of agricultural land, ruin and desolation," etc. Once more let him say, "Undeveloped land is not agricultural land." (Hear, hear.) It was not pastoral land. It was not land upon which there were buildings, factories, workshops, etc. What in the world was it? It was land which was quite suitable for building upon at the present time, but upon which the owner was in no hurry to build as long as they did not tax or rate it. Their present attitude was—"Sir, you make no use of your land, or make a very bad use of it, and we will see to it

that you are protected from the hands of the tax-collector and rate-collector." On the other hand, if he made a good use of it he would be soused in rates and taxes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer thought, and so did he (Mr. Ure) that was all wrong. Their idea was to find out every year what was the market value of that man's land—just the price he would get for it if he went into the market tomorrow with it—and when they had found that out they "would write it down in the book"—(applause)—and every year they would invite that man to offer as a contribution to the needs of the community the sum of $\frac{1}{2}$ d in the £1 on the capital value of his land. That man knew quite well that his land was valuable now, he believed that it would become still more valuable, and he holds it over for his price—a price ten, twenty, fifty, one hundred, or two hundred times what he gave for it—a price which comes to him from nothing he has done or spent—which comes to him from the sleepless activity and energy of his neighbors. "Very well," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "if you wait for your price, pay while you wait." (Loud applause.) Some people thought that they were suffering under the delusion that men were deliberately keeping back their land out of the market. Let him reassure them that they were suffering under no such delusion. He did not know of any man outside of a lunatic asylum who would deliberately keep his land out of the market. He was quite ready to sell it at a price. If the price were big enough he would soon bring his land into the market, but he was waiting, and all the while his land was ripening in value.

Did they ever think what it meant when land was said to be ripening in value? It meant that as the days, weeks, months, and years passed the needs of the adjoining community were becoming more and more intense, that the land was required for workshops, factories, mills, etc. The more intense the needs of the community the more did the land ripen in value, which of course meant dear houses and less wages, for the more they had to pay for the land the less they had to spend as wages. It meant more than that. It meant in many places where a landowner had land around a busy community that they actually put in that man's hands a power which he sometimes exercised to curb the growth of the community, and prevent the people getting suitable and commodious places to live in and carry on their work. People also told them that they were under the delusion that all land increased in value, and increased in value at a greater rate than other commodities. He was under no such delusion. In some places the value of the land did not increase. In some places the value of the land decreased. In the most progressive parts of the country the value went steadily up; but whether the value remained stationary, or whether it went

back, or whether it increased, surely whatever its value might be, if an increased value was created by the community the community was entitled to a modest share. (Applause.) The Chancellor thinks—and here again he (Mr. Ure) thought he was right—that he will get a pretty good income from his undeveloped land taxes by and by—rather more next year, and rather more the following year, and a good round sum in the years to come. The Chancellor had not his eye on incomes so much as on the people who were holding back land, and he thought that a modest tax would perhaps quicken their footsteps and bring them into the market, until by and by they would come tumbling over one another in their excitement to get rid of their land, and then they would not require to give ransom prices for the ground they needed.

The Mining Royalties Tax.

The last of the land taxes was the Mining Royalties' tax. What were royalties? Something regal—Yes! Ten millions a year were paid to the landed proprietors in this way, and these gentlemen spent nothing to gain the money. Mining royalties were large sums of money paid every year to the great proprietors of mineral fields, who never put the minerals there, by the busy and industrious people in this country, who were willing to spend their money and toil in winning those treasures from the earth. The Chancellor thought that out of that wealth, which they had done nothing and spent nothing to create, they might contribute a modest one-tenth to the needs of the community. (Hear, hear.) They had heard, no doubt, something about unfair competition. Had they ever thought what a heavy handicap those mining royalties were to their great industrial concerns? Then days ago he had stood on the same platform side by side with one of their greatest captains of industry, a man who was at the head of five of the greatest industrial concerns in the adjoining islands—a man who was very heavily hit by the present Budget, but who whole-heartedly supported every clause of it. He need hardly say that he was not a duke. (Laughter.) He had heard that gentleman tell his own constituents that before commencing mining operations every week they had to lay down on the table £1,500 to be paid to a man who had done nothing and spent nothing to gain that money for the right of getting minerals from under the soil—minerals which he had never known were there, minerals which he never paid for, and which by right belonged to the Crown. (Applause.) . . . Mining royalties were the toll which industry paid to idleness—the wages paid by the bees to the drones.

Why Land Should Be Taxed.

These were the famous—or, as some people called them, the infamous—land taxes in the

Budget. If they thought they were fair and reasonable they would naturally ask them why it was that the tempest had raged so furiously around them. (Laughter.) They would naturally ask him why it was that the Commons had been compelled to sit up all night to gain their land taxes. That was a perfectly fair question, but it was not easy to answer. He sometimes thought that the very mention of land or land taxes seemed to deprive many people of their reason. At all events they were not open to reason. They raged and foamed at the mouth whenever the subject was mentioned. When they condescended to tell them their objections to the land taxes they usually began by saying that land was the very same as other commodities, and that they were not therefore entitled to treat land in a different way from other commodities.

He thought it would be worth their while to inquire whether or not land was the same as other commodities, but they were the judges, and he was going to try and enumerate to them what he took to be the characteristic features of land—bare land, not buildings as distinguished from other commodities.

1. The land comes from the hands of the Creator and does not owe its existence to man.
2. It is strictly limited in quantity. You can no more add to the area of the country than you can add a cubit to your stature.
3. It is absolutely necessary for our existence; it is necessary for our production; it is necessary to us when we wish to exchange our products.
4. Land does not owe any part of its value to anything which its owner does or spends upon it.
5. Land owes its value entirely to the presence, needs, activity, and expenditure of the community.
6. And lastly, and dearest of all to the heart of the tax-collector, and the law officer of the Crown—land cannot be carried away and cannot be concealed. (Laughter.)

There might be other commodities which possessed these six characteristics, but he did not know of them. He had challenged his opponents in the House of Commons, not in any unguarded way, not by a mere passing allusion—allowing "his cat to slip out of the bag"—(laughter)—but deliberately and temperately he had challenged his opponents in the House of Commons to name a commodity which possessed the six characteristics he had enumerated. Up till now they had not replied to his challenge—nor would they. . . .

They had now got to the very pith and marrow of the business. They were no longer on the surface. The most illustrious of his opponents said he admitted all his (the speaker's) six characteristics except the one which stated that land owed nothing of its value to what its owner did

or spent upon it. Lord Rosebery said this was absolutely untrue; and that land, bare land, owed most of its value to what its owner did and spent. No other man had ever said that; and he believed that Lord Rosebery and he must be at cross purposes. Lord Rosebery must be speaking of one thing whilst the Finance Bill and he were speaking of a totally different thing; for he wanted to know what it was that the owner of bare land spent upon it or did for it in order to give it its value. He would offer an illustration to bring this home to their minds. If he believed, like Lord Rosebery, that the owner of the land gave it its value by what he did or spent upon it, he should be opposed to the land taxes of the Government. To him that was the turning point. Was the value given by the community, or was the value created by the individual?

Let them take some instances. Not many years ago the great Corporation of Glasgow required to purchase for an addition to their public park 43½ acres of marsh land. This land was not in the Rate Book at all. Its owner paid no rates or taxes, and spent nothing on it. The corporation of Glasgow were required to give £43,500 for these 43½ acres of marsh. What he wanted to know was, what did the owner of that marsh do or spend upon it to give it the value of 43 thousand pounds? (Applause.)

Three or four years ago his Majesty's artillery were practicing big gun firing over a dreary waste of sand, covered with water at high tide. The owners of that dreary waste commanded that the Government should cease firing unless they paid for the waste. His Majesty's Government were compelled to pay for that 890 acres of waste and sand, covered by water at high tide, the sum of £5,500. He wanted to know what the owner of that sand did or spent upon it to give it this value. (Applause.)

He would give one more illustration. On the shore of Greenock, that great ship-building port, there stands about 10 acres of ground which his Majesty's Government required on which to erect a torpedo factory. Greenock was a very thickly populated and overcrowded town, consisting of about 68,000 inhabitants, about three-fourths of whom lived more than three or four in a room, and the land was therefore very valuable. This 10½ acres which was valued in the rate book at £11 2s, at 20 years' purchase was worth about £220, or at 25 years' purchase about £270. But the owner of this piece of land of 10½ acres of the annual value of £11 2s, asked and received for it from his Majesty's Government the sum of £27,225. (A voice, "Shame.") No, he never said "shame." That was the fair market value of the ground. A Scotchman always asks as much as he can get, but he never demands more than a fair price. (Laughter.) His question was, what did the owner of that ground do for it

or spend upon it to give it this enormous value? The man who could not answer that question—he (Mr. Ure) would expect him to drop out of the ranks of the controversialists. (A voice: "Were they not big fools to give such a price?") No, they could not get it for less. He never said that these men asked for a penny more than they were entitled to. His point again was, what had the owner spent or done upon the land to create this enormous value? Their opponents said that they had no right to treat an owner of land in a different way from a man who owned any other kind of property. They had no right to enroll them amongst the criminal classes, they had no right to treat them as the outcasts of humanity. They had no right to treat them as the enemies of mankind and hound them down. He did not want to send them to prison or hound them down. He only wanted to tax them. (Applause.)

His friend Mr. Harold Cox said that those who were engaged in the buying and selling of land were engaged in just as legitimate an occupation as the man who pursued the occupation of cheesemonger or linen manufacturer, and that they had no right to harass the poor man who traded in ground any more than they had the right to harass the cheesemonger or linen merchant. He was not going to harass them, he was only going to tax them. (Applause.) . . .

Supposing a man bought a piece of land, not for the purpose of growing turnips, not for the purpose of building on it, but simply in order to hold that land until it increased in price, and thus secure a profit on the transaction. He asked, What did that man produce? Nothing. What useful service did that man render to the community while he waited for his price? None. What remunerative employment for labor did that man give? None. Did that man add anything to the wealth of the community? No! (A voice: "Robbery.") No, he did not say robbery, but he admitted it. (Laughter.) That man was carrying on a trade which the law recognized and protected. But he could only point out that it was a trade of a very peculiar kind, differing entirely from that of the cheesemonger or linen merchant. He contributed nothing and added nothing to the wealth of the community, and in no way did he render any useful service. What did that man possess as he sat or slept or dreamt or stared at his ground? He possessed nothing except the right to keep other people off the ground. The right of property in land—bare land—which is merely held for the purpose of yielding the owner a profit—is only the right to exclude fellow-mortals from a particular area of God's earth—the bare right of exclusion—nothing more. (Applause.) . . .

The Land Valuation.

He quite agreed that if the valuation of the

land could be done by clockwork it would be a very great advantage to all of them, but unfortunately they lived amongst a practical business-like people, and not in dreamland; and their sane, reasoning, law-abiding fellow-citizens were quite willing to bear any reasonable expense necessary in order to secure the value of all land, bare land, in their own country. Estimates had been made, or rather he should say the wildest of guesses had been hazarded, that the cost would be 25 or 30 million pounds, but his answer was that in their judgment this estimate was grossly extravagant. He believed the cost would amount to well under 2 million pounds. He admitted freely that this was a large sum of money, and it ought not to be spent unless for a good object. The Government had come to the conclusion that as the cost would be considerable, and as the benefit would be a national benefit, that the Government should bear the expense themselves, and not allow it to fall on many who were small landowners. No one yet had said, and no man could say, that if the thing ought to be done, if it was a wise, just, and prudent thing to secure the value of their national territory so that they might levy their taxes, the expense ought to deter them.

Let them not forget, as many people did, that this was not the first time in the history of their country that a valuation had been undertaken, and little fuss made about it. They, in Scotland, had had a valuation in the time of Oliver Cromwell. In Ireland they had had a valuation in the time of Griffiths, and in England at the time of the Norman Conquest. . . .

The Question of Confiscation.

The last objection, and the one which had lived longest, and probably the only one that would survive, was that the land taxes spelt Socialism and confiscation. This suggestion was a great recommendation in some people's eyes, but it was anathema to others; but to tell the truth it all depended on what they understood by Socialism, and the people who flung those charges at their heads never had told them, never would tell them, for they never could tell them, what they meant by Socialism. It was no use his telling them that these taxes were not Socialistic unless he told them what he understood by Socialism. What he understood by it was the extinction, the annihilation of all private property and the taking over of all private property by the state. That, and nothing else, was Socialism. (Applause.) According to his view, these taxes were designed to confer great benefits on the community—he meant the proceeds of the taxes—to confer benefits which private individuals could not confer and could not be asked to confer—benefits which the state alone could confer; but, he asked, did any of these taxes as he had described them mean that they took away men's private

property, and handed it over to the state? They took no man's property from him. (Applause.) They did not even tax a man's buildings or the proceeds of his own industry. They said—"We respect your private property, and we won't tax it. No ruthless hand shall be laid on your property, but if we find you in possession of wealth which you spent nothing to create—which has been entirely created by and derived from the community—we think it only fair and just to ask you to give a contribution to the community from which you draw that wealth."

That was the essence of the land taxes. (Applause.) They found people in the possession of wealth which they had done nothing to create, and they said to them—"Gentlemen, you live in a free state, you have the protection of our law, and the advantages which come from living in the midst of a progressive and industrious community. Will you not, therefore, contribute to the needs of the community?"

He had now disclosed to them the main features in the Budget, and had brought under their notice as fully and faithfully as he could the whole case for and against the land taxes. . . .

The Budget—A Potent Weapon.

They could beat down all the forces of opposition to land reform through the Budget. It was the most potent weapon which the democracy could hold in its hand to beat down the forces of opposition. (Loud applause.) Now was their opportunity. If their nerve failed now, if their courage faltered, they might bid a long farewell to land reform in this country; but if, on the other hand, their courage did not flinch, if they were determined and made up their minds that they would attain their aspirations and accomplish their aims, then he said to them they should support the Budget, and lay broad and deep the foundations on which they would rear up a method of laying on the shoulders of their citizens fairly, evenly, and justly all the burdens of the State. (Loud applause.)

Questions Answered.

A number of questions were then asked by members of the audience, and replied to by Mr. Ure as follows:

First—Would the rating of land values fall on the farmer, who is already over-burdened with rates and taxes?

Reply—Mr. Ure said his answer to that question was No. It would lighten the farmer's burden, because he would not be rated upon his improvements, buildings, machinery; only upon the bare land.

Another question was—

"Why did the Government not tax foreign manufactured goods, and thus give employment to the workmen of Great Britain and Ireland?"

Mr. Ure replied by saying that if foreign goods

were taxed there would be a heavy loss to British ships and sailors who carried foreign goods, and to the dock laborers, stevedores, and carters who handled them. Goods were not paid for by gold or bank notes, but by goods made by busy hands in the mills and workshops of their own country. (Loud applause.) All these people would be thrown out of employment. That was the reason why the Government, or any Government unless of escaped lunatics, would not attempt to stifle British trade by putting a tax on imported goods.

BOOKS

THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

The Abolition of Poverty, Through Restitution of the Equal Rights to Land. (Die Abschaffung der Armut, durch Wiederherstellung des gleichen Anrechts an die Erde.) By Gustav Büscher. Verlagsmagazin, Zürich, 1909.

In lieu of a preface, the author presents a letter of protest, written by him to the finance directors of the Government of the Canton of Zürich, in which he refused to pay taxes because the system of taxation rests on false principles, leads to great corruption, to lies and fraud, undermines public morals, oppresses the poor, favors the wealthy, and is altogether a gigantic robbery. Justice demands the exaction of taxes on the value of the land, which by right belongs to the people. For these and other reasons the author refused to pay the taxes imposed upon him, and left it to the officials to proceed against him as they deem best.

The sequel to this proceeding is not given, but the proceeding itself shows him to be terribly in earnest about the abolition of poverty. Nevertheless, it must be feared his insurrection will come to no good, since, as Buckle says: "However pernicious any interest, beware of using force against it, unless the progress of knowledge has previously sapped it at its base, and loosened its hold over the national mind. This has always been the error of the most ardent reformers, who, in their eagerness to effect their purpose, let the political movement outstrip the intellectual one, and, thus inverting the natural order, secure misery to themselves. . . . They touch the altar and fire springs forth to consume them."

But, for all that, sympathy and good wishes are due to Mr. Büscher in his strenuous efforts to ameliorate the hard conditions of the oppressed poor.

The book itself, though written in an undertone of anger, is full of scintillant thoughts and expressions, presented in clear and careful language, so true, so honest, so forceful, so just, so warm-hearted, so genuinely democratic that one wishes to see it translated in all languages and distributed by the million copies. All of which, we think,

may be inferred from the following extracts from the chapter on "The Advantages of the Land Values Tax Opposed to Present Robber Taxes"

People who wish to become or have grown rich at the expense of their fellow men, and those scholars who serve them, are untiring in their assertion that the land values tax is the most unjust of all taxes. How revolting, they exclaim, that the land owners only are to be taxed! Is the rich business man, the rich manufacturer, who lives in a rented house, not to pay any taxes, and the small land owner to be crushed by the burden of taxes?

Idle swaggering! Where, indeed, are the rich people who are not also land owners? who do not, indirectly, receive their portion of land values, as mortgage creditors, as stockholders, security holders, etc.? Where are the poor people who own great estates, whose dwellings are surrounded by large parks and expensive gardens? Who are the people who call a million valued building sites in our large cities, their own? Perhaps the washerwomen, or the mechanics?

In Switzerland where, nominally, the land is so well distributed, official statistics show that all the land which has any value is in the hands of not quite one-fifth of the population. Must four-fifths forego their natural rights that one-fifth of the population may retain that to which it has no right at all?

When we restore the equal rights of all to the earth, how, then, can the small land owner lose? Those land owners only can lose who have more than their share of land on an equal division.

The poor people, ruined by the taxation of land values, would be those people who intend to squeeze out a fortune from their fellow men by raising rents and speculating in land. Must we forever suffer want, that these people may find their reckoning? Must we trample under foot our rights of men, that these people who cannot understand that there is something higher than a money bag, shall not suffer from mistaken ventures?

The small land owner who has not bought his property with an eye to speculation, which means for purposes of legal robbery of his fellow men, would lose nothing by the land tax; he would be on the winning side, in most cases. He would save all other taxes he now pays, and which for him are more burdensome than for the rich. And from the increase of wages, the improvement of profits, the general growth of prosperity, he would harvest so many benefits that even a small loss would be abundantly compensated. . . . The property and income tax system has been a fiasco because these taxes are a punishment for honesty, and place a premium on lies and fraud. It has been a fiasco because all things except land values have a natural tendency to withdraw from taxation, be it that they are hidden, be it that they become scarcer and dearer. It is written in the laws of nature that land is the property of society; the products of labor, the property of the individual. This is the reason why all tax laws which disregard this principle, hatch corruption and fraud. Customs, duties and monopolies are avoided by smuggling, income and property taxes through misrepresentation of declarations. Hardly anyone deems it a moral obli-

gation to pay attention to these laws. Is it possible that laws which undermine morality rest upon justice?

C. M. KOEDT.

* * *

A GERMAN WORD TO SOCIALISTS

A Word to Socialists, and to Those Desiring to Join Them. (Ein Wort an die Sozialisten, und solche, die es werden wollen.) By Gustav Büscher. Verlagsmagazin, Zürich, 1909.

This pamphlet of 61 pages is a fierce denunciation of socialism by an author who has thoroughly mastered his subject. He recognizes as entirely true the accusations of socialism against present day society; but criticises in terms of strength and depth the utter lack of great practical results after half a century's spirited and vehement agitation on the part of socialists, and prognosticates continued failure.

Reviewing socialism in all times and all countries, he finds nothing but fine words, and promises of great events to come in the course of a couple of hundred years, all depending upon the "development of capitalism." Their promises are without limits—a shoreless sea, and therefore the rich have long ago ceased to fear socialism. Only so long as they are hungry, are the poor revolutionary. Socialists don't know what the rights of the poor are, and therefore their protests against the wealthy remain without results, they don't know what of this world of ours by right belongs to them, and what not. Whenever and wherever theories of socialism have been tried, they have been found wanting. Socialism and tariff protection grow on the same tree. Their only gains are small advantages, such as the feeding of school children, eight-hour laws, protection of laborers in factories, and the like. The old age pension

law, for example, is the work of Bismarck. In the Canton of Zürich, where their stronghold in Switzerland has been for forty years, and where their most gifted leaders have indefatigably agitated for socialism, what has been the result? Have they obtained by fighting a single valuable right for the people? "By their fruits shall ye know them." Only one right have the socialists been able to give the people of the Canton Zürich, after a hot struggle—the right to commit abortion.

Erudite socialists mock and spurn the rights of man. Human rights are nothing to them, they wait for the time when "capitalistic development" shall have gained mastery over all production; then, without regard to right or wrong, they purpose to descend upon the monopoly and seize it for the proletariat.

The author makes the new claim that socialism is based upon mendicancy, ever willing to take a bone falling from the table of the rich; and he animadverts upon the unbridled speeches at the great party meetings, as at Nüremberg, where the debaters mutually called each other infamous liars, accused each other of double dealing, unconscionableness, etc., and finally dispersed after purposeless squabbles.

Altogether the pamphlet, written in popular style, evinces ardent seeking after true democracy, and is therefore interesting reading.

C. M. KOEDT.

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* * *

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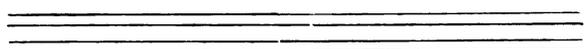
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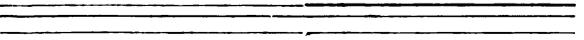
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