

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

The Political Panic.

Difficulties and embarrassments multiply about Mr. Taft in his attempt to allay the disaffection in the Republican party, and to bring together its two wings in opposition to what, with very questionable taste in a President of the United States, he called in his speech in New York on the 13th, "our ancient enemy." The implication running through that speech, that he considers himself the chief of a party quite as much as the head of a nation, and his fling at nearly one-half the voters of the country as "a party of words and irresponsible opposition," will not strengthen him either with Independents or with lukewarm Democrats, whose support, or good will at least, he can hardly do without. But the most significant features of his speech were his labored defense of the Aldrich-Payne tariff bill, and his almost pathetic appeal to postpone criticism of it for two years; coupled with his statement that the Republican party "has set itself strongly in the right direction toward lower tariffs."

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We cannot now follow Mr. Taft into his figures and statistics, but they will be analyzed and torn to pieces in a thousand Western newspapers before the month is over. A valuable and striking table compiled by the Chicago Tribune, is proof of this. That table shows that outside of the Democratic press, that is, among Republican

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and independent newspapers only of the West and Middle West, the critics and antagonists of the Aldrich-Payne tariff outnumber its supporters more than four to one. They have not in most cases, we may be sure, taken this position without grounds seeming good to themselves. And those grounds included a belief that the present tariff had increased prices to the consumer. Mr. Taft's figures and statements will not be received without rigid analysis and investigation. But if he should be able to satisfy a portion of his insurgent mutineers that they were unjustly criticizing the tariff bill in calling it a violation of a party platform pledge, what will the protected beneficiaries of privilege and monopoly, who are the pecuniary backbone of his party, say to his declarations that those who uphold a protective tariff system defend it by asserting that it will lead to a reduction in prices which will make the original high tariff unnecessary, and that "the right direction" is towards "lower tariffs." The "right direction," according to the great majority of these gentlemen, is not towards "lower tariffs," and they will let Mr. Taft know it, if we can conceive of his ever really leading a movement in that direction.

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As we have before remarked, Mr. Taft is between Scylla and Charybdis. His escape is impossible if he continues to undertake to look towards both at once. Captain Facing-both-ways is a poor skipper in such straits. For the rest, Mr. Taft's speech plainly enough indicates that whether or not there is to be a business panic soon, there is already a political one, and that he hardly anticipates a Republican majority in the next House.

* *

A Judicial Usurpation.

It is not usual for the Senators of the United States to pay more attention to fundamental principles of free parliamentary government than the representatives direct from the people in the Lower House do. But they seem to have done so last week in resisting an order of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia on the members of a joint committee on printing, to appear in mandamus proceedings brought against them in relation to their legislative committee duties. The Senate directed its members of the joint committee to pay no attention to the Court's order. The House, by a vote in which the Republicans seem to have been joined by numerous Democrats, practically ordered its members to appear. The particular matter at issue in the proceedings may

not seem to have been important, but the principle which the Senate followed is the only one which can ensure legislative independence of the Courts and is very important. Under our system of written constitutions, the Courts surely have already a dangerous power to block legislative action. If parliamentary privileges are to be thrown also into their control, and representatives of the people engaged in their legislative work, to be as to that work, directly or incidentally at the beck and call of an arbitrary judge of a local court in Washington, things have come to an evil pass.

* *

Truth by Act of Congress.

There is a difference of opinion between President Taft and Dr. Harvey W. Wiley—the real "Secretary of the Interior"—in regard to the printed matter that should be carried on the outside of a bottle of whisky. "President Taft very reasonably requires that the outside of a whisky bottle shall tell exactly what is inside," says the San Francisco Call. But what right has Congress to compel the manufacturer to be a prophet? No one can tell until the whisky is used whether the bottle contains murder, arson, grand larceny, a street fight or a plain divorce. If President Taft is an advocate of truthful labels, he should recommend that the Pure Food Act be applied to Republican platforms.

* *

"Surplus" of Swollen Fortunes.

"Blanket sheets" is an appropriate name for big newspapers that cover small ideas with a blanket of words. "The surplus of a few swollen fortunes," says one of these blanket sheets, "would go far toward completely eradicating tuberculosis from this continent." But what is the "surplus" of a swollen fortune? Isn't a swollen fortune itself a "surplus," an economic tumor—and therefore a mis-fortune instead of a fortune? It is no more a "fortune" than is a carbuncle a physiological fortune. There would be less tuberculosis to worry us if we abolished the conditions that cause "swollen fortunes."

* *

Civic Improvement a Landlord Profit.

The fact that every public improvement, and even the prospect of public improvements, adds to the value of land and benefits landowners, is being well illustrated on the Pacific Coast. Oakland has just annexed a large area of suburban district, and real estate dealers report higher prices in the annexed district, where streets are to be

paved and other improvements are to be made. Oakland has recently voted millions for harbor improvements, and no sooner were the bonds voted than real estate took a jump to a higher plane. Alameda, next door to Oakland, has voted the modest sum of \$150,000 for a school in a new district, and real estate in that district is higher. In Berkeley, adjoining Oakland on the north, the transportation companies are building new lines, and land values are increasing on that account. When Oakland annexed new territory, the street-car fares to and from that annexed territory were immediately reduced, and land values increased. Every public improvement increases land values, and increased land values go into the pockets of landlords.

* *

Our Provincials.

"The line dividing the East from the West," says a California man, "runs through Rahway, New Jersey. West of Rahway, men turn their faces to New York when they pray, while east of Rahway they turn their faces west when they pray."

* *

Farmers' Crops and Farming Land.

We read in a church paper that "the high prices paid for all of our crops certainly invite the development of the millions of acres now lying idle and unoccupied." Invite whom? Workers? But the workers don't own those millions of acres, and before they can move upon, occupy and develop them they must make arrangements with the landlords, who will demand "all that the traffic will bear," which is all above a bare living. "God made the land for all the people," but through certain kinds of theological glasses it appears that God made all the land for the select few, and not the salt of the earth either. Some church editors need the attention of oculists who can fit glasses to myopic brains.

* *

Mordant Resolutions.

It is easy to say "workingman," and "social conditions," in the pulpit; and no bones are broken if the "fight between capital and labor" is deplored. But the word "privilege" is a harder one; and still harder is it to carry analysis to the "paid reading matter" and "advertisements" of privilege. So it is to be noted that the Rev. R. A. Bakeman of East Jaffrey, N. H., made an effort to introduce the following resolutions at the New England Conference of Baptist Churches in Boston on the 3rd:

Whereas, It is a prime object of this conference to

help solve the problem, "How Can the Church Reach the Workingman?" and

Whereas, It is necessary that the Church should face squarely and honestly the grave social and economic questions that are bound up with this problem;

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that the Baptist denominational press open its columns to frank discussion of the questions of labor and privilege, and that it keep its columns free from all paid reading matter or advertisements on these questions.

The usual rules of order relative to submission to a committee on resolutions prevented the actual presentation of the resolutions to the Conference; but Mr. Bakeman, heedless of the Moderator, made this much of a speech in regard to them, as reported by the Boston Advertiser of the 4th:

We are trying to wrestle with the problem of how the church can reach the workingman, and yet we are shackled by wealth. I have here three copies of our paper, a paper whose news columns have been and are now being sold to an arch enemy of organized labor. The cause of the workingman is being betrayed by our denominational paper, and I ask in all fairness, Do you think that we as a church will ever reach the laboring man under such conditions? I have a letter from the editor of that paper in which he practically admits the denomination bond to certain wealthy factions, and says that for this reason he would not print a criticism of mine, which might result in the loss of this financial mainstay of the Baptist church. There are printed in its columns articles which the editor admits are paid advertisements, and which constitute the most vicious attacks on labor organizations ever published. Is that Christian?

* *

Just People.

Great gulfs have been bridged in the two wonderful strikes just won by women in New York and Philadelphia—the strike of the 40,000 and the strike of the 7,000. The gulf between the woman of wealth and luxury and the girl in the ghetto who lives on rye bread and oil, has been bridged. The gulf between the college girl and the immigrant—presupposed to be unlettered but not by any means always so found,—has been bridged. And yet one more profound differentiation has, like a wound, received the healing touch of a sane-minded child. This is the story as Mrs. Raymond Robins told it on Sunday afternoon to the Chicago Women's Trade Union League. It was a little Russian Jew shirtwaist maker who was taken to Boston to tell at Faneuil Hall about the New York strike—a little girl, only fifteen years old, still in short skirts. They had to give her a nameless introduction lest later, her name known, she should be blacklisted. She told of her arrest: "The judge he say, 'How long you been in this country?' I say, 'Two year.' He say, 'You go workshop

[workhouse] five days.' So I go workshop five days. I see many womens there. One womens she say, 'I bad womens; you not come near me.' I say, 'What you mean? Not we all peoples?' 'Are we not all just people? This is the last word of democracy.

* * *

THE ENGLISH STATESMEN OF THE PRESENT CRISIS.

Until the last half century the word "property" was a very inclusive term. It embraced so many things that men and nations were forever embroiled in quarrels over the acquisition and retention of property. Property rights have been so extended and exaggerated as to occupy nearly our whole field of vision, to the exclusion of rights much more important and wide reaching; and it is perfectly safe to say that the institution of property will never be properly safeguarded until its relation to the rights of man is properly determined.

A right is essentially a moral thing. It relates to the developed moral sense of man. Aside from this, the term "right" has no meaning whatever, and all the much vaunted legal rights have validity only in so far as they have moral sanction.

For many centuries men have by the sheer brute force of their governments made property of land, of men, and of the things men make and bring forth from land. These are the only three kinds of property possible.

Civilized society has outgrown property in men; it is raw, crude, and in a highly civilized state, economically unprofitable. It is possible only in a society the industrial order of which is primitive, or at least confined principally to the primary industries involved in tilling the soil.

We have left, then, but two forms of property to deal with: property in the gifts of nature, and property in the products of human toil. Property in land involves a constant, persistent and flagrant violation of property in the products of land; it involves getting without earning on the one hand, and earning without getting on the other. Because of the constant friction thus engendered we have our problem, which superficial people call the war between capital and labor.

Persons whose mental processes are so involved that they are unable to distinguish between two things so essentially different as property in the earth and the things made from it, are not sufficiently clear headed to formulate a practicable working theory for the reconstruction of society. If there is anything in which society is interested that requires clear heads, it certainly is the solu-

tion of this question. Confused thoughts will not do. Only that thought is valuable which is clear. Clearness of thought involves clearness of expression, which leads to definite action, which represents a net gain.

Society will hesitate to turn over its political affairs to any set of men who lack a definite, coherent, affirmative, progressive program, to say nothing of its industrial affairs. Platitudes will not do; generalities will not do; good intentions will not do—the road to perdition is paved with them all.

The men to whom society in future will entrust its affairs must not only know they are on the way; they must know where they are going. Testimony to this is borne by the fact that the leaders of the great movement in England now under way, have created such a program. For England's present purposes they are the greatest men that have ever floated to the top of English politics, and when historians get proper perspective, they will be so placed. It is a rare and happy combination of great men, great principles, and great opportunities.

The leaders of English Liberalism have been weighed in the balance and are not found wanting. The situation is splendid with promise for the future. Pericles once said that statesmanship consisted in understanding the situation, and in being able to explain it to others—a very excellent definition, which takes in every important leader in the Liberal party in England, and leaves out, with rare exceptions, every important American politician of all political labels.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia,
December 17, 1909.

The last session of the third Federal Parliament ended last week. The principal measures passed related to finance, defense, a loan for naval purposes, a site for the Federal capital, and a High Commissioner to represent the Commonwealth in London.

The Federal Constitution provides that, for the first ten years after federation, at least three-fourths of the revenue from customs and excise duties must be paid by the Commonwealth to the States (vol. xii, p. 678). In August a conference of the State Premiers and the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth was held, at which the financial relations between the States and the Commonwealth formed the chief subject of discussion, and a proposal that in future the States should receive twenty-five shillings (about six dollars) per head of

population was accepted. A bill embodying this proposal was passed by the Federal Parliament, after strong opposition in both houses, and attempts to fix a time limit for its operation. This question will be submitted to a referendum at the next Federal election, as an amendment of the Constitution.

The Defense act provides for the construction of an Australian navy, and for land defense forces, with compulsory training. The application of the compulsory clauses is limited to the more closely populated areas. Boys from twelve to fourteen years of age will be enrolled as junior cadets who will be given physical training and taught to shoot. Senior cadets, from 14 to 18 years old, are to receive sixteen days' training annually. Adult training, either naval or military, for sixteen days in each year, will be given to young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty. Men who have passed through these stages will be placed on the adult reserve list until they are twenty-six; they will receive training only in case of war, but will be obliged to attend muster parade annually. Provision is also made for the enrollment of volunteers.

The Naval Loan act empowers the government to borrow £3,500,000 (about \$17,500,000) for the purpose of building the navy.

A site for the Federal capital has at last been definitely agreed upon; an area of about 1,000 square miles in the neighborhood of Yass, New South Wales, was selected by the Federal Parliament and ceded to the Commonwealth by the State Parliament of New South Wales.

Sir George Reid (recently knighted), formerly leader of the free trade party in the Federal Parliament, and for a few months Prime Minister, has been appointed High Commissioner.

A general election for half the Senate and for the whole of the House of Representatives will be held in April. This promises to be the first Federal election in which only two parties will be contesting: the Deakin-Cook (ministerialist) party, and the Labor party.

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The Legislative Assembly (lower house) of Victoria (vol. xii, p. 199) has passed a graduated land value taxation bill; the minimum tax is a half penny, and the maximum threepence in the pound, with an exemption of £500. Absentee owners of land are to be charged 50 per cent extra.

The Legislative Council (upper house) has suggested amendments which the assembly refuses to act upon, and at present there is a deadlock between the houses.

* * *

ERNEST BRAY.

LAND VALUE TAXATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

Sydney, N. S. W., Australia,
December 14, 1909.

The city elections took place on December 1, when aldermen for the City of Sydney were elected for the ensuing three years. As I have pointed out previously (vol. xii, p. 990), this city is the only place in New South Wales where the system of rating on rental values for ordinary municipal services continues. The power to adopt land value taxation

only, is in the hands of the aldermen. Unlike the suburbs and country the ratepayers have no power to demand a poll. Everything depends upon the council. For these reasons our efforts were directed towards getting a council elected to establish the new system.

There would be no trouble about it but for one thing. Almost every candidate professed to be in favor of rating on unimproved values, but some of them had an excuse for declining to promise to act up to their profession, if elected. In the suburbs and country the government pays rates on the unimproved value of the occupied land belonging to it, to the local council. In Sydney for some strange reason it pays rates on the rental value, and declares that if the city council imposes its rates solely upon land values that it will pay no rates at all. A sum of about £13,000 is involved.

That difficulty, absurd as it appears, is the only thing that stands in the way of rating entirely on land values in the City of Sydney in 1910. It would never have arisen with a man like Sir Joseph Carruthers in power.

Many of us would let the £13,000 go, holding that those who use their land fully, pay far more than that in excess of their fair proportion of the rates. We supported candidates who are in favor of the principle, come what may, and met with a fair measure of success. During the campaign the following statement was published:

The Verdict of Experience.

In response to a request for an expression of opinion, we wish to say that the system of rating on unimproved values which came into force under the provisions of the Local Government Act of 1906 is working remarkably well.

It has reduced the rates of a very large proportion of the ratepayers, although we are raising a larger revenue.

It has stimulated the building trade, employment is more constant, and business generally is on a much sounder footing.

It has induced a number of ratepayers to build or dispose of land which they were not willing or able to use themselves, and has promoted the subdivision of land hitherto withheld from use for speculative purposes.

It is fair to all ratepayers, as it simply requires from each his due proportion of the rates.

It specially benefits those ratepayers whose use of land is most effective and creditable to the municipality, while it has put effective pressure upon a number of owners of idle or partly used land, to change their tactics.

As far as we can judge, the new system has the emphatic support of the bulk of the people. There is no public demand for a change.

It is but fair to admit that rating on unimproved values is working as well as its advocates claimed that it would before it was adopted.

Our experience is so satisfactory that we have no hesitation in saying that the new system could be adopted with great advantage in the city.

This document bore the signatures of eighty-four mayors and aldermen of the suburbs, and unquestionably represents the views of a large majority of the suburban aldermen, although time did not permit of their signatures being obtained. The land values of the suburbs amount to about £24,000,000, and those of the city to about £20,000,000, but these figures are somewhat below selling values.

A. G. HUIE.

THE NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS.

London, Feb. 1, 1910.

When the King's speech is read from the throne three weeks hence, the Parliamentary significance of the elections just closing may become apparent, but in all probability not before.

The King's speech is not his own speech. It is the speech of Ministers who write it for him. If it were his own speech, he would be personally involved in politics and become a football of parties. Being their speech, though in his name and with his formal sanction, they and not he are held responsible for its tenor.

It is for this reason that the fact that a day has been fixed for the speech is significant. It implies that the Asquith Ministry have reached an understanding of some kind with the King. If they had not, there would be no responsible source for his speech to come from unless the speech announced the resignation of the Ministry, which no one expects. What the understanding is, if there be one, will not be known until the King's speech appears. Even then it may only be inferred.

That the King would appoint enough new peers to "swamp" the Tory majority in the House of Lords if the Liberals had swept the country, or what would have had the same effect, would have withheld his summonses to Parliament from enough Tory Lords to leave the Liberal Lords in a majority, was believed prior to the elections. But the Liberals have not swept the country. They are about equal in the Commons now to the Tories. To give them a substantial plurality over the Lords, they must have the Labor vote. Even the Liberals and Labor together do not make a majority. The Irish vote could transfer power from one side to the other at will.

In those circumstances it is feared that the King may not give Asquith his way. While it is true that the Irish, the Liberals and Labor would be as one on the question of the Lords' veto, thereby making an anti-Tory majority of 106 according to Tory estimates, and 122 according to Liberal estimates, and also that on a vote the Irish members must be counted, yet it is argued that inasmuch as the Irish members are elected only on the question of Irish nationalism, they may not count in the King's mind when he decides whether or not to yield to Mr. Asquith's demands. The King may consider that his Constitutional duty to adopt the advice of his Ministry stops short of abrogating the veto power of the House of Lords by any such drastic process as creating an anti-veto majority in its membership, or by excluding pro-veto peers from the summonses to Parliament, in a situation in which the Ministry depends for its majority, as the Liberal Ministry would in the new Parliament, upon the Irish vote. Gladstone, it is true, did govern from 1892 to 1894 in dependence upon the Irish members for his scant majority of 40; but Gladstone did not then ask the Sovereign to "swamp" the House of Lords with wholesale appointment of peers. So it may well be that the King will refuse to co-operate with Mr. Asquith in this particular, taking the Tory view that the Irish party is peculiar—to be considered to the extent that it votes Tory, but disregarded to the extent that it votes Liberal. And yet

King Edward is widely regarded, even by radicals, as so democratic in sentiment and so keen in long distance political foresight that few will be surprised if he falls in readily with Mr. Asquith's plans.

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If, however, the King should refuse to Mr. Asquith assurances of co-operation in curbing the Lords, it is difficult to see how Mr. Asquith could consent to head a Ministry.

He has distinctly and emphatically declared that the only legislation in behalf of which he has pledged himself to take the initiative is a measure to put an end once and for all to the absolute veto of the House of Lords; and Lloyd George has proclaimed broadly, with the apparent concurrence of Mr. Asquith, that no Liberal Ministry will either take office or continue in office, with the arbitrary veto power of the House of Lords hanging over them. For these men to continue in office without assurances of the King's co-operation on this point, would therefore be stultification. Yet Asquith's refusal to continue in office at this juncture might imperil for a time the whole progressive movement in Great Britain.

Should he refuse the responsibilities of office in case the King withholds assurances regarding the Lords, the King might promptly offer the government to the Tory leader, Mr. Balfour. That Mr. Balfour would accept with any view to remaining long in power is almost unthinkable; but he might accept with a view to "riding for a fall"—of being voted down in the House, and thereby bringing about an early dissolution and the election of a new Parliament.

For the latter reason the offer of premiership might be a tempting one to Mr. Balfour; for protectionism, it must be confessed—"tariff reform" as they call it here—has taken a strong hold upon masses of voters who are Liberal when times are good. Its especial attraction to them is the offer it holds out of plenty of work at better wages, and the consequent relief of unemployment, which is still painfully felt.

If the Liberals were to content themselves with meeting this issue negatively at another series of elections in present circumstances, as for the most part they did in the recent campaign, Mr. Balfour's expectations of coming back from another appeal to the people with a Tory majority, might not be disappointed. But if the Liberals were to make the next fight throughout Great Britain as the recent one was made in Scotland, by showing to the voters not only that protection would not relieve unemployment, but that free trade supplemented with land value taxation would, an early return to the country by dissolution of the incoming Parliament might soon give to Mr. Asquith the sweeping Liberal victory which, partly from an over-prudent leadership, partly from triangular contests, partly from the intense activity of the liquor interests, partly from landlord coercion, and partly from plural voting, failed him at the recent elections.

But, as I have stated above, the signs point to an understanding between Mr. Asquith and the King. If no understanding had been arrived at, it is unlikely that the present Ministry would, un-

less to announce their resignation, undertake to write the King's speech from the throne; and if that had not been done it is unlikely that the delivery of the King's speech would be officially announced for the 21st.

✦

Upon the assumption that the present Ministry has consented, or will consent, to remain in office, its probable course will be to pass the Lloyd George Budget under closure at once, and send it to the Lords for their approval.

That the Lords will promptly approve this Budget is universally conceded. They will do so upon the ground that they have submitted it to referendum and that the referendum, "though by a narrow margin," has sustained it.

So far, then, as the Budget is concerned, the radicals have won their fight.

It will impose an annual tax of one cent in five dollars annually upon the capital value of undeveloped urban and suburban land, and an occasional tax of 20 cents on the dollar of increases in the value of such land. Small as these exactions are, they will have a far greater effect in this country than they would have in the United States, in forcing building land upon the market at reduced prices and thereby stimulating building operations and lessening unemployment. But the most important result will be the immediate valuation of all the lands of the Kingdom, and their revaluation hereafter periodically. This is the revolutionary feature of the Budget. With the lands of Great Britain once valued (as they have not been for over 200 years) the spirit now pervading public opinion and stimulating recognition of the fact that land is a common inheritance and its value a social fund, cannot but lead on to higher and higher taxation of monopolized land values, and lower and lower taxation of unmonopolized industrial values.

Another effect of the passage of the Budget will be the imposition of deservedly heavy taxation upon the liquor interests, and possibly the silencing of this sinister voice in elections. The great brewing and distilling interests either own or hold mortgages upon an enormous number of the public drinking houses. Something like 80,000 are said to be kept by mere hirelings, abject dependents, of the wealthy brewing and distilling businesses. This is due to the fact that liquor licenses, granted by local magistrates, are not only personal to the licensee but are locational. The pecuniary advantage of a license goes, therefore, not to the licensee, but to the owner of the licensed site. It is in this way that the saloon question here is a land question. The brewers and distillers acquire control of the licensed sites, directly or indirectly, and with this leverage they turn the public house keeper into a hired dependent. In the recent campaign all public house keepers and touters were Tory, for the Lloyd George Budget imposes license fees which the distilling and brewing interests denounce as confiscatory and destructive to the liquor trade. And, indeed—thank God and Lloyd George—that is what they are. They confiscate back from the liquor interests some of the site values which those interests have appropriated. With the Budget adopted the owners of licensed liquor selling sites

would lose their hold, in great degree at least, upon the vilest kind save one of unearned increment of land, and in like degree upon the men they exploit. Their political influence, also, would be correspondingly diminished.

✦

After the Budget, which must be got through by the last of March—for it is this year's budget and the government is without revenues—a new budget, providing for next year's revenues and expenditures, must be brought in. This is not likely to do more in a radical way than build upon and along the lines of the Budget now in question.

But come what may, no Liberal Ministry can afford to ignore the question of the House of Lords' veto. Not only have the Liberal leaders promised to "pull the teeth" of the House of Lords, but the adoption of the Budget without anti-veto legislation would confirm the House of Lords in their autocratic position. They did not formally reject the Budget last fall. They merely referred it to the people. So they said. What they virtually did was to arrogate to themselves the right to stop the voting of supplies by the Commons until it had returned to the people for a further lease of power. Now that the people give it a further lease of power, the Lords may acquiesce and pass the Budget; but this course would constitute a constitutional precedent under which the Lords could in the future dissolve Parliament at will on pretense of "referring" the annual financial bill to the people. It is evident then, that the establishment of that power in the Lords would abrogate the exclusive constitutional power of the Commons over the purse strings of the nation. No Liberal ministry, therefore, can go beyond providing for financial needs, if even so far, without first putting an end, by specific legislation, to all basis for the assumption by the Lords of power over national finances.

This much it must be presumed the Asquith ministry will insist upon. This much, also, it is not unreasonable to infer, from the announcement of the King's speech, the King has assented to.

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But if the progressives—whether radical Liberal, Labor, or Irish,—are ever to legislate at all along their own lines, a further curb must be put upon the House of Lords. If this is done, it will probably be done by the passage through the Commons, of restrictive legislation.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's resolution might form the foundation for that action. His resolution provided for a conference between the two Houses when they disagree upon a bill passed by the Commons. If the conference disagrees, and the Commons again passes the bill, another conference is in order. Should this second conference fail to reach an agreement, the Commons may consider the bill again, and if it passes there the third time it is a law.

This resolution is regarded as cumbrous, but it would doubtless afford the outline for any legislation in restraint of the Lords' general veto that Mr. Asquith might undertake. The essence of the question, as often stated in these columns, is

whether the Lords' veto shall be absolute as heretofore, or in some form suspensory.

The important consideration, however, just now, is not what the restraint upon the Lords' general veto shall be, but whether any restraint at all will be attempted. This consideration brings us back again to the King.

If the King yields to Mr. Asquith, the absolute veto will doubtless be abolished. If he does not yield, Mr. Asquith will face the trying alternative of taking office and making the best headway he can, step by step—trusting to the Irish party, the Labor party and the radical Liberals, to follow him along a thorny and not very clearly defined path—or of resigning office when the crisis of a conflict with the King comes, and thereby plunging the country into another contest at the polls at an inopportune time and under discouraging circumstances.

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By discouraging circumstances, I allude to the "tariff reform" issue, which the Chamberlainites have been working up for years, and which appeals to men out of work or in fear of unemployment as a mirage appeals to a famishing wanderer in the desert. It was not as effective in the recent campaign as the Tories had hoped it would be. In the industrial regions it failed to change many seats; but it did reduce majorities even there, and the virus is working still.

No American can travel in England without recognizing the same signs which in the United States at the beginning of the protection craze portended the protection era that came upon us and from which we seem now to be emerging. In the face of the "dinner pail" argument, such relatively abstract considerations as the Lords' veto fall upon deaf ears, or unto muddled brains.

Added to the protection bunco was the influence of landlord coercion. The landlords of Great Britain appreciate the land clauses of the Lloyd George Budget even if the working masses and the competitive business classes do not. In this country coercion is manifest in the agricultural regions rather than in the cities. The squires, the landlords' agents, the public house hirelings of brewers and distillers, most of the conformist clergy and some of the non-conformist, with their wives, sisters, cousins and aunts, were all engaged in the delectable occupation of cozening and coercing tenants and laborers. Henry George, Jr., who campaigned for W. R. Lester, a single tax Liberal, in one of these constituencies, came into direct contact with the coercive influences of rural landlordism. His testimony confirms that of the Liberal newspapers, which is to the effect that the reaction in the agricultural districts was due to landlord, saloon and clerical intimidation.

This district was carried by the Liberals in the landslide year of 1906, by 27 in a total vote of 8,367. Mr. Lester loses it by 459 in a total vote of 8,989. His own aggregate vote is 68 larger than that of the Liberal candidate of 1906. Why he lost it is evident enough from the fact that the opposition crowded his meetings to break them up, and at many of his meetings he was denied a hearing. The marvel is that he got any votes at all; and

Fred Skirrow, of Keighley, who campaigned for him from start to finish, is grateful that he got through with his life. "He was mercilessly beaten by the mob of landlords' hangers on when his defeat was declared," says Mr. Skirrow; "and if it had been his election, I verily believe he would have been killed."

Mr. Lester has been invited urgently by local Liberals to contest this constituency again; and the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, with headquarters at 20 Tothill street, London, contemplate extending their systematic land reform campaign into that and other rural districts and keeping up the work until new elections occur.

In addition to the subtle influence of "tariff reform," and the coercive influence of landlords' intimidation, the working majority of the progressives in the Commons was cut down by Socialists of the "impossibilist" type, who, in the name of the Labor party, brought on triangular contests, in which both Socialist and radical Liberal candidates were defeated by Tories in Liberal districts. Although these triangular contests in Liberal districts were not encouraged by the Labor party leaders, and were avoided by the Liberals in Labor constituencies, and although they failed in several districts to elect the Tory—especially where land-value taxers were the Liberal candidates, and notably at Leigh, in Lancashire, where the Liberal candidate, Wilson Raffan, made a straight out single tax campaign,—they did threaten progressive ascendancy during the campaign, and have to some extent weakened the progressive majority in the new House of Commons.

Another factor which told heavily against the progressives was the "outvoter." Many seats were carried for the Tories by this antique anomaly. He is a voter who lives outside of the district in which he votes, but votes there in virtue of his local property interests. Some "outvoters" have voting rights in a score or more of constituencies. Two are reported to have fifty votes in England. At the recent elections these privileged fellows were hurried from district to district, so as to make the most of their privilege for the benefit of the privileged interests. One instance among thousands is of a plural voter who motored from Glasgow where he lived and had voted, to Hull, where he did not live but could vote. The residential voters in some 60 Liberal or Labor constituencies were "swamped" by these Tory "outvoters."

Complexity of issues had something to do with reducing the anti-Tory majority. The dominant issue in the political sense was the House of Lords' veto and the independence of the Commons. Underlying that issue, and the dominant one in the economic sense, was the Lloyd George Budget with reference especially to its measures for land value taxation. Land reform and political reform, therefore, the latter necessary to the progressive realization of the former, were the questions upon which the House of Lords forced the House of Commons into a general election three years before its term would expire. In doing this, the Lords laid all stress on the Budget, but when they got into the campaign they ignored the Budget and drew Chamberlain's "tariff reform" policy as a red herring across

the trail. This was done with much vigor and little conscience. The old American protection "gags" about the foreigner paying the tax, about keeping foreign workmen away from home jobs, and the virtues of protection as a cure for unemployment, were worked over artistically, and lying reports of high wages and plenty of work in the United States were fascinatingly distributed.

The Liberals were caught unawares. Instead of fighting aggressively for the Commons and the Budget against the House of Lords and land monopoly, as they had expected, they found their flank turned and themselves in a defensive struggle in behalf of free trade. Lloyd George and Churchill, with many minor campaigners, fought protection with land reform; but the Liberal campaign as a whole turned into a mere defense of commercial free trade.

Even where the land question was put forward—and everywhere that it was put forward it met a hearty response—it was usually treated independently of the question of free trade. "Tariff reformers" pictured protection as a cure for unemployment; the Liberals might have replied aggressively with a demand for an extension of free trade to its legitimate conclusion in free land, as the only remedy for unemployment, which some of them did but the lot did not. Failure to do this generally was a weakness that might have proved fatal.

I doubt, however, if the "tariff reform" herring had any effect beyond increasing somewhat the majorities of successful Tories and decreasing somewhat those of successful Liberals. It is not what this issue did in the recent elections that counts, but what it may do should future elections come on at an early day. The only effective answer in this country to protection appeals to workmen who fear unemployment, is the unlimited employment which the destruction of land monopoly would assure.



In fact, although the Liberals are dependent upon Labor and the Irish for a working majority, the result would be regarded as a great victory but for their overwhelming landslide majority in 1906, which turned over to them many a Tory stronghold that has returned now to its Toryism. Without the Labor seats—and few if any of these were contested by Liberals, as but few if any Liberal seats were contested by Labor candidates—the Liberals will have 274 seats, to 273 for the Tories plus the speaker (a Tory) who can vote only to break a tie. Consequently the Liberal plurality over the Tories is 1. Add the Labor vote, which is in harmony with the Liberals on progressive legislation, and the Liberal-Labor plurality over the Tories is 41. To this plurality add the Irish, and the majority runs up to 123 exclusive of the speaker, or 122 with the speaker included on the Tory side.

Comparing this result with the last House, there is a great falling off in the progressive seats. But when it is considered that the last Parliament was phenomenal in its progressive majority, and that the present one was elected under circumstances unusually advantageous to the Tories—so advantageous that the Tories would have swept the country but for the steady effect of the land clauses

in the Lloyd George Budget—the decline of Liberal and Labor seats is very far from a defeat. The net result is indeed a victory, and one which need only be utilized in such manner as to inspire confidence in the progressive purpose of the Liberals in order to make it a glorious one.

For comparison the following figures may be useful in showing the distribution of parties in the new Parliament in contrast with that of 1906, when the Liberals had a landslide, and those of 1895 and 1900, when the Tories were in power:

	1895.	1900.	1906.	1910.
Tories	411	402	157	274
Liberals	177	186	376	274
Irish	82	82	83	82
Labor	54	40

At the present date, with only four districts and four Universities yet to be heard from, the popular vote at the recent elections, inclusive of plural voting, which goes almost solidly Tory, was as follows:

Anti-Tory	3,493,727
Pro-Tory	3,094,354

Anti-Tory majority 399,373



In this campaign the followers of Henry George in the Liberal party have been remarkably successful in retaining old seats and securing new ones. Among the men elected to the new Parliament who may be counted as unequivocally in that category are Josiah C. Wedgwood, Wilson Raffan, Francis Neilson, Henry George Chancellor, E. G. Hemmerde, Dundas White, J. H. Whitley, Charles Trevelyan, Arthur Dewar (Solicitor General for Scotland), Harold Elverston and William Barton.

For all practical purposes, I am informed, the following may be included as men who boldly advocate the taxation of land values as the alternative to protection and as the only solution of the social problem, namely: W. R. Pringle, T. F. Wilson, G. P. Collins, Edward Shortt, C. E. Price, Max Muspratt, John McCallum, McKinnon Wood (under secretary for foreign affairs), W. S. Chapple, William Hunter, W. P. Byles, Dr. Addison and Sir Albert Spicer. Alexander Ure (Lord Advocate) occupies an especially prominent position in the movement for land value taxation for his brilliant services in Parliament and the country during the past three years. He stands, to use his own words, for "the complete blotting out of buildings and improvements" from the assessment roll, the value of land to be substituted for local taxation. The membership books of the English and the Scottish Leagues for the Taxation of Land Values, contain some four score more who are members of the incoming Parliament. In addition the Labor party to a man will contribute its strength to the support of all primary stages in the Parliamentary movement for land values taxation.

L. F. P.



It was an old colored woman who remarked that she trusted the Lord, but never fooled with him.—Philadelphia Enquirer.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

REORGANIZATION OF THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB.

Chicago, February 8, 1910.

At the last meeting of the Chicago Single Tax Club it was resolved to invite all single taxers throughout Illinois to become members of the club until such time as clubs can be organized in their respective cities or towns. All persons wishing to become members of the Chicago club are requested to send in their names. Dues are 25 cents monthly, or \$3.00 per annum. Our headquarters, 508 Schiller Building, are open regularly, and visiting single taxers are welcome.

Our purpose is to increase the power of this club in carrying forward its work of spreading the light of the single tax principle, and if we establish a closer bond of co-operation a greater harvest must necessarily follow. We are in touch with the foreign and National single tax associations, and a news bulletin will be issued from time to time.

The recent Parliamentary struggle in England, precipitated by Lloyd George's attack on landlordism in the Budget, has awakened land taxationists everywhere. The war has but just begun, and if we but take advantage of the deep, swift currents of public thought on this subject, aroused everywhere by the English fight, we, too, in this great English speaking nation of ours, will be able to strike a blow for the larger liberty of the race.

GEO. A. SCHILLING.

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, February 15, 1910.

The New British Parliament.

John Redmond (p. 130) was re-elected chairman of the Irish Nationalist party at Dublin on the 9th. Timothy M. Healy and William O'Brien and their followers (p. 130) were not invited to participate in the meeting. Resolutions were adopted refusing representation in the party to any Nationalist who had opposed the decisions of conventions officially convened to select candidates, or who had opposed the official candidates; and none of the anti-Redmonites recently elected to Parliament will be admitted to the party without a special vote. At a banquet of the United Irish League held on the evening of the same day, Mr. Redmond announced it to be the policy of his

party to subordinate every issue to the question of Irish Home Rule, and the first step toward that was the abolition of the veto power of the House of Lords. His party was prepared to vote for the Budget, provided the question of the veto was promptly dealt with. Three radical Liberal journals, the Nation, the Daily News and the Morning Leader, sent the following joint telegram to Mr. Redmond:

Congratulations to you on your magnificent stand. The whole fighting force of Liberalism is behind you.

In a statement given out by Mr. Redmond on the 12th, he said:

The position of the Irish party in this crisis admits of no possibility of misconception. We put Home Rule before every other consideration. That has always been and remains our unalterable policy. The restriction of the Lords' veto is an essential condition precedent to the passage of the Home Rule bill. Therefore we have decided, after carefully reviewing all possible alternatives, that the House of Lords' vote must be dealt with before the Budget is. To pass the Budget and then attempt to deal with the Lords' veto would be to court failure.

The Labor party recognizes its close affiliation with the Liberals, according to the Associated Press dispatches. Keir Hardie is reported to have predicted in a speech at Mountain Ash, Wales, on the 14th, that there would be no general election for two years owing to the impoverished condition of the money chests of all the parties. He believed, he declared, that the bill relating to the veto of the House of Lords and the Budget would be put through Parliament side by side, and said that, whatever course the Government took, the Labor party would support it.

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The plans of the suffragettes (p. 130), according to the Manchester Guardian of January 28, include the introduction into the next Parliament of a private member's bill, aimed to remove the political disability of sex. "By this means," Miss Christabel Pankhurst is quoted as saying in "Votes for Women," "a two-fold object will be served. In the first place, we secure that woman suffrage shall be discussed by the House of Commons at the very beginning of the new Parliament; and in the second place, that the issue shall be raised in the manner we desire—namely, in the distinct and separate form uncomplicated by association with any other franchise proposal. The Women's Enfranchisement Bill fulfills this condition by providing simply and solely that women possessing the qualifications which for the time being entitle men to vote shall be placed upon the Parliamentary register."

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Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking at Manchester on the 27th, according to the Manchester Guardian,

warned that a protective tariff would be followed by trusts:

He had no doubt whatever that a protective tariff would be injurious (cheers). But consider what the introduction of that system would mean to our political life. With the tariff came the trusts. He was reading in the "Times"—a newspaper which was not always favorable to them (laughter)—that in the United States two million people had banded themselves together to eat no meat for thirty days in order to break the Meat Trust. The moment they got a tariff and foreign competition was shut out the producers in this country would put their heads together and say: "We will not cut our own throats. We will charge the public what we will." They knew perfectly what tremendous powers a great trust could use and exert. They had only one great trust to fight at present, and that was the liquor trust. It was at present the only great organized industry which took part in the politics of this country; but they knew how hard it was to fight against (cheers), and they knew how it held the Tory party in the hollow of its hand. What he asked them was to consider what their position would be if instead of having one great trust they had twenty-five—if every industry had to organize to secure favors from the government by tariffs, favors which would be at the people's expense. If they ever had a great network of trusts set up in this country then they would find that the freedom of their democratic system of government would be destroyed. Elections would turn upon tariffs, and members would go to Parliament, not to defend the interests of the people, but to push the line of goods which their own local interests demanded and their local organizations dictated (hear! hear!).

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The President Defends His Tariff.

Mr. Taft, speaking at the annual Lincoln day dinner of the New York Republican Club on the 12th, asserted that his administration would enforce the law against illegal business, but that it could be "counted on to enforce the law in the way best calculated to prevent a destruction of public confidence in business." In regard to the tariff (vol. xii, p. 778) he said in part:

We did revise the tariff. It is impossible to revise the tariff without awakening the active participation in the formation of the schedules of those producers whose business will be affected by a change. This is the inherent difficulty in the adoption or revision of a tariff by our representative system.

Nothing was expressly said in the platform that this revision was to be a downward revision. The implication that it was to be generally downward, however, was fairly given by the fact that those who uphold a protective tariff system defend it by the claim that after an industry has been established by shutting out foreign competition the domestic competition will lead to the reduction in price so as to make the original high tariff unnecessary.

In the new tariff there were 654 decreases, 220 increases, and 1,150 items of the dutiable list unchanged, but this did not represent the fair proportion in most of the reductions and the increases, be-

cause the duties were decreased on those articles which had a consumption value of nearly \$5,000,000,000, while they were increased on those articles which had a consumption value of less than \$1,000,000,000. Of the increases the consumption value of those affected which are of luxuries—to wit, silks, wines, liquors, perfumeries, pomades, and like articles—amounted to nearly \$600,000,000, while the increase on articles not of luxury affected but about \$800,000,000, as against decreases on about \$5,000,000,000 of consumption.

I repeat, therefore, that this was a downward revision. It was not downward with reference to silks or liquors or high priced cottons in the nature of luxuries. It was downward in respect to nearly all other articles except woolens, which were not affected at all.

Certainly it was not promised that the rates of luxuries should be reduced. The revenues were falling off, there was a deficit promised, and it was essential that the revenues should be increased. It was no violation of the promise to increase the revenues by increasing the tax on luxuries, provided there was downward revision on all other articles. . . .

I therefore venture to repeat the remark I have had occasion to make before, that the present customs law is the best customs law that ever has been passed, and it is most significant in this that it indicates on the part of the Republican party the adoption of a policy to change from an increase in duties to a reduction of them, and to effect an increase of revenues at the same time.

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The Increased Cost of Living.

A measure providing for an investigation into the increased cost of living (p. 108) was passed in the United States Senate on the 9th. The measure authorizes an inquiry by a special committee of seven Senators into the general enhancement of values, covering not only food and clothing, but many other articles used in everyday life. The investigation also will cover the questions of salaries, earnings and the tariff. Not only will prices in the markets be included, but also those at the farm and the factory. John Callan O'Laughlin, writing to the Chicago Record-Herald, says that the slate of the Republican membership on the committee of investigation, as arranged by Senator Aldrich and other leaders, is as follows: Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, chairman; Senator Elkins of West Virginia, Senator McCumber of North Dakota, Senator Smoot of Utah. If any of these should decline service on the committee then Senator Crawford of South Dakota will fill the vacancy. And Mr. O'Laughlin asserts that the composition of the committee, as slated by Mr. Aldrich, assures the vindication of the tariff.

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All over the country the question of the increased cost of living is the most prominent subject of discussion in meetings and in the columns

of the newspapers. In the Chicago papers S. W. Roth, editor of the Retailers' Journal, is quoted as saying: "You cannot raise 5 cent beef on land worth \$100 an acre. You can do this on land worth \$10 an acre if you own 160 acres. The man who owns 1,000 acres, worth \$100,000, has, as interest on his capital, a fixed charge of \$5,000. He has to get \$4,500 more for his farm products than the man who a few years ago owned the land when it was worth \$10 an acre, and in this difference between \$500 and \$5,000 is expressed the differences of the past and of the present. You may burn the retailer at the stake and imprison all the jobbers and manufacturers and you will not be able to change the elementary cost of products. Prices will be higher in the future and meat will be so high as to make it a luxury. When we go so high we will be in the condition of European countries, where the laboring man is accustomed to meat only once or twice a week." In the same group of interviews Jay D. Miller of Geneva, Ill., a director of Sprague, Warner & Co., gave the high protective tariff as the primary cause of high prices, though he added that the increased gold output was also a big factor.

* *

The Senate Protects Its Constitutional Status.

The Supreme Court of the District of Columbia summoned the members of the joint committee on printing of the Senate and the Lower House of Congress to appear before the Court on the 11th, to show why writs of mandamus should not be granted to the Valley Paper Company of Holyoke, Mass., to compel the joint committee to withdraw certain awards for paper contracts. After a six hours' debate the Lower House voted to permit its members on the joint committee to obey the summons. The Senate disposed of the question in a much shorter period of time, and on contrary lines, giving positive instructions to the senatorial members of the joint committee not to respond to the summons. The action of the Senate was based upon the plea of the Constitutional prerogatives of members of Congress. The Senate took the position that as it was a co-ordinate branch of the government the court had no right to interfere with its business affairs.

* *

In the Illinois Legislature.

The proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution empowering Congress to levy and collect an income tax (vol. xii, pp. 411, 601, 732, 758, 804, 826, 940), was ratified by the Illinois Senate on the 9th, by a vote of 41 to 0. It then went to the House.

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The amended House bill for the commission form of government for cities (p. 135), amended further in the Senate by the insertion of corpora-

tion regulation provisions offered by Senator Dailey of Peoria, was passed by the Senate on the 10th by a vote of 34 to 1. The bill now goes back to the House. Senator Dailey's argument is that there should be stringent regulations for public service companies in what will be organic acts for municipalities which might declare for the commission form of government.

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The Hamilton-Staymates direct plurality primary bill (p. 135) with amendments restoring advisory vote on United States Senators, and eliminating senatorial offices from the main bill, passed the Senate on the 10th by a vote of 40 to 1. The additional Gibson primary bill, putting senatorial offices into a separate primary act, and allowing senatorial committees to determine the number of legislative nominees in a district, also passed the Senate on the same day by the same vote. Also on the same day, by a vote of 36 to 0, the Senate passed the Jones bill, allowing counties, cities and villages to adopt by referendum the petition form of nomination for county or municipal offices.

* *

The Ten-Hour Law.

The constitutionality of the Illinois Act of June 15, 1909, limiting the working day for women in factories and mercantile establishments to ten hours (vol. xii, pp. 508, 889, 902, 1046, 1069, 1120), was argued before the Supreme Court of the State on the 10th by Wm. D. Haynie for W. C. Ritchie & Company, against the law; and by Assistant Attorney General J. C. Fitch, Louis D. Brandeis of Boston, W. J. Calhoun of Chicago and State's Attorney John E. W. Wayman of Chicago, for the law. Mr. Calhoun, the recently appointed Minister to China (vol. xii, pp. 1188, 1251), declared:

I am not a radical nor a socialist nor an anarchist, and I do not belong to the so-called "uplift movement" of which we have heard so much recently. But I do take sufficient notice of some of the unfortunate abuses which exist in this highly and artificially developed civilization of ours, and which call aloud for correction . . . In the doctrine of the freedom of contract there is more of fiction than of reality. When men and women are dependent upon their daily wages, when they are face to face with poverty all the time, when the loss of a day's work and a day's wages means not enough money to pay rent or not enough to buy food, it is not fair, it is not common sense, to say that they enjoy any freedom to contract for the sale of their labor.

Mr. Brandeis argued the question whether the legislature has the right to limit hours, and believing it has, defined ten hours as a reasonable limitation. The Supreme Court has the case under consideration.

The Strike of the Forty Thousand Won.

The strike of the 40,000 shirtwaist makers in New York (p. 132) is coming to an end. After a five months' struggle the Triangle company, the head and forefront of the manufacturers' group, capitulated on the 7th, and now only about 400 girls are still out—about one per cent of the original army. With the aid of women from far different environments, the two related strikes in this one industry in New York and Philadelphia (p. 132)—the greatest strikes of women in the history of American industrialism—have been won. The pressing need for united action on the part of the women in the clothing trades, was expressed in what a little Philadelphia worker told Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League, during the strike. "Mrs. Robins," she said, "my Boss he say, 'You gotta work; you gotta live.' I say, 'I not live much on forty-nine cents a day.'"

* *

Personal Property Taxation in New York City.

Mayor Wm. J. Gaynor of New York on the 8th addressed a letter to Lawson Purdy, President of the Board of Taxes and Assessments, asking information in regard to the possibility of abolishing taxation on personal property. The letter ran as follows:

I am receiving daily complaints of persons whose names are put on the assessment rolls this year for personal taxation although they have no personal property liable to taxation. This great annoyance has been going on for years. Many have been driven to establish their legal residence outside of the city by it, and in that way their votes are lost in our city elections.

I am aware that you have lessened this evil, for we have worked in accord to that end in past years. But it is impossible to do away with it under the present crude and unscientific statute providing for the taxation of personal property in this State, including money in terms, which is a medium for the exchange of property.

The teeth of this statute have been constantly filed down by assessing officials all over the State. No law can be enforced effectually against the will of the community. The assessing of personal property in this city is necessarily a matter of guesswork, worked out through the city directory except in the case of estates which fall into the Surrogate's Court by death and are thus fully exposed. These latter are taxed in full, while the personal property of others is not reached or assessed at all, or else in the most unequal manner.

Such injustice calls for correction. It is really grotesque. I have before me notices of personal assessments of \$10,000 and upward against persons who have no property and never had, while others, rich in personal property, are not even listed for personal taxation. I am not stating this in censure. The statute prescribes no test or procedure to enable the assessors to ascertain the amount of personal prop-

erty owned by individuals. It leaves them to guess at it as best they can.

In addition to general injustice and annoyance and the opportunity for extortion and bribery which it presents, this loose method leads to constant disorder in our finances. Only about 50 per cent of the taxes thus levied are collected. The result is an ever recurring annual deficit, which has to be funded and added to our permanent debt or else relieved year after year in the annual budgets. There is such a deficit of about \$30,000,000 now in process of being funded.

You are of course aware that a growing number of people here, and perhaps the majority, desire to have the personal taxation of individuals done away with in this city. Others have long desired local option in respect of such taxation and petitioned the Legislature to give it.

So as to open up the subject for intelligent public discussion will you be so good as to write to me the following data:

First, if such personal taxation were done away with altogether, what decimal would thereby be added to our tax rate on real estate? I understand it would be very small.

Second, whether those who pay taxes on real estate do not now pay the substantial part of the personal taxes collected?

If such decimal would be insignificant, and substantially the same persons who pay the personal taxes which are collected would pay it, a case for intelligent consideration would be presented. Many might say that it showed that the trouble, annoyance and opportunity for favoritism and dishonesty in such taxation of personality should be done away with.

I am not speaking in this letter of the other kinds of taxation of personal property which we have under exact and enforceable statutes. I do not expect that it will be timely to propose any legislation on the subject this year, but only after a full discussion and consideration of the matter by the community. If public opinion then calls for a change a bill can be drawn to conform thereto.

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Mr. Purdy replied as follows two days later:

THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
DEPARTMENT OF TAXES AND ASSESSMENTS,
HALL OF RECORDS.

February 10, 1910.

Hon. William J. Gaynor, Mayor, City Hall, New York.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 8th asking two questions:

First: If the general property tax on personal property were done away with altogether what decimal thereby would be added to the tax rate on real estate?

Second: Do those who pay taxes on real estate pay the substantial part of the personal taxes collected?

It is impossible to answer the second question accurately, because real estate assessment-rolls are made up geographically and not alphabetically. I believe that it is probably true, however, that the persons who pay most of the personal taxes also pay taxes on real estate.

To answer your first question most intelligently I have obtained the amount of personal taxes collected for three years. It averages \$4,500,000 a year. To raise this sum by a tax on real estate would increase the tax rate by six or seven cents on each \$100 of assessed valuation. In making this estimate I have not taken into account the fact that there would be a considerable saving of expense if the assessment and the collection of taxes upon it were abandoned.

As you have pointed out in your letter, the question presented is not that of the effect of abandoning the taxation of personal property, but only that of abandoning the small relic of personal property tax now left. The tax on banks and trust companies alone exceeds the tax collected from personal property under the personal property tax. The tax on banks and trust companies is enforced with mathematical accuracy. Other classes of personal property have from time to time been withdrawn from the operation of the general property tax, and additional taxes have been imposed upon various classes of personal property, and these taxes yield a much greater amount than the general property tax.

There are very few places in the State of New York where any attempt is made to enforce the law for the taxation of personal property. In many places it is absolutely nullified. The entire assessment of personal property, outside of the City of New York, was only \$113,000,000 in 1908. In one city, with a real estate assessment of \$29,000,000, the entire assessment of personal property is \$175,000. Not a single corporation is assessed. There are a large number of towns where there is no personal property assessment at all. I am informed and believe that there is not a single non-resident person or corporation assessed in the whole State of New York outside of this city.

While the actual collections in this city are trifling the law is a menace to our prosperity. Its enforcement drives from us property and business, the presence of which would enhance the value of real estate by much more than the sum from which personal taxes are collected. The increase in the assessed value of real estate has several times been twice as great in one year as the personal assessments on which taxes have been paid.

Respectfully,

LAWSON PURDY,

President.

* *

The Cleveland Traction Referendum.

Mr. Tom L. Johnson is back in Cleveland from New York, where he went to take a rest and recuperate at the close of his long service in the mayor's office (pp. 13, 34). The Cleveland Press reports him as being in greatly improved health, and with "about as much fight in him as ever." The street railway ordinance comes to a referendum vote of the people of Cleveland at a special election on Thursday of this week, the 17th (p. 110). In regard to it the Cleveland Press published on the 12th the following signed statement from Mr. Johnson:

It is said that the people of Cleveland are tired. I can understand it, if they are. They have fought a

long fight, and I myself am tired and sick. But I am not sick and tired of the fight, and I doubt that the people are. They have shown a courage that would do credit to an individual; they have "stayed" with an endurance that has encouraged the people wherever our story is known. I believe they will finish the fight. They may be tired of me and, thinking that might be, I have hesitated to say anything at this time. But I have decided. I am going to point out the dangers of the pending ordinance.

As a representative of the people I have been guided by the belief that the people should rule their own affairs, and now that I am a private citizen I am going to say just how the thing looks to me and how I am going to vote at the referendum of February 17.

There are four vital defects in the street railway settlement:

The first is, the maximum fare is too high.

The second is, the valuation is too high.

The third is, the city's control by arbitration is too weak.

The fourth is, a friendly council can relieve the company of all the people's safeguards without a referendum vote.

The grant is for 25 years or longer.

It is a grant of a monopoly with no provisions in it to require extensions and betterments to keep pace with the growth of the town.

It is a grant to a company with neither interest nor inducement to operate at either a low fare or in the interest of the car riders.

It is a grant to a company that has said publicly that even the maximum fare is too low.

It is to a company which is one unit in the national street railway business which, fearful of reduced dividends in other cities, would like to see the "low fare enterprise of Cleveland" fail. There is nothing easier in the world than to fail, when you want to, even in the street railway business in a growing city.

This company will make low fare in Cleveland fail. It will find that it "has to" ask a friendly commissioner, administration and council to raise the maximum rate of fare now fixed at 4 cents cash, 7 tickets for a quarter and 1 cent for transfer without rebate, and a friendly administration can do this, so far as has been legally determined, without a referendum. And after that the company will find that it "has to" yield more and more to the temptation left in this settlement, not to get out of politics, but to go deeper into it and corrupt our city government.

Already the company proposes to buy power from the Illuminating company.

When Columbus was to get eight tickets for a quarter by reason of the fact that the company's gross earnings were about to reach the figure named in the ordinance the street car company consolidated with the electric light monopoly and other public service companies, and for the last five years the Columbus car riders have been denied eight tickets for a quarter, because through its consolidations the company has been able to conceal its true gross earnings.

In Cleveland substantially the same proposition is contemplated. The street car company proposes to buy power from the Illuminating company.

Some people believe such an arrangement would require approval by council. This is not true. The council's approval is only necessary when the company wants to increase its capital.

The only limitation on the company is the 11½¢ per car mile for operating expenses; and this limitation can be changed by the council without the consent of the people, or by a board of arbitration without the consent of either the people or the council; thus the company is absolutely free to buy current at any price it may choose.

It is a great deal easier to conceal net earnings, with which we have to do in the Cleveland situation, than gross earnings. It will be easy with a friendly commissioner and administration for the Cleveland Railway Co. to make it appear that under the maximum rate of fare proposed the net earnings are not sufficient to pay 6 per cent dividends, and therefore it is necessary to raise the maximum. This the council can do, and whether the people would have a chance to reject it at a referendum election is still unsettled.

The refusal of the council committee to even inquire into the proposed consolidation of the Cleveland Railway Co. and the Illuminating company shows how completely the council and the administration are controlled now by the Cleveland Railway Co.

The biggest danger to the people in the fare question lies in the proposed consolidation with the electric light monopoly.

My second objection is to the valuation. It is too high. It is too high by at least \$6,000,000. Two million too much was allowed on "overhead charges" and "life of track." And two million more should have been deducted for the burdensome requirements of the East Cleveland and other suburban contracts.

And the inclusion of two million dollars for pavements is justified neither in law nor in equity. The company laid these pavements as part payment for their franchise, for which Judge Tayler allowed them three and a half million dollars. To add now two millions more "for pavement" is as absurd as it would be to count as an asset the moneys the company has paid in as taxes.

I don't believe the people should have to pay dividends on \$6,000,000 more capital than the plant is worth.

As to the third objection: Arbitration—we have had a taste of that. And we have had as arbitrator as fair, square and fearless a man as we could well expect to get, Judge Tayler has won the respect of the town. But consider him a moment. With a sense of public interest rare in the judicial mind, after saying clearly that the public streets are public property, and that the street railway should not make more than 6 per cent on the actual value of the plant, Judge Tayler has fixed it so that this company can charge us 6 per cent on \$6,000,000 more than the property is worth.

The third, the decisive arbitrator of the future is to be appointed by Judge Tayler or his successor. At the best Judge Tayler would name him. Judge Tayler's selection would not be as good as he himself. I am afraid of arbitrators. I am afraid of the best of them, for we have seen the best and he has displayed reverence for private property and lack

even of respect for public property. What would a worse arbitrator do?

The enemies of low fare support this settlement. It is also true some people support the ordinance because they have not thought out the proposition clearly and do not see the real dangers ahead.

The men and institutions who for eight years struggled against low fare now appear to champion the cause. This can have but one explanation—they know it is a victory for high fare.

There is but one reason why we should vote for this settlement, and that is that we are tired of fighting and want to quit. I personally have been influenced unduly by the thought that the Forest City stockholders—a body of 2,400 men and women who put their money into an enterprise for the purpose not of making money but of proving that a low fare street railway would pay—would get out clean and whole.

But it seems that they may not even get their money back; and, any way, the right of this matter requires me to say to them, to the people of Cleveland, and to myself, let's fight on. And why not? We have now a street railway privately owned but publicly operated, and operated as well as the old company used to operate it.

Three-fourths of the people pay a 3-cent fare, and every time a franchise expires more of them get the low fare.

The arrangements are not perfect, but the public is in control. If we vote for this franchise the company will be in control.

As it stands now, the mayor and the council could, if they wished, lower the charge for transfers as they have lowered fares.

In other words, the situation is much better than it would be if we voted for this franchise.

The Cleveland Railway Co., with its 5-cent fare allies in other cities, has no notion of making 3-cent fare pay in Cleveland.

Whoever is appointed commissioner, he will raise the fares to the maximum, and there will be no hope then of any improvement for years. On the other hand, if we vote down this franchise the company or the new administration will have to suggest immediately another settlement which cannot be worse; and since it has to be submitted to us, must be better.

I shall vote against the ordinance. But I am sick now, and tired; it has wearied me to prepare this statement. I may not be able to say anything more at present, but if it were the last heartbeat in me I would urge the people of Cleveland—leaders as they are, in the fight for democracy in this country—I would urge them to vote with their eyes open.

This ordinance is not a victory. It is a defeat. Vote for it, or vote against it as we will, let us do it honestly. Let us not fool ourselves. If we vote yes, let us do it saying, "We are weary of fighting and being licked." And if we vote no, let us do it saying also the truth, that we expect a better settlement immediately, and if we don't get it we will fight till we do. We will fight till the fight is finished and won.

† † †

To love a good woman is a liberal education. To love a lady of fashion is a commercial education.—Leslie's Weekly.

NEWS NOTES

—William J. Bryan, who is traveling in South America, has gone from Bolivia to Chile.

—Ex-President Castro of Venezuela (vol. xii, p. 447) has gone from Spain to the Canary Islands.

—Mr. John Z. White has been lecturing in San Francisco and Oakland to large and enthusiastic audiences (p. 77).

—Raisuli, the old Moroccan bandit and kidnaper (vol. x, p. 1092), and later Governor of Djebala Province, is reported to be dead by poison.

—The Detroit police have concluded not to interfere with Miss Goldman's rights of free speech (p. 61), and she is delivering four lectures in that city this week.

—In spite of claims of victories the Madriz government in Nicaragua (p. 133) seems to be hard pressed, and the capital city of Managua is threatened with capture by the advancing insurgents.

—Inchan Angan, the Korean who assassinated Prince Ito at Harbin in Manchuria in last October (vol. xii, pp. 1045, 1068), was convicted of murder on the 14th, at Port Arthur, and condemned to death.

—Mr. Henry George, Jr., and the Editor of The Public (p. 14) sailed from Southampton on the Minnehaha of the Atlantic Transport line on the 5th, and arrived in New York on the morning of the 15th.

—Richard V. Oulahan, for many years at the head of the Washington bureau of the New York Sun, is to assume charge of all news departments of the Sun, in place of the late Wm. M. Laffan (vol. xii, p. 1139).

—John Charlton, member of the Canadian Parliament, and a life-long advocate of friendly relations between Canada and the United States, died at his home at Lynedock, Ontario, on the 11th, in his 81st year.

—Miss Belle Squire of Chicago has refused to pay taxes on the ground that "taxation without representation is tyranny." Her example has suggested the possibility of organizing a "Women's Nontax-paying League."

—At the session of the Manitoba legislature which opened at Winnipeg on the 10th a bill was introduced providing for municipal and government owned markets and abattoirs throughout the Province (p. 85). Both Liberals and Conservatives support the measure which is a popular one.

—Temporary injunctions were issued against the State of Oklahoma in the United States Circuit Court at St. Louis on the 9th, restraining the State from further enforcement of the two-cent passenger fare (vol. ix, p. 1114; vol. xii, p. 494) and certain freight rates. The State will appeal.

—The Liberal ministry of Moret y Prendergast in Spain, which took office shortly after the execution of Francesco Ferrer under the Conservative ministry of Antonio Maura (vol. xii, p. 1038), has been obliged to resign under pressure and criticism from the more conservative Liberals. To the surprise of the reactionaries the King, instead of asking a Conservative to form a new ministry, deputed the task to José

Cantalejas y Mendes, a Democrat and leader of the extreme Liberal left.

—Enormous Socialist demonstrations of protest against the inadequacy of the Prussian electoral reform bill (p. 134) were held in all the principal cities of the Kingdom on the 13th. Numerous clashes with the police occurred, in some cases with bloodshed, and at Neumeister in Holstein a workman was fatally wounded.

—The British steamship Lima, of the Pacific Navigation Company, having been on her way between Argentine and Chilean ports, was reported on the 12th to be ashore on one of the islands in the straits of Magellan. The British steamer Strathurst had arrived at Ancud with 188 men and women passengers from the Lima, and 17 of her crew. The officers reported that 88 persons had been left aboard the Lima, their rescue having been impossible.

—Chicago bomb No. 34 (vol. xii, p. 1068) was exploded in a newly erected one-story building at 116 North Halsted street on the evening of the 10th. The building was owned by Louis and Julius Frank, the west side "levee" saloonkeepers who caused the conviction of former Police Inspector Edward McCann (vol. xii, p. 940). The damage was confined to broken plate glass windows, a partially damaged floor, and the ripping off of the rolled steel ceiling, amounting to about \$500.

—The Single Tax Information Bureau (vol. xii, p. 1140) reports through its manager, E. B. Swinney (134 Clarkson street, Brooklyn, N. Y.), that during the past three months the Bureau had on hand and received in contributions and from the sale of literature, \$121.56. The Bureau expended during the same period for postage, \$6.43; for literature, \$103.94; and for expressage, \$9.73—a total of \$120.10, leaving on hand a balance of \$1.46. The Bureau has done active propaganda work since May 1, 1903.

—In one of the wildest storms that has swept the Mediterranean for forty years, the steamer General Chanzy, running between Marseilles and Algiers, driven out of her course, crashed on reefs off the island of Minorca on the night of the 10th, and all but one of the 157 persons on board perished. The survivor, an Algerian customs official, Marcel Rodet, being a good swimmer, allowed himself to be swept off the sinking ship by a wave a few moments before the steamer, rent by an explosion, suddenly sank.

—The French Antarctic expedition, headed by Dr. Jean M. Charcot, which left France in the summer of 1908 (vol. xi, pp. 494, 686) for exploration and scientific observations in the Antarctic seas, has arrived at Punta Arenas, Chile, on its return. Dr. Charcot is reported to have reached the 70th parallel of south latitude, and to have discovered 120 miles of new land to the west and south of Alexander Island. Alexander Island, or Alexander Land, lies directly south of the southern extremity of South America.

—Joseph Fels spoke on "The Opportunity to Get Along in the World," at the Boston City Club on Thursday evening, Feb. 10, C. B. Fillebrown presiding. On the following day Mr. Fels addressed the students of the Emerson School of Oratory in Boston. On Saturday afternoon he was the principal

speaker at the weekly luncheon and meeting of the Twentieth Century Club, and in the evening at the same place he addressed the members of the Massachusetts Single Tax League. Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island, also was present. John Sherwin Crosby of New York, accompanied Mr. Fels, and spoke at the same meetings.

—The startling announcement that the advocate of the late Francesco Ferrer at the time of his farcical trial culminating in his execution at Barcelona last October (vol. xii, pp. 992, 1016, 1038, 1068, 1095), had disappeared, was made in the London Labor Leader of February 4, in a letter from Ernest W. Dickes, written from Malta. Mr. Dickes says that the missing man may be in the fortress of Montjuich, or he may be dead. And he continues: "Before any shred of justification is conceded for the mock trial and the hasty murder of Ferrer, it is necessary that it shall be shown that the officer selected to defend him is alive and free, for it is no crime to act as the counsel of an accused man."

PRESS OPINIONS

The President as a Persuader.

Puck, Jan. 19.—President Taft took a big job on his hands when he tried to convince the West that Nelson W. Aldrich was a devoted public servant, but he has taken on a still bigger job if he expects to persuade the country that Gifford Pinchot is not.

✦ ✦

The Brutal Friend Again.

(Chicago) Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Feb. 14.—If President Taft finds himself in an uncomfortable position, if he feels that he has a grievance because there has been a change in public sentiment toward him, a brutal friend might inform him that he himself is chiefly to blame for his own ill fortune. It began with the Winona speech, and his detestable corporation tax has added irritation to a bad sore. The New York address gives fresh proof that the President is unhappy in his way of putting things. It contains far too much about the tariff and rubs salt and vinegar in the wound when something soothing was required. The Aldrich-Payne bill could have been dismissed in a few words without flings at insurgents, without inviting a renewal of acrimonious discussions. In stating his position briefly the President could have made the most of the fact that the bill was a law and then let the fact sink in. Every one knows that there is no probability of a revision. The President is assured of this, and, since he has had his way, he is more to be censured than his critics within the party for prolonging the tariff debate.

✦ ✦

Business No Longer Booming.

(Burlington, Ia.) Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 12.—The railroads are commencing to catch up with their freight hauling. A few weeks ago every siding was crowded with dead freight. Now it is being rapidly cleaned up. A slump is noticeable in the buying market. Orders cancelling a thousand cars of mer-

chandise to be shipped out over one road were received in Chicago in one day. President Stickney of the Chicago Great Western, commenting on the conditions, expresses the thought that possibly a slowing-up in volume of business is at hand. The situation is one of nervousness and apprehension, and has been brought on by the unusual political unrest coupled with the most profound public conviction of the iniquity of the Payne-Aldrich tariff schedule now in force.

✦ ✦

Personal-Property Taxes.

The Chicago Daily News, Feb. 12.—In a recent address before a body of progressive citizens of St. Louis Ald. Merriam of Chicago remarked that the personal-property tax afforded each person an opportunity to contribute what he pleased to the public treasury. These free-will offerings help, but they serve better to test the state of substantial citizens' consciences than to measure the relative capacity of their strong boxes. Even as a moral barometer the personal-property tax is a failure, for the most conscientious of men realizes the injustice of taxing honor and rewarding dishonesty and then he proceeds to take measures for his own protection. The personal-property tax being admittedly a sham and an injustice because of the impossibility of levying it in an equitable manner, much satisfaction is expressed throughout the country because of the recent action of Mayor Gaynor in suggesting to the tax department of New York that the system of levying taxes on personal property be abolished and that real estate alone be assessed. In order that the feasibility of the change might be proved or disproved the mayor asked for certain information bearing upon the matter. He particularly wants to know if personal taxation were done away with altogether, "what decimal would thereby be added to our tax rate on real estate." The mayor's present opinion is that the decimal would be very small.

✦ ✦

The Mayor of New York on Personal Taxation.

(New York) Journal of Commerce, Feb. 10.—Mayor Gaynor shows good common sense and the courage of his convictions in attacking the assessment of personal property for taxation and advocating a cure of its inequalities by complete abolition of the practice. This seems to be received by many as if it were a novelty, but the attempt to tax personal property has been denounced for years and its abolition advocated by all rational and consistent tax reformers, on account of its inevitable inequality and injustice. The only new thing is a public officer in a conspicuous position of responsibility and influence with the candor and courage enough to join in the demand. The absurdities which Mayor Gaynor points out are familiar and the inequalities of assessment and the failures of collection have long been notorious. It has been frequently shown what an enormous proportion of personal property, legally taxable, evades and escapes, and how small is the revenue derived from its nominal taxation. It has been many times demonstrated that the remission of the revenue from that source would result in but a slight addition to the tax on real estate and would be there far more equitably distributed upon posses-

sors of personal wealth. The evil of accumulated arrears of uncollected taxes which have to be made up by borrowing and ultimately funded in long term debt, has also been often exposed. It is all an old story that has been urged upon the attention of legislators for many years. This is no "single tax" idea. The single tax as advocated by Henry George is a tax upon land alone and is urged as the source of all revenue, local, State and national. It differs radically from a real estate tax for local revenue alone. This would be a tax not only upon land but upon buildings and improvements occupied or used in connection with land, and it would be diffused so as to bear as equitably as any tax upon property can be made to bear. It would do away with the gross inequality of personal assessment and the iniquity of a collection which is in effect an exaction upon scruples of conscience and a burden upon small fortunes which great ones escape.

* *

"The Land for the People."

Portland (Ore.) Labor Press, January 27.—Nature will slaughter the violators of her laws by millions and tens of millions as ruthlessly as do men the myriads of unhatched mosquitoes of a fever-breeding marsh. If a people will not learn by experience and suffering to maintain their inalienable rights they shall lose them, no matter how proud or numerous or valiant. If a people in the midst of the bounties of nature allow a few of their number to enclose them and hold them idle while the artificial famines thus created claim half the population, then Nature looks unpitifully on the scenes of their suffering and folly. The people of this country are seeing their own natural resources disappearing as though dropped into the sea, and if they will but reach out their hands they can restore all that has been stolen and prevent any more being confiscated by a few. If they will not do so, but prefer to pile up against paper titles like sheep in a snowstorm against a brush fence, then Nature will permit the American people to sink to the level of the Hindu or the Persian, if that is what the American prefers.

* *

Sidney M. Owen: A Steadfast Man.

The Minneapolis Daily News, Feb. 3.—In the passing of S. M. Owen, the Northwest loses a man who made the most of his talents in the service of his fellow men. Those who knew him only as an unwilling but none the less strong candidate of a minority political party, or as a resident of Minneapolis, admired him but did not appreciate his influence. It was as editor of an agricultural paper that he made himself felt in hundreds of communities and with thousands of individuals. His was a clean, straightforward nature; his ideals were high and lasting and he stood by his convictions. These were the qualities which made him a successful editor and a valued man in such public positions as he could be induced to accept. With his strong common sense, his broad information and his keen sense of justice, Mr. Owen might still have been no more than just an average man among men had it not been for his singular steadfastness. This quality, which he possessed to a marked degree, gave force

and direction to his work and impressed all who came in contact with him. He leaves no great monument of his life work aside from his example of cleanly and unselfish living. But that is enough.

* *

The Greatness of the Passion for Righteousness.

The New York World.—Never before in modern times has the passion for righteousness in a single individual commanded such universal respect. In many ways Tolstoy's social ideas are impracticable and visionary. He has exercised no substantial influence upon the laws and customs of his contemporaries. But he has preached the gospel of peace and good-will and of labor and simple living, and in his intense faith has lived a life of sincerity in a way to stir the hearts and imaginations of millions of people not in accord with him. If not to the man's character, to the immeasurable force of the world's opinion the Czar's government has been compelled to pay the reluctant tribute of respect by preserving Tolstoy against its own despotism.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

ENDURANCE.

In Memory of Ferrer.

For The Public.

When all the gold is counted and all the profit won
And not a butchery of faith in manhood left undone,
Survey with me the splendors the vandal victors keep
While honor's few defenders beside the ruins weep.

When all the love is traded for license and for shame,
And fellowship forgotten, and truth a blotted name,
Content us with the power that owns a world of slaves
With baser dogs to drive them to hope-consuming graves.

When all the arts of murder and all the guns of hate
Have left but fiends and felons to guard the social state,
How will the fruit of labor their ghoulish passions feast

When men no longer suffer the fury of the beast?

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

* *

"THE WIRES ARE DOWN."

For The Public.

The storm of snow and sleet breaks with little warning into the Christmas holidays, abolishing the trolley service in the cities and suburbs, blockading trains and sweeping telephone and telegraph wires from their poles as a boy brushes cobwebs from an attic window.

Doctors, business men, stenographers and clerks stalled on brief vacations when they are due to return to work, cannot communicate with offices

or homes, for to every anxious query the harassed local operators answer, "The wires are down."

The sense of isolation is added to worry over the despotic interference with so many plans and agreements by the White Czar of the storm, and the compulsory vacationers hugging the fires become the despair of their hosts as well as a torment to themselves.

Then in twenty hours the glad news is shouted through the thousand moping households, "The wires are up again!"

Messages fly to and fro, anxieties are relieved, and broken plans pieced together.

Trolleys and trains resume their service to cities and towns dug like Pompeii and Herculaneums from the snow's clean ashes, and delayed business plunges forward as if to recover the lost day, as a diver might dare a tide-race for a dropped diamond.

What a difference it made to have the wires down, and then up again!

Yet how many to whom these were as the very links to life, gave a thought from their distress to what happened during the twenty hours of the blizzard's triumph?

Wires do not mend themselves and climb back to their poles of their own accord; and the wind can no more restore their intricate nervous system to its place than the boy can fit the torn cobwebs to the attic window again.

No, while the snowbound folk snuggled to the Christmas-week fires, a daring species of human spider was out in the white wilderness repairing the wire web.

Agile, hard-limbed linemen, many of them mere lads, struggled through huge drifts, fronted the needle-lashed gales, and climbed with fanged leg-irons the sleet-cased poles.

With all their care, sometimes the savage wrath of a live wire, stealthily concealing the rattle-snake poison of its voltage, hurled a repairer dead to the pole's foot. Sometimes the treacherous glaze of shaft or cross-bar shook one of the reckless men-spiders from his hold, and broke a shoulder or leg across the railroad steel below.

But the gaps in the ranks were swiftly filled, and the battle for communication between heedless folk won against the appalling odds of the elements and their chaotic mischief.

ELIOT WHITE.

* * *

SOCIAL IDEALISM.

A Fragment of a Political Dialogue On "Justice and Liberty," by G. Lowes Dickinson.*

Martin . . . Looking at the thing as straight as I can, and in what philosophers call a calm moment, I find in men a real fact, the impulse to create the ideal, and this I represent to myself as a seed

sown into the soil of Earth with her insufficiency and insecurity, of the flesh with its needs and desires. What therefrom grows up is the tree of human history, receiving its form from the seed, but its matter from the soil and air, warped and stunted, blighted and starved, battered, mutilated, broken, but always straining upward to the light and the sky, and throwing out branches and bearing leaves by the law of its inner impulse. At any moment, then, we may, indeed we must, say, at once that man is a spirit, if we look at his ideal form, and that he is a brute, if we look at his stuff; at once that his Society is bad and that its shaping soul is good; at once that his history is a sordid chronicle of crime, and that it is a solemn school of righteousness. The one is not true and the other false; the truth is the Whole, which I am trying thus schematically to bring before your mind and mine.

Stuart. Well, and then?

Martin. And then, you see, it follows that it is difficult to avoid, if one is sensitive, a constant oscillation between a brutal realism and a blind idealism. For if we observe, day after day, the masses of modern men, walk their mean streets, enter their squalid houses, note them, by myriads, shot at birth into a world so base, peering and peeping in ways of life so narrow and so obscure, and bribed by an impulse of passionate youth to tie the fatal knot that binds them for life to the whirring wheel of drudgery; or if from them we turn to those who seem to be the more fortunate few, and see them too, though they might look up, blind to the sun and the stars, toiling none the less like slaves, or idling like idiots, and ready to shriek with fear and rage if one lift a corner of the veil that shuts out the light from their palaces; if thus regarding this hive of ants, so busy, so mean, so futile, we then turn inward to find in ourselves the swarming fears and needs that explain, though they do not justify, the spectacle; while far above, dim and remote, flickers the flame of the ideal which alone enables us thus to behold and judge; then I confess, in such a mood and under such an obsession, it is impossible not to believe that the ideal is but an idea, and that to attribute power to it is as idle as to suppose that it is the love of perfection that holds the stars constant in their courses. And more and more, in our time, historians and men of letters, and still more those who call themselves men of the world, as indeed they are men of this world, are coming to take and express that view, looking back with a kind of contempt on poets like Goethe or Carlyle, who thought that history was a bible and Nature the garment of God.

Stuart. As you, too, think?

Martin. As I too think, when I am myself. For those who look closer and with a more genial vision find that, in the midst of the evil and squalor there is also something else, working obscurely and

*See review on another page of this Public.

leavening the whole, an impulse of love, however brief, a stress of duty however circumscribed; that a sap is flowing through wood that seems so dead; and that the faint and flickering lamp of the ideal is lit from fire that burns at the heart of the world. That fire kindles history. Natural facts, economic facts, instincts, needs and desires are the fuel it transmits into a spiritual essence. Always, even in times called of peace, it is gnawing at the roots of society. For it is the never-satisfied; and one of its names is Justice. It is the greatest of all energies; and men of the world call it a dream! It made the French Revolution; it is making revolution now in Russia; it is undermining the whole fabric of western society. One by one it is detaching from the building the buttresses of conviction, and leaving the mere walls of fact that strain and crack to their fall. It is not only, not even chiefly, the working classes that are the strength of that great movement of revolt we call broadly Socialism. Its strength is the weakness of the ruling class, the scepticism of the rich and the powerful, the slow, half-unconscious detachment of all of them who have intelligence and moral force from the interest and the active support of their class. Nay, those who deny Socialism are most under its power; their hollow cries of rage and desperation, their intellectual play with the idea of force, betray their bitter sense of a lost cause. Justice is a power; and if it cannot create it will at least destroy. So that the question for the future is not, shall there be revolution, but shall it be beneficent or disastrous?

* * *

THE CRUX OF THE BRITISH BUDGET.

Herbert Adams Gibbons, Writing From London to the *New York Independent*. Published in the *Independent* for January 20.

The only innovations in the Budget are the taxes on land values, etc., and on petrol, involving hardly £1,000,000 in the estimates. The additional yield is in the increase of existing taxation. Particular interests are opposed to the increased taxation. The liquor trade declares its additional burdens are more than can be borne, and will end in an enormous reduction of revenue. Protest against other increased duties is merely such as generally meets a Budget, and does not have great political importance because the increases are not such as affect the bulk of the electorate. The most bitter and widespread opposition to the Budget, the real ground upon which the general election is to be fought, is reduced to the £600,000 which the Chancellor of the Exchequer asks to be provided by a tax on land values, reversion of leases and mining royalties. There is no question but that the House of Lords would have passed the Budget had it not con-

tained these obnoxious provisions. Indeed I believe the reversion of leases and mining royalty taxes could have passed the Upper House. As far as the Budget of 1909 goes, the real struggle is over an amount hardly in excess of £400,000.

The "nigger in the wood pile" is the land taxes. The money accruing from them this year is insignificant. Mr. Lloyd George could have found his millions to meet this year's deficiency without them. Those upon whom they will fall can pay them. It is as absurd to think that the Budget of 1909 would seriously embarrass a landed proprietor as it is to suppose the tobacco tax would deprive a man of his after-dinner cigar. Every time I talk to a British elector on the Budget, the boiled-down result of the conversation is either "I believe in land taxes" or "I think the land taxes are wrong." We may have discussed the danger to revenue of imposing an additional burden upon beer and spirits, the justice or injustice of making automobilists pay for road improvements and the discrimination against the gasoline-driven cars, the grading of death and inheritance duties, the circumventions of income taxes, but we always end by saying, "Well, now, about those land taxes." . . .

England seems to be drifting inevitably toward land taxation. The people have to choose between the land, the food, and the imports. Everything else is almost "up to the hilt" now. A Conservative and Unionist Cabinet cannot stay long in power, unless they devise temporary expedients and refuse to meet the issue of a constructive and permanent financial policy. Mr. Lloyd George may not be a great statesman, or even a skillful politician, but he has pointed out the necessary, even if unpalatable, taxation policy for England.

* * *

THE BREWER AND THE FEUDAL LORD.

(With Apologies to the Late Lewis Carroll.)

C. J. Hogarth in *Liberal Opinion*, of London, for [December 18, 1909.

The Brewer and the Feudal Lord

Were walking hand in hand.

They wept like anything to see

Some Liberals in the land.

"If these were only cleared away,"

They said, "It would be grand!"

"If Tory vans, with gramophones,

Spouted for half a year,

Do you suppose," the Brewer said,

"They'd make the people hear?"

"I doubt it," said the Feudal Lord,

"Unless you add free beer."

"O voters, come and drink with us,"

The Brewer did beseech.

"A pleasant talk on Chinese pork

Will show you what we teach—

That since your food will cost you more

There'll be more food for each."

The eldest voter winked his eye,
 And shook his hoary head—
 Meaning to say, he did not choose
 To pay a tax on bread.
 "You see, I do remember when
 There was a tax," he said.

The Brewer and the Feudal Lord
 Felt staggered at this blow.
 Then turned their fiscal arguments
 Congenially low;
 Whilst all the listening voters stood
 And spluttered in a row.

"The time has come," the Brewer said,
 "To talk of many things;
 Of ships, and shoes, and sealing-wax,
 And air machines on wings;
 And why to see them cheap is what
 Our inmost bosom wrings."

"Tariff Reform," the Lord replied,
 "Is what we chiefly need.
 Well-cooked sawdust-bread and horse
 Are very good indeed.
 So, if you're ready, voters dear,
 We'll dock you of your feed."

"Oh, no, you don't!" the voters cried,
 Turning a little blue.
 "To tax our food will surely mean
 A dismal end to you!"
 The worthy pair said nothing, but
 Just faded from the view.

NOBODY LOVES ME!



Nobody loves me. I'm going to the
 backwoods to eat my words.
 (With apologies to V. C. Anderson.)

Cartoon from the London Daily Chronicle of January 18.

✦ ✦ ✦

Nature hath given to every one a right to all.—
 Thomas Hobbes.

BOOKS

LOWES DICKINSON'S SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

Justice and Liberty: A Political Dialogue. By G. Lowes Dickinson, author of *Letters from a Chinese Official*, *The Greek View of Life*, *A Modern Symposium*, etc. Published by The McClure Company, New York.

Readers of Lowes Dickinson's subtle satire, "Letters from a Chinese Official" (vol. vii, pp. 414, 607; vol. ix, p. 500), will expect to find in this book by the same author a peculiar literary charm, and they will not be disappointed. But there is more to the book than literary charm. It is a highly polished literary report of a profoundly thoughtful controversy between three friends with different points of view on the subject indicated by the title.

They are a university professor with socialistic leanings of a type that would be hard to label, a banker who represents a sort of pluto-democratic idea, and a gentleman of leisure who is distinctly aristocratic. The value of the controversy comes from the effort that each of these men makes to understand the others, a feature which enables the author to inject a good deal of clarification into his subject.

Any reader might fairly be excused for wishing that Mr. Dickinson had brought in a fourth person to point out some of the large facts which the others stumble over but do not observe, although they are facts which if observed would explain more than one of the points in controversy. An example is afforded in the analysis of property, which might have been improved by an intelligent listener who, like the onlooker in chess, was not so deeply engrossed in the controversy as to lose sight of big things in the confusions of the game.

But the controversy leads up to one great and true generalization which is put into the mouth of the socialistic professor: "Society is not a deliberate exploitation of the few by the rich; it is a silly, sordid muddle grown up out of centuries of violence and perpetuated in centuries of stupidity and greed. In many respects the rich are as much to be pitied as the poor, and the poor as much to be reprobated as the rich. If people would come to see that and to feel it, we might really begin to move along. For with the right wills we could discover the right means."

The antithesis to the interpretation of history which regards history as a succession of materialistic phenomena, is admirably stated by the professor. It may be fairly regarded as Mr. Dickinson's own attitude. We make a brief quotation: "I find in men a real fact, the impulse to create the ideal, and this I represent to myself as a seed

sown into the soil of Earth with her insufficiency and insecurity, of the flesh with its needs and desires. What therefrom grows up is the tree of human history, receiving its form from the seed, but its matter from the soil and air, warped and stunted, blighted and starved, battered, mutilated, broken, but always straining upward to the light and the sky, and throwing out branches and bearing leaves by the law of its inner impulse."*

PAMPHLETS

Prohibition Year Book.

The American Prohibition Year Book for 1910, containing Prohibition statistics and studies, may be procured of the Prohibition National Book Store, 92 La Salle street, Chicago; price 25 cents.

+ +

Stinting One Children's Teachers.

"From 1897 to 1907, inclusive, the salaries of experienced elementary teachers in Chicago increased only 9% per cent, while the cost of living increased 44 per cent." This fact, by charts and very brief text, is set forth in a thoroughly well-done leaflet sent out by The Teachers' Salary Conference (Oct. 30, 1909), which consisted of two delegates from each of 235 out of the 249 public schools of Chicago, and whose proposed salary schedule was endorsed by the signatures of 4834 teachers.

A. L. G.

+ +

Labor Laws.

The American Association for Labor Legislation is responsible for two more very useful publications: (1) A bulletin printing in full the Labor Legislation enacted or proposed in the Forty-sixth General Assembly of Illinois, prepared by Ernst Freund and issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Springfield, Illinois; and (2) A Summary of Labor Laws in Force

*See page 163 of this Public.

in the various States in 1909 having to do with two aspects of woman's work, Hours of Labor and Provision for Seats while Working. This latter pamphlet is prepared by Maud Swett under the direction of John R. Commons at Madison, Wisconsin.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

Mrs. E. C. G. Ferguson, president of the Arena Club of New Orleans, writes effectively and impressively in the January number of *The Light* (La Crosse, Wis.) of "The Socio-Economic Causes and Effects of the White Slave Traffic."

+

The Only Way is a new little land tax paper issued monthly from 619 Filbert street, Philadelphia, at fifty cents a year, by Anthony E. Crowell, Holt Hamilton and Thomas Kavanagh. "Making the earth an open shop" is the war cry of this aggressive, downright little magazine.

+

News in regard to the workers for land value taxation seems to be the predominant feature of the January-February issue of the *Single Tax Review* (150 Nassau street, New York). Many deaths of the older holders of the faith are recorded. The tributes to Samuel Brazier (vol. xii, p. 1204, 1218) are especially affecting.

+

"Some Early Roman Suffragists"—yes, old Roman, if you please—is a fascinating page of history to be found in *The Englishwoman* (Grant Richards, 7 Carlton street, London, S. W.) for January. They were almost suffragettes, these Roman ladies of the days of the wars with Carthage. "These pestilent women" insisted at the close of a war, on the repeal of a war measure which had deprived them of the right of possessing more than \$10 in gold, of wearing gay dresses, and of riding in carriages un-

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EMIL SCHMIED, Manager.

less to religious ceremonies; and with arguments pro and con, that sound like echoes reverberating backward down the ages from our own time, as Mark Twain's Yankee fell back into King Arthur's epoch, the cause for these ancient ladies was won. You are referred to Livy, book xxxiv.

A. T. P.

+ + +

Mrs. Kawler: "The last time I saw you, I think, you were attending a cooking school to learn how to make vegetable dishes taste like meat."

Mrs. Crossway: "Yes, but the feeling against the

trust is so strong now that we are learning to make vegetable dishes taste utterly unlike meat."

—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

In Chicago a movement has been started against the high car step. Has anybody ever explained why car steps can't be lower?"—Boston Herald.

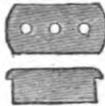
Some people think they have, but they haven't.—Chicago Record-Herald.

+ + +

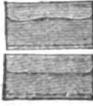
The theologian of the latest school, however, did

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not weakly waver between the two horses, but forthwith mounted both.

"No," he made answer, "I do not deny that the Apostles raised persons from the dead. What I contend is, that if the Apostles had been educated men, in the modern sense, they would have known that such a thing is impossible. That, briefly, is my po-

sition." And how, in the face of so signal a reconciliation of reason and revelation, was unbelief to maintain itself?—Puck.

* * *

The problem of the rich is how to make a happy home out of a fine house.—Life.

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