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EDITORIAL

A Naive Nullification.

A most amusing "side step" has been made by the Administration in regard to the "Corporation Tax." The law says the returns to be made by all the corporations of the country of their annual business shall be public records. This feature of the law was the especial suggestion, it is understood, of the President. It certainly has been highly commended by him; and the constantly swelling chorus of objections to it and the attempts to have it repealed or modified have been treated by him at first with disdain and then apparently with great disfavor. But we are told that the Secretary of the Treasury is "frankly opposed" to this feature of the law. This is quite likely, for Mr. MacVeagh is a business man who knows that the publicity provided for by this law for the business affairs of all corporations, will place small corporations engaged in private mercantile or manufacturing pursuits—as the majority of them are—at the mercy of their great competitors; and that this publicity is a very different thing from that useful publicity which has been demanded by Progressives for the affairs of public service corporations, such as transportation companies. But in his constant fruitless struggle to avoid additional trouble in the party and to secure harmony, the President has had to forego his opposition to an extinguishment of the publicity feature of the law. Senators and Representatives were being overwhelmed with

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

A Naive Nullification.....169
How to Get Good Traction Service.....170
"Common Thieves"170
Taxes and House Rents.....171
Misapprehensions of Henry George.....172
Co-operation and Competition (H. H. Hardinge).....172

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

John Z. White in Southern California (J. F. Hayes).....174
Personal Observations and Experiences (L. F. P.).....174

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The British Parliament Opens.....177
The New Finnish Parliament.....179
The Franchise Struggle in Prussia.....179
In Congress180
The Ballinger Investigation.....180
A New Jersey Grand Jury Investigates the Beef Trust180
In the Illinois Legislature.....180
Parole Law Void in Illinois.....181
Street Railway Strike in Philadelphia.....181
The T aylor Traction Grant Passed on Referendum in Cleveland181
News Notes182
Press Opinions183

RELATED THINGS:

After Reading the Pittsburgh Survey (D. Marven).....185
The Great American Free Trader (L. R. Ehrich).....186
The British Land Taxes and American Conservation (H. J. Howland).....187
The Pessimist Up to Date (E. J. Salisbury).....188

BOOKS:

"A Rare Patriot".....189
Pamphlets189
Periodicals189

demands for its repeal. The repeal seemed very probable. Political pressure, as distinguished from merely commercial pressure, began to be felt by the President evidently.

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Then all at once the Secretary of the Treasury discovered that he had no money properly appropriated with which "to index and display the returns of 400,000 corporations, to house them in rooms convenient of access for the public, and to provide clerks for the care and custody of them under such conditions." The President rose to the emergency, and in a bland letter to the Secretary, reciting this discovery, says that the situation must have been an oversight on the part of Congress, and that nothing remains for the Secretary to do except to state the case to the House of Representatives where appropriation bills are properly introduced, and to suggest that if the construction which seems to the President to be the right one is to be carried into execution there must be an appropriation of \$50,000 for the specific purpose, with a further statement that if no such appropriation is made the only course open to those who are executing the law in the department will be to treat the returns as other internal revenue records. Then the Secretary of the Treasury writes to Congress restating the matter, and saying that "in the absence of the appropriation the Secretary of the Treasury will treat the corporation tax returns as other internal revenue returns are treated." There is an entire avoidance of any suggestion in the letter as to the advisability of the additional appropriation. Congress is said to be tired of the "Corporation Tax" altogether; and an appropriation to put into execution its most objectionable feature, is wildly improbable.

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The law says the returns under the Corporation Tax Law shall be public records; the "other Internal Revenue returns" are kept secret and allowed to be seen usually only on the order of a Court. But we are gravely told from apparently inspired sources that the President resents insinuations that he is not enthusiastic about having the appropriation made, and has "given consideration to the advisability of sending a message to the two houses on the subject." The end attained may be desirable, but the naïveté of the method, considering that it is at least strongly urged that all the necessary work could be done under the general appropriation for the department of Internal Revenue,—well, certainly, "it is to laugh."

How to Get Good Traction Service.

F. A. Boutelle, superintendent of the Tacoma Railway and Power Company, was recently convicted in court of giving the public poor service, and was fined \$100 and costs. The company has a complete monopoly of the street railway transportation in Tacoma, and has been operating on the usual plan of increasing dividends by crowding too many persons into its cars. The case has been appealed; and why not? What rights have the public that a monopoly is bound to respect? Tacoma will learn some day that there is an automatic way of getting good service, without resort to the courts: Take the taxes and other fines off the cars and other capital of the company, and make the company pay the full rental value of the monopoly. That will insure good service and more money for public purposes.

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"Common Thieves."

From Anderson, Indiana, came a dispatch recently saying that a woman, made desperate by the fact that her children were hungry and cold, was in jail because she "stole" coal from some coal cars. "She had been unable to get work," says the dispatch, "and resolved on theft only when her older children were thrown out of work and her money ran out." Just how matters were bettered by throwing the woman into jail is not stated. Society prepared that "crime," if the taking of the coal by a woman in such circumstances was a crime, but society's victims were made to suffer, as is generally the case when society's victims are poor.

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From another place—never mind the locality—comes another story of what society calls a "common thief." Two men had been held up and robbed on the street, the total collection from the two being \$6.85. A description of the desperate criminal was given to the officers of the law, but for several weeks no trace of him could be found. Finally, a policeman heard that a man answering to the description was working in a certain factory. He went to the manager of the factory and asked if a man answering that description was working for him. "Yes," he replied, "but he is sober and industrious, and regularly every week I send most of his wages to his wife and children, by his request." The officer insisted on seeing the man, so he was brought into the office and there told why he had been sent for. He sank into a chair, buried his face in his hands and admitted

his guilt, but said he committed the "crime" when he was out of work, had no money and no credit, and his wife and children were starving. What did that officer do? Did he "uphold the majesty of the law"? Yes—of a law not on our un-Christian statutes. Placing his hand on that "thief's" shoulder he said, "Don't you worry. Go back to your work, and remember that I'm looking for you, but I can't find you." Verily, there is more righteousness in that policeman's heart than in the majesty of our laws.

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Taxes and House Rents.

The question of who are the taxpayers of a community is arousing wholesome discussion in many parts of the country. In Cleveland, the Leader (a Republican organ), forgetting its protectionist theories, warns the working people of that city that "every one who rents a house, a flat, a single room, pays taxes indirectly through the landlord," and that "the greater the taxes on real estate the higher the rent." Dangerous doctrine that, for a protection organ to preach; it might open the eyes of its readers to the fact that every one who buys tariffed goods pays taxes indirectly through the storekeeper. But it is good doctrine just the same, excepting the error involved in the words "real estate." Had the Leader said "improvements of real estate," it would have been exactly right; for it is true as a general principle that the greater the tax on improvements on real estate, the higher the rent. A more accurate statement of the same idea is that of the Fond du Lac (Wisconsin) Reporter, which is careful to say that "the man who rents a house pays the taxes on that house." This limited statement recognizes the truth of the general principle that in so far as real estate taxes fall on land instead of improvements they do not increase the tax.

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A concise and able discussion of that point may be found in the New York Record and Guide (the leading real estate organ of New York City) in its issues of October 23d and 30th of last year. Political advertisements on the billboards had declared that "high taxes make high rents, and low taxes make low rents," and this afforded the text for the discussion. An uptown real estate dealer, Edward Polak, attacked the declaration as an economic absurdity and contrary to common experience. He was followed by A. C. Pleydell, Secretary of the New York Tax Reform Association, who referred to the complications arising from the custom of taxing land and buildings

together, and explained that this tax, in so far as it falls on buildings, tends to check their production and thereby to increase house rent, but that in so far as it falls upon land it tends to force more land into the market and thereby to lower land rent. The same idea in part is presented by Edgar J. Levy, president of the Title Insurance and Trust Co., the third of these disputants. But Mr. Levy, while avoiding consideration of the effect of taxes on land, takes the same view as Mr. Pleydell with reference to such as fall upon buildings—namely, that they are shifted from the owner to the tenant. By overlooking the effect of an increase of taxes in reducing the value of land, Mr. Levy opens the way for a reply from Mr. Polak, who argues that the lower price of land caused by heavier real estate taxes more than offsets the higher cost of building which those taxes cause, and that therefore the net result of higher real estate taxes is lower rents.

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This is a question which can be handled best, not by beginning with the peculiar circumstances of a locality and trying to unravel them, but by taking to begin with a hypothetical case and grasping the general principle. In a community subject to the same taxing authority, and not in competition with outlying communities, it is evident that a uniform ad valorem tax on all buildings would raise house prices and house rent; for it would enter into the cost of producing and maintaining buildings and thereby reduce the supply relatively to the demand. It is equally evident that a uniform ad valorem tax on all land would lower land prices and land rent; for it would force unused or inadequately used land into the market, and thereby increase the supply relatively to the demand. Similarly a real estate tax falling upon buildings and land alike would operate to some extent to increase house rent and to diminish land rent. This is the general principle. But the operation of this principle might be disturbed by local conditions and seem to vary. If the increase in house rent were slight and the decrease in land rent great, the total rent would fall; if the reverse it would rise. If there were competing sites beyond the jurisdiction of the taxing authority, special effects might result. If the taxes were unfairly levied, other special effects might result. If there were a lively expectation of a repeal or modification of the tax there might be special effects of another kind. And so on. General principles are influenced in operation by temporary and local or surrounding conditions,

But the irrefutable general principle is the one outlined above. In so far as taxes are exacted of the owners of buildings as a class, they tend to increase house rents and house prices, and are borne by the tenant; but in so far as they are exacted of owners of building lots as a class, they tend to decrease land rents and land prices, and are borne by the owners. In the former case they are shifted to the ultimate consumer, and in the latter they cannot be shifted.

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Misapprehensions of Henry George.

Curious notions about Henry George's idea of taxing land values to the exclusion or exemption of industrial values, have been spread abroad. Among them is the idea that he contemplated no sales of land. This misapprehension evidently arises from the fact that in justification of taxing land values alone, he argued the injustice of land ownership. But he approved private possession. What he aimed at was to secure exclusive occupation of land for use to the individual using it, and its community-made value to the community. As for buying and selling, he contemplated this custom as continuing just as it does now. But what the seller would sell and the buyer buy, would be the improvements and the right of possession and use of the site. Any special value added to the site by social growth and not by the occupant would be taken in taxation. This is fully set forth in George's "Progress and Poverty."

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Another misapprehension of George is the notion that under his proposals persons who "use no land" would pay no taxes. Of course there are no persons who use no land, any more than there are persons who use no water or air. Under the Georgian taxation method, those who rented land, whether as tenants of buildings or denizens of hotels and boarding houses, would pay their taxes in their rent or their board money, and the public would get it from the so-called owner of the land. Under the present system most taxes are paid in that way, but unfairly; under George's system the distribution would be fair—simply in proportion to the desirability of the spot where they lived or did business. Let no rich man imagine that he would escape. Nor let him imagine that he would escape with a small land tax for his home or his office. The wealth of rich men who "do not own land," consists for the most part of paper titles to interests in land of enormous value—of stocks and bonds controlling railroad rights of way, con-

trolling mineral deposits, controlling city building sites, great stretches of farming land, immense water power, and so on. The land value tax would fall upon all those interests at their source.

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Sometimes this question arises: "The single tax would do away with an income tax, would it not, and should not the people who are the best able to stand the tax be the ones to pay the most?" It would, indeed, do away with that species of income tax which taxes men regardless of whether their ability to pay comes from their own earnings or from the earnings of others through some privilege conferred by law. But it would establish an income tax on firm moral and economic foundations. For it would tax no man on the income he earns, but would tax away the income which, through the social necessity of private ownership of land, comes to him unearned simply because he monopolizes land which others need.

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CO-OPERATION AND COMPETITION

Cooperation is another name for civilization. It is suggestive of mutuality of aid and interest. It means good will, fellowship, public and private health, and, through specialized industry, the largest possible production of wealth. It spells soap, sanitation, social peace, individual security. Without it, man has always been, is, and must remain a savage.

Competition, on the contrary, is suggestive of strife, stress, pressure and ill feeling.

The one is coming more and more into popular favor, the other is growing steadily in disrepute.

There is a substantial reason for this, as there is a reason for every thing else in the affairs of men. The reason that competition hurts the masses of men today is because opportunity is limited. It is penned up by legal enactments and institutions which narrow the field of effort, limit and hamper exchanges of wealth, and prevent production absolutely in a thousand directions.

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It is as natural for men to cooperate as to breathe, to eat or sleep.

Cooperation is founded upon the simple, universal and wide reaching social principle that men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion. Give this social law full sway and social regeneration will inevitably result.

What is it which prevents man's following this law? What is it which everywhere cramps his

social and industrial activities, and produces every few years a partial paralysis of industry and pitiful distress in the underworld of labor.

Must it not be something which somewhere, somehow, prevents his doing that which all his physical needs and social desires forever prompt him to do, and to do with the least exertion?

Manifestly, the real reason why the cooperative commonwealth of socialist dreamers is not an actual and beautiful reality is not because society is unable or unwilling to cooperate; not because there is lack of skill or industrial knowledge; not that incentive or substantial reward are absent. Nor is it because man's social instincts run counter to this great vital principle; everything in nature and society tends irresistibly in the direction of least resistance. It is because economic institutions, based upon false teachings, untenable doctrines, hamper social and industrial progress in ways which men feel but do not understand, and which they resent bitterly and oppose clumsily.

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Industrial oppression, jug-handled competition, economic pressure, and the strife and stress of life all over the world today, are all parts of the same thing. They are manifestations of the one central social defect, "scarce opportunity." It is this that creates our social problem. This alone is responsible for long hours and short wages, making labor the serf of idleness and luxury. It alone is responsible for the competition at which social agitators launch their anathemas.

It is "scarce opportunity" for labor that produces the well paid parasite and the ill paid laborer. "Scarce opportunity" is the nether millstone which, in conjunction with the upper one of necessity, grinds the worker and his children to powder.

Any principle or agency that will remove this social barrier will remove at the same time all the others, because it foundations them all. Ten thousand evil effects flow from this central cause. Remove the cause and the rest will follow in this as in all other relations of life.

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What is opportunity? Is it not clear that Nature in her munificence has furnished man with all the opportunities he has or can ever hope for, and has embodied and condensed them all in the thing we call "land"?

The notion that men give each other opportunity by employment is as fallacious as it is baseless. The so-called "employing class" is but an

other disjointed result of a worse than disjointed system which everywhere, under all systems of government, rewards monopoly and punishes industry. It treats the monopolizer of land as a friend of society and gives him vast wealth, but treats the user of land as an enemy and takes his wealth without return or excuse.

This system is as old as government, as oppressive as tyranny, as useless as idleness, as deadly as disease, and as needless as ignorance.

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The three things which block the highway of open opportunity and therefore of progress are taxes upon production, taxes upon exchange, and laws which permit the monopolization of land.

Removing the first would free production from social hindrances. Individuals cannot interfere with production except with the aid of government.

Removing the second would make trade free, universal and wide as the surface of the big round earth. Production on its present scale is both useless and impossible without trade.

Removing the third would open up to labor the only possible storehouse where Nature keeps her raw materials—a storehouse which we call "land," without thinking of the measureless meaning of this simple little term.

Those things done, all the rest would follow in easy sequence as naturally as the trickling mountain stream finds its way to the welcoming ocean without a guide save unseen gravity.

Oh! if men could only grasp the simple and beautiful natural laws of human association—sweet, kindly, beneficent—which offer so much, and ask in return only that we be just. "Here are my laws, O people of earth!" says Nature. "Obey them and you shall be healthy, prosperous, happy. Violate them at your peril."

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Men live by industry.

They can never be free to cooperate to the full until industry is free.

Industry is production and exchange. That is all. Leave them alone.

And the way to leave them alone is to untax them. Taxation is the real brake on industry's wheels. Take it off. Place it where it belongs, upon the monopolizer of opportunity.

Then we shall have opportunities to labor wide as the world itself. Trade will follow, limitless as human desire. Both will depend only upon inexhaustible Nature.

Then will come the cooperative commonwealth of the socialist. Then will come the universal voluntary association of the anarchist. And what are these but the orderly, helpful, wholesome, natural social state which every single taxpayer sees in his dreams and hopes for in his waking hours.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

JOHN Z. WHITE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.*

San Luis Obispo, Calif., Feb. 16, 1910.

Mr. John Z. White has come and is gone. He came, he spoke, and he conquered. His California itinerary was arranged by the Direct Legislation League of California, and his visit here originally was to have been arranged for by our public librarian, Mrs. Frances M. Milne. Mrs. Milne was, however, unfortunately taken ill, so that she had to withdraw from the effort, but she placed the matter in my hands, as President of the local Municipal League, and I was only too glad to follow her recommendations and secure Mr. White to speak on the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall.

Our city is in the midst of a contest to secure a Freeholders' charter with all these features embodied therein, and Mr. White's lectures have been so opportune and beneficial that we may speak of them as almost providential. He has succeeded in amalgamating some of the opposing forces to such an extent as to make it appear that there will not be such strenuous opposition as was at first encountered.

At the State Polytechnic School, on the 14th, Mr. White met with hearty enthusiasm. The same day he appeared before the High School and had a similar reception.

His first lecture was delivered on Sunday evening, Feb. 13, at a union meeting of the churches, and the large auditorium of the Presbyterian church was packed. On Monday evening he spoke in Columbia Hall to a large crowd of business and professional people, representing all legitimate interests. Both lectures have been well reported in the newspapers.

J. FRANK HAYES,
President Municipal League.

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PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AND EXPERIENCES.

London, Feb. 5, 1910.

Nothing was more alien to my intentions or farther aside from my expectations, when I left Chicago for Liverpool on the 23d of last December, than taking a speaking part in the British campaign for the election of the new House of Commons. All along the route of the Pacific Railway train, to St. John's in New Brunswick, where I embarked on Christmas day, and across the somewhat but only briefly turbulent (and to me exceedingly kind) Atlantic, my thoughts had been occupied with the one

purpose of my trip, which was to observe those elections, and to observe them with reference especially to their bearing upon the world-wide land question. I wished to see for myself, and for the readers of *The Public*, how the rights of the people to homes of their own upon the earth, and to a stake in the social values which social progress attaches to socialized areas of land, were involved in the British elections. I had gone to learn how the British people were taking a political campaign which, as Lloyd George expressed it, was to ascertain why ten thousand should own the soil of Great Britain, and all the rest of the population be "trespassers in the land of their birth." But in less than twelve hours after I had passed custom house inspection at Liverpool, and to my own great amazement, I was (as in former letters I have indicated) making a campaign speech to a British audience at a Liberal meeting in behalf of a Liberal candidate for Parliament. To tell of this may be repetitious, but in a story of personal experiences some repetitions of incident may be pardoned.

"I wish," said J. W. S. Callie, secretary of the historical Financial Reform Association of Liverpool, and election agent for John F. Brunner (now a member of Parliament and successor to his father, Sir John Brunner, who has been a distinguished and radical member for twenty-five years),—"I wish," said Mr. Callie, to me, about two hours after I had stepped ashore, "that you would go out with me tonight to a meeting at Middlewich." With my thoughts upon the exceptional opportunities for observation which this invitation might give me, I replied that I would go gladly, for that sort of thing was what I had come over for. Mr. Callie expressed his gratification with rather more enthusiasm, I thought, than my acquiescence had warranted, and invited me to the Young Liberal Club to luncheon. On our way to the club he began a remark about the Middlewich meeting. "When you speak tonight," said Mr. Callie; but I interrupted with, "When I what!" He began again: "When you speak tonight at Middlewich"—"But I am not going there to speak," I broke in; "I am only going to look on and see what your political meetings are like." "By no means," he responded; "I asked you down to speak for Brunner, and that is what you're to do."

It was in vain that I pleaded the unwisdom of having a foreigner take part in the campaign, explaining that in the United States it would be fatal to the candidate. Mr. Callie laughed at me. England was more cosmopolitan than that. Her people were glad to welcome foreigners upon their platforms, and the supporters of a British candidate were proud to know that foreigners take an interest in his candidacy. Moreover, this meeting would want to hear what an American thinks of Protection, etc., etc., etc. I held back until a telephone message from the candidate himself gave assurance of his willingness to take the chances of my defeating him (it was not a close district, by the way), and then I went.

Arriving in the quaint little village and moving toward the town hall along the narrow and winding streets, as I have already related in these letters, we were greeted through its windows with the strains of "Marching Through Georgia." It seemed as if I could make out the words, "Shouting the bat-

*See the *Public* of February 18, page 160.

the cry of freedom!" and I felt at once at home. But I was wrong about the words of that refrain. Instead of "Shouting the battle cry of freedom," they were "God made the land for the people," which made me feel still more at home. And those words to the old familiar air I heard many a time again at Liberal meetings in Yorkshire and Lancashire, Wales and Scotland.

In the town hall at Middlewich some five hundred men and women were tightly wedged, two-thirds of them standing; and although I spoke only twice—once upon introduction as an American who was there to tell about protection in the United States, and once upon request to second Mr. Brunner's vote of thanks to the chairman—I had "the time of my life."

It was truly, as I have written before, a "hair trigger" audience. The little anecdotes with which I illustrated some of my points, pretty old "chestnuts" at home, were as good as new at that meeting; and I realized that the "slow freight" theory of British appreciation of American humor is a gross slander. As for the serious argument it was listened to attentively and appreciated with keen intelligence.

My theme was Protection in the United States. For over here in the name of "Tariff Reform," the Tories were trying to sidetrack the vital issues by promising plenty of work as the result of keeping foreign goods out of the British market by means of tariff taxation. They pointed to the United States as a country where this policy had solved the question of employment. They revived all the old American protection romancing which on our side has now been exposed. "The foreigner will pay the tax;" "the workingman will be protected from the foreign worker," etc., etc., were, in one form or another, the common stock in trade of the British "tariff reform" speeches, editorial writers and poster-makers.

One of the most deceptive posters contained an old time picture, representing a despondent workingman's family, its original title, "The Strike," having been replaced with the words, "Free Trade." The new title might as well, or better, have been "Protection;" but as the picture was copyrighted and the protectionists had secured exclusive privileges of publication they had a monopoly of its use. If the despondent workingman's family, instead of being within their sparsely furnished cottage, had been out in the road, with their poor furniture piled about them, it would have been a fair picture of a labor strike in the region of "protected" Pittsburgh, and so I explained to my Middlewich audience.

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It was after the Middlewich meeting that I fell in with Henry George, Jr., in London. Under the auspices of the United League for the Taxation of Land Values, and upon requests from local candidates or their agents, he and I, for the most part together, spoke thereafter in the campaign to the end. We were at an immense meeting at Newcastle-under-Lyme, where Josiah C. Wedgwood was re-elected; I spoke at two large meetings at Tunstall (the home of Primitive Methodism), also in Mr. Wedgwood's constituency, while Mr. George went

to York to hear Lloyd George; he in turn campaigned elsewhere while I heard Lloyd George in Wales; and both of us spoke at Halifax, where J. H. Whitley, Henry George man and Liberal "whip," was reelected; also at points about Southport, where Baron De Forest, adopted son and heir of Baron Hirsch, made a radical campaign in a hopeless district and was defeated, but is in for the radical fight again; and in three constituencies about Glasgow, where radical Liberals were elected, one of them being Dundas White, the prominent land value taxatonist of the last Parliament.

All the meetings were regular meetings of Liberal party candidates, although our speaking tours were under the management of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, of which John Paul and John Orr are the executive officers, and which also financed several of the Parliamentary contests. The work of distributing land reform literature was done chiefly, and on a great scale, by the English League for the Taxation of Land Values under the executive management of Lewis H. Berens and Frederick Verinder. To both organizations Liberal agents throughout the country looked for platform and literary support.

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Two notable meetings at which we were inconspicuous auditors were those of Asquith as Liberal leader, and Balfour as Tory leader, both at St. George's Hall in Bradford.

At the latter we encountered a characteristic bit of British nature. Among the patriotic airs was one that neither of us recognized (not very remarkable, perhaps, if all the facts were known), and Mr. George asked his neighbor its name. The reply was neither enlightening in substance nor neighborly in form; whereupon we conversed without much restraint, upon the fact—and it was a fact—that this was the first discourteous treatment we had experienced in England. Our neighbor doubtless overheard, for he apologized handsomely with the explanation that he thought we were trying him "for a rise" (which, being interpreted, meant to make a fool of him) since the air, long familiar to British ears, was "Hearts of Oak." It was as if in the United States one had asked our question about "Yankee Doodle" or the "Star Spangled Banner." But the main point is that our original estimate of British courtesy was fully restored.

We found Balfour's to be a jerky see-saw, nervous species of oratory, and his speech to be void of substance. He was evidently laboring under the necessity of seeming to stand for protection, while guarding his words so as to avoid a pledge in its behalf in case the responsibilities of government should fall upon him, either now or later on.

Asquith's oratory is faithfully literary in form and without fire; but his speech was substantial. Although he but rarely touched upon the land question, he made a scholarly defense of free trade—too scholarly for a workingman's audience in a free trade country at a time of suffering from disemployment.

That was the real weakness of the Liberal campaign. Instead of meeting the tariff issue by showing not only that protection would not open general

opportunities for employment but that the taxation of land values in aid of free trade would, too many of the Liberal candidates merely negated the protection statements and arguments. This may do in a protection country where there is disemployment, but not in Great Britain where mere free trade manifestly fails to prevent disemployment.

At Bangor, Wales, I had an exceptional opportunity to hear Lloyd George. It was in his own home constituency, and he spoke in both English and Welsh, alternating the two languages in the same speech. He is a more powerful man than his portraits imply. Square of face, broad of head from ear to ear, tremendously muscular at the back of his neck, broad shouldered yet short of stature, there is none of the delicacy of physical make-up which appears in his photographs. His speaking varies from the conversational to the unobtrusively oratorical. His speech is strongly argumentative, keen in satire, ready in wit, and like his platform manner, always good humored. More completely than any other English speaker, I think, he would take possession of an American audience.

At Halifax, where Defoe lived and wrote part of his "Robinson Crusoe," we had facilities, through C. H. Smithson and his co-laborers in Liberal politics, for observing the progress of a British election. I have told of this experience in some detail, but more in the way of explaining the modus operandi of a British election than of giving my impressions. The polls were open from 6 in the morning till 8 at night. They were held for an entire ward at the school house, in one room on the first floor, as large as the building itself. Nobody is admitted but the election officials, the party scrutineers, the persons voting, and the police. Inside there are several ballot boxes, one for approximately every 500 of the voters of the ward, with election officers at each. Each ballot box—a japanned tin affair, like a pantry bread box—rests upon a table of its own, and with each there goes a nest of booths for voters to enter when marking their tickets. As with us, they mark with a cross opposite the candidate they favor. A geographical although extra-legal arrangement is made whereby the voters of given parts of the ward use the same ballot box—the plan being in this respect like ours, except that all the voting precincts are under one roof instead of being distributed over the ward.

There is no curtain or other screen for the voter when in the booth marking his ticket, but no one is allowed near him. He gets his ticket from a book of tickets in the custody of the election officer. Both the ticket and the stub bear his voting number, and the stub bears also his registry number. It is possible, therefore, to identify any voter's ballot if need be. As the voting number on the ballot refers you to the same number on the stub, and the stub bears also the registry number, you are carried to the voting registry where the name of the voter is entered opposite his registry number. This investigation can be made, however, only by authority of the courts, or in criminal violation of the law by means of a difficult conspiracy between officials, some of whom have custody of the ballots and others of the stubs.

Secrecy of the ballot is imperilled not by those

indicia but during the count. The individual voter is not exposed, but the voters of his locality in a body are; and this is serious in landlord-ridden villages. To prevent such exposure, the ballots are not counted by voting precincts, as with us; but the ballot boxes are emptied upon a large table at a central point in the presence of the election officers, who count them. In Halifax, for instance, all the boxes of all the wards in the city, containing some 15,000 ballots, were brought to the city hall where their contents were "dumped" promiscuously upon the counting table.

Before this "dumping," however, the ballots in each box were "tallied" to show that they corresponded in number with the number of voters for that precinct. It is right here that the secrecy as to landlord-ridden villages is imperilled. In making the "tally," the officer may turn the ballots face up or face down, as he pleases. If he turns them face up the lynx-eyed agent of the landlord, while he may only guess how a particular tenant or laborer has voted, may absolutely know how the dependent village as a whole has voted, and this may be enough for coercive purposes. If the ballots are "tallied" face downward, he loses his chance; for when the ballots of that village do appear face upwards it is among thousands of others.

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The qualifications for voting are highly complex, the result of a succession of suffrage extensions. So complex are they that I was unable to find two election agents for different districts to agree with each other or any one else as to some of the uncommon suffrage qualifications. In general, however, it may be said, that there are "dwelling house," "business premises," "service," "lodger" and "freehold" qualifications, and that these are the most important.

The "dwelling house" vote may be claimed by any one who pays local taxes on a dwelling. The "business premises" vote goes to the occupant of business premises of the annual value of £50 (£10), and this in addition to any voting right he may have in another constituency. For each additional £10 of annual value of the same business premises, if held jointly, the joint occupant also may vote, provided that only two persons vote in respect of the same premises. The "freehold" vote rests upon ownership of real property. A man of means may therefore have plural voting rights, almost without limit; a vote where he lives as a tenant, a vote wherever he has business premises of the annual value of £10, and a vote wherever he owns real property.

The "lodger" vote rests on individual occupancy of a room of the value unfurnished of £10 a year; and the "service" vote goes to janitors and other caretakers or servants who are in control of premises not occupied by the owners. Under this extraordinary electoral hotch-potch, a freeholder in several constituencies might not only be a dwelling house tenant in another, a £10 business premises tenant in still another, and consequently have a vote in all, but if he were rich enough to assign to each of several sons an individual bedroom in his dwelling worth £10 annually he could thereby make "lodger" voters also of them in his home constituency, while the dependent care takers of each of his

freeholds could likewise vote if he chose to retain them in his service.

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I wish I had the space to spare and the pen that would do it, for a word picture of politics in Scotland. With the Scot good humor thaws, but only reason satisfies. It is in Scotland that Henry George's work of a quarter of a century ago has sunk deep. In many a family the Bible and "Progress and Poverty" go together; and he who knows the Scotch mind knows what that means. Scotland could not be fooled with protection romances and fallacies. And little do you wonder when you face her political audiences or listen to her political candidates. The land question was the shibboleth there, and the land question won. If all Britain had done as well as Scotland did, the Liberal-Labor majority in this Parliament would have been bigger than in the last one.

When Walter Long, M. P., spoke at Glasgow in opposition to land value taxation he made the tactical blunder of wanting to know if any one could tell him "how to tax land values." Instantly from the body of the audience came the response—"Henry George!" followed by thunderous applause.

The readiness and the wit with which Scottish audiences help the speaker, or mar his best efforts, is illustrated by another Glasgow incident. A Tory candidate, obviously youthful, climaxed with the impudent words of Lord Milner—"Down with the Budget and damn the consequences!" He thought it an effective climax, and so it might have been if a solemn-humored woman in the audience had not instantly asked: "Diz yer mither ken ye've staarted swerin'?"

But political humor of this sort is not confined to Scotland. An argumentative joke of the campaign is credited to another region. A Tory speaker was advocating protection to labor under the specious name of "tariff reform," when a carpenter interrupted, and announcing his trade, wanted to know whether a prohibitory duty would be put upon factory-made window casings in the interest of carpenters. The speaker begged indulgence until he could finish what he was then saying, and after an interval inquired: "Where is the carpenter who wanted us to put a tariff on factory made casings?" "He was thrown out of the meeting by a bricklayer!" some-body answered.

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On the eve of our departure Mr. George and I were tendered a farewell dinner at the Liberal Club in London, by some 25 or 30 representatives of the British movement for the taxation of land values. Among those in attendance were Crompton Llewellyn Davies, who presided, and three members of Parliament. One of the latter was Edward G. Hemmerde, K. C., recorder of Liverpool and president of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values. He was in the last Parliament, and has been re-elected from Wales. Another was Francis Neilson, who goes to the present Parliament for a constituency in Cheshire, as a pronounced advocate of land values taxation, the issue which gave him his election. The same issue elected Henry George Chancellor (not named for the Prophet of San Francisco, by the way, but for two relatives), from a Lon-

don constituency, Mr. Chancellor being the third of the members of Parliament present at our dinner. On this occasion the consensus of opinion was pronounced, and of its soundness I have no doubt, that political issues in Great Britain are now clearly drawn between Protection as a substitute for Free Trade, and Free Trade supplemented with Land Value Taxation.

Wherever there was a fighting chance for a Liberal, the Whig Liberal who merely negatived the protection theory was defeated; whereas the "fighting-chance" seats cont sted by radical Liberals, who argued for carrying free trade on to its ultimate of land value taxation, were elected. This at any rate was the general tendency, and as far as I could ascertain, the actual fact. The Tories were successful, not in the places where voters were free and radical ideas had been boldly championed, but in cathedral towns and agricultural regions; in industrial places the Liberals gained even in comparison with the landslide vote of 1906.

In the House of Commons, as a result of the elections, the Liberals, Irish and Tories, together have a strong majority. Technically, there was not a Liberal victory, for the Liberals are about even with the Tories; but essentially it was a progressive victory, for the Liberals, the Irish, and the Labor party, all bent on progressive legislation now, are in a commanding majority.

L. F. P.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, February 22, 1910.

The British Parliament Opens.

The third Parliament of Edward VII's reign assembled on the 15th (p. 154). Members were sworn in, and the House of Commons re-elected the Rt. Hon. James William Lowther as Speaker. Before the state opening, set for the 21st, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, filled vacancies in the ministry.

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Following Mr. Redmond's announcement that the Irish Nationalists insisted that the restriction of the Lords' veto should take precedence of the Budget in the Government's program (p. 154), according to dispatches of the 17th, Mr. George Barnes, the new chairman of the Labor party in Parliament, sent a manifesto to Premier Asquith, protesting against the Budget question preceding the veto question in the House, and declaring that

in the event of this protest being disregarded the Laborites would vote against the Government.

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Parliament was formally opened on the 21st by the King in person. The speech from the throne occupied only four minutes in reading. Of the financial estimates for the coming year the King said: "These have been framed with the utmost desire for economy, but the requirements for the naval defense of the empire made it necessary to propose a substantial increase in the cost of my navy." Recording the fact that the expenditures authorized by the last Parliament were being incurred, and met by a recourse to temporary borrowing, the speech declared: "Arrangements must be made at the earliest possible moment to deal with the financial situation thus created." This was taken as confirmation of Premier Asquith's avowed determination to regularize the present conduct of financial affairs before attacking the House of Lords. The speech closed with the following statement of the relations between the two Houses:

Recent experience has disclosed serious difficulties due to recurring differences of strong opinion between the two branches of the legislature. Proposals will be laid before you with all convenient speed to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over finance and its predominance in legislation. These measures, in the opinion of my advisers, should provide that this House should be so constituted and empowered as to exercise impartially in regard to proposed legislation the functions of initiation, revision, and, subject to proper safeguards, of delay.

The King's use of the words, "in the opinion of my advisers," is taken to mean that he is not willing to identify himself with his ministers upon this question. After listening to the speech the two Houses separated and reassembled in their respective chambers.

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In the House of Lords Lord Lansdowne, leader of the Opposition in that House, said that if the new House of Commons adopted the Budget, the Lords would support it, though their opinion in regard to it was unchanged. He protested at the Government's program for the House of Lords, which he declared to be a plan "for pulling the constitution of this country to pieces, for breaking up the union and setting up a single chamber of government. I use the last expression advisedly, because if the words of his Majesty's speech have any meaning at all, that is what they mean." Lord Roseberry appealed to the Lords to reform themselves without delay, as the opportunity might never be given to them again. The hereditary feature was the thing the country would not tolerate.

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In the House of Commons, Arthur J. Balfour, leader of the Opposition, criticized the King's speech for inadequacy on the subject of naval defense, and questioned the strength of the support given by the country to the Budget, as indicated by the elections. Mr. Asquith in replying made the following statement as to the "guarantees" from the King for the "swamping" of the House of Lords should it become necessary, his possession of which has been both assumed and questioned:

I have said that we must have legislative safeguards, but some of my friends say that I talked about guarantees of the exercise of the royal prerogatives. If I had said such a thing I would not now be standing at this box. I received no such guarantees; I asked for no such guarantees. It is the duty of a responsible minister, so far as possible, to keep the name of the sovereign and the prerogative of the crown outside the domain of party politics.

The Government's program, as summarized by the dispatches from Mr. Asquith's speech is to the effect that the House will proceed on the question of the Lords by resolutions which will be laid on the table soon, discussed before the Easter recess and passed at this session. The Government has only two objects in view: To pass the Budget and to put an end at the earliest moment by the wisest and most adequate method, to the constitutional condition giving to nonrepresentative and irresponsible authority the power to thwart the purposes and mutilate the handiwork of the chosen exponents of the people's will. Mr. Asquith also reiterated his assertion that the removal of the Lords' right of veto was a necessary preliminary to the discussion of home rule for Ireland. Mr. Redmond announced, as the dispatches summarize, that the Nationalists had supported the Government at the election because the Prime Minister's pledge on home rule was supplemented by one still more important to Ireland, the abolition of the veto of the House of Lords, which was tantamount to the adoption of home rule. He thought, and the country thought, that Premier Asquith had promised to ask for guarantees of the exercise of the royal prerogative, and that if he did not get them he would decline to hold office. But it appeared that the Nationalists were mistaken. The Government's policy was to pass the Budget before any assurance was given that the veto bill would pass. It was a disastrous policy, and meant the throwing away of the mandate they had received from the country. They would be enabling the Lords on the veto bill to force a second election in a year, and the Government would be beaten by the weary electorate. "If the Prime Minister gives us reasonable assurance that he will be able to carry the veto bill into law this year," said Mr. Redmond, "we will vote for the

Budget, but we are not willing to pay that price for nothing."

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The New Finnish Parliament.

When the last Finnish parliament was dissolved in November (vol. xii, p. 1139), elections were called for February 1, with an assembling of the new parliament on March 1. The dispatches report of the results of the elections that a clear majority is shown for the Agrarian and Socialist parties, while the Old Finns lost six seats, precluding any compromise with the Russian Imperial government. Finland is now face to face with her fate. The menacing attitude of the Russian government has not relaxed (vol. xii, p. 1211; vol. xiii, p. 15), and it was reported on the 19th that the Finnish question was to come up at a series of councils in St. Petersburg on the following week, when the matter would be finally dealt with. In the meantime, since, in spite of menace this parliament is evidently more radical than the last, it is interesting to read observations of the last parliament, furnished to the London Daily News by George Renwick. The Literary Digest thus condenses and quotes Mr. Renwick:

This Diet was remarkable for more than one reason. It was "perhaps the most democratic Parliament ever elected," was chosen by the "system of proportional representation, in which one quarter of the entire population exercised the franchise, both sexes having votes, and one-eighth of its members were women." This Parliament, with its two hundred members, each of whom was paid a salary amounting to about fifteen shillings a day, held its sessions at Helsingfors, the capital of Finland. Here Mr. Renwick was privileged to see it at work "and to make the acquaintance of a number of its members." He tells us: "The first thing which struck me on visiting the Diet, when I was courteously permitted to remain on the floor of the House and go about among the members, was its strikingly democratic appearance. There was a complete absence of ceremony, of pomp; there were no uniforms, no regalia; it might have been a workpeople's political meeting. I do not believe there was one frock coat in the whole assembly; it was a body of hard-working, clear-brained men and women. The President, a fine, stalwart, jovial Finn, Mr. P. E. Svinhufvud, took his seat just as the chairman of a political gathering would do in this country. The roll was called, and for some minutes the sonorous 'On' ('I am') of the Finns and the 'Ja' of the Swedes resounded throughout the hall. Then the President read the order of the day in Finnish and Swedish, and the Diet settled down to work.

"Speeches were permitted both in the Finnish and Swedish languages, and official translations were provided for those who were only acquainted with one of them. If a member rose in his place his remarks were limited by a two-minute rule; if he or she desired to exceed that limit it was necessary to speak from a rostrum beside the President's desk. There was no 'catching the Speaker's eye.' Members rose before the debate commenced or at opportune mo-

ments during it, and gave notice to the President that they wished to speak on the subject under discussion, the members being called upon in the order in which the President had received their names.

"Undemonstrativeness is a northern characteristic, but it seemed to be intensified in the Diet, behind which was the sinister figure of Mr. Stolypin, whose iron hand settles the fate of measures and Parliaments. There was an air of sullen determination in word and in deed; a note of pathetic pessimism in everything. Here was a nation at work under the oncoming shadow of Europe's most crushing despotism.

"'We are working for our Fatherland,' said one legislator to me, gravely, 'with the only weapons left to us—our pens and our tongues—in the hope that Russia and Europe may read and listen. Our speakers do not want to make people cheer; we want to make them think.'

"And they are thinkers all. A sturdy peasant from beyond the Ulea River came up to me and asked me to make clear to him a knotty point in the British Budget! Afterward I joined a little band of women members discussing the question of women's suffrage in England. Militant methods found no advocate among them.

"It is interesting to know that opinion in Finland is unanimously in favor of the woman M. P. No one has a word to say against her; all, in fact, are loud in her praises.

"'She does not belong to the talking party!' said a member of the Diet to me with just a suspicion of a smile. No, they are earnest and determined workers. When visiting the Diet, a stranger from the West is naturally interested in the woman M. P. As I entered the House for the first time a mere girl, dressed—and not too well dressed—as a domestic servant would be in this country, entered the hall. Clear-featured, with the light hair and blue eyes of the Northland, a chin which denoted determination, she was, I learned, a member for a northern constituency. Following her came a buxom dame, a Mrs. Ala-Kulju, a peasant's wife, such as one would meet by the score carrying loads in the market place. But in knowledge, in determination, in speech and in patriotism, she was the embodiment of a sturdy peasant life, without which a nation can not live, and well fitted to help in ruling and guiding a nation."

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The Franchise Struggle in Prussia.

The riots in many Prussian cities on the 13th (p. 160) over the inadequacy of the Prussian electoral reform bill, were followed by serious fighting at Frankfort on the 17th, with between 200 and 300 wounded. The question of the Prussian franchise has penetrated to the Reichstag (the Imperial Parliament) where on the 19th the Socialists demanded explanations of derogatory remarks on popular suffrage, and laid the blame for the rioting in the Prussian cities upon the police. Deputy Lebebour is reported to have declared:

The Socialists will continue making demonstrations in the streets, and, perhaps, will use stronger methods. We will bring it to pass that the Prussian people obtain universal suffrage against the opposi-

tion of the government and the parties supporting it. If that results in violence, as is probable, then a revolution of the people would be justifiable. The English Stuarts and the French Bourbons perished in an attempt to use force against victorious and popular movements, and precisely so will any such attempt with us be crushed by the power of the people. If you let matters proceed so far the people will be ready.

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In Congress.

The rivers and harbors bill passed the Lower House of Congress on the 15th, without a roll call, and with only a few dissenting votes. The bill carries an appropriation of \$1,000,000 for the Illinois deep water way project, conditional upon further legislation by Congress after a board has reported upon a plan of co-operation between the State and Federal governments.

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Mr. Moon of Pennsylvania introduced in the House on the 18th the following bill to regulate the granting of restraining orders and injunctions:

That no injunction, whether interlocutory or permanent, shall be issued by any Federal court or judge without previous notice and an opportunity to be heard on behalf of the parties to be enjoined; but if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court or judge, from the evidence or showing made, that immediate and irreparable injury is likely to ensue to the complainant, and that the giving of notice of the application or the delay incident thereto would probably permit the doing of the act sought to be restrained before notice could be served or hearing had thereon, the court or judge may, in his discretion, issue a temporary restraining order without notice. Every such order shall be entered of record, and shall define the injury, state why it is irreparable and why granted without notice, and also shall have indorsed thereon the date and hour of its issuance. Every such order issued without notice and an opportunity by the defendant to be heard shall expire within such time after service is made or notice given, which shall be made or given as speedily as possible, not to exceed seven days, as the court or judge may fix, unless within the time so fixed the order is extended or renewed by the court or judge, for good cause shown, after previous notice and an opportunity to be heard.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Moon President Taft has given his full endorsement to this measure.

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The Senate on the 17th appointed as its committee to investigate the increased cost of living (p. 155), the following: Senators Lodge, Gallinger, McCumber, Smoot, Crawford, Simmons, and Clarke of Arkansas. Senator Elkins declined the chairmanship on the ground that he was busy with the Administration railroad bill.

The Ballinger Investigation.

The Congressional committee for investigating the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Forestry, which began its sessions on January 26, with Louis R. Glavis as its first witness (p. 108), continued the examination of Mr. Glavis until the 19th, when he was excused. The case for the prosecution is regarded as nearly completed.

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A New Jersey Grand Jury Investigates the Beef Trust.

The directors of the National Packing Company, which is now the subject of a Federal grand jury inquiry in Chicago for illegal combination in restraint of trade (pp. 74, 83), were indicted as individuals on the 18th by the grand jury of Hudson county, N. J., sitting in Jersey City. The indictments which were voted but have not yet been formally handed down, were for conspiracy, on the ground that the packing company holds foodstuffs in cold storage for the purpose of enhancing prices. The company has a New Jersey charter and maintains offices in Jersey City. The persons indicted are reported to be the following: J. Ogden Armour, A. W. Armour, L. F. Swift, E. F. Swift, C. H. Swift, Edward Morris, Ira N. Morris, Arthur Meeker, Edward C. Tilden, Samuel L. McRoberts, T. J. Connors, L. A. Carton, T. G. Wilson, L. H. Heyman, and F. A. Fowler. According to the Chicago Record-Herald—

The prosecution of the beef trust in New Jersey is based on testimony showing an arbitrary increase of prices, which is made possible largely through the warehouses which are grouped about the Jersey City terminals of the railroads and are being used by the trust in furthering its plan artificially to increase the costs of meats and other commodities. Thousands of tons of food are cached against the day of higher prices in New York, and for that reason the district attorney of this county will co-operate with the New Jersey authorities in further investigation. The grand jury, the prosecutor said, had positive evidence that food products have in some instances been kept in cold storage for seven years.

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In the Illinois Legislature.

The Gibson "little primary act," covering legislative nominations, passed by the Senate on the 10th (p. 156), passed the Lower House on the 17th by a vote of 89 to 40. On account of a few technical changes it goes back to the Senate, which is expected to concur. The Chicago Record-Herald summarizes the "little bill" as "providing for direct nominations on assemblymen, the senatorial committees to fix and determine how many nominations shall be made in a district, and the voters to be given opportunity to cumulate their votes." The House then concurred in the Senate amendments to the Hamilton-Staymates bill, the main primary measure, by a vote of 94 to 28. The

Record-Herald summarizes the bill as "providing State-wide primaries and automatic nominations by direct vote on State, congressional, county and judicial offices, and for the election of party machinery." If the bills are signed by the Governor they will become of effect July 1.

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Parole Law Void in Illinois.

The Illinois parole act of 1899 was declared invalid by the Supreme Court of the State on the 16th, on the ground that both in the title and in the body of the act there were joined two subjects of legislation, which is contrary to the provisions of the constitution of the State. Prisoners now in the penitentiaries who were sentenced under the parole act are by this decision declared to be held illegally, and may be sued out on a writ of habeas corpus, in which case they will be remanded for resentence under the act of 1897, left in force, which act provides that paroles shall be granted only with the recommendation of the trial judge and the Governor. The Chicago Tribune thus summarizes the significance of the ruling:

The Supreme Court of Illinois has decided that the whole act of 1899, creating a system of parole, is unconstitutional and, consequently, invalid.

Under this decision the parole law of 1895 as amended by the act of 1897, is re-established.

Prisoners sentenced during the last ten years under the 1899 act are held illegally and their sentences must be validated under the 1897 act by the trial court.

The power of parole and final discharge of prisoners no longer lies with the State board of pardons exclusively.

Under the act now held to be in force the recommendation of the board of pardons must be passed upon by a judge of the trial court, and approved by the governor.

Five hundred prisoners now out on parole may have to appear in court to have their liberty sanctioned formally. Under the rules of equity it is believed their present status would be sustained.

No jail delivery will be possible under the decision of the Supreme Court, although scores of prisoners may have to have sentence formally passed upon them again.

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Street Railway Strike in Philadelphia.

A strike was declared against the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees on the 19th. The strike order was as follows:

The company has, yesterday and to-day, discharged hundreds of union men "for the good of the service." There is nothing against the record of these men except that they belong to the union. They are among the best men in the employ of the company.

The company has forced the lockout and you will instruct every man to take his car into the barn at 1 o'clock this afternoon and allow it to remain there until the company will sign an agreement guarantee-

ing 25 cents an hour and protecting us in our rights to belong to the union without being unjustly discriminated against.

From its opening the strike has been marked by great violence. On the first day two cars were burned, a score were attacked and their crews forced to abandon them, and numerous arrests were made. By night, outside the central portions of the city, car service was almost at a standstill. Mobs were dispersed by the use of firemen's hose. On the 20th, according to the press reports, 297 cars were wrecked, scores of persons were injured, and 150 strike sympathizers were arrested. Among the injured were two girls wounded by policemen's bullets—one of them very seriously. Rioting continued on the 21st, with a probably fatal injury and a death. The police force was augmented. At the close of the day Clarence O. Pratt, national organizer of the strikers' organization, was locked up on a charge of "conspiring to incite to riot." A general strike of all union workers in the city is threatened.

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The Tayler Traction Grant Passed on Referendum in Cleveland.

The street railway ordinance known as the Tayler Grant was passed on a referendum vote at a special election in Cleveland on the 17th (p. 158). For the ordinance 27,307 votes were cast; and against it 19,197. Bridge and city-hall bond issues came up at the same election and were defeated. The Cleveland Railway system will remain under the jurisdiction of Judge Tayler until March 1, when it will pass into the hands of the Cleveland Railway Company. In the meantime changes called for in the grant are being put into operation, including three-cent fare with a penny for transfers, which was started upon at 4:30 a. m. on the 19th. The Plain Dealer thus sums up the Tayler Grant:

Sliding fares, regulated so that railway company never can make more than enough to pay its shareholders 6 per cent on the capital and interest on the bonds.

Initial fare 3 cents; maximum rate of fare 4 cents, with ticket rate of seven for 25 cents; penny charge for transfers and no rebate.

City to exercise control over routing of cars and conditions of service.

Charges for operating expenses and maintenance limited in the ordinance, and all expenses for capital account for new construction subject to approval of the council.

Street railway commissioner provided, with salary of \$12,000 a year and office expenses, to be paid by the company. Commissioner to be given access to the books of company at all times and to act as city's representative in all negotiations with council.

All lines to be equipped with pay-enter cars within a reasonable period.

Ordinance is for twenty-five years; if not extended every ten years for another twenty-five-year period.

railway has the right to inaugurate maximum rate of fare.

City has right to purchase lines at end of grant and to purchase or nominate purchaser at \$110 for stock after eight years, if State law will permit.

On the day following the referendum Cleveland Railway stock jumped from 93 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 96; later it dropped to 95. The Cleveland Press gives the following brief price history of the stock:

The high and low figures since the formation of the Concon have ranged from 88 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 63, in 1903; to 79-68 $\frac{1}{2}$ in 1904; to 88 $\frac{1}{2}$ -76, in 1905; to 85-62 $\frac{1}{4}$, in 1906; and 73-32, in 1907. After the Goff-Johnson settlement the stock taken in at 55 sold as low as 40, and the new Cleveland Railway issue sold as high as 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ and as low as 78. In 1909 the high figure was 98, and the low 58. So far this year the low figure has been 90, and the high price up to Friday noon's trading was 96.

Judge Tayler explained in an interview reported in the Press of the 19th: "The franchise provides for a dividend of 1.5 per cent on \$12,000,000 to Cleveland Railway stockholders, and a dividend of 7.5 per cent on \$2,000,000 to Forest City stockholders. The net earnings of the road under the receivership, approximately \$1,000,000, will not be divided. The money has gone into the lines, and accrues to the advantage of the city."

NEWS NOTES

—The commission form of government was defeated at Guthrie, Okla., on the 18th, by a vote of 646 for, to 885 against.

—Night work by French seamstresses and other working girls will cease on June 30 by a decree of the ministry of labor.

—The commission plan of government was adopted at Sioux City, Iowa (vol. xii, p. 1163), on the 15th, by a vote of 2,717 to 1,964.

—The New York Shirtwaist Makers' strike (p. 157) was officially declared closed on the 14th. The victory for the union was complete.

—The commission plan of government was adopted at a special election at Eau Claire, Wis. (p. 61), on the 15th, by a vote of 1,867 to 944.

—The commission form of government was adopted at a special election at Emporia, Kans. (vol. xii, p. 711), on the 18th, carrying by a vote of five to one.

—W. C. Trautman will speak on "The Economics of the Industrial Workers of the World" before the Chicago Single Tax Club in the Schiller Bldg., on Friday evening, the 25th. A discussion will follow.

—South Carolina has passed the resolution providing for an amendment to the Federal Constitution permitting the levying of an income tax (p. 156). The resolution went through the lower house by a vote of 100 to 3.

—The 88 persons who were abandoned on the steamship Lima in the Straits of Magellan, as reported last week (p. 160), were later rescued by a

cruiser sent to the scene of the disaster by the government of Chile.

—The Hamilton (Ohio) Gas and Electric Light Company has cut down its price for artificial gas from 70 cents per thousand cubic feet to 30 cents per thousand cubic feet, to meet the city's price for natural gas, now being furnished by the Ohio Fuel Gas Company. This is said to be the lowest price for artificial gas in any city in the United States.

—The National Conference of Charities and Correction (vol. xii, p. 589) will be held in St. Louis during the week of May 19 to 26. Among the speakers announced for the conference are the following men and women: Julia C. Lathrop of Chicago, Kate Barnard of Oklahoma, Louis D. Brandeis of Boston, Florence Kelley of New York, Professor John R. Commons of Madison, Dr. Henry B. Favill and Raymond Robins of Chicago. Mrs. Ella Flagg Young is hoped for.

—The Henry George men of Pennsylvania will hold a conference in Pittsburg on March 2, at the Hotel Henry, to discuss the Abolition of the Mercantile Tax, Direct Legislation, Home Rule in Taxation, and Methods of Propaganda of the Single Tax. The conference will close with a banquet at which prominent Single Taxers will be present. Henry George, Jr., who has recently returned from watching and taking part in the English campaign, Joseph Fels of London and Philadelphia, and the Hon. Wm. H. Berry of Pennsylvania, will be the speakers.

—The first blow struck by the United States against alleged "night riders" (vol. xi, p. 831) was delivered on the 17th, when a Federal grand jury at Covington, Ky., returned indictments against twelve men of Dry Ridge, Ky., for conspiracy in restraint of trade. One of the men indicted is John S. Steers, a member of the State Legislature. The indictment charges that the defendants conspired to prevent W. T. Osborne from shipping four hogsheads of tobacco from Dry Ridge to Cincinnati. They are charged with having intimidated by threats of violence both Osborne and the station agent at Dry Ridge.

—Gifford Pinchot, President of the National Conservation Association (p. 83), speaking briefly before the National Press Club in Washington on the 15th, denied that "conditions which prevent monopoly" also "prevent development." He asserted that waste of natural resources does not mean prosperity; also that "the people who are to come after us have as good a right to demand prosperity as we have, and their prosperity is dependent upon the conservation of our natural resources. Our natural resources should be developed and utilized for the welfare and benefit of all instead of primarily for the benefit of the few."

—The trial of Count Nicholas Tschalkovsky on the charge of being a member of the Russian revolutionary organization (vol. xii, p. 1256), is to open on March 8 in St. Petersburg. The list of witnesses accepted by the court include all those summoned from abroad to establish an alibi, which is the main reliance of the defense. No American witnesses are expected to be present, but American newspapers, photographs and letters will be used, and several of his business associates in England will appear in his behalf. The court refuses to accept witnesses

for the impeaching of the credibility of the government's witness, Pateuk, a condemned revolutionist, who, it is alleged, volunteers testimony at all important political trials in order to postpone the carrying out of his own sentence.

—Another attempted lynching at Cairo, Ill. (vol. xii, pp. 1120, 1189), on the 17th, resulted in the death of one member of a mob reckoned to be composed of a thousand persons, and in the wounding of twelve others. The mob was bent on breaking into the jail for the purpose of lynching two Negroes charged with attempting to snatch pocketbooks from white women on the streets. On the following day one of the Negroes pleaded guilty, was given an indeterminate sentence of not more than 14 years, and was rushed to the penitentiary. The other Negro was released, no indictment being returned against him. On the 21st the coroner's jury which examined into the death of A. M. Halliday, the man in the mob who was killed by a sheriff's deputy, brought in a verdict which involved no censure for the sheriff's deputies for firing upon the mob, nor for the dead man for being a member of the mob.

PRESS OPINIONS

"Made in America."

(London) Nation (Lib.), Jan. 29.—This election marks a signal change, bringing us definitely nearer the machine politics of the American party system with its organization of trades and localities, its armies of paid agents and bosses, its corruption fund, and its elaborate business methods of pumping false suggestions into the electorate. The liquor trade has, indeed, for a generation been in this business. But Bung's methods are clumsy; the "booze" gets into his head and blurs his plans; the American politician uses the saloon, but does not go there to learn strategy. The new feature in our electioneering is the entrance of organized trades seeking for "spoils." The proposal to revert to a protective tariff has already begun to befoul and poison our politics by streams of electioneering money furnished by business men who hope to get it back with ample interest in protective duties on their goods. Allied with these are resentful landowners anxious to defend the privileges they have hitherto enjoyed against the just demands of the Budget.

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Land Reformers and the British Elections.

Land and Labour (London), February.—The seats retained by land reformers have on the whole been retained strongly. Increased majorities could not be expected, comparison having to be made with the Progressive wave of 1906, yet in some cases increases have been secured. It is very significant that we have the Government itself appealing to the country with its land policy as the practical issue. If the Budget and certain land bills had been on different lines, the question of the Lords would not yet have arisen. Special importance from our standpoint therefore attaches to the polling in those constituencies represented by Cabinet Ministers, the interest being greatest in the case of ministers who

have been most closely connected with the Budget. We are therefore encouraged on finding that the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Board of Trade have been very strongly supported. Mr. Asquith's previous majority of 1,444 has been increased to 2,059; Mr. Lloyd George has held his seat strongly, though no increase in the poll could well be expected. Mr. Winston Churchill's total number of votes increased by about 50 per cent, a striking endorsement of the vigorous campaign he has carried on through the country. Mr. Ure, whose vigorous exposure of the British Land System and defense of Free Trade have earned him the distinction of being described as a liar more loudly and often than any man outside the United States of America, increased his majority from 2,521 to 2,915.

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Revolutions in Taxation.

Minneapolis Journal.—Mr. Lloyd George will get in his taxes upon unearned increments of wealth and will have a chance to develop his plans for valuing the lands of the country. The privileged classes probably have seen the beginning of a revolution in taxation which will not go backward, just as we in this country have entered upon an era when lower tariffs will prevail. The only politicians who are willfully blind are those who try to assure themselves that opposition to an unnecessarily high tariff will blow over. It blew over in the past because the people were imperfectly educated on the question. But the Dingley and Payne bills opened their eyes, and they will not rest until protection is shorn of its excesses.

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The Hydra Still Lives.

Puck, February 16.—Greek mythology tells of the Lernean Hydra, a monstrous dragon which had nine heads. A dragon with nine heads was a formidable antagonist, even for Hercules, and to make matters worse, the beast had a habit of substituting two new heads for every old one incapacitated. The destruction of this monster was one of the "twelve labors" of Hercules, and Hercules might have gone on hacking heads indefinitely, increasing his troubles with every hack, had he not cauterized the Hydra's wounds. That checked the head-supply and, ultimately, the Hydra. It is a long, long jump from Greek mythology to the House of Representatives, but nothing is more certain than that the Hydra of Privilege and Private Monopoly will grow another head in place of Speaker Cannon as soon as the latter is removed. So much is printed about the revolt against Cannon and Cannonism that it is but natural to think it a personal controversy. We are apt to overlook the fact that Cannon is important as a political figure only because of what he represents, not because of anything he is. The revolt against Cannon is not a revolt against an uncouth Congressman from Illinois whom the newspapers have "unclejoed" into the limelight; it is a revolt against the brazen safeguarding at Washington of private interests at the expense of public rights. Cannon is doomed, apparently, but Cannonism will go right along in other hands if it is given half a chance. Just when virtuous persons are whooping

it up and congratulating each other and the country at large on the "overthrow of Cannon and Cannonism," the Hydra at the capital will take advantage of the opportunity to grow another head. In other words, the interests and influences which have kept Cannon in control—kept him because the results he produced were so eminently satisfactory—will slip some sleek, highly respectable Republican Pecksniff into the Speaker's chair as Cannon's successor, and the game will go on. The only way to check it will be to cauterize the Hydra's wound with an unmistakable demonstration of public opinion.

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What the Commission Plan of Government Does to the Machine.

Collier's Weekly, Dec. 25.—Here is another story of the spread of the new ideas of city government—a spread which is now so rapid and successful. On January 12 of this year the people of San Diego adopted charter amendments providing for a commission form of government, with five commissioners and a mayor, and also for the Des Moines system of non-partisan primary and election. In spite of the combined opposition of the saloons and the local branch of the Southern Pacific political bureau, the amendments carried by a vote of two to one. Berkeley, California, followed soon after, with practically the same system, and Los Angeles followed with the Des Moines system of election, but not the commission form of government. At the first election in San Diego under the new system the old Southern Pacific machine, which had been in absolute control for years, was overwhelmingly defeated, not electing a single candidate. At the Los Angeles primary last month the Good Government candidate for mayor led by over 5,000. Under the Des Moines system the power of the machine will apparently be lessened everywhere.

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What Is the Matter with Spokane?

Rockford (Ill.) Republic, Dec. 27.—Spokane is attempting an impossible task, the restriction of free speech. The details of this unconstitutional attempt are almost beyond credence in this day and age. Men and women have been crowded into cells where conditions were horrible, simply because they desired to protest against the city employment agency fraud from soap boxes on the corners.

The Spokane scandal started when the Industrial Workers protested against the city plan of recruiting men to work. They declared that the municipality was hand in glove with a gang of unscrupulous employment agents who supplied jobs just long enough to take them away and give them to others, for another fee. Their description of the scheme is contained in a letter from them to President Taft, as follows:

The modus operandi was somewhat as follows: The worker, on payment of a fee, is sent out to a job, the employment agent divides the fee with the employer. After a few days the employers discharge the worker and hire a new one in his place, thus getting another divvy with the employment agent. By this adroit process the employer and the employment agents wax rich and the workers are reduced to a condition of misery and degradation.

The Workers sought to correct this evil by speaking against it on the street corners and it was then that Spokane did the unheard of thing—passed an ordinance forbidding speaking in the open. Every speaker was arrested, and to test the ordinance the laborers supplied more. Hundreds of men and women were clapped in jail, in one instance 18 men being placed in a 6x18 foot room under sanitary conditions beyond decent description. The jails were overcrowded and old hotels and boarding houses were used.

Of course the ordinance was unconstitutional and was soon declared so. Then Spokane arrested the speakers for "disorderly conduct" and that is what it is doing today. The protest of the laboring people to President Taft concludes:

The right of free speech is not only denied the workers of the city, but they are subjected to all the brutalities that a brutal and law defying officialdom can devise. Women have been brutally beaten by brutes in police uniform and have been subjected to the lusts of these same brutes. Men have been beaten insensible, starved and humiliated in every possible way that the brutal ingenuity of these official outlaws can devise. The Federal fort outside of Spokane has been loaned to the city authorities for use as a bastille.

Spokane is far enough away so that the merits of the question are not understood here. The news that an American city is jailing Americans for speaking on their streets is none the less startling. It is a phase of Spokane city life that has been zealously guarded lest it become generally known.

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The Case of Finland.

The (London) Nation, November 27.—There are two reasons which make the fortunes of the unlucky Duchy of Finland in a peculiarly intimate way the concern of every good European. The population which is now awaiting from week to week the final destruction of its liberties at the hands of Tsar, belongs to our Western world as does no other race in the Russian Empire, not even the Poles. Its civilization has never been Oriental. Its religion is Lutheran. Its constitution has been from remote ages representative. The language, at least of its upper class, is Swedish. In all that makes the mentality of a people, in its logical obedience to democratic ideals, its steady faith in order, its respect for womanhood, it is not only Western, but a leader and a pioneer among Western peoples. Its windows have always looked towards Europe, and its universities have taken their full part in the intellectual life of their time. It is a party in Russia which is not merely reactionary, but Oriental, that once more conspires against its liberties. The conceptions of Pan-Slavism, alike in their exaltation of autocracy and in their obscurantist religious basis, are of the East. It is an affair of the outposts in a long war of two civilizations of which we are today the passive spectators. We have no rights of intervention. We have no status sanctioned by treaties. But the struggle none the less appeals to our sympathies and to our sense of fraternity as clearly as did the conflict between Christianity and Islam in the unhappiest epoch of Turkish misrule. . . . The Finnish people, at this painful crisis in its eventful history, preserves its wonted self-control. It will

not play into the despot's hands by attempting an armed revolt which might seem to justify the aggression. Its weapon will doubtless be a passive resistance, in which the whole nation will refuse to assist the Tsar in his designs on its liberties. . . The answer, if Europe had as yet that solidarity towards which she is only struggling, would be a boycott of the Power which has defied the very conception of international good faith. No nation which respected itself would enter into an alliance with that Power, or receive its sovereign with public honors, or open its purse to its appeals for loans. That, unfortunately, is as yet an impracticable policy. But a Nemesis does none the less await so flagrant a breach of public faith. Even our own Tories perceive the need of a certain prudence in their interested fraternization with such a Power. Our Foreign Office will look more minutely than was its wont into the wording of the Russian documents on which it relies in its dealings with its new associate in Persia and the Balkans. For if this crime is consummated, it will be a warning to all who care to read, that the reactionary influence, which is usually anti-British, as well as anti-popular, is dominant in the Tsar's councils. Whatever our rulers may desire, there can be no entente cordiale with a Power which commits such a baseness. They may choose to condone or ignore the oppressions which the Tsar perpetrates at home. But some respect for his plighted word is essential in any ally.

* * *

An "Unwinking Reproach."

Philadelphia Record, Jan. 7.—It was a wise precaution on the part of our liberal fellow-citizen, Mr. Justus C. Strawbridge, when he presented the fine bronze statue of Benjamin Franklin to the city of Philadelphia, that he had it placed in front of the post office, a site in the control of the Federal Government. In a most interesting reminiscent speech delivered last evening before the Poor Richard Club on the two hundred and fourth anniversary of Franklin's birth Mr. Joseph Fels had the temerity to recall the fact that the great man in his lifetime had been a convinced free trader. Not satisfied with heaping this contumely upon Franklin's memory, he went on to show that the dead philosopher thought all wars were horrible mistakes and standing armies standing menaces to the world's peace and prosperity. Mr. Fels still remorseless then proceeded to show that Franklin believed that God's earth was a common heritage intended for the common use of the common people born upon it. He was opposed to land monopoly. He believed in the single tax as a remedy for the ills of landlordism. Not content with stating that Franklin was a free trader, who died before Cobden was born; a hater of war; and a single taxer anticipating Henry George by 150 years, Mr. Fels had the audacity to furnish historic proof of his assertions. He seemed actually to glory in his assaults upon the fame of the dead man no longer able to vindicate himself. But how may we get rid of the bronze statue—a free trade monument in the citadel of protection—an unwinking reproach to nearly everything Philadelphia holds sacred? That is a problem Mr. Fels did not undertake to solve.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

AFTER READING THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY.

For The Public.

You have builded your towers to the crest of your hills, and proud are your steeples tall,
As they rise thru the gossamer mantle of gray that hangs over dome and wall:
The rhythmical clang of your hammers is sweet to the gods, who for ages in store
Have held in the perilous depths of the earth, their treasures of blood-red ore;
For out of the strength of the arms that strike are shapen the walls that rise,—
The cavernous aisles, with their windowed ways that mirror the evening skies.

For the threads of steel from your groaning mills that wind from sea to sea,
They have tunneled the rocks and bridged the deeps, and proud of your work are we:
That the comforting light of the hearth-fire's glow may redden from East to West,
You have bared to the world the heart of your hills, as a mother doth bare her breast:
On a molten mass your craftsmen breath, and lo, as if shapen of air,
Are fashioned the forms which the sun god loves, as he leaps from his lightsome lair.

From your noisy ways you have journeyed afar, to the shrines that are dim and old;
And there, for the treasures of art they held, you have lavishly given your gold:
The Thought of the world which the Ages stored, you have proffered with generous hand,
To hamlet and town from the East to the West, from the North to the South of the land:
You have given to Learning her laurel wreath, and and to Art her robe of pride;
For naught that is splendid that man has dreamed, have your coffers been denied.

But O, the Gift that is greater than these—most humble, yet most divine—
The Gift of Love that has been withheld from the workers in shop and mine;
For those who have toiled thru the perilous night, in the face of the fiery breath,
Too oft for the best of their brawn and brain, you have given but Want and Death;
And out from the desolate garrets dim, from the comfortless loved ones there,
The wreaths of smoke on their wind-blown way the wraiths of the children bear.

As well might your virgin valleys ring to the Indian's war-whoop shrill,
Or the wild-cat's shriek in the dead of the night from the brow of the neighboring hill:
As well were the sanguine forest feud 'mongst the plundering beasts of prey,

With the moan of the wind thru the sombre pines,
as it went on its wandering way,—
As there in the cavernous windowed aisles, with
ravenous tooth and claw,
Should fatten the pack of the Wolves of Greed, still
ruled by the ancient law.

As under the gray of your grime and smoke is the
flame of your forge's fire,
So under the shame of your pitiless greed, is kindled
a dim desire;—
It will burst into flame with a breath of Love, it
will redden from soul to soul,
Till Amalgam Divine shall the Many be One, shall
be welded the Few to the Whole,—
Till the Briton and Scot, with the Croatian and Slav,
and the hordes from the lands between
Shall be molded anew in the purpose of One, who
dreameth the Cosmic Dream.

DWIGHT MARVEN.

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THE GREAT AMERICAN FREE TRADER.

Louis R. Ehrich At the William Lloyd Garrison Memorial Meeting in New York, January 26, 1910.

During the last year several of our very richest multi-millionaires have passed away. Their individual fortunes were estimated at fifty millions, seventy-five millions, over a hundred millions of dollars. They were men who rendered great services to the Nation along practical, material lines. They were all-powerful while they were alive, and were paid wide worship and obsequious homage. But now that they have gone we do not hear of any Memorial Meetings held in their honor. In contrast this meeting is held in memory of a man who probably in his whole life did not amass the equivalent of what was a single month's interest on the fortune of such a Modern Croesus. Why, then, this and other memorial meetings for him and none for them? They launched enterprises. He launched principles. They were leaders in the world of trade and of finance. He was a leader in the world of ideas and of ideals. They were captains of industry. He was a captain of the spirit. They spent their lives in perfecting their powers of acquisitiveness and in adding to their huge fortunes. He devoted his life to the ennobling and refining of every fibre of his heart and brain that he might lay his conquests at the feet of mankind.

He was the son of his father. We are still too near to the last century to judge it fully, but I have long been persuaded that as time goes on and we shall gain a true historical perspective, it will be universally recognized that William Lloyd Garrison the father, was pre-eminently the hero of the 19th Century. When he died, he left a legacy of great wealth, of mental and moral wealth. This legacy was happily inherited in generous propor-

tions by all of his children, but the principal heir was the son who was his namesake.

It is a strange fact that the human mind tends towards light or darkness in all directions very largely in proportion as it reaches a true or false conclusion relative to some commanding question which is submitted to it. Like tends to produce like. The idea is vaguely intimated in the old legal maxim: "Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus," "False in one, false in all." But I contend that the converse is also approximately true. "Verus in uno, verus in omnibus," "True in one, true in all." Thus William Lloyd Garrison, the father, in piercing the intellectual fog and cloud which in his day obscured the great Question of Slavery, reached the sunlight of Truth which conferred on him a clarity and strength of vision in relation to all other great public questions which were presented to his mind. As far back as 1847 he wrote to a friend: "Next to a fort, arsenal, naval vessel and military array, I hate a Custom-house. . . . I go for Free Trade and free intercommunication the world over, and deny the right of any body of men to erect geographical or national barriers in opposition to these natural, essential and sacred rights."

This spirit of protest and of revolt against legislative interference with man's industrial freedom, with his right to freely exchange the product of his labor with that of any other man on the earth, lived on and became intensified in William Lloyd Garrison, the son. He was, as will be abundantly brought out by what is said here tonight attached to many movements for reform. Every cry for human betterment appealed to him. Yet I feel confident that, in the last decade of his life, he had come to see, just as Henry George and Ernest Crosby had come to see, that the first essential for a great uplift in the world's civilization necessitated the sweeping-away of the restrictive trade barriers which stand between the nations. He realized clearly that if we desire to raise the level of the race, especially if we wish to ameliorate the lot of the working-classes, by increasing the demand for their labor, by reducing the cost of their subsistence, by shifting from their backs the weight of indirect taxation, and by granting them a more equitable distribution in the products of their labor, we must stand for Free Trade.

He realized further that if we would set a stepping-stone toward other great reforms, if we desire to purify the well-springs of our political life, and if, above all, we wish to promote Peace and Good Will throughout the earth, we must stand for absolute Freedom in Trade.

So it came that just as William Lloyd Garrison the father was acknowledged the absolute head of the Abolition movement, so William Lloyd Garrison the son came to be recognized as the leading champion of the Free Trade propaganda in the

United States. For several years before his death, he acted as Secretary and finally as President of the American Free Trade League. The League centered in him. It was characteristic of him that, although by no means a man of wealth, he served without a penny of salary. He edited a publication issued by the League in advocacy of Free Trade. In the first number he wrote:

"This is the work of agitation demanding a consecrated service, with the single object of humanity and civilization in view."

Evidently some of the League members found fault with his straightforward, clearcut declaration of principles, because in the second issue he writes:

"If instead of presenting a determined front, we prefer to temporize, to withhold forcible speech for fear of hurting someone's feelings, or keeping away conservative support, the management must be changed, and some Secretary found who has a predilection for such service."

Again he says: "If a reform is to command respect, its leaders must hold fast to the primal truth, undeflected by excitement or tempted by hopes of political success to compromise its integrity. There is no need of more politicians or parties, but there is an urgent demand for light-bringers, and creators of a public sentiment to which, sooner or later, all parties must bend. In this faith we are content to work." It was this faith, which amid all opposition and trial and many sources of discouragement kept his heart warm and his spirit bright. This he evidences when he said: "Free traders cannot in the nature of things be pessimists. Else what incentive to continue the up-hill fight, to be counted on the unpopular side, to be shut out of political life? Only abiding trust in the ultimate triumph of right sustains them." Abiding trust in the ultimate triumph of right! That explains the whole secret and the blessed triumph in the life of William Lloyd Garrison. It explains the respect and admiration for him which has brought us here tonight. And I feel that I act wholly in the spirit of Garrison when I voice the hope that this shall be to us not only a night devoted to memory but also a night of consecration, of consecration to the noble causes for which he fought so valiantly and so unselfishly.

Great reforms ripen slowly. Some clear-sighted, heroic, self-sacrificing soul scatters the seeds. It may be disappointingly long before they take root, germinate, and finally yield the glad harvest. But if this be a moral universe, if there exist "a Something not ourselves which makes for righteousness," then such a reform which is rooted in Truth and in Justice, must attain to victory. And when the victory comes,—a victory which, by destroying all artificial international barriers, shall lighten the burdens of mankind, shall smooth the path for other salutary reforms, and shall strengthen the ties of interdependence and of

peace throughout the world,—then on the day of celebration, the speakers of that hour, looking back on this agitated period, will adequately remember the noble, effective contribution and service of him we mourn tonight, and will pay just tribute to William Lloyd Garrison as the foremost leader in the Free Trade movement of our time.

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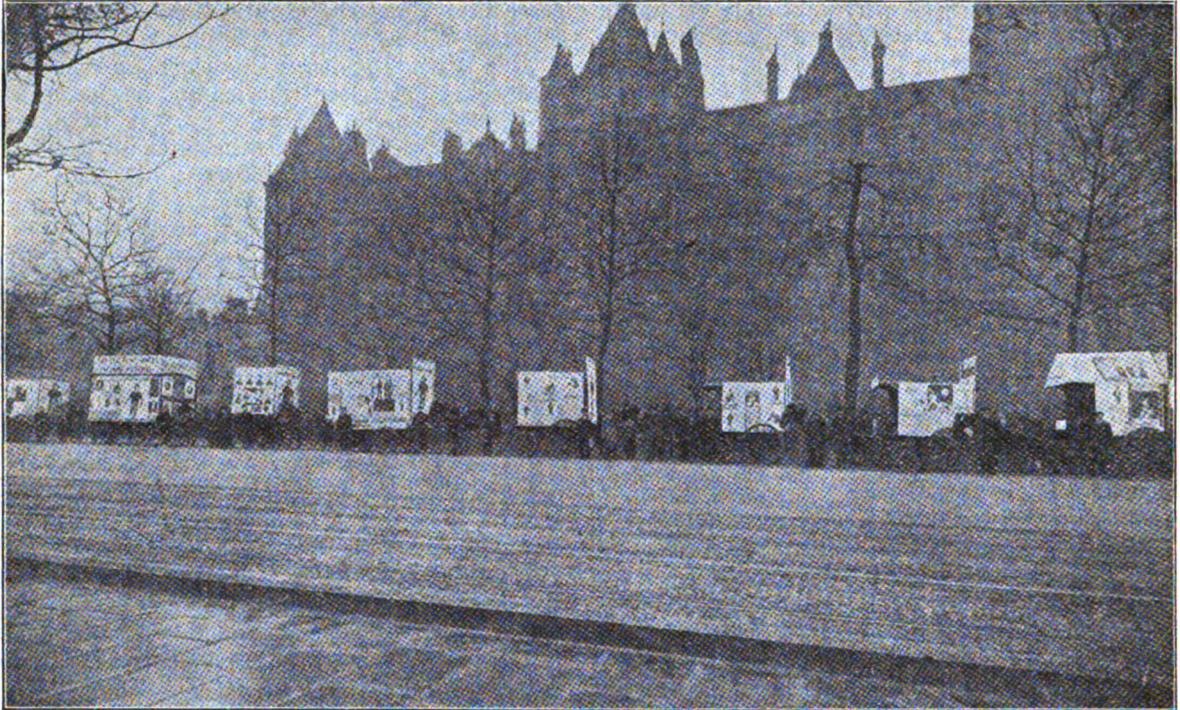
THE BRITISH LAND TAXES AND AMERICAN CONSERVATION.

From "The Morrow of the Battle," by Harold J. Howland: Staff Correspondence from England in *The Outlook* of February 19.

The land taxes in the Budget and our own movement for the conservation of natural resources have their foundation on the same principle. It is the principle . . . that since the only natural right to property is the right of every man to the product of his own labor, natural wealth belongs of right to the whole people. What a man makes by his hand or his brain, or through any other expression of his personality, is his, to have and to hold and to enjoy against all the world. What God has made and given to man—land, water, forests, streams, minerals—belongs to all men. The only right which an individual may have to any of these things is an artificial one, derived from some arrangement made by society, that is by all men, who are the real owners.

This principle we are coming to recognize in the Conservation movement. The Government, that is, society, that is, all men in the United States acting together, still owns vast natural resources—a third of a billion acres of land, including stores of coal and other minerals, forests and water powers. Till now the real owners of this wealth have given it freely to all comers, in order that the country and its resources may be rapidly developed. Now the owners—you and I and the rest of the ninety million people—are stopping to consider and saying or preparing to say: "We will not give away our resources any more. We will let individuals develop them, and make fair and generous profits from their development, but they must pay us, the real owners, for the privilege, and the ownership must still rest in us."

England no longer, practically speaking, has any natural resources which nominally belong to the whole people. The land, forests, mines, water powers, have passed into private ownership. To those private owners the Chancellor of the Exchequer says, "A large part of the profits which you make from your land is the result of nothing which you have done, but comes from the common store of wealth which naturally and justly belongs to the whole people. Therefore in the



THE EIGHT VANS OF THE LAND NATIONALISATION SOCIETY WHICH WERE USED IN LONDON DURING THE GENERAL ELECTION.

From the February issue of *Land and Labour*, the organ of the Land Nationalization Society, Alfred Russel Wallace, D. C. L., F. R. S., O. M., President. Central Office, 432, West Strand, London, W. C., England.

future you must give back to the people—through the Government—a small part of those profits.” The proposals in England are much less thorough and drastic than in the United States, for there they are dealing with vested interests, and with conditions hallowed by the passage of centuries; and even Mr. Lloyd-George, demagogue as his enemies believe him, recognizes the force of existing rights, on however unequitable a basis they have been built up.

In both countries the Progressive movement is called by its opponents by the horrid epithet of Socialism. But just as in America Government regulation is in reality quite a different thing from Government ownership, so in England the nationalization of land, the germs of which the Conservatives see concealed in the Lloyd-George Budget, is far removed in principle from the nationalization of the tools of production. National ownership of land and national ownership of the means of production are based upon two diametrically opposed principles. If the latter is Socialism, the former is not.

The Progressive movement in England has won a small victory. I believe that victory is the thin end of a wedge which, slowly and by painful degrees perhaps, will force open the vise-like grip of an ancient and stifling monopoly.

THE PESSIMIST UP TO DATE.

(With apologies to all admirers of the late Ben King.)

For The Public.

Nothing to eat but beans;
 Nothing to do but kick;
 Nothing to wear but jeans;
 Nothing to be but a brick.

Nothing to breathe but air
 Hot from the Cannon vent;
 Nowhere to fall—we're there;
 Nowhere to go—we've went.

Nothing to lose but life;
 Nothing to live for now;
 Nothing to stir but strife;
 Nothing to start but a row.

Nothing to spend but time;
 Nothing to get but stung;
 Treason to save a dime;
 Lucky to die unhung.

Nothing to lack but ease;
 Nothing to learn but less;
 Nothing but G. O. P.'s
 Would stand for all this mess.

E. J. SALISBURY.

† † †

Beef-Trust Lawyer: “May it please the Court, I wish to apply for a permanent injunction restraining the public from boycotting my client.”—Puck.

BOOKS

"A RARE PATRIOT."

The Story of Jerry Simpson. By Annie L. Diggs. Published by Mrs. Jerry Simpson, 330 Matthewson Ave., Wichita, Kan., 1908. Price, \$1.00, postage, 10 cents.

Jerry Simpson's is too vivid and recent a public life to need its details called to the mind of Americans. Facts are duly chronicled in this little book about him. But there is more here—an intimate adoring, a fond pride of wife and friends in the possession of him, objectionable were it not so genuine, tiresome did not its very simplicity set off the simple greatness of the character. For here was a man with slight formal education and bringing-up who by his power of hearty right-mindedness and its clever expression, rose from his neighbors' to his nation's esteem. Lake seaman, Kansas farmer, single-taxer, populist, Congressman, he was always ridiculed—"Sockless" by the way, only because he always wore stockings!—and always loved. To his loveliness ample witness is borne in the many friends' tributes which close the volume.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

PAMPHLETS

Merciful Common Sense Allied With Science.

In the Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 11, No. 4, of the Illinois Board of Charities (Springfield, Ill.) is printed an address by Dr. Billings, which explains with his accustomed clearness "The Modern Treatment of the Mentally Defective and the Mentally Sick." "Under the old custodial care with physical and drug restraint," he states, "a small percentage, about five to ten, of the 'acutely sick insane' recovered. Under the modern method of treatment"—

baths, proper food and nursing—"from fifty to seventy per cent recover." Seven out of the seventeen Illinois State charitable institutions are hospitals for the insane.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

At the University of Wisconsin in 1893 the foreign students of all nationalities organized a club, "Cosmopolitan" in fact as well as name. So rapidly has this spirit of internationalism spread that last December, at the third convention of Cosmopolitan Clubs, twenty-three colleges were represented. A permanent secretary (Mr. Louis P. Lochner, Madison, Wis.) was appointed, and it was voted to become a branch of the Corda Fratres—"Brothers in Heart"—a similar organization in Europe with a membership of 60,000. In remarking on the great importance of this organization for the world-peace movement, George W. Nasmyth in *The Independent* for February 17, writes: "The experience of the American members of the Cosmopolitan Clubs is typical. We find, first, that the foreign students are surprisingly like ourselves. We learn to understand them, then to admire and trust them, and finally to love them. I know of no other influence so effective, so pregnant with possibilities for the cause of 'Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men,' as these deep friendships which are formed between the young men from many nations and far-off lands, who are gathered together under the roofs of American universities."

A. L. G.

+ +

"The Waning Power of the Press" by Francis E. Leupp, a journalist of long experience, is given the place of honor in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February and is the first of a series by different contributors on the problems of journalism. The following causes for the newspaper's loss of influence are listed and enlarged upon by the writer: "The transfer of both properties and policies from personal to impersonal control; the rise of the cheap magazine; the tendency to specialization in all forms of public instruc-

Bigness

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Daniel Kiefer

tion; the fierceness of competition in the newspaper business; the demand for larger capital, unsettling the former equipoise between the counting-room and editorial room; the invasion of newspaper offices by the universal mania of hurry; the development of the news-getting at the expense of the news-interpreting function; the tendency to remould narratives of fact so as to confirm office-made policies; the growing disregard of decency in the choice of news to be specially exploited; and the scant time now spared by men of the world for reading journals of general intelligence." "Not a line of these few pages," says Mr. Leupp in closing, "is written in a carping, much less in a pessimistic spirit . . . But it must remain for a more profound philosopher, whose function is to specialize in opinion rather than to generalize in comment, to show what remedies are practicable for

the disorders which beset the body of our modern journalism."

A. L. G.

+ + +

There was a momentary pause in the rattle of the typewriters.

"Rivers," asked Brooks, "what do you understand to be the net result of the election in Great Britain?"

"I believe the voters found the House of Lords guilty," said Rivers, "but they gave 'em an indeterminate sentence."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

Mysterious Stranger (to young G. W.): "Never mind who I am! The important thing is that my great-great-great-great grandson will be Gifford

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Pinchot. And I repeat, How dare you destroy that tree?"—Puck.

+ + +

The following conversation actually occurred in a Yorkshire school some little time ago:

Scholar: "Please, teacher, it was the King's birthday yesterday."

Teacher: "I am very pleased to learn that you know it."

Scholar: "How old is the King?"

Teacher: "Sixty-eight years."

Scholar: "Then it will be only another two years

before the King will be able to have the old-age pension."—London Daily News.

+ + +

German Conductor:—"Vy iss der flute more softly dan it can?"

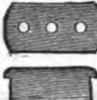
Flutist (pointing to the score, ppp.):—"Because dey does!"—Punch.

+ + +

A physician who keeps a Japanese house servant was having new flooring laid in his offices. The Japanese was greatly disturbed by the workmen, who

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interfered with the smoothness of his household routine. One day he came to his master with a look of alarm. One of the workmen had been stealing eggs from the pantry.

"Stealing eggs," said the doctor, "how's that?"

"I watch," explained the Jap. "I see him put something in his coat that hang in the hall. I look in pocket and find eggs; I look in pantry and don't find eggs. I will go take them back from his pocket."

"Oh, no," said the doctor. "That would be no better than taking them from the pantry. You must

never take anything from another man's pocket."

The Jap went away with a look of disappointment. A few minutes later the doctor passed the hatrack in the hall where the workmen's coats were hanging and found the Jap beating the coats with a rug beater.

"What are you doing?" exclaimed the doctor as he saw the dust rising from the coats.

"I beat all the coats alike," said the Jap, "and the eggs they only make the bad man sorry."—New York Sun.

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