

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Let Us Rejoice with Sobriety.

To few generations of men in the life of a nation is it given to make political and economic changes so decisive and so momentous as those at this hour being passed upon by the British electorate. But Arthur J. Balfour, than whom no man less desired the popular verdict that is rising like a cry from those who "are trespassers in the land of their birth,"—Arthur Balfour has spoken this true word of warning, that "the tremendous issues now before the English people will not be settled by one election, nor probably by two." Let us fill our hands with great patience and set our faces steadfastly, for the way is long yet to go, and the stones of disappointment are sharp. But behold, brethren, the light of the morning is on the hills!

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The Gulf That May Not Be Bridged.

"Blessed are the peacemakers," is a beatitude which admiring friends of Mr. Taft have often quoted as applicable to him. Nor was this praise wholly without reason and justice. Although capable of excessive irritation and indignation on unusual provocation Mr. Taft's ordinary temper and habit of mind is sunny and good-humored. He has charm in his personal manner, and he has shown in the small matters of life and in many great ones, tact and skill in harmonizing differences and soothing animosities. He has poured

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oil on many troubled waters. In the Philippines, between native and foreigner, between soldier and civilian, between ecclesiastic and layman, and even between intolerant Catholics and intolerant Protestants, he was exceedingly successful under trying circumstances in negotiation and accommodation. In Cuba, a marked and unexpected success attended similar exertions to secure mutual concession and accommodation between hostile and contending factions. But in his attempt to bring about reconciliation between the differing and rapidly dissevering wings of his own political party which unitedly placed him in the position of its leader and elected him President, he has entirely failed. What is the reason?

It seems to us that the reason is not far to seek, and that it is full of hope for the future of democracy and true progress in the politics of the United States. Had the conflict now openly in progress between the warring divisions of the Republican party been superficial; had it been over patronage, or sprung from personal devotion to different leaders; had it even been only sectional, Mr. Taft would have scored another triumph as a peacemaker and compromiser. But the differences were and are on other and more fundamental lines. They are differences going to the very bottom of our social and political life. On one side are the sturdy defenders of privilege and monopoly which have been in these later years turning the Republican party of Lincoln's times into a far different kind of an organization. On the other are men democratic at heart who have never broken away from the nominal political affiliations which had become to them almost sacrosanct, and those of a younger generation who have joined, as they supposed, the party of the political faith of their fathers, and are discovering that it is leading them to an entirely different social, economic and ethical creed. They, too, at heart are lovers of liberty, equal opportunity and true democracy. Between these wings of the party, differing on fundamental and basic principles, no final peace is to be secured by a negotiator, however tactful, however non-committal, and in whatever position of power and leadership he may be.

This is the cause of Mr. Taft's failure. It points directly to a new alignment of parties, and to that cleavage on vital issues which will bring the true democrats in both parties into a political struggle, not between themselves, but against a common foe. Whether in such a contest, present

party names, full as they are of historical association and sentimental connotations, will give way to others; or whether there will be an "exchange of prisoners," and each party, honeycombed as it is with persons dissenting from its present dominant and more or less clearly indicated tendencies, will purge itself of those dissidents, cannot yet be foreseen, nor is it in any wide sense material. The fact remains that the portents are all of a restatement of political issues and a new birth of democratic feeling. It is needless to say with what joy such a consummation should be welcomed. Here, as in England under such conditions, it would be good to be alive that one might take part in the fight!

And in the situation is revealed, as it seems to us, the deficiency in Mr. Taft's character or training which will prevent him from being, or ever becoming, the forceful leader his too enthusiastic friends believed him to be. It is not the tactful negotiator or the successful diplomatist, the sunny-tempered and good-humored friend, or even the cautious and deliberative politician, that the times demand for the Republican party leader, if that party is to hope to retain the ascendancy it has enjoyed so long. It is rather the bold and quick thinking, quick acting fighter, who will place himself distinctly at the head of one or other of its wings, and avow the faith that is in him. Were Mr. Taft to ally himself with the "insurgents" and "progressives," he would rally to his support myriads of Democrats who are attracted to him personally; and might well hope to succeed himself in his present office. Were he as rigorously to head the defenders of "vested" privilege and reaction, that hope might also still exist; for those forces are still, sad to say, immensely strong in the United States. Attempting the impossible, trying to be with both parties simultaneously or alternately, in shunning Scylla he will fall into Charybdis; or, in more homely language, between the two stools he will fall to the ground, unless the fates are kinder to him than we look for them to be.

The President's Conservation Message.

The long expected message of the President to Congress on "Conservation of National Resources" followed very quickly on the removal of its chief champion and representative from his office. It is a very mild and rather colorless document, of which the most definite proposals are in favor of the issuance of ten-year bonds to the amount of thirty millions of dollars, to complete irrigation

projects already under way by the Interior Department under the authority of the Reclamation Act, and in favor of completing at an expense of sixty-three millions a series of dams on the Ohio river in order to maintain therein at all times from Pittsburg to Cairo a depth of nine feet. On the treatment of forests, water sites and mineral lands, the message is vague and indefinite. It is something that by formal communication from the Executive, the legislative department has been told that the administration expects action on these matters as a part of the governmental program. But it would be much to be regretted if the probable action depended on the degree of vigor with which the President was recommending reform. The following passage concerning the proposed treatment of government mineral land, well illustrates the temper and atmosphere of the whole message: "It is exceedingly difficult to frame a statute to retain government control over a property to be developed by private capital in such manner as to secure the governmental purpose and at the same time not frighten away the investment of the necessary capital."

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We should have been glad if Mr. Taft had explained to some of us who may be obtuse on that point, in what the exceeding difficulty consists. Take the Gogebic Range iron lands, for example. The government once owned them. It sold them for a trifling price to lumber barons. They cut off the timber and with the assistance of a high protective tariff made great fortunes therefrom. Then they foresaw other fortunes beneath the surface, and either sold the lands for a high price or held on to them for this prospective income. But neither the original or new owners engaged in mining. They knew an easier way to reap the profit without risk or possibility of loss. They simply sold short-time options to prospectors to go on the land to search for mineral; and in case it was found, to take leases of the land, with drastic conditions as to how the mines should be worked, and reservations of heavy rents in the shape of high royalties on every ton of ore taken out. This is the way the whole Gogebic iron mining country was developed. It did not seem "to frighten away the investment of the necessary capital." On the contrary great aggregations of capital are working mines over the whole range, and paying heavy royalties to a score only of fee owners, who have invested no capital, and run no risks whatever in the mining ventures. Mr. Taft's statement immediately before the quotation which we have made, is tentative: "The surface might be

disposed of as agricultural land, under the general agricultural statutes; while the coal or other mineral could be disposed of by lease on a royalty basis." Then follows the remark about the "exceeding difficulty." Why would it be any more likely to "frighten capital from investment" for the government to assume the position of the fee owner who is to receive the royalties, than for the patentee of the government who has been getting the land for a nominal sum to do so? We fear the President's "judicial mind" conceives imaginary dangers.

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Timber Growing and Taxation.

A comparatively recent address by Mr. Pinchot, the late Chief Forester (pp. 25, 26, 32), frequently quoted from, draws attention to the injustice and bad public policy of taxing growing timber. In commenting upon Mr. Pinchot's address the Pittsburgh Dispatch of December 19 made some very sensible observations regarding what it justly calls, "the greatest obstacle to the increase of privately owned forests—that is, the taxation which most States impose on the forests while under the process of growth." It says:

A crop of corn or fruit is taxed but once. But a crop of lumber is taxed each year according to the value that it has attained, not only the value added in that year, but the accumulation of growth that has been taxed previously. Under such a system the man who starts a forest is reasonably sure to have paid in taxation by the time the trees mature all that the lumber is worth. There is some modification of this in the tax laws of Pennsylvania, but not sufficient to make it an inducement for owners to devote the poorest parts of their land to the growing of timber. Mr. Pinchot proposed what has been set forth in these columns, that annual taxation shall be solely on the value of the bare land, while the product of lumber shall be taxed only when it is cut and sold.

Except as a compromise, the concession that the product of lumber shall be taxed when it is cut and sold is unwarranted. If it is a just and wise thing to exempt growing timber from taxation, it is manifestly somewhat more just and wise to exempt the lumber after it is cut. The kind of tax that burdens timber growers and obstructs timber growing will have a similar effect if imposed upon lumber cutters and lumber cutting. Why not exempt lumber making as well as timber growing? Lumber is indeed the timber harvest, and taxation of lumber when it is cut is analogous to taxation of grain when it has been harvested. But why tax either lumber or grain? We all want them both, and we could all have more of both if neither were taxed. But Mr. Pinchot and the Pittsburgh Dispatch are at any rate right as far as they go.

Timber taxation as an annual charge ought to be imposed not upon the value of the growing timber and the land, but upon the value of the land alone regardless of the value of its growing timber. This would encourage the use of timber land for timber raising purposes, and it would be fair. It would be fair because the tax would fall in proportion to the desirability of the land for timber crops; and it would foster intelligent timber culture by giving to the grower the full value of his crop. It is gratifying to be able to number Mr. Pinchot among those who believe in lifting the burden of taxation from legitimate enterprise and industry.

* * *

INCIDENTAL SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

Even to the extent of total abstinence, or of prohibition, it is probable that temperance ideas wield today a far greater influence than in the time of the old temperance crusades. This may be the reason why there are no John B. Goughs in our day, and so little popular response to total abstinence agitation. Total abstainers from choice do not readily respond to appeals to be total abstainers as a form of self-restraint. Imagine the discouragements of an anti-snuff crusade, for instance, as an extreme illustration. The illustration does not apply completely to anti-liquor crusades, but it does apply in principle. Although drinking is still an enormous indulgence, it has lost its popularity. No one any longer apologizes for not drinking. Apologies run in the other direction. And in periodical literature, to the limited extent to which it discusses the temperance subject at all, which is not very much, it discusses it far more judiciously and effectively than in the days when professional writers regarded it as good form to pour out sentimental stuff in glorification of temperance, and bad form to abstain from pouring in liquid stuff in promotion of intemperance.

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We have never felt it necessary to discuss the temperance subject in *The Public*, although often importuned to do so. Sometimes the call comes to us from prohibitionists, who apparently suppose that if we did discuss the subject we should stand for prohibition. Sometimes it comes from liberty folks, who assume that we would stand as firmly for free trade in whiskey as for free trade in any other article of commerce. As a rule the call has never come from drinking men, although an occasional letter forces upon us the thought that prohibition, however wrong it may be in general prin-

ciple, would not come amiss in that particular case as a personal benefit.

None of those general importunities, however, have influenced us to write upon the subject. But Mr. Bryan's recent editorial evokes demands in both directions which seem to be emphatic enough for a response, and now we offer one.

What we offer, however, is simply our own opinion, and we offer this to stimulate thought and not to convert—which is the spirit, let us say, in which everything in *The Public* is offered. In so far as we are regarded as “thinking for” our readers, we recoil with a little touch of shame; but in so far as we are regarded as stimulating them to think for themselves, we feel that *The Public* has a mission.

On the question of temperance, then, we may summarize our opinions as follows:

In the abstract, we regard total abstinence as a personal question—not open and disturbing drunkenness, but abstinence; yes, and moderation too. If a man chooses to drink or not to drink, to get drunk or to keep sober, it is—as an abstract question—his own individual affair. For the consequences he should be answerable to society, as if he becomes a nuisance or dangerous or neglectful of duties.

Likewise—in the abstract—of commerce in liquor. We believe that, other conditions being right, this would regulate itself better than organized society could regulate it.

Consequently, if it were not for the conditions of degrading luxury at one extreme of society and degrading poverty at the other, with their degrading influences mingling throughout the whole—all caused by economic conditions which do not originate either in destructive rum-drinking nor in destructive rum-selling, but are promotive of both—we should consider the question of temperance at a matter of individual conduct with which the law could not meddle to any advantage.

So, also, if there were reasonable prospects of an early adjustment of economic conditions on the basis of a square deal. We should in that case still consider the temperance question as outside the sphere of justifiable legislation.

But under the existing circumstances of economic maladjustment, which will persist while a large majority of the good people are socially blind enough to prefer sumptuary legislation to square deal legislation, we are obliged to recognize the temporary usefulness of liquor traffic regulations, even to the extent of prohibition. Although not disposed to agitate for this, except under special

circumstances—nor at all except as a secondary reform which thrusts itself in front of a primary one,—neither are we willing to oppose it.

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In prohibitory legislation under prevailing economic conditions, we see three elements of usefulness.

For one thing, it might save some of the over-rich and many of the over-poor from degradation, while more fundamental but slower and more legitimate social efforts are in progress.

For another thing, we believe that in our efforts for social progress, our natural friends and allies of the future are those who now hope to do good by repressive legislation, rather than those whose conceptions of liberty begin in a distillery or a brewery and end in a barrel house or a civic-corrupting saloon.

Our third consideration is that in full operation, prohibition would demonstrate the fallacy of the now absorbing popular thought that intemperance is the cause of poverty, and thereby clear the path to social reforms under which prohibitory laws would become obsolete because unnecessary.

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We relate these views not to the temperance question alone, but similarly to those other great agitations of our time which honestly, even if mistakenly, aim at social progress.

If they are in the right general direction, we must assist them or be useless chattering; for no worthy goal can be reached at a bound, and head winds are not to be met head on.

If they go backward from ignorance as to method and not from wickedness as to purpose, we may sometimes find our account, and a good one, in going with them far enough to get a hearing on methods.

Meanwhile they may serve for ameliorations of individual suffering, which is no small thing incidentally in a program of progress that may require many generations for development.

Shall we have no child labor laws until privilege is so far extinct that parents will no longer sacrifice their babies to industrial exploitation? Shall there be no laws limiting the destructive exploitation of women in factories and stores for long hours until we have modified privilege so far as to enable women to contract in real freedom and not under jug-handled competition? Shall there be no food-inspection laws until we are all so free, and so enlightened in our freedom, that we will patronize only honest and competent purveyors in buying our food? Shall there be no mining nor

factory laws until privilege has been so far abolished that workmen in mine and factory will be independent enough to refuse employment unless every safeguard is provided? Shall we ignore the manifest evils of intoxicants—whether liquors or drugs,—and bear with the saloon and its deadly and deadening civic influences until we have extended freedom far enough to enable men to discriminate between what good there may be in them and the bad? Shall we have no tenement house regulation until land monopoly has been so far eliminated as to loosen up economic conditions sufficiently to enable the exploited masses to bargain in full freedom for their homes as well as for their work and their food?

To do so would, in our opinion, be neither wise nor serviceable, nor yet consistent with sound principle in any other than that literal way which lifts the letter above the spirit. We do not thereby lose sight of our idea of the right goal or the true method. On the contrary, we keep both in constant view. But we keep also in view those changing circumstances of everyday life under which that idea must be promoted if promoted at all.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

HOW THE VETO OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS MAY BE ABROGATED.

Liverpool, England, Jan. 6, 1910.

"Another story" about the peculiarities of British politics* remains to tell. It is the story, imbedded in English history, of how the abrogation of the legislative power of the House of Lords may be accomplished against their will, if the Liberals win at the election now pending over here.

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This story has its large beginnings in the English Revolution of 1668, when the doctrine of "divine right" in England was put into the scrap heap of politics, and William and Mary were placed upon the throne by Parliament as constitutional monarchs. With that revolution the actual powers of government began to pass from the throne to the House of Commons.

Although William and Mary were nominally invested with the attributes of sovereignty, there was a clause in the Bill of Rights, under which their title to the crown was established by Parliament, which operated automatically to place the leverage of power in the possession of the Commons instead of the Monarch. This was the clause that gave to the Commons the sole right to levy taxes. It became what in modern slang would be called "a cinch" when the Commons established the practice of granting supplies to the King for only a year at a time.

The annual grant is the financial bill. In practice

*See "British Democracy" in the Public of December 24, pp. 1228-1230.

It is always preceded by a budget, in which the financial officer explains the needs of government and how the ministry wishes the Commons to meet them. Since the provision which the Commons thereupon makes lasts only for the year, the King would soon be utterly without funds, and without any means for raising funds, if he dissolved Parliament, or suspended its sittings, or otherwise so far interfered with the independence of the House of Commons as to make it stubborn.

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The power over the King which that arrangement gave to the Commons is obvious, but at the first it was not absolute. The King continued to appoint whom he pleased as his ministers, and to remove them as he pleased; and they were regarded, and regarded themselves, in fact as well as name, as the servants of the King and not of the Commons.

Here were all the conditions for deadlocks, and the Commons and the King were consequently in constant conflict. Although either could obstruct the other, neither was able to coerce the other. Through its control of the purse strings, the Commons had a negative control over the King and his ministers, but it could depose a minister only by impeachment; and if it did this it had no means whatever of compelling the appointment of a friendly one in his place. The King, on the other hand, could defy the Commons in his choice of ministers; but with that there was an end, for the Commons could cut off his supplies.

Fortunately, this situation was as objectionable to the King as to the Commons; and fortunately also he had for confidential adviser a veritable statesman, one who had learned his trade at the courts of Charles II and James II. This was Robert, Earl of Sunderland. He suggested to King William a way out of the difficulty which not only served its purpose then, but has given form and potency to one of the most democratic characteristics of the British Constitution. "Choose your ministers," said he to the King, "exclusively from the strongest party in the House of Commons." His advice was taken and the remedy proved effectual.

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With some exceptions during the long transition period, only leaders of the dominant party in the House of Commons have since that time been the King's ministers.

He asks a member of the Commons to form a ministry, and the person so selected is prime minister if he can command the support of his party in the Commons as its leader. Since the ministers are leaders in the Commons, and are nominally the King's servants (though actually his political master), they bring King and Commons into practical agreement. While that agreement lasts, the government moves on; when the agreement ceases, if the King can find no willing leader able to form a workable ministry out of a majority composed of mixed elements, his only recourse is to dissolve Parliament and order elections. No revenue could be got for public purposes otherwise. And even this the King cannot do except upon the advice of ministers responsible to the Commons.

Should the new House be like the one dissolved,

the King must yield to the "advice" of the ministry he selects from the controlling elements in the new one. If he did not, they would resign their offices and leave King and Commons at a deadlock.

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Until early in the 18th century this system was no more than a custom; but in the Act of Settlement by which Parliament vested the Crown of England in the Hanover family, its two principles (1) that the King acts only through his ministers, and (2) that they are responsible to Parliament, were definitely asserted; and under its development the ministers, though still the King's servants in name, are not his servants at all in any other sense. They are simply an executive committee representing the will of the majority of the House of Commons, and helpless as soon as they cease to represent that will.

If this majority continues through seven years, then the Parliament may last that long but no longer. But if, through the coming up of new questions, or any other cause, a majority grows up against the ministers, or the ministers think it an opportune moment to seek popular approval, or for other reason arising out of the constitution of the House itself, Parliament may be dissolved by the King at any time, whereupon new elections are called.

The only king since William and Mary's time to attack this principle of ministerial responsibility to the Commons instead of the Crown, was George III, and his success was far from brilliant.

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The development of the system has strengthened the power of the throne in many respects, by bringing it nearer to the people, but it has had the effect of divesting the King altogether of legislative power.

A veto upon legislation had been one of his prerogatives. Nominally it is yet, but actually it has become obsolete. In consultation with the ministry, the King may advise against legislation objectionable to him, and the ministry may yield; but if it does not yield, and is sustained by a majority of the House of Commons, and the Lords do not veto, the King himself would have to do the yielding.

The King's veto died hard. William, of the William and Mary reign, used it freely even after he had yielded the control of his ministers to the Commons; and the reactionary George III obviated the necessity for its use by governing over the head of Parliament. Even William IV asserted both the right to dismiss ministers at pleasure and to exercise the veto power. But all this passed away with the accession of Queen Victoria.

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The House of Lords, however, an appointive and hereditary body, retain their veto power though the King has relinquished his. Until now this power of the Lords has not often been strongly questioned with reference to general legislation; but with reference to revenue legislation it has been persistently asserted that the Lords have no right, either of amendment or veto, since the exercise of such a right would be inconsistent with the Bill of Rights, which vests revenue legislation in the Commons.

It was the interference by the Lords with the revenue legislation of the present year—Lloyd

George's budget—that brought on the crisis which has precipitated the momentous parliamentary elections about to take place in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

Somewhat similar action was taken by the House of Lords nearly fifty years ago, when the Gladstone budget, containing clauses repealing the duties on print paper, went up from the Commons. It was opposed by the Interests affected by it—the paper manufacturers and the established high-priced newspapers,—and was carried in the Commons by a majority of only 9 votes. This narrow majority is supposed to have encouraged the House of Lords to defeat the measure, for a narrow majority in the Commons for the Ministry is regarded as a political defeat. Whether so encouraged or not, the Lords did defeat the free paper measure.

In their behalf it was argued that the Lords had as good a right to reject the measure as to approve it; and against them, that if the Commons have repealed a tax, the Lords reimpose it by voting against the repeal, and thereby assert a taxing power equal to that of the Commons.

Although the Ministry of that time did not make this a crisis question, they did carry through the Commons a series of resolutions to the effect that in order "to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply" the House of Commons reaffirmed its right to impose and remit taxes and to frame revenue bills. When asked his meaning in advising those resolutions, the Liberal Prime Minister of the time is reported to have said of the Lords: "I mean to tell them that it was a very good joke for once, but they must not give it to us again."

They did "give it" to the Liberals again, however—though not on a financial bill—when in 1893 Mr. Gladstone carried his Irish Home Rule measure through the Commons by 301 to 267, and the Lords rejected it by 418 to 49.

One of the most notable vetoes by the House of Lords, other than of a financial measure, was in the early thirties of the last century, when the first reform bill came before Parliament. A most outrageous electoral system then prevailed. The present one is bad enough, but that one was infinitely worse. Large boroughs like Manchester and Birmingham had no representation at all in Parliament, while little boroughs and boroughs that had disappeared sent members to the House of Commons under the patronage of land-owning families. In those days the Lords controlled their own House and the House of Commons too. A bill to reform this state of affairs was defeated in the Commons in 1831 and the ministry appealed to the country. They were sustained, even under that rotten electoral system, by a large majority in the new House of Commons, which at once passed the reform bill. The House of Lords rejected it. But this was a delicate matter and they "weakened" when the bill was sent back to them. The majority whose votes had defeated it before, refrained from voting now, and thereby allowed the minority to give to the bill the sanction of the House of Lords.

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All this interference of the Lords with legislation for the common good has now culminated in their

rejection of the Lloyd George Budget. Like other budgets, it provided for the revenues of the year. But its offense to the Lords was its opening up of a long neglected source of public revenues—the increasing value of land.

During two centuries, to conciliate the land-owning classes, the land of England—not long before the sole source of public revenues—had been repeatedly, and more and more, exempted from taxation. This, in its beginnings, was part of the price of Walpole's popularity.

Meanwhile, enclosures of common lands by the great land owners had gone on at such a rate that from 1710 to 1867 more than 7,500,000 acres of people's land had thus been stolen by privileged classes, and added to their own domains. It was equal to about one-third of the cultivable land of England.

What with those inclosures of common lands, and the reductions of land taxes during the past two hundred years, a great impoverishment of the working class had been made, along with the financial elevation of a class of untaxed land owners. As Lloyd George has put it, "Ten thousand own the soil of England, and all the rest of us are trespassers in the land of our birth,"—the ten thousand being, as he might truly have said, so completely exempt from taxation on their land, that the general land tax yields only a trifle to the imperial exchequer. Local taxes are imposed upon land, but only upon the rent actually paid, and this is imposed upon the tenant. Unoccupied real estate is not taxed at all.

To subject land values to taxation and to an increasing rate of taxation with the increase of what John Stuart Mill called "unearned increment," derived from public improvement and growth, was the most important feature of the Lloyd George Budget. It was the feature also which aroused the opposition of the House of Lords.

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When the Budget came from the Commons to the Lords, the Conservative leader in the latter body moved (vol. xii, p. 1160) that in the judgment of the House of Lords it "is not justified in giving its assent to this bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country."

This is regarded as a mere subterfuge for rejecting the measure without seeming to usurp power. It would be a remarkably democratic proposition, considering its source, if it really meant anything democratic. But as there is no referendum law in Great Britain, this device, if acquiesced in, would leave the House of Lords as free to reject the bill after a Liberal victory as after a Conservative one, and they would besides have added a precedent to strengthen their claim of constitutional right to amend or veto financial bills. For, as a campaign speaker here has said, the British constitution is constructed upon the principle that if a man hits you and you let him, his right to continue doing it is established.

This resolution, adopted by the Lords on the 30th of last November by 350 to 75, is somewhat like the backwoodsman's rifle, which was so marvelously adjusted that when its owner aimed it at an animal which he could not quite distinguish, it would hit the animal if it was a deer and miss it if it was a calf. And very serviceable to the Lords would their referendum be, no matter which way the election might

go on the Budget question alone. If the people approved the Budget, the Lords could acquiesce as to this Budget, and thereafter claim the right to force a dissolution of Parliament and a popular vote on every annual budget offered by a party opposed to the privileged interests.

This time the action of the Lords was not allowed to pass with only protesting resolutions. On the very next night, December 1st, the Prime Minister offered to the Commons a concise assertion of constitutional principle in these words—a sort of joinder of issue with the Lords in the forum of the people: "That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by this House for the service of the year is a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons."

Mr. Asquith followed his resolution with a plain speech on December 2, when his resolution was adopted by the Commons. In this speech he denounced what he called the "false balances and loaded dice" of the Conservatives, which made the House of Commons omnipotent when the Conservatives controlled it, and the House of Lords omnipotent when the Conservatives were out of power in the Commons. At the same time he declared that the Lords had now opened up a wider controversy than that of finance, announced the King's assent to an early dissolution, and asked the people by their votes to proclaim that their "organ and voice" should be the "elected representatives of the nation." All of which meant that new elections would be speedily held for members of the House of Commons, at which the people would be urged by the Liberals to return a majority in favor of abrogating beyond all dispute the asserted right of the Lords to amend or veto measures adopted by the Commons.



And now the same question remains that remained in The Public's editorial on this subject (vol. xii, p. 1230) in the issue of December 24. How can the abrogation of any legislative powers of the House of Lords be accomplished against their will, no matter how strong the Liberals and their coadjutors on this question in the Labor and the Irish parties, may be when the new House of Commons assembles?

Bearing in mind the constitutional history I have outlined in this letter, especially in its relation to the transfer of power from the King to the Commons, and also that the Constitution of Great Britain is not a written document but a web of parliamentary enactment and practice, the question may be easily answered.

If the Liberals come back to power through the pending elections, any stubborn refusal of the present majority in the House of Lords to acknowledge the sovereignty of the House of Commons in legislation, could be met by "swamping" the present majority in the Lords through the elevation of Liberals to the peerage.

The constitutional precedent for this course was made in 1712, in order to secure the Lords' approval of the treaty of Utrecht. There was then a Whig majority in the House of Lords, which stood by Marlborough in opposition to the treaty. But the Commons favored the treaty, and in order to overcome

the opposition of the Lords, Queen Anne was called upon by the Ministry, responsible to the Commons, to appoint twelve Tory peers, and she did so. If Queen Anne could appoint twelve Tory peers in 1712 to overcome a Whig majority in the House of Lords in order to secure its approval of a policy of the Commons then, why may not King Edward appoint some hundreds of Liberal peers in 1910 to overcome a Tory majority in the House of Lords in order to secure its approval of a policy of the Commons now?

Nor is that precedent without deliberate confirmation by the Commons itself. An attempt was made in the Commons in 1720, having reference to the episode of 1712, to guard against the "swamping" of majorities in the future by providing that appointments to the peerage could be made only when vacancies occur. The bill was defeated. With reference to that bill Mr. Green makes these sensible observations in his "Short History of the English People" (in chapter ix): "It would in fact have rendered representative government impossible. For representative government was now coming day by day more completely to mean government by the will of the House of Commons, carried out by a ministry which served as the mouthpiece of that will. But it was only through the prerogative of the Crown, as exercised under the advice of such a ministry, that the peers could be forced to bow to the will of the lower House in matters where their opinion was adverse to it."

There seems to be no doubt that the King may appoint peers without limit, and that he may do this only with the assent, and must do it upon the advice of the ministry, on pain of a refusal by the Commons to vote supplies. As Green shows, this is one of the necessary conditions of representative government where there are peers claiming legislative powers.

The prediction is therefore reasonable that if the Liberals are returned to power at the approaching elections, the Lloyd George Budget, unchanged, will be sent back to the House of Lords; that a bill substituting for the absolute veto which the Lords assert, a suspensory or advisory veto which the House of Commons may acquiesce in or disregard at its own pleasure, will be sent to the House of Lords, whether they adopt the Budget or not; that if the Lords reject either, the King will be advised by the Liberal Ministry to appoint Liberal peers in sufficient numbers to "swamp" the Conservative majority in the Lords; and that the King will follow this advice, since a Liberal majority in the new House of Commons would admonish him that the advice comes not only through the ministry from the Commons but through both from the people themselves. To refuse to do it would be to invite a deadlock between the King and the Commons.



In the existing circumstances, it is not at all improbable that if the Liberal party wins at the elections, the Lloyd George Budget, with its land clauses of radical tendency, will soon be adopted by both Houses, and that the legislative pretensions of the House of Lords will be finally "squashed." The principal "if" in this look into the future will probably be settled, and be known by cable in the United States almost as soon as this letter reaches its readers. It may be settled and cabled sooner. For the

elections take place in some of the constituencies on the 15th of the present month, in others on the 17th and 18th, in others a little later, and so on through the month; and it may be that the earlier elections will be so emphatic, one way or the other, as to indicate far in advance of the final voting, which way the country is going.

L. F. P.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

OPTIMISM FROM SAN FRANCISCO.

Extracts from a Private Letter Dated January 1.

Honestly, my friend, I think you are too pessimistic about men who don't see all that you see. I'm bad enough, goodness knows, but I think you are worse than I am. Everything in this world is a growth. Even men must grow after they have grown to be men. Yes, I know; we want the single tax, but mankind must evolve into the single tax—must grow into it. To wake up some morning and find the single tax in full operation would be to see a miracle, a violation of natural law; and there never was such a thing since Time began his chores. Omnipotence can't make a two-year old colt in ten minutes because Omniscience won't stand for such a thing. Don't you see that if it were otherwise, we would wake up some morning and find plutocracy substituted for the single tax while we were asleep; that the forces of injustice would work a few miracles for themselves?

Here we've just had an election in San Francisco, to issue bonds to take and rebuild a street car line to be owned and operated by the city. Said a single taxer to me some three weeks ago:

"What yer want to vote those bonds for? Don't you know municipal ownership and operation will increase the value of real estate, and the land-lords will get the whole benefit?"

"Yes," I replied; "I know that; but don't you know that the Cat becomes more visible as the value of land is increased?"

So he voted for the bonds.

Only last week a very prominent man in San Francisco suddenly woke up and made a strong public plea for that issue of bonds. For years he has been opposed to public ownership. He was brought to his near senses when the street car monopoly plastered the billboards with posters advising the people to vote against the bonds.

I know I am too impatient with men who don't see things, as an astronomer would doubtless be impatient with me because the only constellation I ever could see is the Dipper. All the rest of the animals are invisible to me.

I have been hungry for the single tax since 1883, and now, after twenty-six years, I am astonished at the growth of the single tax idea. I became an initiative and referendum crank in 1888; I wanted it "right away and immediately if not sooner." I am amazed when I think of its growth in this country. Moreover, the growth of these things is cumulative, accelerative, like a freight car running down hill. There is no force that can stop the growth of the single tax. We can help the growth,

but we can't create it full-grown. However mature a boy may be at eighteen, he can't jump from eighteen to twenty-one.

There is no more news to come from anywhere until we hear from England. But, think of San Francisco—the Graft City—voting by 3 to 1 to go into public ownership of street railroads! Brace up, friend! Is not that something? Isn't that a step towards the single tax? One better step would be free transportation over the road, because it would boost land-values and rent in a straight line through the city. Cheer up, dear heart, cease your wretched repining—you'll be an angel by-and-by.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, January 18, 1910.

The Parliamentary Elections in Great Britain.

As this Public goes to press it is believed that the Liberals, with the co-operation of the Irish Nationalists and the Labor party, will command a majority in the new House of Commons (p. 34). The issues have been four: Support of the Budget with its taxation of land values; the abrogation of all claim to veto power on the part of the House of Lords; and home rule for Ireland, as the Government (Liberal) issues. And the adoption of the principle of protection ("tariff reform") as a method of raising revenue, as the constructive Unionist (Conservative) issue.

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Never in the memory of men now living has an election in Great Britain been so hotly contested. The Chicago Record-Herald tells of three million posters of the German "bogey" having been issued by one newspaper office alone, and two million showing John Bull pushing a duke off his land, by another syndicate. T. P. O'Connor, cabling to the Chicago Tribune on the 16th, said: "Amorphous, cynical, cosmopolitan London remains fairly cool during even this historic election. But it is exceptional. In all other parts of the country the heather is on fire. Everybody realizes the tremendous issues that are at stake, and popular passion is aroused to an extent unknown for a generation—indeed, unprecedented in the life of any living man. It is the challenge of the House of Lords which submerges all other issues. So much is this the case and so advantageous is this line of battle that the Tories are doing their best to avoid the issue. They are

running off to every other issue they can invent." Mr. Balfour and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain issued a joint manifesto on the 14th, asserting that—

Tariff reform will not increase the cost of living of the working classes nor the proportion of taxation paid by them, but it will enable us to reduce the present taxes on articles of working class consumption and develop our trade with British dominions beyond the seas.

Mr. Lloyd George, in a final message, said:

I hope the British electors will stand by the privileges nobly won by our ancestors and refuse to barter either the freedom of our institutions or commerce for the mess of thin pottage offered by the protectionists.

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It was clearly understood by all parties alike that the extraordinary Government majority in the last Parliament could not be maintained in the new Parliament, but a working majority was hoped for and counted on by the Liberals, while the Unionists claimed to be confident of a landslide their way. The old Parliament was composed as follows:

Ministerialists—	
Liberals	365
Labor	53
Nationalists	81
Socialist	1
—	
Total	500
Opposition—	
Unionists	168
—	
Ministerial majority	332

Elections began on the 14th, to continue until the 29th. The following summary of the results to date appeared in the American papers of the 19th:

Ministerialists—	
Liberals	98
Laborites	19
Nationalists	28
—	
Total	145
Opposition—	
Unionists	120
Laborites	1
—	
Total	121
Unionist gains	51
Liberal gains	9
—	
Net Unionist gains.....	42
Still to be elected.....	431

The editor of *The Public* has cabled news of the reelection of Josiah C. Wedgwood, former president of the League for the Taxation of Land Values, and member for Newcastle-under-Lyme in the last Parliament; of John H. Whitley, member for Halifax since 1900; and of William P. Byles, member for Salford in the last Parliament.

From the press dispatches we learn that Philip Snowden was re-elected as a Liberal; Sir John Gorst, L. G. Chiozza Money, the free trader, and Will Crooks, the labor leader, were defeated; A. J. Balfour and Walter H. Long, Unionists, obtained increased majorities; John Burns lessened his majority as a Labor member, but won by a good margin; Augustine Birrell and C. E. Hobhouse, of the ministry, were re-elected, also Dr. T. J. Macnamara, who has long been prominent in land values taxation propaganda. Joseph Chamberlain, Unionist leader, and John Redmond, Irish Nationalist leader, were returned unopposed. Winston Churchill and T. P. O'Connor were returned with increased majorities.

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That the suffragettes at this crisis have found cold comfort from the Conservatives to whom they fled in their hatred of the Liberals, is to be inferred from mail news. Mr. Balfour is reported to have declared his party to be deeply divided upon woman suffrage, and that these divisions showed "no signs of diminution." He had therefore put it outside the Unionist program, according to the *London Nation*. "He said nothing of his personal opinions," continues the *Nation*, "but we believe that they have ceased to be friendly to the movement. For the moment, therefore, this great cause stands, by the folly of one section of its adherents, arrested, subject only to the way of progress opened, or half-opened, by the Prime Minister. Now that all the hopes of Tory aid on which the suffragettes counted have disappeared, only one line of rational action remains, that, namely, of filling the new Parliament with the largest possible number of suffragists."

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A private cable dispatch of the 12th states that in Winston Churchill's speech of the evening before he said:

Land reform and free trade stand together; they stood together with Henry George and with Richard Cobden, and they stand together in the Liberal policy.

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Lewis H. Berens of the League for the Taxation of Land Values, wrote on the 5th: "Rushed off our feet with election work; sending out millions of leaflets." John Orr wrote that their League had had orders on one day for 356,000 leaflets and "Land Songs." John Paul wrote on the 24th that the League was helping in placarding London, and that "we are having illuminated shows at some forty different busy crossings, bearing the legend, 'Down with the Lords, and Tax Land Values.'" Mr. Paul says:

Tell the kindred spirits on your side that no man can overestimate the magnitude of the political crisis here. The cause of liberty and progress is going to

score a victory over not merely political opponents, but a victory over the deeper and more insidious forces that induce and maintain the hell of poverty. The fight rages round the land question and our solution of the problem. The "Conspiracy of Silence" is forever broken, and it remains for us here in the next few years to acquire an even greater influence in the political arena—in parliamentary circles, and outside—than we have hitherto wielded. This election can only take us a part of the way, and for what's to come, well, the land is far and wide and our people must soon be preparing for the next bold advance.

Henry George, Jr., wrote from London on the 1st: "Our people here are almost drunk with enthusiasm. All signs point to a great victory." In an interview in Reynolds's Newspaper of the 2nd, Mr. George is reported as saying:

What challenges my attention at once in this struggle is the audacity with which the landlord party distorts facts about Protectionism in the United States. A certain Peer, for instance, is reported to have said upon his recent return from New York that he did not see an idle man in America. This shows he could not have looked far. If he had put a two line advertisement in any of the New York dailies offering employment to, say, a carpenter, he would have had ten out-of-work applicants coming to his door. If he had advertised for a competent salesman or clerk, or for a skilled girl typist, he would have been amazed and heart-sick to find how many he would have had to turn away. In Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, San Francisco—any of the cities, and in fact in any of the towns and villages—he would have found on looking relatively the same condition of things.

The editor of *The Public* spoke with others at a political meeting at Middlewich, Cheshire, on the 5th in the interest of John F. Brunner, son of Sir John Brunner, who has been himself in Parliament for twenty-five years. Mr. Post reports that the meeting was "touch and go on the land question," and that they wanted to hear about the "protective prosperity" of the United States. The enthusiasm of the meeting seems to have been boundless.

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The President Sends a Conservation Message to Congress.

A special message on the conservation of the nation's natural resources was sent by the President to the lower house of Congress on the 14th. The President urged the validation by Congress of the withdrawals of special lands from the operation of existing statutes, already made by the Secretary of the Interior and the President, and the authorization of temporary withdrawals in the future by the Secretary of the Interior of lands which in his judgment need special legislative action for their proper disposition. The President proposed the handling of agricultural lands as such, with reservation for other disposition of "the treasure of coal, oil, asphaltum, natural gas,

and phosphate contained therein. This may be best accomplished by separating the right to mine from the title to the surface, giving the necessary use of so much of the latter as may be required for the extraction of the deposits. The surface might be disposed of as agricultural land under the general agricultural statutes, while the coal or other minerals could be disposed of by lease on a royalty basis, with provisions requiring a certain amount of development each year, and in order to prevent the use and cession of such lands with others of similar character so as to constitute a monopoly forbidden by law the lease should contain suitable provision subjecting to forfeiture the interest of persons participating in such monopoly. Such law should apply to Alaska as well as to the United States." The disposal of water sites to private owners it was admitted might create water monopoly. "Many water power sites have come under absolute ownership and may drift into one ownership, so that all the water power under private ownership shall be a monopoly." "If, however," the President continues, "the water power sites now owned by the government—and there are enough of them—shall be disposed of to private persons for the investment of their capital in such a way as to prevent their union for purposes of monopoly with other water power sites, and under conditions that shall limit the right of use not to exceed fifty years, with proper means for determining a reasonable graduated rental, it would seem entirely possible to prevent the absorption of these most useful lands by a power monopoly. As long as the government retains control and can prevent their improper union with other plants competition must be maintained and prices kept reasonable." Issuances of bonds for irrigation not to exceed \$30,000,000, was recommended for the completion and extension of projects now under way. The maintenance of forests and reforestation was urged. But an apparent indifference to the value of "comparatively small timbered areas" is revealed in the recommendation for such areas "that the acts of June 3, 1878, should be repealed and a law enacted for the disposition of the timber at public sale, the lands after the removal of the timber to be subjected to appropriations under the agricultural or mineral lands laws." Advance with the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterway plans was advised to be contingent upon substantial results from the Ohio River improvements.

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Bills for the various recommendations of the message were to have been submitted simultaneously with the message. But Congressman F. W. Mondell, of Wyoming, chairman of the Public Lands committee, refused to introduce them except "by request," which was not satisfactory to the President, and they were returned to the White House.

Gifford Pinchot on the Conservation Crisis.

The late Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot (pp. 25, 26, 32, 40), on the 13th gave out a statement relative to the purposes of the conservation movement launched at the Conference of Governors in May, 1908 (vol. xi, p. 179), and reminding the public that the recommendations of the Conservation Commission still wait for action. Mr. Pinchot warns that—

Unless Congress acts the water powers will pass into the hands of special interests without charge and without limit of time. So with the phosphate deposits on public lands when the withdrawals which now protect them are removed. So with the enormously valuable coal deposits in Alaska, which the present law would sell for \$10 per acre. The danger of bad legislation is no less serious. The special interests must no longer be allowed to take what they choose out of the great property of all the people. Those who steal public lands steal homes from men and women who need them. Congress can stop the pillage or Congress can let it go on.

Mr. Pinchot calls upon every "man of good will" to make clear to his representatives in Congress his firm intention to hold them personally responsible for safeguarding the "rights and property of the people." He continues:

The first great immediate danger is that the water powers will be lost; the second that the coal lands will be lost. These specific dangers of public loss are merely parts of the great issues between the special interests and the rest of us. That issue is whether this country shall be managed by men for human welfare or by money for profit. It is a tremendous moral issue, far greater than any man's personal feelings or personal fortunes. It lies between the people and their representatives on one side, and the interests and their representatives on the other; between progress and reaction; between special privilege and square deal. I repeat that the supreme test is the welfare of the plain people. It is time to apply it.

The keynote of the statement was:

The conservation of natural resources and the conservation of popular government are both at stake. The one needs conservation no less than the other.

Mr. Taft spoke at the Conference of the Civic Federation in Washington (p. 37) on the morning of the 17th, and Mr. Pinchot in the afternoon of the same day. The greeting accorded him was something phenomenal from so staid a conference. It is thus described by the Chicago Inter-Ocean: "Alton B. Parker was presiding. He called the name of Pinchot and in the minute that it required for the conservationist leader to walk from his seat in the back of the hall to the speaker's platform there was pandemonium. The dignity of the whole serious-minded Federation was thrown to the winds. No mere handclapping greeted Pin-

chot. The speakers who had preceded him had been accorded a moment or so of that. Pinchot got cheers—real American hurrahs that made the old Arlington hotel rock. Men stood in chairs waving hats and umbrellas, while the women shook their handkerchiefs. The cheering lasted nearly five minutes. Judge Parker twice attempted to quell it for a moment, but it broke out afresh." Mr. Pinchot endorsed President Taft's conservation message, saying:

For the second time a President of the United States has indorsed these principles in a message to Congress. Most of the recommendations which the recent message contained are well known to the friends of conservation and well approved. If it has omissions or passages with which I disagree, I have no concern with them today. The President urges that the measures he recommends shall be taken up and disposed of promptly, without awaiting the investigation which has been determined upon. I echo his desire. There can be no reason to await the result of the investigation before acting on these measures. They stand by themselves.

Henry S. Graves, Director of the Yale Forestry School, was appointed Chief Forester on the 12th, in place of Gifford Pinchot, dismissed. A. W. Potter (p. 32) was named as Associate Forester.

Statehood Vote in Congress.

For the third time the House of Representatives on the 17th passed a bill giving separate Statehood to the territories of Arizona and New Mexico (vol. ix, p. 751).

A New Democratic League in Illinois.

The Illinois Democratic League, newly incorporated, at a meeting at the Chicago Press club on the 15th, elected the following temporary officers: President, Todd Lunsford; vice presidents, J. C. Vaughan, Don Farnsworth, Colonel John S. Cooper; secretary, Maxwell Edgar; treasurer, James F. Bowers. The League is planning to hold three celebrations, as follows:

Washington's birthday, Feb. 22—Banquet for Chicago members.

Jackson's birthday, March 16—Conference of State Democrats and dinner.

Jefferson's birthday, April 2—National conference and banquet.

Announcement was made at the meeting that Mayor Gaynor of New York has accepted an invitation to make an address at the Jefferson's birthday celebration, and that the League is making an effort to get Stuyvesant Fish to speak on railroad questions, and Lawson Purdy to discuss tax and tariff questions.

Insurgents Winning in Nicaragua.

General Estrada appears to be advancing suc-

cessfully against President Madriz, Zelaya's successor (p. 37). The majority of the prisoners captured by Estrada at the battle of Rama (vol. xii, p. 1255) are said to be disposed to join Estrada's army. When captured they were starved, sick and in rags, and from Estrada they have received food and care. Joaquin Passos, son-in-law of Zelaya, imprisoned by Madriz on charges of misappropriation of public funds (vol. xii, p. 1255; vol. xiii, p. 10), was released on the 11th. He has loaned the government \$10,000 in gold, and given a bond of \$200,000 in gold against possible future misappropriations.

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The Suffrage Question in Prussia.

At the opening of the Prussian diet on the 11th, a bill for the reform of the election law (vol. x, p. 996; vol. xi, p. 253), was included in the legislative program outlined in the speech from the throne. On the 16th the socialists throughout Prussia made a demonstration in favor of universal, direct and secret suffrage, to replace the existing three class system (vol. x, p. 996). Sixty-two meetings were held in Berlin, and all were models of orderliness, which accorded with the directions of leaders, whose orders were aided by the absence of police provocation.

NEWS NOTES

—Andrew Jackson Davis, spiritualist lecturer and author, died at his home in Boston on the 13th, in his 84th year.

—The Barr Commission Plan of government bill (vol. xii, p. 1233) was passed by the Illinois senate on the 13th, by a vote of 37 to 1.

—Louis Paulhan, the French aviator, broke Hubert Latham's altitude record of the 7th (p. 37) by rising 4,146 feet in a flight at Los Angeles on the 12th.

—The Reichstag, the German Imperial diet, reconvened on the 11th (vol. xii, p. 1188). The budget submitted by Baron von Rheinbaben, minister of state and finances, shows a deficit of \$23,000,000.

—The Commission Plan of government was defeated at Janesville, the first Wisconsin city to vote on the question (vol. xii, p. 114), on the 11th, by a 395 majority vote, after the most spirited campaign ever conducted in the city.

—John Calvin Reed, of Montgomery, Ala., Captain in the 8th Georgia volunteers in the Civil War, and afterwards a member of the Georgia bar, died on the 12th in his 74th year. Mr. Reed was the author of legal works and "The Brothers' War." He was a democratic Democrat.

—A great part of the United States has been storm bound with more severe cold and heavier snow falls than recorded for many years. Delay of coal transportation has caused great suffering, especially in the smaller cities and towns. In an effort to get to his Long Island home in a snow storm on

the evening of the 14th, Mayor Gaynor of New York is reported to have nearly lost his life, being quite exhausted when he reached shelter, and suffering from frozen ears.

—The new Mayor of Cleveland, Mr. Baehr, has given Police Chief Fred Kohler—"Golden Rule Kohler" (vol. xii, pp. 807, 1060, 1083)—assurance that he is to be retained under the new administration. The Plain Dealer says that Chief Kohler is "unquestionably the best police executive the city has ever had."

—Miss Emma Goldman, speaking on the evening of Sunday, the 17th, at the German Hod Carriers' hall in Chicago (vol. xii, p. 1256), where she had also spoken in the afternoon, decried woman suffrage, declaring that women would be only the more enslaved through the acquisition of the ballot, even as man has only helped by his ballot to enslave himself the more.

—"Making good folks out of bad ones, and how we do it," was the topic of the tenth annual convention of the National Society for the Friendless, held at Kansas City, Mo., January 9-12. The work of the Society is to befriend ex-convicts, to start them into active life, and to keep them from the path that leads back to prison, also to study crime and its prevention. In speaking on prison reform in Missouri, Governor H. S. Hadley told how with no addition of expense, he had secured a variety in the diet of the prisons of Missouri, and that this simple thing had immediately operated to reduce by more than one-half the prison sickness and the infirmary of prison discipline. He further stated that in a short time the prisoners would all be clothed in a plain uniform instead of the hated and degrading stripes, the idea being that the less a man is degraded the more easily he may be helped to a high plane of self-respect and made into a respectable citizen.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Big Purpose.

The St. Louis Mirror (ind.), January 13.—David Lloyd George has a fine sweep of phrase with him. "The purpose of Liberal government," he said, in a recent speech, "is the elimination of starvation from English civilization." Beaconsfield himself never dreamed of that splendid mission of imperialism, nor coined a more glorious phrase. But "Dizzy" couldn't; he didn't have the heart.

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The Appeal of the Budget.

The (London) Nation (Lib.), December 25.—The Budget appealed to the people through the land clauses. It showed a way by which the drain of urban wealth into private pockets might be arrested. It has given to the ordinary newspaper reader a glimpse of the economic conception of "social wealth," and has helped the ratepayer to understand why he is burdened as he is. It has shown him that the true way to relief is not to limit those social services of education, of help, of city improvement, on which the lot of the poorest, and the health and

pleasantness of town life depend, but rather to place the burden where it should be—that is to say, to find sources of local revenue in the wealth which the locality is itself creating.

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Peers or People.

The Christian Commonwealth (London), December 29.—The rejection of the Budget, which recognized in a practical way the great need of social reconstruction, is virtually a denial that the members of the House of Lords really wish for social progress. If we believe in the truth of spiritual equality we must express this fact in all social, political, and industrial forms and methods. This goes to the heart of the problem. It is not a question of denouncing a few dukes and such like, as if they were sinners above all the rest, nor is the crowning offense merely that the House of Lords has rejected certain Liberal measures and a Finance Bill. It means far more than that; it is essentially a conflict between the developed and organized good will of the people which is making for a better social order, and a class of hereditary power and privilege which believes in its unquestioned right to override the wishes of the people as expressed through their representatives in the House of Commons.

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Peace, Peace, and There Is No Peace.

The Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), January 17.—The President has publicly given the House insurgents some assurances of his distinguished consideration. Thus there is a truce. It would be absurd to call it peace or harmony. The insurgents are justified in claiming the President's assurances as a victory. It is a condonation of mutiny against the President as leader of his party quite as much as against the Republican organization of the House. The President may go on thus strengthening the regular and insurgent Republicans by turns—exalting one today and the other tomorrow as may seem expedient to avert immediate trouble. This balancing—this double-team driving—may avail Mr. Taft to get some things he wants from this Congress. But it will not heal the breach in the Republican ranks nor produce harmony. The conflict between the regular and insurgent Republicans is one of principles and cannot be reconciled by placation or patronage in Washington. It will have to be fought out before the people at the polls. The exact situation is that the President recognizes that instead of dealing with one party in Congress he must deal with two—that there are two parties, each claiming to be Republican. One of these parties must go up and the other go down. They stand for antagonistic principles. . . . Between such opposites there can be no peace. One will be the Republican party of the future. The other must be something else. It is for the people to see and say, and they will do it.

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Shadow of Coming Events.

The (Oklahoma City) Oklahoman (Dem.), January 10.—While the president's complete surrender to the interests and the monopolistic activities of J. Pierpont Morgan and his high finance coterie are to be

regarded as matters of grave concern to the public, genuine satisfaction may be found in the knowledge that such activities have been inspired by observing the shadows of coming events, events as sure to come to pass as right is inevitably to triumph over wrong. There is a world-wide popular awakening to the fact that no one should be permitted to share in the benefits of social service who will not give measure for measure of service in return. This is reverting to the Georgian theory of non-ownership of land, a return to first principles to be effected by taxing the unearned increment, elimination of the mistaken practice of taxing industry and abolishment of special privilege. Already there is a tax of fifteen per cent against the unearned increment in Germany, and it may be regarded as reasonably certain that the proposition of a twenty per cent tax in England will be put into effect. While a learned essayist on the New York Post has recently made the assertion that the theory of Henry George is as far from realization as it ever was, simple logic will convince the man of even average intelligence that, if it is possible to tax unearned increment fifteen to twenty per cent, it may also be taxed fifty per cent or seventy-five per cent; that it may even be taxed out of existence. . . . The world is learning that God Almighty never intended that the millions should toil to enable an idle few to live in extravagant luxury. Man is learning that, under a proper disposition of this world's affairs, involuntary poverty would be a thing unknown and billionaires impossible. The masses are being taught these important truths by the pinch of circumstance and condition, an excellent instructor.

+ +

A Defeat That Was a Triumph.

The (Portland, Ore.) Journal (Dem.), January 11.—The alleged sin of Pinchot is that he proclaimed the doctrine that natural resources are all the people's and that their monopolization in perpetuity by private interests should not be permitted. His further offense was that when he suspected that a great department of the Government was not properly safeguarding these resources, he lifted a protest. How many times he went to the President in expostulation and appeal nobody knows. With what patience and persistence he tried in secret to guide the forces of the Government in the path of true conservation, will never be told. That he followed such a course until he recognized it to be hopeless, is not doubted. That then, facing all the colossal powers of coal land grabbers and water power seizers, he defied the proprietors of official position and took the country into his confidence, we know to be the latest step in his purpose to expend his strength and all his powers in saving their public resources to his countrymen. It is the clearest cut issue ever presented to the country. It comes at a time when there is left but a remnant of the public resources. It is the first time that there was ever presented an issue that bears so directly and so clearly upon the people's homes and hopes. It is led by the man who from behind the scenes inspired Roosevelt and led his administration in the direction of conservation. The cost to Mr. Pinchot of this leadership has been, first, an official order that sealed all lips in his department, and finally a curt dismissal from official

position. A punishment is thus placed on men of fidelity to the public interest. The Pinchot type of public official is heralded as unfit for public life, and driven from official position. It is a defeat that borders dangerously on a triumph, a triumph that the future is likely to make complete.

† †

How to Conserve Coal Lands.

Puck (hum.), January 5.—In a way, it must amuse those Interests which have secured Alaskan coal lands when they see what a panicky hullabaloo their far sighted shrewdness has kicked up. We are not familiar with the details in the case, but it strikes us that the evil features of the occupation could be minimized with beautiful simplicity. If the coal lands of Alaska are to be developed immediately, if mines are to be dug and coal shipped in large quantities to consumers, the people of the United States possibly will profit by an increase of supply, and that will be a good thing. But if, as has been intimated, the Alaskan coal fields are to be held out of use for years, or until present coal sources are seriously depleted, then their holders should be made to pay proportionately for the right to "sting" future generations. The way to clip Monopoly's wings in a case like this is to tax coal lands as coal lands, whether in use or out of use. Then it will be a very rich or else a very foolish, unbusiness-like "Interest" which will pay for long a big yearly tax on a mine that isn't producing any revenue. Coal lands should be conserved, but by the people, for the people. Make it unprofitable to hold coal lands undeveloped and some of the wrongs we now worry about will right themselves.

† †

Henry George and Conservation.

Kansas City Star, January 4.—A reader of the New York Evening Post has taken that paper to task for referring to Gifford Pinchot as the originator of the conservation policies of the last administration. He points out that forty years ago Henry George published a pamphlet, "Our Land Policy," in which he called attention to the monopolization of public lands, including forests, water power and mineral deposits, and urged action by the States and the nation to protect the public interests. Of course, the conservation policy is essentially a part of the Henry George movement for conserving to the public the unearned increment of land values. The value of a vacant lot in the heart of a business district of a city arises from the presence of a crowded population and not from the labor of the owner. The rich income in ground rent that it will yield is really the return from a special privilege. The privileges growing out of increased land values long since passed into private hands. That is all the more reason for retaining control for the people of the privileges from power and mineral sites which private interests are now trying to acquire.

† † †

The landlords have been revelling in prosperity—in a bloated and diseased prosperity—at the very time when the people have been suffering the greatest privation and want of food.—Richard Cobden.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO THEM THAT DARKEN COUNSEL.

Guy Kendall in the London Nation of November 27.

†

"Forasmuch therefore as ye trample on the poor and take exactions from him of wheat, ye have built houses of hewn stone but shall not dwell in them."

"And the great houses shall have an end, saith the Lord."

†

Forasmuch as your hearts are hardened, and your hands encumbered with gold,

Forasmuch as ye sell your judgment, as a stall-fed beast is sold;

Forasmuch as your eyes yearn backward to the feast of the full fat years,

Forasmuch as your brows bend earthward, when the sign in the heaven appears;

Therefore your feet shall falter, and the staff of your hands shall bend,

And the firm-set stones shall fall, for the house of the great hath an end.

Because your lips have watered for the price of the sufferer's pain,

Because ye have drugged men drowsy, and count their drunkenness gain;

Because ye have mocked their weakness, and flung them a grudging dole,

Because ye have counted their bodies, and found no trace of a soul;

For all this the hounds are gathered, and the huntsman's net is spread,

And ye hear their horn on the hills like a long-drawn wall of the dead.

As up in your high-built halls ye have careless lived, and content

If others have toiled and gathered, and ye have scattered and spent,

As ye fear to smirch your souls, or so much as a finger soil

With the scum of a nation's ferment, the grime of a people's toil,

Therefore your own fine hands have sullied your once fair fame,

And your speech that was bold and straight is now fall'n crooked and lame,

Till at last men say, Lo, these have woven their own rewards,

Who once were lords among people, where now the people are lords.

† † †

A. REVOLUTION OF THE RICH.

From The London Nation of November 27.

Of all the British people the Lords are, for the moment, to be envied most. It is not merely that all eyes are bent on them, that they have emerged into daylight, and are spoken of as having quite

an importance of their own. They have acquired a fresh and strange sensation; they feel themselves greater than they knew; they perceive in their natures the stir of mighty workings. They feel like the Egyptian calf when priests found under his tongue the symbol of the god; they feel like a dog-violet that has developed scent, or like a common oyster that has developed a pearl. They discover a new quality in their being, and enjoy the charm of unexpected revelations in themselves. They have been called Revolutionists.

Imagine the sensations of a Lord when his valet, softly entering with just a pleasing rattle of cups like silvery bells, wakes him in the morning with his tea and daily paper, and he discovers those filthy Radical prints are describing his action on the Budget as a Revolution! His sensations are then queerest mixture of pleasure and pain. He, the representative of stability, the hereditary guardian of property, to be called a Revolutionist! It is almost unthinkable in its horror. But, at the same time, is there not something a little dashing, a little dare-devil, in the name—a little "wicked," as women say, and possibly attractive? It seems to imply a certain spirit, at all events a certain courage. He sees himself in a new and horrible, but rather exciting, aspect. So feels the ambitious parvenu when, at a City dinner, the first twinge of aristocracy's gout shoots through his toe. So feels the British matron when, waking in a fever hospital, she reads above her bed the label, "Scarlet; female; 403."

That scene in the House of Lords with which the Revolution opened—how well it concealed its revolutionary significance! It was afternoon, and the electric lamps struggled against the wintry river mist, but the decorated Chamber was nicely warmed to a regulated temperature, and the Lords reclined in comfort on stuffed leather seats. Every seat was full, and each was heavy with prosperity, for though you raked the kingdoms of the world you would hardly find that number of such wealthy men in a single one of them. Side by side with those whom the Bishop of Bristol justly called "the physical hereditary Peers," sat the spiritual hereditary Peers, whose lineage of holiness the Bishop traced back between twelve and thirteen centuries, and why he stopped short of nineteen centuries we cannot tell. There the spiritual descendants of Christ were seated in ecclesiastical splendor of lawn, representing (to quote the Bishop once more) "the terrible conditions of the very poor," and adding the considerable incomes of sanctity to the more secular riches around them. The gloomy, but august, place of assembly was further crowded with statesmen and counsellors, whose personal distinction, rather than physical hereditary right, gave them the claim to be present. They, too, were men of substance, living in comfort, well dressed as any Peer or bishop of them all; and among them sat a real

and actual King, whose sporting interest in the scene endeared him to all sportsmen's hearts. To complete the sense of grandeur and security, there ran the double line of peeresses, who (to quote a reporter with knowledge of such things), "in their furs and winter clothes, gave somber hues rather than brightness to the picture."

Such was the scene under which Revolution lurked in ambush, and how complete that ambush was! When we speak of Revolution we think of the fervid hands upstretched for liberty in the Tennis Court; we think of the Feast of Pikes, of women in their wretchedness drumming to Versailles, of levies in mass, and a nation risen from the lowest depths against tyrants. "Your mob," says the historian, speaking of Revolution's natural manifestation up to this year of grace:

Your mob is a genuine outburst of Nature; issuing from, or communicating with, the deepest deep of Nature. When so much goes grinning and grimacing as a lifeless Formality, and under the stiff buckram no heart can be left beating, here once more, if nowhere else, is a Sincerity and Reality. Shudder at it; or even shreek over it, if thou must; nevertheless consider it. . . . The thing they will do is known to no man; least of all to themselves. It is the inflammablest immeasurable Firework, generating, consuming itself.

Who would have thought that the House of Lords could ever have shared the title of Revolutionist with that mob? The House of Lords which, so often in our history, did nothing in particular and did it very well—was that to become the inflammablest, immeasurable Firework, generating, consuming itself? Those comfortable gentlemen on padded leather, who had never known hunger since their baby bottle, who had never been driven by the lash of want, and had that morning, probably without exception, enjoyed warm baths—were they to be the genuine outburst of Nature, communicating with her deepest deep? These Lords, who so long had gone grinning and grimacing as a lifeless Formality—were they suddenly to become the symbols of sincerity and of the things that are real? We may shudder at it; but, nevertheless, we must consider it. For, indeed, the thing they will do is known to no man; least of all to themselves.

Listen again to the historian who sounded the depths of man's spirit:

Hunger and nakedness and nightmare oppression lying heavy on Twenty-five million hearts; this, not the wounded vanities or contradicted philosophies of philosophical Advocates, rich Shopkeepers, rural Noblesse, was the prime mover in the French Revolution; as the like will be in all such Revolutions, in all countries.

The great historian who sounded the depths of the human spirit was obviously wrong. He would have to pay out more line for his plummet now. Here, among our British Revolutionists, is no hunger or nakedness, but flesh of good-liking and

winter clothing of the best. No nightmare oppression lies heavy on those five hundred hearts. What, then, is the prime mover in their Revolution? Is it the fear of reducing the broad margin of their pleasures, the fear of being compelled to deny themselves the extra man to dress them, the extra motor to carry them about, the extra copice for their poultry? No other nightmare that we can see lies heavy on them. Quadruple the provisions of the Budget, and hardly one of them would yet be forced to work an hour a week for his life. Multiply the Budget by ten, and hunger and nakedness would still not have come within their sight. Hunger and nakedness, said the historian, will be in all countries the prime movers of Revolution. Would he were here now to see the Lords, marshalled in their stiff buckram, grinning and grimacing as lifeless formalities, as they set out to overthrow the established order of their country!

They are out for Revolution; they have raised the flag of disorder; they are prepared for the plunge into chaos—into “temporary chaos.” We know what they would say to the bewildered anarchist, or to wild claimants of political rights, who thus threw the land into confusion and wasted her resources by millions together. But the Lords also are aware of the momentous issues to themselves. They will face the risk, says Lord Lansdowne. If need be, they will meet their doom, says the Duke of Norfolk. There is always something impressive about a man, no matter how humble his position, who goes out to meet his doom. Without calling ourselves Revolutionists like the Lords we can all feel some touch of human pity, some glow of admiration for him who snatches up rifle, revolver, or even a long knife, and takes his stand upon the barricade, in protest against unendurable oppression. He is there for the simplest and highest right of man—the right of himself and his kind to live their own lives as long as they live at all. He has set everything at stake. Nothing but the shame of unbearable tyranny would have driven him to that last act of desperation. For him it is life or death, it is almost certain death, and nothing but an open shirt stands between him and doom. The guns are heard upon the street; the houses crash; the dust arises. Dark figures are seen stealing round the far-off corners; the air shrieks with bullets as their rifles flash in the gathering dusk. The man is at his place, waiting; he draws his old hat over his eyes; if freedom cannot be won, at least he may strike a blow at the agents of oppression. Such a man the present writer has often seen die, and when he sees the Duke of Norfolk going out to meet his doom like that, he will not withhold his admiration.

But the Lords risk nothing, and they know it. If the defeat of their Revolution is the worst their enemies can imagine, what will they suffer or

lack? Lord Lansdowne drew a pathetic picture of a “bread-winner’s heir” who might find himself so burdened with death duties owing to his great inheritance that he would be very unhappy. Lord Willoughby de Broke revealed the nature of his apprehensions by quoting a wretched parody, which “saw fox-hunting abolished by an order from the State.” Such are the terrors which these Revolutionists are called upon to face. Truly, as Lord Ribblesdale well said, these are the sobs of the well-to-do, and nothing is more unimpressive than the crying of the comfortable. Strictly, we may say that the overthrow of an established constitution is always revolutionary. But there is something ludicrous, something that does not work out, in a Revolution for the defense of riches. If it were not for the thought of what must come, we might almost agree to drop the word, lest by its use for the action of Lords we besmirch the honor of those thousands who have died with heroic minds in the Revolutions of Liberty.

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THE LANDLORDS’ LAW.

Four Leaflets Issued by the Land Values Publication
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and Distributed by the Million.

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What the Lords Are Fighting For IN MANCHESTER.

Ship Canal and Land Value—What the Landlords Receive.

In 1896 Mr. E. T. Hooley, the company promoter, bought Trafford Park estate for £360,000.

In 1897 he sold the estate to the Trafford Park Estates Company for £901,000, making a profit of £540,000 in the transaction.

Land which was sold at the rate of £327 per acre in 1893 was sold at the rate of £4,840 per acre in 1902.

For 56½ acres of undeveloped land which was taken for the Ship Canal and which was assessed for poor rate at £19 per annum, the late Lord Egerton of Tatton received under award £63,240, or 3,328 years’ purchase of the ratable value.

What the People Pay.

The making of the Manchester Ship Canal, with the consequent increase in population and trade, sent up the value of the land, but the people who paid and are still paying for the Canal have got none of the value. The ratepayers of Manchester have been paying an average rate of 8½d. in the £ for the past fourteen years to meet the interest on the capital spent in making the Canal.

This is the Landlords’ Law.—The land specu-

lator is to get £540,000 in one year without doing anything to earn it; the landowner is to get 3,328 years' purchase of the amount for which he is assessed; they are not to be asked to leave one halfpenny of it for rates or taxes; the speculators are to continue drawing the increase in land values; the Manchester ratepayers are to continue paying heavy rates, and are not to get one halfpenny of the increased value which this expenditure creates. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

Land Value In Business Center — What the Landlords Receive.

In April, 1880, property at 81-89 Market street, Manchester, was sold at the rate of £308,590 per acre. In April, 1897, the same property was sold at the rate of £532,844 per acre—an increase of £224,254.

In October, 1885, property at the corner of Cross street and John Dalton street was sold at the rate of £286,992 per acre. In December, 1902, the same property was sold at the rate of £665,500 per acre—an increase of £378,508.

In May, 1894, property in Corporation street was sold at the rate of £432,131 per acre. In 1900, the same property was sold at the rate of £609,840 per acre—an increase of £177,709.

In 1871, property at the corner of Fennel street and Long Millgate was sold at the rate of £26,620 per acre. In 1907, the same property was sold at the rate of £156,372—an increase of £129,752.

The People Pay Again.

Since 1890, street improvements costing £273,125 have been carried out in the neighborhood of these properties.

Here again the ratepayers of Manchester pay to increase the value of the land, and the landowners walk off with the increased value without being asked to pay one halfpenny of it. The Manchester man working for a pound a week, the Manchester woman working for sixteen shillings, the Manchester shopkeeper fighting against bad trade and low profits, have to pay rates for canals, streets, and other public services; the Manchester landowner, who draws a hundred thousand pounds from these services, pays nothing to keep them up. This is what the Lords are fighting to maintain. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

The Budget is the People's Law. It provides for the separate valuation of land and improvements. It makes it possible for the tax collector to get at the landowner and to take back for the benefit of the people the value which their common industry and expenditure create. After the Budget is passed, idle land can be taxed into use and idle men can get employment. After the Budget is passed, shops, houses and food can be relieved of taxation. *This is the People's Law.*

What the Lords Are Fighting For IN BIRMINGHAM.

Birmingham Land Values — What the Landlords Receive.

In 1550 King Edward VI. gave to the Grammar School Foundation a piece of land. The rent of this land was then £19 per annum. Since that time Birmingham has become a large city, and this land, which lies near its centre, yields more than £40,000 per annum in ground rents.

In 1830, 700 square yards of land at the corner of New Street and Bennets Hill were let on lease at £69 per annum. In 1905 the same site was let on a new lease of £975 per annum.

In 1901 the Corporation paid £4,400 for 83 square yards of land to widen New Street. This is at the rate of £256,500 per acre.

In the heart of the City there are some 82 acres belonging to the Colmore Estate. In 1904 the people of Birmingham required 9,890 square yards, or about 2 acres, of this land for the Council House Extension. Under leases which had expired these 2 acres were let at less than £250 a year, but under the new lease the Council are required to pay £5,400 a year.

What the People Pay.

During 1908 the ratepayers of Birmingham paid £92,000 to maintain the streets, £30,500 to light them and £20,300 to keep up the Fire Brigade. During the last three years alone the ratepayers have paid £3,017,327 in rates. Within recent years there has been an expenditure of £8,250,000 on a water supply, £3,785,000 on gas and electricity supply, £1,249,000 on the tramway service. All this money has been spent by the Birmingham ratepayers to create and maintain land values for Birmingham landlords, and out of the hundreds of thousands received by the landlords they are not asked to pay one halfpenny to the rates. The poor, the unemployed, the overworked and underpaid, the busy men and women occupying houses, factories and shops have to pay all. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

The People's Burden and the Landlords' Reward.

The Birmingham Improvement Scheme was started at the expense of the ratepayers in 1876. Corporation Street was carried through the "unhealthy area," and while large sums were paid for the land acquired, the value of the adjoining land was greatly increased. The landlords are receiving higher rents as a result of the improvement, while in 1908 the yearly charge on the ratepayer was £23,000 on the debt incurred. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

On June 17th, 1884, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, giving evidence before the Housing Commission said:

With regard to all these improvement rates I cannot understand why the ground landlord should

escape from his share of the contribution. At present it is charged upon the occupier. It appears to me that the ground landlord is benefited immensely by the general improvement to the place to which the improvement contributed and I do not see why he should escape scot free.

Mr. Chamberlain was right, but still; *this is the Landlords' Law.*

The Landlords Wait for the Rent — The People Wait for Work and Healthy Homes.

The Birmingham City Surveyor at the enquiry regarding the extension of the City boundaries on December 30th, 1909, said to the Local Government Board Inspector that "the area of land available for building, but at present unbuilt upon in the City, was 3,574 acres," yet at this moment there are more than 30,000 "back-court" houses in Birmingham, where the people are deprived of adequate accommodation, light and air. These houses are taxed. The landlords hold up their untaxed land for higher rents and much building capital is unemployed and there are many builders out of work who would willingly build new and better houses. This is what the Lords are fighting to maintain. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

The People's Law.

The Budget is the people's law. It provides for the separate valuation of land and improvements. It makes it possible for the tax-collector to get at the landowner, and to take back for the benefit of the people the value which their industry and expenditure create. After the Budget is passed, idle land can be taxed into use and idle men can get employment. Houses can be built and let at moderate rents. After the Budget is passed, shops, houses and food can be relieved of taxation. *This is the People's Law.*

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What the Lords Are Fighting For IN GLASGOW.

The Clyde and Land Value — What the People Pay and the Landlords Receive.

"The Clyde made Glasgow." We have all been told this story. In the old days no ships could come up to the City. Now the river has been deepened and widened, and trade is carried on with the whole world. It is this trade which has led to the growth of Glasgow. "The Clyde made Glasgow," and so far as shipping is concerned the Clyde Trust made the Clyde. They made it by levying shipping dues on shipowners, who passed on these dues to the merchants, who passed them on to the people of Glasgow. Therefore, the people of Glasgow made the Clyde. The making of the Clyde has made Partick, Govan, Scotstoun, Renfrew, Clydebank, and Dalmuir. It has sent up the value of the land on both sides of the river. The landowners received £666,419 from the Clyde Trust for land between 1866 and 1906. A few years ago the Clyde Trust paid Mr. Speirs of

Elderslie £104,500 for 110 acres at Renfrew; since then they paid Lord Newlands, who voted against the Budget, £84,107 for 19 acres at Meadowside, or 1,400 years' purchase of the ratable value. Up to 1906 the Clyde Trustees had spent £8,400,000 in improving the Clyde. That is, the Trustees take the money of the people to make the Clyde navigable. The river makes the land value, and the Trust has to pay this value to the landowners for the right to use the land. The landowner walks off with a hundred thousand pounds, and is not asked to leave one halfpenny for rates. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

The City and Land Value.

Besides making the Clyde, the people of Glasgow have paid to make the City an attractive and convenient place of business. They have made streets, laid out parks, brought in a water supply, and carried out sewage schemes. In doing these things they have made the land valuable, but the landowners again take this value. In 1897 the Corporation paid £8,000 for 70 square yards of land at the foot of Buchanan Street. This is at the rate of £553,142 per acre. In 1777 this land was sold at the rate of £600 per acre, so that during 120 years its value increased almost a thousand-fold. The industry and expenditure of Glasgow citizens make this value, but the landlords receive it. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

The Parks and Land Value.

Between 1895 and 1904, the Glasgow Corporation paid £93,000 for the land included in Bellahouston Park. In 1897 they paid £29,000 for Tollcross Park. They spent several thousands in laying them out, and the result for the ratepayers was the privilege of paying higher rates, and for those who lived in the neighborhood of the parks, the privilege of paying from £2 to £6 more in rent. Thus the landlords are paid high prices for the land, the value of which the people create, and they paid again for the benefit the parks bring to the householders, and they are not asked to contribute one half-penny out of their thousands to the City rates.

What the Duke Pays and What He Receives.

In 1908 the Duke of Montrose, who voted against the Budget, demanded £26,000 from Glasgow Corporation for 380 acres at Loch Arklet. He was awarded £19,000. This land would be rated at about 6d. per acre, and the Duke would pay 9s. or 10s. to the Stirlingshire County Council. It seems to be a good law for the Duke which enables him to receive from one public body £50 per acre, and to pay to another public body on the assessment of 6d. per acre, less one-half, because it is agricultural land. The people of Glasgow had to pay him 2,000 years' purchase of the assessment on which he paid rates to the County Council. Forty years' purchase would be a liberal price, but the law gives 50 times this sum. This is what the

Lords are fighting to maintain. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

The People's Law.

The Budget is the people's law. It provides for the separate valuation of land and improvements. It makes it possible for the tax-collector to get at the landowner, and to take back for the benefit of the people the value which their industry and expenditure create. After the Budget is passed, idle land can be taxed into use and idle men can get employment. Houses can be built and let at moderate rents. After the Budget is passed, shops, houses and food can be relieved of taxation. *This is the People's Law.*



What the Lords are Fighting For IN LONDON.

London Land Values—Made by the People, Taken by the Landlords.

In 1865 a plot of land on the foreshore of the Thames near the Temple was sold for £8,250. In 1870 the Victoria embankment was built at the ratepayers' expense, and in 1871 the same plot of land was sold to the London School Board for £26,420, an increase of £18,170 in six years.

In 1876 the Metropolitan Board of Works paid £500,000 to the late Duke of Northumberland for Northumberland House and Grounds at Charing Cross. The land was required for the improvement of Trafalgar Square and for making a through road to the embankment. The people of London paid a special tax on their coal to make the embankment, but the Duke was not asked to leave one halfpenny of his half million. The present Duke voted against the Budget.

In 1905 the London County Council had to pay £41,000 for 1,210 square feet of land to widen the thoroughfare at the corner of Piccadilly and St. James street. This is at the rate of £1,475,980 per acre; but towards the creation of these high values the landlords are not asked to pay one halfpenny. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

Last year the ratepayers of London spent £1,928,000 in the upkeep of streets; £230,000 on parks and open spaces; £402,237 in lighting the streets; in main drainage £245,500; in local drainage £139,240. Altogether, the ratepayers of London have spent £71,681,785 between 1855 and 1908 in public services in creating and maintaining land values for the landowners. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

Monopoly's Reward and Labor's Wage.

The site of 10, Lombard street, London, was sold at the rate of £1,786,300 per acre on May 27, 1897.

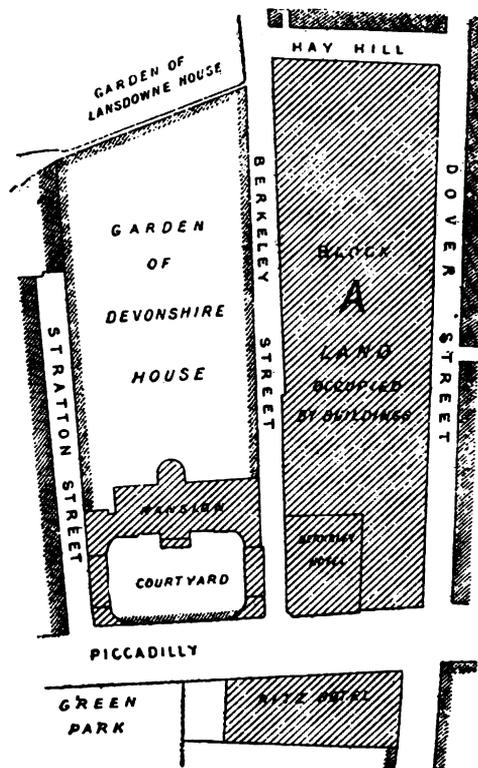
The site of 37, Cornhill was sold at the rate of £2,363,360 per acre on July 25, 1901.

The site of 1, Old Broad street was sold at the rate of £3,059,390 per acre on January 15, 1903.

Here are the owners of land in the center of London who receive millions of pounds per acre when they sell their land, and yet out of these millions they do not contribute one halfpenny to the rates. On the other hand there are hundreds of thousands of working men who receive no income except for their labor, who pay high ground rents and high house rents, and they are obliged to pay rates out of their scanty earnings. This is what the Lords are fighting to maintain. *This is the Landlords' Law.*

An Illustration.

How Land-Owners Are Rated. | How House-Owners are Rated.



Devonshire House and
Grounds, Area about
163,000 square feet.
Ratable value: £4,168.

Block A, occupied by
Berkeley Hotel and
other buildings. Area
about 153,000 square
feet.
Ratable value: £43,570.

The owners of houses and shops in Berkeley street and Dover street occupy some 10,000 square feet of land less than the Duke of Devonshire, and pay more than ten times as much in rates. The Ritz Hotel occupies one-sixth of the space occupied by the Duke, and pays four times more in rates.

Lansdowne House and Grounds extend to about 93,000 square feet and are rated at £2,500. The Ritz Hotel occupies an area of 26,000 square feet

and is rated at £17,084. The Bath Club, in Berkeley street, covers 11,400 square feet and is rated at £3,500.

The Bath Club occupies one-eighth of the space occupied by Lord Lansdowne, and pays one-quarter more in rates.

Lord Lansdowne moved the rejection of the Budget. Both he and the Duke of Devonshire voted against it. Their policy is—"Tax your houses and shops but do not tax our land." *This is the Landlords' Law.*

The People's Law.

The Budget is the people's law. It provides for the separate valuation of land and improvements. It makes it possible for the tax-collector to get at the landowner, and to take back for the benefit of the people the value which their industry and expenditure create. After the Budget is passed, idle land can be taxed into use and idle men can get employment. Houses can be built and let at moderate rents. After the Budget is passed, shops, houses, and food can be relieved of taxation. *This is the People's Law.*

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Vote for the Budget.

◆ ◆

"PUNCH'S" VERSION OF "THE LAND SONG."*

Air:—"Marching Through Lloyd-Georgia."

(With humble acknowledgments to the talented author of the song of which copies were distributed among the people whom Captain Hemphill had invited to assemble in Parliament Square for the purpose of a demonstration against the Lords).

The land! the land! 'Twas Lloyd that pinched the land!

The land! the land! don't get behind the band!—
With the Ballot in his eye and the Budget in his hand,

Lloyd pinched the Land for the People!

BOOKS

REPORTING LEGISLATURES.

The Minnesota Legislature of 1909. By Lynn Haines. Published by the author. New York Life Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn. Price, 60 cts., postpaid.

A little more than a year ago half a dozen men in the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis organized the Minnesota Citizens' League. Membership was solicited in the State on a strictly non-partisan basis. The purpose of the League was to furnish its members with an unbiased report of the inside working of the Minnesota legislature. The League

*See The Public of January 14, page 45.

selected as its paid secretary, Mr. Lynn Haines, a young man of sterling integrity, who had already done similar watchdog services in his capacity of newspaperman. During the legislative session of 1909 the League issued several bulletins informing its members of the purposes of the various bills introduced, and the stand taken in regard to them by the individual members of the legislature. Mild, conservative and limited as the work of the league was, owing to its determination to make no statement it could not verify, its work was nevertheless effective and fruitful.

Mr. Haines has now, on his own initiative, issued a booklet giving the inside history as he saw it, of the Minnesota legislatures of 1907 and 1909. In 130 pages he has condensed the history of the important bills, dissected them and the motives of their sponsors as well, and records the votes of the members. In a sketchy way he also outlines the attitude of the prominent members and lobbyists toward the bills in particular, and to the "interests" and "big business" in general. Altogether the pamphlet gives the impression of having been carefully though fearlessly prepared. It has stirred the world of Minnesota politics as nothing else has for years. Its simple language and evident sincerity appeal to the average citizen. The plan and scope of the work is of universal interest, for the same "system" is at work in other States, and the spotlight this booklet throws upon the machinations of the "plunderbund" will be valuable to all men interested in cleaning the Augean stable of politics.

EMIL SCHMIED.

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BECOME BROTHERLY.

The City of the Dinner Pail. By Jonathan Thayer Lincoln. Published by the Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1909. Price, \$1.25 net.

Taking conditions in Fall River, Massachusetts, as typical, the author, who as employer and church worker has long lived in close touch with the workingmen of his town, here speaks his views on the labor problem. Some books call to mind the recipes for mayonnaise—alternate each teaspoonful of vinegar with two of oil and mix thoroughly. Spiced by concrete cases from personal experience, both sides are chided, both are praised. The result is one of the many well-expressed utterances to be summed up in the true and feeble remark: Everybody be good and sensible and ills will mend.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

◆ ◆ ◆

SEED BY THE WAYSIDE.

As a Man Thinketh. Out from the Heart. Through the Gate of Good. Morning and Evening Thoughts. By James Allen, Sheldon University Press, Libertyville, Ill. Price, each 15c.

These four little booklets, the author tells us, are not intended to be exhaustive on the subject

of the power of thought, but they are suggestive and stimulative in the direction of higher thinking and living. Their unobtrusive form and simple, straightforwardness will commend them to the attention of those unfamiliar with the real principle of self-government and the unfoldment of mind power.

A. L. M.

PAMPHLETS

A March for Reformers.

"The Single Land Tax March," written by George E. Kinsley, will be furnished by him in neat manuscript form at 25 cents; arrangement for full brass band for a dollar. Mr. Kinsley may be addressed at 17 Glenwood Ave., Brockton, Mass.

+ +

A Lincoln Calendar.

"The uncommon commoner," is what Edmund Vance Cooke calls Abraham Lincoln in a beautiful poem spread over the six pages of a large calendar issued by the Dodge Publishing Co. (214 E. 23rd St., New York), which, except for the marring effect of several proof errors, is a handsome piece of work. Of the humble, powerful commoner Mr. Cooke writes:

"What was his power? Not kingly caste,

Nor jingle of gold howsoever amassed;
 Not Napoleon's force with the world aghast;
 Not Tallyrand's cunning, now loose, now fast;
 Not weak persuasion or fierce duress,
 But strong with the Virtue of Homeliness
 Was Lincoln."

PERIODICALS

In Judge Lindsey's exposure of the "Beast" in the political jungle, through Everybody's (New York) for January, the claws of the animal come plainer into view and the fact appears that factory children are its favorite food. Without malice, but in perfect candor, Judge Lindsey is giving the names of keepers of the Beast, in Denver, and also those of favorites or prospective victims whom it purrs upon and strokes with the velvet pads that conceal its claws.

+ + +

Thomas Carlyle to the Lords.

Yes, my rosy fox-hunting brothers, a terrible Hippocratic look reveals itself (God knows, not to my joy) through those fresh buxom countenances of yours. Through your Corn Law Majorities, Sliding Scales, Protecting Duties, Bribery Elections, and triumphant Kentish fire, a thinking eye discerns ghastly images of ruin, too ghastly for words; a handwriting as of Mene, Mene. Men and brothers,

The Public Fellowship.

The other day I met a man who had had THE PUBLIC about three months. He said: "I have already become a confirmed reader of THE PUBLIC."

I have now talked with several hundred old subscribers of THE PUBLIC in Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Almost without exception I have found them friends, admirers and staunch advocates of the paper.

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Help it grow.

Emil Schmied, Manager.

on your Sliding-scale you seem sliding, and to have slid—you little know whither! Good God! Did not a French Donothing Aristocracy, hardly above half a century ago, declare in like manner, and in its featherhead believe in like manner, "We cannot exist, and continue to dress and parade ourselves, on the just rent of the soil of France; but we must have farther payment than rent of the soil, we must be exempted from taxes, too—we must have a Corn Law to extend our rent"? This was in 1789: in four years more—Did you look into the tanneries of Meudon, and the long-naked making for themselves

breeches of human skins! May the merciful Heavens avert the omen; may we be wiser, that so we be less wretched.

+ + +

Follower of Events: "A Harvard professor favors a revision of the Ten Commandments."

Ultimate Consumer: "Gee whiz! Upward or downward?"—St. Louis Star.

+ + +

Little Margery has just begun to go to the kindergarten, and is filled with a due sense of the impor-

TOM L. JOHNSON

WRITES THIS OF "SOCIAL SERVICE" THE NEW BOOK BY LOUIS F. POST:

"I am inclined to think it is destined to make more converts than any other book on political economy yet written except 'Progress and Poverty.'"

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We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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tance of her studies there and the solemn value of the attainments that have thus been put within her reach. The other afternoon, after coming home from school, she remained in a brown study for a time, and then said: "Mamma, do I know as much now as I don't know?"—Boston Transcript.

* * *

A witness in a railroad case at Fort Worth, asked to tell in his own way how the accident happened, said:

"Well, Ole and I was walking down the track, and I heard a whistle, and I got off the track, and the train went by, and I got back on the track, and I didn't see Ole; but I walked along, and pretty soon I seen Ole's hat, and I walked on, and seen one of Ole's legs, and then I seen one of Ole's arms, and then another leg, and then over one side Ole's

head, and I says, 'My God! Something muster happen to Ole!'"—Everybody's.

* * *

When Wellington thrashed Bonaparte,
As every child can tell,
The House of Peers throughout the war
Did nothing in particular,
And did it very well;
Yet Britain set the world a-blaze
In good King George's glorious days.

And while the House of Peers witholds
Its legislative hand,
And noble statesmen do not itch
To interfere with matters which
They do not understand,
As bright will shine Great Britain's sun
As in King George's glorious days.

—W. S. Gilbert

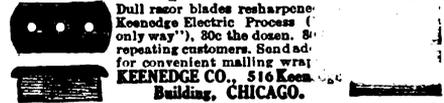
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