

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### On the Way.

Back from Elba, lo, the conquering hero comes!  
To an early Waterloo?

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### Henry George, Jr., and the Lewis Debate.

We published last week (p. 240) an advertisement of a debate between Arthur M. Lewis and Henry George, Jr., to take place at Chicago on the 20th. The advertisement was prepared and tendered us for publication by Mr. Lewis in person, and although his form of question for the debate seemed to us one which should not, under the circumstances, have been suggested by him, we were unaware of its not having been submitted to and accepted by Mr. George. From Mr. George's letter in this issue (p. 264), however, it appears that he had neither approved nor heard of Mr. Lewis' title. This being the case, we are sure that fair-minded persons, whether socialists or not, will approve Mr. George's decision as he announces it in that letter, after they shall have read his reasons. We hope also that the opinion Mr. George expresses with reference to debates over questions that divide those who oppose privilege, may likewise command approval. His views in this respect have always been held and followed by The Public in its editorial columns, and for many years by its editor on the platform. Such debates were well enough in the academic period; they may be useful in the radically constructive period when

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that time comes; but the intermediate period through which we are now passing is one in which the democratic movement is to be hindered rather than helped by rough and tumble debates within its own lines. They only afford diversion for an idle hour or two, at the best; and they easily excite bitterness where there should be co-operation.

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### Mothers and Their Citizenship.

One of the arguments before the New York legislative committee last week in behalf of the association for opposing women's suffrage, was altogether too robust. It would rule women out of all public activities, and even out of the sphere of public intelligence. To say that women are too frail to be burdened with the vote is sheer nonsense, unless it means much more than the burden of going to the polls and dropping a ballot into the box, for that would be no burden at all—not as much as going to prayer meeting or playing bridge. Unless it means that the voting right would impose a duty to take a vital interest in public affairs, the argument falls flat. But if this is the gist of the argument, then it is a plea for exemption of women from taking any vital interest in public affairs; and the woman who in fact takes no vital interest in public affairs is unfit for mothering citizens in a democratic republic. What kind of citizens could we expect from mothers who took no vital interest in citizenship?

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### Unemployment in the United States.

It will come as news to our British friends of "tariff reform" (protection) proclivities, that in this highly protected country of ours there is any unemployment. But it is not news to our workmen. They all know it, and sometimes it gets into our statistics. Here, for instance, is the Bulletin of the Committee on Congestion of Population in New York, which, in the issue of March 7, reports a very considerable lack of employment. "In September, 1908," it says, "out of 288,181 wage earners in various lines of industry, 22.5 per cent. were unemployed; out of 88,009 in the building trade, 33.5 per cent. were unemployed; out of 22,829 (reporting) in the clothing trade, 30.4 per cent. were unemployed; out of 21,547 in the printing trade, 12.7 per cent. were unemployed; out of 8,250 tobacco workers, 14.2 per cent. were unemployed; out of 7,843 wood workers, 21.1 per cent. were unemployed." And from reports of the State department of labor, this issue of the Bulletin shows that in 1909 the average unemploy-

ment due to trade conditions and not to strikes during the last six months of that year in the State of New York, was 18.9 per cent.

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### British "Rates" and "Taxes."

A correspondent who is bothered by the confusing use of such terms as "rates" and "taxes" in Great Britain, asks for information which may be in demand by others besides himself. He observes that "there seem to be 'rates' and 'taxes' which may be alike except in their purposes and disposition," and ventures the supposition that "there is a tariff on several things." By way of explanation of his difficulties, he says that sometimes he sees "statements in *The Public* from which it appears that there is no tax on agricultural lands, and then again as though there was a tax on a nominal appraisal of lands and also that the government pays half of that." Our correspondent is wrong in his inference that "rates" and "taxes" are alike except in purpose and disposition. "Taxes" is the term applied to exactions made by the Imperial Government through Parliament, whereas "rates" is the term for local taxation. In the main, "taxes" are imposed upon real estate hardly at all; whereas, in the main, "rates" are hardly imposed upon anything else. On incomes, for instance, "taxes" are paid to the general government, but on occupied real estate, "rates" are paid to the local authorities on a percentage of the rental. In some circumstances the general government makes expenditures out of the Imperial treasury "in aid of rates," which slightly resembles the custom of Congress in paying half the expenses of the District of Columbia, and it is probably from this that our correspondent infers that the Imperial Government pays half the tax on land. His confusion about there seeming to be no tax on agricultural lands, and yet a tax on a nominal appraisal of land, doubtless arises from a condition which we have tried often to explain. At the beginning of William and Mary's reign, a tax of 20 per cent. on the rental value of land was imposed, and a remnant of this exaction remains; but through fixing the rental values on the basis of 200 years ago, and through subsequent commutations in respect of numerous holdings, the income from this source is now inconsiderable. The "unearned increment" tax of Lloyd George's Budget would be essentially but a partial restoration of this tax to its original vigor, by estimating it upon capital instead of rental value. Land "rates" are as a rule imposed upon tenants, being about one-third of the rent they pay to their landlords. The

occupant of a \$75 tenement, for instance, would be subject to \$25 in "rates." Sometimes real estate promoters, intending to erect several buildings for renting, agree with the local authorities to pay the rates themselves, whether the premises happen to be occupied or not. They do so in consideration of a discount of 25 per cent on the "rates." In such cases, to use our former illustration of a \$75 occupier, the landlord would charge him a rental of \$100—the real rental value, obviously, no matter who pays the "rates,"—and would pay in "rates," out of that \$100, the sum of \$25 less 25 per cent, or slightly less than \$19. The difference to the locality is that it gets its "rates" easier by making the landowner the collector, and gets them whether the premises are occupied or not; the difference to the landlord is the possibility of a profit on the "rates"; the difference to the tenant is nothing. It is true that Great Britain imposes a tariff on several things—chiefly alcohol and tobacco. These come under the head of "taxes" and not of "rates."

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#### Self-Reformation in the House of Lords.

Moved by the popular fury rising against the House of Lords, that antique body is proposing to reform itself. And what a revelation of American toryism the comments upon it by our own newspapers do make, to be sure. They are exceedingly anxious to preserve the second chamber, although the history of second chambers, including our own Senate, is a history of the creation and conservation of privilege; and on that basis they welcome the news of this proposed self-reform of the Lords. They even welcome the plan, which, stripped of its prettily worded disguises, is simply that the House of Lords shall consist of selected peers. This plan would make that chamber more formidable than ever as a buttress for privilege. With all the self interest of a privileged class to serve, it would have the appearance of a representative body, and all the power of a legislative chamber.

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#### The Growing Army of the Poor.

"My work has carried me all over the world," said the international secretary of the Salvation Army to Chicago reporters last week, "and almost everywhere I find *extreme poverty is increasing.*" Pretty good testimony that, and pointed. Shall we do nothing about it but amiably afford occasional relief to individuals? Is there no explanation of its cause, other than the convenient one that the victims themselves are responsible for their poverty?

#### Social Wealth for Social Use.

Dr. Hamilton, president of Tuft's College, made an address recently in Boston, in the course of which he disclosed his comprehension of the present strong tendency of American thought—indeed, of the world's thought—with reference to public finance. According to the report of the Boston Sunday Globe of March 6, "Dr. Hamilton in closing advocated a system by which social expenditures would be met by social wealth, somewhat along the line of the German land value tax."

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#### Conservation of Natural Resources.

A clearer vision than many statesmen, or even the regular run of professional economists, has the Episcopal bishop of Alaska, regarding the conservation of natural resources. He rises above the secondary question of individual criminality in gathering this common inheritance into private hands—a question that inevitably raises doubts,—to consider only the primary question of a communal responsibility regarding which there can be no reasonable doubt. "The sale," he says, "to the Guggenheim interests of land rich in coal and copper, with even great possibilities for agriculture, at \$10 an acre, was a barter for a mere song. I do not say the transfer was fraudulent. For all I know, every step was legal; but the laws must be wrong when so great an injustice is possible. Those natural resources belonged to the whole Republic. It is wrong to dispose of them at any price, much more at that ridiculous price. I favor government ownership of natural resources. Privileges for short periods and under careful supervision can be let at sufficiently liberal terms to attract capital, and the country can be developed without being exploited." Can any one raise the slightest objection to that policy, and support his objection in good faith and with sound reason? No one ever has yet.

\* \*

#### The Single Tax in Vancouver.

The cities of the Canadian west are in the lead in promoting the single tax policy. Vancouver is the latest to be heard from. It was long ago the taxation policy of this progressive city to value land at full capital value and improvements at only 50 per cent, thereby taxing buildings only half as much ad valorem as sites. So satisfactory did this experiment prove that in due time a further step was made in the same direction; the valuation of improvements being reduced to 25 per cent, so as to tax the capital value of improvements only one-quarter as much as that of sites.

And now Vancouver abolishes the taxation of improvements altogether. On the 2d of March, to use the language of the Vancouver World of the 3d, "the Council decided to adopt the single tax system in its entirety."

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This outcome is largely due to the efforts, both within the Council and without, of ex-Alderman Macmillan; but it was supported by Mayor Taylor, who, in the debate on the 2d, just before the adoption of the ordinance, declared that as a believer in the single tax, he stood for "eliminating the taxation of improvements altogether." It is significant that he had been elected upon that issue.

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### The Cleveland Traction Question.

And now the Cleveland traction question (p. 207) is at an end, so far as the fight is concerned which ex-Mayor Johnson made so long and faithfully for the public interests of Cleveland, under loss of fortune and failing health, and in which his best hopes were defeated at the end by privileged interests and weary voters. He did, indeed, triumph so far as to secure the universal adoption of three-cent fares; but this was only a step. And even this step may be retraced, now that his official influence has been thrust out of the way of the traction interests, which center at New York and watch their chance. Before the final referendum vote was taken, Mr. Johnson warned the voters, telling them to vote for the ordinance if they were tired of the fight, but to vote against it if they still wished to protect the public interests. They were tired, and they voted for it. Whether his fears of a return to high fares are to be realized, a few months more will disclose; but, however this may come out, his duty has been done. He did not consider it completely done until he had secured protection for all the investors in the movement he had made his own in Ohio for public ownership of public utilities. Even those who sold their stock at a loss, have been protected by his efforts. All back dividends have been paid and all loss from sales of stock below purchase price have been made good. His work in connection with that particular movement is therefore done. It is honorably closed, and no one can justly complain of him, whatever may next occur. But let it not be supposed that his work in connection with the general movement of which that particular one was a part is over. Finishing one piece of work has always been with him but the prelude to beginning another, and so it is still. With health restored and strength renewed, he may be looked for soon

at the head of another and more advanced fight for public rights.

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### Ballingerism.

In the testimony of Arthur P. Davis, chief engineer of the reclamation service, the disagreeable true inwardness of Ballingerism—President Taft and all—comes outward in calm and convincing fashion.

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### Business Men and Labor Weapons.

The fact that a powerful American speculator in other men's sweat has been driven by business men from the Manchester cotton exchange with a volley of bricks, goes to show that business men are not too good to use the rude weapons of labor strikers, when the subtle weapons of business men are inadequate. Nearly all folks are nearly always "just folks," as "Golden Rule" Jones used to say.

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### Police Censorship of Plays.

It may not be generally known, but it seems to be a fact, that the police of Chicago have—unlawfully and therefore quite characteristically—established a censorship of plays. They assume the right to order plays reconstructed, and arbitrarily off the stage if their censorship is not respected. This they already do, but now they ask even greater power. Why they ask it is a mystery, since their usual course is to take, as a thief takes his plunder, whatever power they want. But here is the authority they ask for. We quote the assistant chief, a devotee of the Germanic theory of government, and by name, Schuettler:

It would be a good thing if every show company should be forced to send to us two weeks in advance a copy of the manuscript of the play, and pictures of all the scenes, so we could see ahead of time instead of waiting until after an evil show has been presented to the public. I would favor some sort of a bureau, say where the newspapers might have a representative, to go over the manuscript of all the plays and determine in advance whether a show should be given here. I haven't any earthly use for an evil show, and I won't stand for them.

With Mr. Schuettler evil is as evil seems to him. The American idea of trials for crime, upon indictments and before juries, has never got a lodgment in his bureaucratic brain. His present superior, the chief of police, has put a stop (vol. xii, p. 1256) to police censorship of public speaking, to the manifest advantage of public order; he might find it well to give Mr. Schuettler another primer lesson in the principles of American liberty and law.

**Russian Barbarism and American Civilization.**

Dr. Bourtseff, a Russian editor and exile, who is touring the United States to explain the barbarism of the Czar's government, makes a strong point of the fact that the government hires assassins to promote and to participate in assassinations for the purpose of implicating revolutionists. And he proves his point. But what effect can that have upon modern American sentiment? Make the test in any of the great clubs where the influential of this country congregate, or in the Pullman cars where they and their penniless parasites monopolize travel, or in the newspaper sanctums where proprietors and their plutocratic cronies confer on editorial policies,—try out American opinion on that point in those factories and distributing agencies of opinion, and you will find that the Czar's barbarous Russian policy is in precise accord with the "civilized" American policy, and that it has their sanction.

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**The Philippine Sugar Land Fraud.**

Congressman Martin, of Colorado, wants to know why public lands in the Philippines are sold in larger area to the Sugar Trust than the law permits, and for one-third their value. Did Mr. Martin never hear of "benevolent assimilation"? That's it.

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**"UNEARNED INCREMENT."**

John Stuart Mill invented this term to designate future increases in the values of land. Henry George argued that it is as applicable to all land values as to future increases, since land has no value to begin with. Economic hair splitters darken counsel by using it to designate increases in the values of other objects as well as those that attach to land. How, then, is it to be understood in connection with the growing custom regarding the taxation of "unearned increment" in German municipalities? or of the movement in the German Reichstag to tax "unearned increment" for Imperial purposes? or of the struggles of the Liberal party in Great Britain to divert a part of the "unearned increment" from the private pockets of dukes to the uses of the public treasury? or in our own country as this spreading movement for the taxation of the "unearned increment" thrusts itself into American politics?

Strictly, the so-called "unearned increment" may be conceded to be neither unearned nor an increment. It may indeed be only an awkward and indefensible term for designating, with reference to a certain kind of property, those increases in

selling value which are not earned nor bought by the owner of the property, but are to him as lucky windfalls. True enough, increases in the value of an object which in itself remains unenlarged, are not in strictness an increment. True enough, also, increases in value cannot in strictness be regarded as unearned if they express results of human energy, whether the energy of the owner of the object or not. Nevertheless it is surely allowable to speak of increases in the value of any kind of property as an increment of value; and, if this increment is unearned by the owner of the property affected, there is nothing misleading in describing it as "unearned."

Neither is it misleading to limit the application of the term to land, if we say "the unearned increment of land," which is the full verbal form of what is in reality a contraction. "Unearned increment" is the short form for "unearned increment of land value."

The term has come into use to indicate the taxing methods mentioned above, which are now rooted in the municipal policies of Germany and irrevocably adopted by the Liberal party of Great Britain.

Let us work out its meaning.

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Here, for illustration, is a piece of land—a building site, a farming site, or a natural deposit of minerals—which yields, or is capable of yielding, a net income over and above the cost of utilizing it. We commonly call this income "ground rent," if the owner of a building lot bargains for it with a tenant. In the case of a mineral deposit worked by a tenant, we should call the corresponding income "royalty" instead of ground rent. But "royalty" in the mining industry, and "ground rent" in the building industry, are essentially the same—a net income over and above the cost of utilizing the building site or the mineral deposit. As farming sites are not usually let out unimproved by the owners to tenants in the United States, there is no custom in this country to which we can refer, as in the case of building sites and mineral deposits, whereby the ground rent of farms is distinguished in actual experience from the rent for their improvements; but if the owner of a farm site were to rent the site unimproved to a tenant who improved the site and used it for farming, the payments by the tenant to the site owner would be of the nature of ground rent, by whatever name they might be called.

Nor is there any essential difference when the owner of a farm site owns the improvements and

works the farm himself instead of renting to a tenant; or the owner of a mineral deposit owns the machinery and extracts the mineral himself instead of taking royalties from an operator; or the owner of a building site owns the building also. If the building lot, or the farm site, or the mineral deposit, are sufficiently desirable to be in demand, and of a class or grade sufficiently scarce to command a rental though all their improvements were swept away, then that much of the total income would be ground rent. Every land owner who occupies and uses his land himself is in effect his own tenant; and whatever income he gets from its improvements is essentially as different from what he gets from its site as if he owned the site and a ground tenant owned the improvements. What the ground tenant would have to pay him for the site is none the less ground rent because he pays it himself to himself. In all essentials it is the same income whether he receives it as landlord indirectly through an occupying tenant or directly through himself as occupying owner.

Nor yet is there any difference in this respect if the site is unimproved (like the vacant building lots of cities and towns), and therefore yields no actual ground rent. In such cases, we may regard the ground rent which the site would yield simply for a site, if it were put to use, as its "potential ground rent."

Regardless of all variations in detail, the important point is invariable. Land which is in demand in the market, either yields to the owner, or is capable of yielding to him, an income over and above the income from the investment in improvements and for the cost of operation—be these for building, farming, or mining purposes, or what not. Some sites will yield a lower income than others, over and above the income from improvements and for cost of operation, and some will yield a higher one. The ground rent of a village building lot, for example, might be only a trifling fraction of the total rent for lot and building together, whereas the ground rent of a city building lot might range from 25 per cent of the total to 50 per cent, or even to 75 or 90.

It is out of such familiar facts regarding ground rent, that we get the phenomenon of the "unearned increment" of land upon which it is proposed to lay heavy taxes.

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Ground rent, whether actual or potential, and by whatever other name it may happen to be called, is an income. It may be a periodical income, as building lot ground rents usually are, or an income varying with production, like mining royal-

ties; but it is an income as distinguished from a capital fund, and like any other income it may be capitalized into a gross sum or selling value.

The ground rent of a building lot, for instance, if the owner wished to sell the lot, would be capitalized for purposes of sale at about what is known as a "twenty-years' purchase." That is to say, the owner would demand for the lot, and the purchaser would be willing to pay for it, about the equivalent of twenty years of its ground rent. This is a phenomenon of the sales market; but it has its reason in the fact that under a prevailing interest rate of 5 per cent, selling price bears the relation to income of about 100 to 5, or "20-years' purchase." If the interest rate were 10 per cent, the selling price would bear the relation to income of about 100 to 10, or "10-years' purchase," and if it were 3 per cent, the relation of about 100 to 3, or "33-years' purchase."

That is, it will be observed, land values rise as interest falls, and fall as interest rises, other things being the same.

But into those proportions other factors often enter to disturb. If ground rents were increasing, or there was a prevailing expectation that they would increase, the capitalization would be higher than the proportions indicated above; if ground rents were falling, or there were prevailing fears that they would fall, the capitalization would be lower. Unstable interest rates would also operate as a disturbing factor.

But at some ratio or other, any land which yields or is capable of yielding ground rent will have a selling value, which is the capitalization of its actual or its potential ground rent.

If its selling value or capitalization rises above what the owner paid for the land, the increase is his "unearned increment" within the meaning which attaches to that term where the "unearned increment" is coming to be regarded as an especially fit subject for taxation. If the capitalization falls below what the owner paid for the land, the difference is called an "unearned decrement" by insincere or thoughtless apologists for land monopoly.

Logically and justly, there can be no "unearned decrement"; and the "unearned increment" cannot logically and justly be limited to the difference between what an owner has paid for land and the higher price he gets or can get by afterward selling it. Since the entire selling value of land depends upon its ground rent possibilities, the ground rent (actual and potential) being the basis of capitalization, the "earnedness" or "unearnedness" of the "increment" is to be determined

by the character in that respect of the ground rent. If the owner earns all the ground rent, there is no "unearned increment" in the capitalization; if he earns so much of the ground rent as serves for the capitalization at which he bought, but not the increased ground rent, then the "unearned increment," logically and justly, is the difference between the present capitalization and that at which he bought. It is evident, however, that the owner really earns none of the ground rent. To the last nickel, it is a premium for an advantage which society confers, and not the earnings of himself or of any one from whom he has bought. And it is a premium of the present and not of the past. But this is academic. "Unearned increment," as a term now in practical use, is a technical term of limited application. It refers to the difference between the capital value of land at some time in the past, more or less arbitrarily fixed, and its increased capital value as this may appear from sales or valuations in the future.

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Examples of "unearned increment" may be found on every hand. To investors they are the commonplaces of daily life, considered as financial opportunities. It is only when the question of public rights arises, that the "unearned increment" takes on a mysterious aspect to anybody.

Only a short time ago, one of the trade papers of Chicago reported, in a strictly business way, some striking instances of "unearned increment" in Iowa farming lands. We allude to the Chicago Daily Farmers' and Drovers' Journal of October 25. It contained a special dispatch from Humboldt, Iowa, which the editor had entitled "Money in Iowa Lands." Not in using these lands, was the money to be made, mind you, but in appropriating their "unearned increment." Here are some illuminating extracts from that Iowa report:

From the moment a good crop was assured here this fall, the price of good farms jumped \$10 an acre. This increase is unusual, but there is a steady increase yearly, ranging from \$2 to \$5.

This steady rise is making fortunes for land owners without raising a hand. A man buys a 160-acre farm today for \$79 an acre, and tomorrow sells it for \$84. Another man bought a 240-acre farm, paying nothing down, and three years afterward sold for \$90—\$15 an acre more than it cost him. Tom Morris, near Humboldt, sold a 160-acre farm recently for \$100 an acre; two years ago he bought it for \$80.

To some extent those augmenting prices may be due to the fall in the value of gold, the standard of exchange; but the element of "unearned increment" is there, nevertheless. The owner of the farm who sells, gets more than he paid when

he bought; and not for any improvements he has made, but for the land itself. Both from growth of the community and expected growth, those farming lands sell for more this year than last—for more labor, not merely for more gold—and that increase is an "unearned increment" such as Germany and Great Britain purpose taxing with extra heaviness.

It is not farmers, as farmers, that get this "unearned increment" of farming sites. Those who get it do so in the capacity of land monopolists. It is farmers as farmers who have to pay it.

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But the "unearned increment" of farming sites is not and never can be great. The extreme limit of value for farming sites leaves but little margin for "unearned increment." The congenial habitat of the "unearned increment" is the city. This is the obvious fact; and it stands to reason, because "unearned increments" are expressions of social growth. The greater the city the larger the "unearned increment" there. The faster it grows, the faster the "unearned increment" rises. The more intense and productive its socialized industries, the more enormous its "unearned increment."

Indeed, a survey of the rise and fall of the "unearned increment" of land, whether historical or geographical or both, would be highly suggestive. It would indicate with startling directness the probability of a natural law under which the earnings of social groups may be distinguished from the earnings of individuals in the group. To suppose that in modern industry the earnings of the individual worker, as an individual, are no more than if he were working alone and dependent solely upon himself, is rather crude thinking. To suppose that society as a whole contributes nothing, but that individuals contribute all, is equally crude in another direction. But if we suppose that under improving modes of industry each individual worker produces increased earnings of his own, and society as a whole produces earnings that are distinctly communal and not individual, we may reach out sensibly and justly to a solution of the social problem.

And does not the "unearned increment" suggest the possibility of such a solution? May not the "unearned increment" of land be the capitalized earnings of the social group, in contradistinction to the personal earnings of its individual members? At any rate it is evident that in proportion to social progress the "unearned increment" augments, and to social decline that it shrinks.

Take the now famous Popham estate in London, for illustration. According to its history in the

London Nation of September 18, 1909, it consisted originally of 250 acres of agricultural land, lying between two populous suburbs of London. In 1866 a strip was cut off for railroad purposes, leaving 210 acres. Between 1884 and 1889, this large remainder was mortgaged for \$80,000, which was approximately its full mortgage value. That value was due of course to the proximity of the land to one of the world's great centers of socialized industry; but it may be taken as a starting point to show the "unearned increment" caused by subsequent public improvements and subsequent social growth in London and its suburbs.

By 1890 the mortgage was increased from \$80,000 to \$145,000, making an "unearned increment" in the technical sense, of at least \$65,000 in six years. By 1892 one of the suburbs had grown so far that its boundaries were extended into this property, and the mortgage rose to \$215,000—an additional "unearned increment" in two years of \$70,000. In 1897 the estate had been enlarged to 238 acres—28 more than before—and the mortgage was increased to \$350,000. This third "unearned increment" might be roughly estimated at over \$100,000. Before 1890 the land was selling for building lots at the rate of \$7,500, which indicated a fourth "unearned increment," one mounting up to over a million dollars. When the community needed some of this land for public purposes in 1906, the price had risen to \$10,000 an acre, implying a fifth "unearned increment" of hardly less than another million.

In greater or less degree instances like that, of repeated "unearned increments" in rapid succession, may be found everywhere in progressive communities. Manifestly these "increments" of value are unearned by the owners of the lands affected; and manifestly they are earned by the community as a whole—the community grouped on or near to the land affected.

This is the reason for the great movement for taxing unearned increments specially, which, rising in Germany through the influence originally of distinguished members of the German Land League, has now caught up the Liberal party of Great Britain in its sweep, and is challenging attention in the United States.

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An excellent account of the origin and progress of that movement in Germany (vol. xii, pp. 1066, 1206) may be found in a German special in the New York Evening Post of November 6, 1909, from which we quote:

The history of the land reform movement in Germany is an illuminating example of an economic

principle winning the upper hand solely on the merits of the appeal it made to men's common sense. Over twenty years ago men first began to preach Henry George's gospel in Germany and a Land League was formed. In 1895 this was turned into the "Bund der Bodenreformer" with Herr Adolf Damaschke as chairman, whose little work, "Die Bodenreform," is more than anything else responsible for the immense progress the movement has made in modern Germany. To-day with its 640,000 members the Bund can look with righteous pride on what its agitation has accomplished. According to the government memorandum, up to the end of 1908, 133 cities and communes and five counties in the German Empire had adopted the unearned increment tax, including fifteen cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, of which may be mentioned Hamburg with over 800,000, Breslau with close on half a million, Leipzig, Cologne and Frankfort-on-Main. The influence of the League has increased in proportion, and the government has frequently followed its suggestions, notably with regard to its land policy in the German African colonies and mortgage legislation at home.

It was Herr von Miquel, the Prussian finance minister, who paved the way for the introduction of the increased values tax. In 1893 he got the Prussian Diet to pass a bill enabling municipalities and communes to tax land according to its current value instead of, as hitherto, in accordance with the revenue derived from it. The old system put a premium on real estate speculation, and as soon as the German cities began to avail themselves of von Miquel's law, vehemently urged hereto by government and Land League, the introduction of the unearned increment tax only became a matter of time. Yet it was not in Germany that this tax was applied, but in China, at Kiauchau, which Germany took on a ninety-nine years' lease from China in 1898. The admiral commanding the German squadron which hoisted the German flag at Tsingtau, von Diedrichs, and Dr. Schrameier, the Chinese commissary, were both members of the German Land League. With remarkable foresight, they recognized how easily the port under German administration might become the prey of the real estate speculator, so a tax of 33 1-3 per cent was placed on all unearned increment on land irrespective of the amount and without conditions. A 6 per cent tax was further imposed on the current value of land. It is in no small measure due to this wise precaution that Kiauchau has in eleven years risen from being the thirty-sixth to be the seventh most important Chinese port.

Still the German cities tarried, and it was not until the spring of 1904 that Frankfort-on-Main, followed suit, since when the unearned increment tax has triumphed all along the line, in proof of which it may be remarked that not a single city or commune which has introduced it has ever abandoned it. Besides Prussia, Saxony and the Grand Duchies of Hesse and Oldenburg have passed bills permitting the imposition of the tax, and several years ago the Baden government succeeded in getting a similar bill, in the case of towns of 5,000 inhabitants and more, through the lower house, but it was thrown out by the upper chamber of the Grand Duchy.

To give any complete review of the system on which the increased values tax is raised in Germany

can only be done with the help of tables, for in every case the method followed is different. The systems vary as to the period elapsing from one transfer of land to another; as to the rate of the tax, and as to the amount of increment upon which the tax comes into force. Many towns, in order to hasten building operations, discriminate against unimproved property.

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In Great Britain the struggle for an "unearned increment" tax is still on (vol. xii, pp. 508, 561, 588, 823, 1206, vol. xiii, p. 202), the Liberal government having demanded in this year's Budget a tax of 20 per cent, the increments to be determined by comparing future sales, transfers or valuations with a general valuation to be made as of April 1, 1909.

The Budget proposed also a tax of a half penny in the pound sterling (about 2 cents in \$10), on land values in general, with some exemptions; but this is not what is known as the "unearned increment" tax. It is a "land value" tax—like the land value taxation which prevails in Australasia (vol. xii, pp. 420, 1066) more drastically. It is closer, too, to the Henry George ideal in principle, although exceedingly timid in application. The land value tax as distinguished from the "unearned increment" tax is appearing also in some of the Canadian provinces (vol. xi, p. 787; vol. xii, p. 1159), notably in Alberta.

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Bitter hostility to land value taxation, whether of the "unearned increment" only, or of the entire land value in accordance with the George ideal, may be expected from land monopolists and their parasites everywhere—precisely such hostility as it is meeting in Great Britain now. Men who live at the public expense are ever loth to let go. And the beneficiaries of "unearned increments" of land do live at public expense to that extent. Bitter, however, as the opposition is, it takes shelter under pleas of fairness and justice, precisely as the opposition to abolishing chattel slavery did in the last century. No man is satisfied with profit alone. He wishes to convince himself at least, and as many of the rest of us as he can, that his profit is just.

One of the leading arguments of those who, profiting by "unearned increments" of land, are solicitous to have it understood that this profit is just, is embodied in the plea that the increments of value which attach to their property belong rightly to them. "A man owning property is entitled, has a right, to the growing value of it," writes a distinguished defender of the "unearned increment" appropriators. "What I gain by my

labor and by the growth of the value of the property I have acquired is rightfully mine," he adds; and then goes on: "To set up the theory that government may confiscate growth of values is to destroy the basis of property and society."

There is about that defense of private appropriations of the "unearned increment" of land, a plausibility which seems at first to shake one's feeling that somewhere in the statement a fallacy lurks. But the fallacy is really there. It lurks in the word "property."

Since "property" means anything that is appropriated, its use in this connection begs the question. For the question in the last analysis is whether this or that object may or may not be rightfully appropriated as "property." To argue that increasing values of land are rightly mine because they attach to my property, is to argue that property is rightly property because it is property; and that is nonsense.

There is still another fallacy in those quotations. "What I gain by my labor," may indeed be mine—in our own view there is no logical or moral basis on which to question it. But by no means does it follow that what I gain "by the growth of the value I have *acquired* is rightly mine"; for I may acquire, by trading the gains of my labor, property which, neither in itself nor in its increments, is rightly *property* at all. The man of seventy years ago who traded for a slave the gold he may have gained by his labor, acquired no rightful claim to the slave nor to any increments of slave value; not in the forum of morals, and that is the forum to which we are invited in questions of this kind.

We may concede that the growth in value of what one gains by his labor is his. But this concession puts an end to another class of objections to taxing the "unearned increments" of land. Grant that the increased value of what one justly owns is his—and for ourselves we not only grant but assert it,—and there is an end to the contention that other things than land have "unearned increments" which ought to be taxed away if the "unearned increments" of land are to be. If they have unearned increments then those increments belong to the owners of those things, provided the things themselves are private property justly.

This conclusion applies to the good will of a business; for the good will of a business is clearly the just property of the person who has built it up. It applies to grain or cattle; for the owner has either produced the one and reared the other, or has bought the rights of men who did. It applies to professional men whose fees increase with

the growth of the community; for no fee comes to them, little or big, unless they work for it. They cannot go to bed, or abroad, or to prison, and come back with a large accumulation of "unearned" fees, as land owners may of "unearned increment." And as to corporation stocks, even the so-called "industrials" get their "unearned increment" from monopoly, and for the most part the "unearned increment" of all stocks is from land monopoly. Are not stocks for the most part, directly or indirectly, shares in mining land, or railroad rights of way, or pipe line rights of way, or street car rights of way? and are not those rights land rights?

The whole question of the "unearned increment," as a moral question and in so far as it is important, turns upon the justice of the ownership of the property to which it attaches. Those who object to taxing the "unearned increment" of land cannot honestly escape this issue, and those who favor it ought not to wish to.

If land may rightfully be private property in the same absolute sense that houses, or clothing, or machinery may be, then indeed is it unjust to tax away from the owner the value of his land. But land cannot be private property in any such absolute sense. The ownership of land is as distinctly a public trust as is the incumbency of a government office (something that also was once claimed as private property), and the land owner as distinctly a trustee as the public official.

Consider it.

Upon what basis can titles to land be morally defended? Upon no other than that the general good is believed to require private possession and control. Any other theory flies in the face of justice, by permitting some of the inhabitants of the planet to be deprived of their birthright for the benefit of others. Government cannot create private ownership of land without disinheriting those whom it excludes from the privilege; government cannot continue such an institution after it has been established, without perpetuating a system of disinheritance throughout coming generations. The argument for private ownership of land, in the absolute sense in which improvements may be claimed, has no standing in the forum of morals. But government may rightly establish private tenures, as government has done and may well continue to do. The farmer must have possession against all the world, in order—not that he may get "unearned increment," but that he may farm his farm to advantage. So of the miner as to mineral deposits. So of the builder as to town or city lots. So of all occupations, for land is necessary to them all. And what is the essential

nature of that just tenure? Is it not that the exclusive possessor shall be to that extent a trustee for the public good? And if he sells to another, does not the other assume the obligations of that trust?

What then are the obligations of the trust under which land owners occupy the earth to the exclusion of their fellow men? What does justice demand of them? Is it not that they shall use the land to best advantage, and retain for themselves only what they earn from it in the sweat of their own faces?

No other condition of what we are accustomed to call land ownership can be justly asserted. If the owner holds the land out of use, he is guilty of a breach of trust. If he gets the "unearned increment" of value which social growth attaches to his holding, he is appropriating common funds as truly as if he got an unearned pension from the public treasury.

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When the question of taking land values for public use is up, three general considerations are involved.

First is the consideration that the owner of land is a trustee, having no moral right to continue holding it if he does not use it well, and therefore that he cannot complain if he is so heavily taxed on its value that he must either use it well or give it up.

Second is the consideration that the value which attaches to his holding, simply as a holding, is a profit wholly apart from the profit attaching to its use, the latter being earned and the former unearned by him.

Third is the consideration that this value, unearned by him, is earned by the community where-in his holding lies. It is the financial expression of communal growth, communal progress, communal advantages, in so far as access to his land is necessary for their enjoyment.

Upon these three considerations the value of land belongs in justice to the community as a whole, and not to land owners as individuals. It is a value that rises and falls with communal growth and not with the so-called owner's industry. It is a value which depends upon and belongs to the community of today, and which therefore no government of the past could justly sell or give away in perpetuity. It is a fund which comes to the land owner not as owner or user, but as a trustee for his community. To the extent that he is allowed to appropriate this value in addition to the value of his own earnings, to that extent are the rest of the community deprived of their earnings.

The attempts of governments, now gaining headway, to recover land values by means of taxation, are in the direction of justice and not against justice. This will the more clearly appear the more the subject is discussed.

Nor do they tend to "destroy the basis of property and society," as beneficiaries of the "unearned increment" of land assume—not of just property, nor of democratic society. If persisted in and extended they will save democratic society by eliminating the essential virus of all privilege, and make property secure by basing property rights upon usefulness instead of exploitation.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE RECALL VINDICATED.

San Diego, Cal., Mar. 6, 1910.

There are timid, well meaning persons who are afraid that so radical a measure as the recall will not "make good."

"The recall," they say, "looks well on paper, but the common people cannot safely be trusted to use so dangerous an instrument in practical political affairs."

The answer is: "The proof of the pudding is in the eating."

The recall has shown its power for civic betterment in different parts of the country on at least five different occasions.

It has been found that the recall works in two ways: by threat of use, and by use.

In Des Moines, Iowa, last year the threat of its use caused the city council to appoint a police marshal who had the confidence of the people. This achievement so pleased United States Senator R. M. La Follette that he aptly generalized upon it in his Magazine by saying: "The recall has a better moral effect on politicians than a religious revival."

At the election of a United States senator the threat of the use of the recall upon the Republican legislature of Oregon caused that body to keep their ante-election pledges, and George E. Chamberlain, a Democrat, was elected in consequence thereof.

In Los Angeles, Cal., the threat of the recall's use upon the city council caused that body to rescind their vote giving away three miles of river bed worth one million dollars.

This California city has made actual use of the recall twice in its history: at one time to remove an alderman who had voted to give a machine Republican newspaper the city printing at a figure \$15,000 above that bid by other journals; and at another time—being as yet the most notable event of the kind in the history of our nation—to remove their mayor who had been making unfit appointments to office, and was otherwise unworthy. The removal last March of so important an official as a mayor caused much excitement in Los Angeles, and awakened much general interest and comment throughout the country. In the Public of April 30, 1909, under title of "The Recall in Action," was given an account of the exciting scenes attending the re-

moval from office of Mayor Harper, and of the election of Hon. George Alexander as mayor to serve the unexpired term of the deposed official. This term expired with the year 1909, and Mr. Alexander, having proved such an efficient officer during the previous nine months, was re-elected for a two-years' term in November last by a largely increased majority as compared with his vote in the spring—his success, together with the choice at the same election of a reform board of aldermen, being generally regarded as a triumph for good government and being the cause of great rejoicing.

Men like President A. L. Lowell, of Harvard, would have said, as he did, "The discussion of such reforms is conducted mainly in the air"—"hot air," I presume he meant; but the earnest, intelligent men of Los Angeles, were determined that they should be free from the domination of corporation control—control which was obtained, as often is the case in our large cities, by a combination of big business with the vice of the city, and effected by the political boss; and their charter, which happily had direct legislation and the recall in its provisions, was the means through which their hard-earned freedom after many years of struggle was at last secured.

In the article in the Public of last April, previously referred to, Mayor Alexander was spoken of as being "a retired business man, about 70 years old, an ex-Union soldier, a Methodist, a Knight Templar, and for eight years County Commissioner. Familiarly he is known as 'Honest Uncle George.'" This officer, who has become such a notable vindication of the wisdom of the use of the recall, has proven himself not only honest but intelligent and efficient. He has administered the affairs of his office with absolute impartiality. He has made most excellent selections in his appointments, causing the office to seek the man, and not the man the office. He has abolished several useless offices, and by publicity aided the city in purchasing public building sites, thus causing material and appreciated savings in the public expenditures.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### THE RETURNING ELBAITE.

Chicago, Mar. 10, 1910.

I wish to express dissent from the general approval and enthusiasm now being manifested toward Theodore Roosevelt. I believe that this enthusiasm is conclusive evidence of our lack of maturity. Mr. Roosevelt is a man of force and shrewdness, and is a great advertiser. He is the most megaphonic individual since Napoleon Bonaparte. But he is a man who is obsessed with a desire to kill. And, if it were not for public opinion, it wouldn't make much difference to him whether he exercised this savage instinct by slaying Spaniards or lions.

He is just now returning from an exhibition that is a disgrace to civilization. And if we were an adult people instead of children, we would condemn him for his inhumanity instead of throwing up our hats to him. The expedition has been a pure exercise of butchery. The fact that it has been carried on in the name of "science" need deceive no one. Men

with selfish or evil impulses and who wish at the same time to be popular with their fellows, are never straightforward. Napoleon Bonaparte loved war and bloodshed better perhaps than any other man who ever lived, but, when he wanted a war, he never failed to make the French people believe that he and they were being attacked.

The comparison of Roosevelt with Lincoln or Washington, in either character or achievements, is desecration. Roosevelt is a mere bubble, and will have absolutely no historic existence. He is utterly selfish in everything he does, and his only achievements of any consequence have been of a negative character. Even the peace conference between Russia and Japan was a mere theatrical performance. He cares nothing for peace in itself, but he does care for the hurrahs of men. And he did what he did in this case primarily because of its effect on his popularity and because he couldn't stand it any longer to have attention so extensively diverted from himself.

He has done more in the last six months to dehumanize mankind than all the humane societies can do to counteract it in years. Boys and young men the world over have been led to look upon killing as legitimate and manly. Civilization is only a habit at best. It is much easier to drag men down than it is to lead them to a higher moral plane. The fact that Mr. Roosevelt has held one of the highest official positions in the world gives him a peculiar power for corruption.

The world is growing. Humanity is in its teens. Out of the future are certain to come beings of far higher character and understanding than we are—beings who will reverse present-day ideals and judgments, and who will recognize such bloody expeditions as Roosevelt has just been engaged in in Africa as needless and barbaric.

J. HOWARD MOORE.

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### "THE WHITE MAN CAME."

Death Song of King Bombilo, of the Congo Country  
as Given by Professor Bersot, of Geneva, in  
"Under the Whip." Reprinted Here  
from the London Labour  
Leader.

We were happy.

The white man came.

I had twenty children, boys and girls; where are they?

The white man came.

We no longer have any bananas or fish or game.

The white man came.

Oh, Bombilo, where are your children?

The white man came.

My white hairs incline towards the earth, but this profaned earth where my ancestors sleep will not have my body.

The cruel white man will not have my body. I shall sleep in the big river.

I shall sleep in the big river.

The white man came.

## 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, March 15, 1910.

### The Single Tax in Vancouver.

At the meeting of the City Council of Vancouver, British Columbia, on the 2d, Alderman Ramsay moved a resolution in favor of the total exemption from taxation of buildings and other improvements on land. Alderman McKechnie objected that the city had gone far enough already in this direction, in its exemption of improvements to the extent of 75 per cent. Aldermen Crowe and Whiteside supported Alderman McKechnie's objection. In support of the proposed complete exemption of improvements, Aldermen Stevens, Hepburn, McPherson and the Mayor spoke, as did the mover, Mr. Ramsay. The latter explained in answer to objectors, that it did not follow that total exemption would decrease the city revenue, but they would have to put a higher rate on land—which was quite right. It was the man who held land for speculative purposes, he said, who would have to pay. The Mayor said he had given considerable thought for a good many years to the question of exemptions from taxation. He believed in the single tax and in eliminating taxation of improvements entirely. The taxation of improvements was not equitable, he argued; for the assessor assessed one building at one value and another building at another. One man paid too high and another too low. But if they wiped out taxation on improvements they then based their taxation upon land values, which could be determined to a nicety and with no injustice to any person taxed. Another reason why they should not tax improvements was because it was taxing a man's industry. It might be said that an office building being a revenue producer, should be taxed in excess of another. But the man whose building was on the lot adjoining a large office building had the value of his real estate increased. That was the unearned increment. "We sometimes talk about bonusing manufacturers," continued the Mayor, "but no other bonus is as good to offer a manufacturer as to tell him that when he comes to the city of Vancouver all his improvements are exempt from taxation and he is on the same level as other people." Then, again, the advertising value attaching to a movement of this kind was great. Vancouver was the

best advertised city of its kind in reference to its excellent fire department. If they carried that resolution it would be advertised because of its improvement in taxation. It would emphasize the fact that Vancouver is a progressive and thinking community. The Mayor added that, as far as he could judge, the percentage of the community not in favor of this movement is very small. An amendment offered by Alderman Crowe to the effect that the 75 per cent exemption on improvements continue, was lost by an adverse vote of 7 to 5; and thereupon the resolution in favor of the total exemption of buildings and other improvements on land was adopted.



#### Tax Revision in Illinois.

A tax commission provided for by the Illinois Legislature at its last regular session, was appointed last week by Governor Deneen. It consists of Charles E. Merriam, B. L. Winchell and John P. Wilson, of Chicago; Alfred M. Craig of Galesburg; Benjamin F. Caldwell of Springfield; A. P. Grout of Winchester, and David Kinley of Urbana. Mr. Merriam is professor of political economy at the University of Chicago, an alderman from a Republican ward, and chairman of the Merriam investigating commission; Mr. Winchell is president of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Co.; Mr. Wilson is a corporation lawyer; Mr. Craig was a Supreme Court justice from 1873 to 1900; Mr. Caldwell was formerly a Congressman; Mr. Grout is a farmer, and Mr. Kinley is professor of economics at the State university. The function of the commission is:

1. To make a complete compilation of all laws bearing on taxation now in force in Illinois and all Supreme Court decisions relating to such laws.

2. To tabulate full and pertinent statistics showing, so far as practicable, the amount raised by taxation in each county and municipality in the State and the rates adopted, the proportion between the true and the assessed valuation, and other information referring to the practical operation of the present revenue system in the State. It is made the duty of all county and municipal officials to furnish the commission with information.

3. To investigate all complaints that may be made to it of illegal, unjust or excessive taxation, and to endeavor to ascertain to what extent and in what manner the present system is defective, unequal or oppressive.

4. To inquire into the tax systems in force in other States, especially those in which new methods of taxation have been introduced, with a view to ascertaining what changes in the revenue laws of Illinois are expedient and desirable.

5. To embody the results of its investigation in a report, with full index, to be transmitted to the Governor by January 15, 1911.

6. To draft and file with the Governor revenue bills embodying its recommendations.

#### The Strike in Philadelphia.

It appears from later news dispatches regarding the Philadelphia traction strike (p. 229) that the situation was much more serious last week than the police then reported it to be. There is good reason to believe, also, that the traction company and the police are directly responsible for causing the riotous disturbances. On the 8th a band of "strike breakers"—men furnished by private detective agencies at high wages to business concerns under strike for temporary use—took a car down a crowded thoroughfare at high speed shooting into the crowds on the sidewalk as they went, and wounding several persons. On the following day over 1,000 employes of the Baldwin Locomotive Works joined the sympathetic strike; and on the 10th the police, disguised in plain clothes and armed with heavy clubs, prevented a mass meeting from peaceably assembling in a base ball park, which had been engaged for the purpose, driving women as well as men along the streets with extreme brutality. At this time the committee in charge of the sympathetic strike reported 139,571 persons as having quit work, including 40,000 in the building trades, 20,000 in the metal trades, 30,000 in the textile trades, and 19,000 garment workers. Five newspaper reporters were arbitrarily arrested by the police on the 10th, for no known reason. They were observing the situation in the company of the strike leaders. President Taft was appealed to on the 11th by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, to interfere; but upon advice from the Department of Commerce and Labor he refused. The strike committee issued a manifesto on the 12th to the members of the police force. "Get together and organize yourselves," it reads, "and let the law-defying bandits who precipitated this strike, and who have persistently refused to end it, understand that you at least will not represent anarchy; organize and cast in your lot with us, and establish a precedent for other and future strikes."



An extension of the sympathetic strike was proclaimed on the 13th, by the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, which called upon all milkmen, bakers, grocery clerks and other food distributors to quit work on the 14th, and urged all labor unionists to withdraw their deposits from the banks. That the general strike has stirred up public opinion seems evident from the fact that business men brought about on the 14th, a conference between President Kruger of the traction company and President Mahon of the traction men's union, with a view to settling the strike. The company had theretofore refused to confer.



#### Some Other Strikes.

At Trenton, N. J., on the 10th the street cars

stopped running altogether, because the mayor would not appoint special officers at the request of the company. Five mills of paper makers and sulphite workers, belonging to the International Paper Co., were closed by a strike on the 10th in New York State, and militia were ordered out. A large body of strike breakers were at that time massed at Saratoga by the paper trust. Because a strike in the steel plant at Bethlehem has been in progress for several weeks, to the injury of the Federal Government, which has contracts there, Congressman Rainey of Illinois introduced a resolution in Congress on the 11th calling for an investigation.

At a meeting of the general federated board for Western railroads of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, at which 38 members of the Board were present, a resolution authorizing a strike was unanimously adopted. The resolution affects 49 Western railroads. The contention relates to recent demands of the Brotherhood for an increase of wages and a modification of rules of service. The railroads offered to arbitrate the wages question, but refused to arbitrate the question of rules. The point about the rules question is a demand of the Brotherhood that firemen's promotions to places as engineers shall be on the basis of seniority, and that engineers in this Brotherhood shall have rights of representation as engineers on negotiating committees.

#### The British Parliament.

Nothing of special significance has occurred in the British Parliament (p. 227) during the past week, except the announcement of the Ministry that they would ask a vote of supplies for only six weeks. This amounts to a declaration that the Ministry will keep the purse-strings completely under the control of the Commons while the proceedings to destroy the veto of the Lords are in progress. If in the course of those proceedings the Ministers were to resign and the Tories were asked to take over the Government, the latter would come into office without any power to meet expenses except by appealing to a Commons with a hostile majority. Consequently, if the present Ministry do resign, the Tories will be unable to postpone elections. This announcement has aroused anew the anger of the Tories and given corresponding satisfaction to the Irish, the Labors and the radical Liberals.

Regarding the Lloyd George Budget, Mr. Asquith announced in the Commons on the 14th, that it would be reintroduced and disposed of before the Spring recess. This means, taken in connection with the program adopted by the Commons

on the 28th (p. 203), that the Ministry expects to act upon the Budget immediately after adopting resolutions abolishing the financial veto and restricting the general legislative veto which the Lord's assert.

In the House of Lords on the 14th, a debate was opened by Lord Roseberry, on resolutions of his proposing a reorganization of this body. He argued for the perpetuation of the House of Lords as a second chamber, but with a membership composed of selected peers. The selections to be not by the voters at large but by associations, corporations and county councils. His plan is very like that upon which the United States Senate is chosen, except that only peers would be eligible. Lord Morley responded in behalf of the Ministry by saying that they would not discuss any proposals for reforming the House of Lords until the question of the Lords' veto had been settled.

#### The Democratic Movement in Prussia.

The great "demonstrative stroll" held in Berlin on Sunday, the 6th (p. 228), as a protest against the undemocratic features of the elections bill now pending in the Prussian Diet, was repeated by 20,000 persons in Frankfort on the 13th. Of the intensity of feeling over the principles involved in this franchise reform question, the Chicago Tribune's cable dispatch of the 12th says: "No political movement of modern times has been carried on with greater fervor or determination. Mass meetings and processions of protest are taking place daily and nightly in all the great centers of population. The newspapers the opinions of which are not officially manufactured are hammering Von Bethmann Hollweg's government with a persistency and ferocity unparalleled in German political history. Liberal and Radical classes are marching shoulder to shoulder and mobilizing public opinion on a scale which the government can hardly dare to defy indefinitely. Last Sunday's remarkable demonstrations in Berlin have left nobody in doubt with regard to the temper of the masses or their power when once thoroughly aroused. For all practical purposes the capital was bodily in their possession."

#### A Graft Scandal in France.

The discovery that the liquidation of the church property which fell into the hands of the French Republic when church was separated from state in France, three years ago (vol. xii, p. 974), has involved great losses to the Republic through "collusion sales," excessive fees, and other forms of graft, has aroused a great excitement throughout France. The official liquidator, Mr. Edmond Duez, has been arrested on charges of defalcation. He

has confessed to a shortage of \$1,000,000 in his returns, and it is believed that the amount will reach \$2,000,000 or more. The scandal is likely to have an effect upon the parliamentary elections of next month.

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#### Russian Political Trials.

The long deferred trial of Count Nicholas V. Tchaykovsky and Madame Catharine Breshkovsky (p. 232), both well known in America, on charges of revolutionary conspiracy, opened in St. Petersburg on the 8th. The public was not admitted to the court room. Count Tchaykovsky pleaded not guilty. Madame Breshkovsky answered to the question of the court: "I admit that I am a Social Revolutionist." Contrary to advance intimations (p. 182), witnesses were admitted to testify against the credibility of the Government's chief witness, Pateuk, a condemned revolutionist, who it is said, has volunteered testimony for several political trials, presumably to delay the carrying out of his own sentence. With the admission of witnesses against him, and through his own cross-examination, Pateuk was utterly discredited. At the close of the sitting, at eleven o'clock at night, testimony for prosecution and defense was all in. When the trial was resumed on the following day both prisoners in turn addressed the court. Count Tchaykovsky explained and justified his career. He described his motive in visiting the United States as a desire to collect funds to be used solely for the benefit of families of exiles and striking workmen. The court questioned him closely regarding his visit to America, and brought out that the money collected had been turned over to a committee of Social Revolutionists, and that the prisoner had no control over their distribution. Madame Breshkovsky spoke briefly, mainly in an effort to clear her fellow prisoner. After further speeches by the prosecution and by the lawyers for the defense, in which Madame Breshkovsky's counsel pointed out that his client admitted that she was a Social Revolutionist, the judges dropped the charge against her of preaching the assassination of the Czar, under which exile with hard labor was inevitable on conviction, and the case was given to the jury. The jury, which consisted of an admiral representing the nobility, an alderman, and a peasant elder, after a ten-minute deliberation brought in a verdict which gave acquittal to Count Tchaykovsky, and under which Madame Breshkovsky received sentence to perpetual exile in Siberia, but without hard labor. The old "Mother of the Russian Revolution" received her sentence unmoved, and a moment later asked a correspondent to send her greetings and best wishes to her friends in America.

\* \* \*

He who has no inherent right to live somewhere has no right to live at all.—Horace Greeley.

## NEWS NOTES

—General parcels post service between Brazil and the United States (vol. xi, p. 437) has been established.

—A state-wide woman suffrage bill for Maryland was turned down by the House of Delegates on the 11th (p. 231).

—Two women are among the new members of the London County Council (p. 228)—Miss Adler and Miss Lawrence.

—California experienced her greatest earthquake shock since her terrible experience in 1906, on the 10th, at about 10:54 p. m. Panics were caused, but no harm was done.

—The "insurgent" Republicans of South Dakota in conference at Huron on the 11th nominated a full State ticket headed by R. S. Vesey as the candidate for Governor.

—A conference of the "insurgent" Republicans of Iowa was held at Des Moines on the 9th for the purpose of organizing to control the next regular Republican convention of the State.

—Henry George, Jr., is to speak in Chicago on the 20th before the Anthropological Society in Masonic Temple in the afternoon, and at Orchestra Hall on Michigan avenue in the evening.

—An order directing the beef trust to produce their books before the Hudson county (N. J.) grand jury (p. 206) was granted on the 14th by the Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey.

—Cleveland dispatches of the 8th reported an announcement by Tom L. Johnson of his intention of contesting a Cleveland district for a seat in the Ohio legislature at the Fall elections.

—Dr. Carl Lueger, Burgomaster of Vienna, died on the 10th in his 67th year. Dr. Lueger is spoken of as the most conspicuous figure in Vienna, next to the Emperor. He was a bitter anti-Semite.

—By unanimous vote on the 11th the United States Senate Committee on affairs of the District of Columbia ordered a favorable report in behalf of John D. Rockefeller's proposed endowment (p. 222) by approving a corporate Federal charter for "The Rockefeller Foundation."

—Gov. Deneen signed on the 9th both direct primary bills—the Hamilton-Staymates and the Gibson—enacted at the recent special session (pp. 180, 231), and also the bill for enabling municipalities outside of Chicago to adopt on referendum the commission form of government (p. 231).

—The new Premier of Spain, M. Canalejas (p. 160), in outlining the Government's program in the Cortes on the 10th, appealed for the united support of all the radical and democratic forces in the approaching struggle "to Europeanize and modernize Spain." Without such support, he declared, the fight against the growing power of clericalism and reaction is foredoomed to failure.

—The first bank exclusively for women and officered by women, opened in London on the 14th. The institution is a branch of Farrow's bank, a small

concern, according to the press reports, founded especially to deal with persons of small means. The manager of the Bank for Women is Miss Mary Bate-man, who has been known in the past as a war correspondent in South Africa, and as a novelist.

—The National American Woman Suffrage Association will hold its 42d annual convention in Washington, D. C., April 14th to 19th inclusive. Industrial phases of the woman's suffrage agitation, the laws affecting working women and children, and the need of the ballot to protect all workers, will be given special consideration. The great petition to Congress will be presented on April 19th at a hearing which has been granted in advance for that date.

—The joint committee of the Massachusetts legislature has reported favorably the Constitutional amendment (vol. xii, p. 179) proposed by the Massachusetts Direct Legislation League, which would reserve to the people the power of the initiative and of the referendum. The committee made only two alterations in the proposed amendment. One substitutes 12 for 8 per cent for an initiative petition, and the other substitutes 20 for 5 per cent for a referendum.

—At a legislative committee hearing in Albany on the 9th, the resolution for amending the State constitution so as to establish adult suffrage regardless of sex was discussed. The opposition speakers were Minnie Bronson, Mrs. Henry A. Stimson, Mrs. Robert MacVicker; those in favor of the amendment were Samuel Untermeyer, Mrs. Henry Villard (daughter of William Lloyd Garrison), Crystal Eastman, Mrs. Cadagan, Mrs. Catt, Dr. Anna H. Shaw, and George Foster Peabody.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### How to Reach the Morgan-Guggenheims.

Puck (humorous), March 9.—A representative of the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate, testifying before a Senate Committee, said that the value of the coal in the Cunningham claims in Alaska was \$25,000,000. A neat stake when you consider that all the claims were to cost the syndicate was \$250,000. In plain words, the syndicate gets practically everything, while the Government gets practically nothing. How different it would be if the syndicate had to pay taxes to the Government on a valuation of \$25,000,000—its own valuation of the claims.

\* \*

### The Destruction of the Poor Is Their Poverty.

Medical Record as quoted in New Haven Union (dem. Dem.), March 10.—With every step down and back in the scale of right living, forced by the excessive costs of ordinary necessities, the resistance to disease and the expectation of life must steadily diminish in the poorer classes. As physicians, it becomes our plain duty to inquire why such retrogression in comfort and health should be possible under our civilization. We tend too much as a profession to be easily satisfied with surface conditions. Our campaign for sanatoria for tuberculosis, for example, only reaches an ill which has been allowed to de-

velop; and our education of the public in its prevention calls for habits, conditions and modes of life which very few would not be glad to adopt but which even fewer are ever financially able to secure. Too few of us stop to consider that health costs money, that increasing difficulty of maintaining a reasonable standard of living inevitably predisposes to sickness, and that we cannot do our full duty as humanitarians until as citizens and men of affairs we probe deeper and help to determine and remove the ultimate economic and industrial causes of disease and death from the body politic.

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### The Belgian Socialists.

The (New York) Nation (ind.), March 10.—It will probably be years . . . before a civilized administration is established in the Congo. In the long campaign for the saving of that colony, no party in Belgium has done so much as the Socialist party. The Liberals have been too often divided in council or too timorous. The party led by M. Vandervelde has waged a ceaseless warfare against the policy of extortion and ruin in the Congo. Whatever may be the errors or the dangers of European Socialism, such service as the Socialists of Belgium have rendered to the cause of liberty and humanity calls for the heartiest commendation.

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### From Nazarene to Grenadiers.

The (London) Nation (radical), Jan. 29.—We do not expect much from the Church of England, but her constant alliance with prosperity sometimes seems a little inconsequent when we remember that her priests claim succession from men who were sent out to preach the gospel to the poor. Canon Lyttelton, the Head Master at Eton, belongs to that succession, but we need not go back to his remarks about backdoors and blind kittens, for he may plead in excuse that he is compelled to make that kind of speech in order to maintain the reputation of his school for manners, and to keep up its numbers by flattering the class from which it draws. This is the sort of thing that Canon Lyttelton's public wants, and we ask no man to quarrel with his bread and butter. Still less would we disparage the Rector of Barton Seagrave, whose remarkable almanack for the present year has been revealed, "sub rosa," to the world in the "Morning Leader." He therein calls upon his parishioners to choose this month between Lloyd George & Co. on the one hand, and on the other "God and our grand Constitution . . . God and the British Tar. God and the Grenadiers. God and the Fatherland and the fellowship of the loyal Colonies," concluding his adjuration with the words, "As for me and my house, we will serve God and the Conservatives"—a very binding pledge upon himself and the other occupants of his rectory. No one could seriously object to that. "God and the Grenadiers!" Let us remember it with thankfulness. It beats the Kaiser on his own field, and the Rector is cheaper at the price. We only think, as before, that it comes a little strangely from the successor of those men who were sent out to preach peace, and were commanded to provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in their purses, nor scrip for the journey,

nor bread, nor shoes, nor staves, nor two coats apiece. . . . In Handel's church at Little Stanmore there is a tomb to a Countess of Pembroke, whereon we are informed that, besides being the chaste partner of her husband's bed and board, she was religious without enthusiasm. No doubt the phrase was a side-stroke at those troublesome Wesleyans, but it was at that time a very suitable epitaph for the Church of England herself.

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**Mr. Roosevelt's Khartoum Blunder.**

(Chicago) Inter Ocean (Rep.), March 16.—No doubt at this very moment thousands of devout Mohammedans in Khartoum and vicinity are saying that, if that is the most redoubtable champion the infidels can produce, the time has evidently come for the faithful to sharpen their scimiters and go forth and possess the earth. "By the Beard of the Prophet, the Sacred Stone at Mecca and the Four Perfect Women!" we seem to hear one of them say, "it's just like taking candy from a child. Here's the biggest, fiercest, bravest man the infidels have. There can be no doubt of it. It's been in all the papers for the last eight years. And what does he amount to? Why, the Mad Mullah had him beaten a day's journey any way you take him. I've seen Mad Mullah when he was asleep. And if he didn't look eighteen times bigger and braver and fiercer than that blasphemer I hope somebody will pour a gallon of wine right down my throat! There's nothing to it. Allah has certainly delivered them into our hands." . . . Let us trust that Mr. Roosevelt will realize before his departure from Khartoum the fearful consequences likely to ensue from his failure to let out a few familiar whoops and uproot a couple of young palm trees in the presence of the waiting crowd. The situation may even yet be saved if he will doff this unnatural calm and prove once more that he is the Roughest Rider on Earth.

+ + +

Who ordained that a few should have the land of Britain as a perquisite; who made ten thousand people owners of the soil, and the rest of us trespassers in the land of our birth?—Lloyd George.

+ + +

"Go 'ome and wash some of the dirt off yer face or yer 'll get Lloyd George putting a land tax on it!"—The Sketch.

+ + +

The budget has given rise to a number of good stories about Mr. Lloyd George; a particularly good one concerned a recent banquet at which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a guest.

Sitting next to him was a young lady, who listened reverently to every word that fell from her hero's lips.

"Ah," she ventured at last, "you have suffered a great deal in your life from being misunderstood, have you not?"

"Yes," Mr. Lloyd George is reported to have replied, "I have suffered from being misunderstood; but I haven't suffered half as much as I would have if I had been understood."—M. A. P.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### SONG TO ENGLAND.

Alban Gordon in London Labour Leader.

Sons of England, Empire children, offspring of a glorious race,

Which has spread its proud dominion o'er the land and water's face;

Chief among the Powers of Europe, undisturbed in pride of place,—

Sons of England, great and glorious, holding half the world in sway;

Darkness o'er the Western Empire leaving yet thy lands in day,

Where the blue Pacific waters on their golden fore-shore play,—

Sons of England, Heaven-chosen, true and proud and brave and free,

Holding counsel in that Island, pearl of all the Northern sea,—

Do ye guess, ye mighty people, what the end of you shall be?

English men and English women,—yea, and English children, too,

Heirs with you to all the glory of your Empire on the blue,—

Spend their days and pour their life blood, bound in slavery to you—

You, whose boast was ever loudest, "neath our flag can live no slave";

You, whose sires have fought for freedom with the valor of the brave;

You permit a baser slavery from the cradle to the grave.

Money is the god you worship, gold the touchstone of your worth;

You would coin the very meadows of the land that gave you birth;

You would claim a sole dominion o'er the acres of God's earth.

Can you see a thousand starving while you waste the food of ten?

Hear ye not the helpless children calling to more helpless men?

Hear ye not the sullen murmur of the people, crying "When?"

Will you see our country sinking, and reach out no helping hand?

Gather, O ye freeborn English, where the truest patriots stand;

Strive to give the people freedom in the freedom of their Land.

+ + +

#### THE ULTIMATE LIE.

G. K. Chesterton in the London News.

They have tried to set up the preposterous pretense that those who are rich in a State are rich

in their own merit, and that those who are poor in a State are poor by their own fault. Mr. Kipling, in his swan song of suicide in the Morning Post, speaks of the unemployed laborer as the man "whose unthrift has destroyed him." He speaks of the modern landlord as the man who has toiled, who has striven and gathered possession. Now there are some occasions upon which a blasphemy against fact renders unimportant even a blasphemy against religion. It is so in these cases in which calamity is made a moral curse or proof of guilt.

It becomes quite a secondary fact that this new Tory theory is opposed to the Christian theory at every point, at every instant of history, from the boils of Job to the leprosy of Father Damien. It does not matter for the moment that the thing is un-Christian. The thing is a lie; every one knows it to be a lie; the men who speak and write it know it to be a lie. They know as well as I do that the men who climb to the top of the modern ladder are not the best men, nor the cleverest, nor even the most industrious. Nobody who has ever talked to poor men on seats in Battersea Park can conceivably believe that they are the worst men of the community. Nobody who has ever talked to rich men at city dinners can conceivably believe that they are the best men of the community. On this one thesis I will admit no arguments about unconsciousness, self-deception or mere ritual phraseology. I admit all that and more most heartily to the man who says that the aristocracy as a whole is good for England or that poverty as a whole cannot be cured.

But if a man says that in his experience the thrifty thrive and only the unthrifty perish, then (as St. John the Evangelist says) he is a liar. This is the ultimate lie and all who utter it are liars.

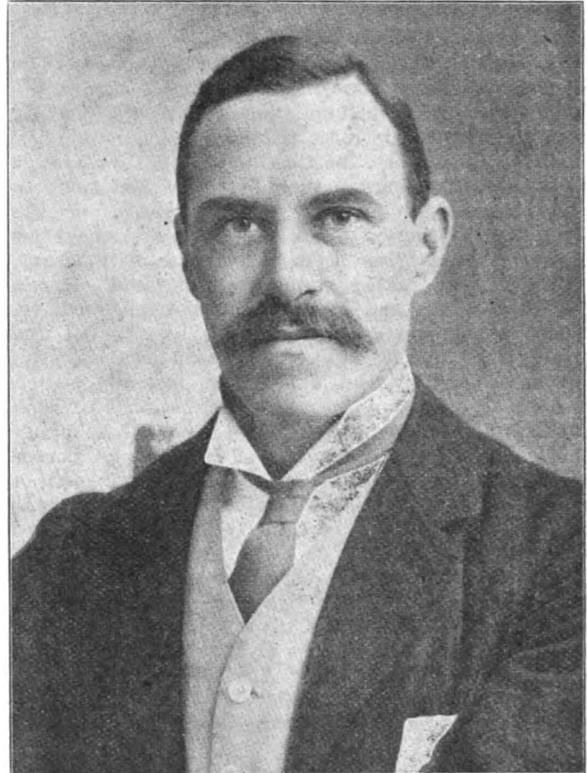
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### JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD, M. P.

Josiah Clement Wedgwood went into Parliament for Newcastle-under-Lyme, in the Liberal landslide of 1906, with a majority of 2,207 in a total poll of 8,103, because he was a Wedgwood; he was re-elected in 1910, after a hot campaign, by a majority of 1,368 in a total poll of 9,858, because he stood for the land value taxation policy and had become a national figure among radical Liberals. On his mother's side a nephew of Lord Rendel, he is on his father's, a great great grandson of the founder of the Wedgwood potteries. Mr. Wedgwood was born in 1872, got his education at Clifton College and in Germany, served apprenticeship as a naval architect at the Elswich Ship Yard and studied his profession at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, served in the Boer war in South Africa as captain of the Elswich Battery, was resident British Magistrate after the war of the South African district of Ermelo and head of the

local repatriation department, and in 1908 was president of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, of which he is still an honored member. His wife, a daughter of the late Lord Bowen, is, like himself, a devoted disciple of Henry George and an effective coadjutor of her husband in the field of radical politics.

#### ONE OF MR. WEDGWOOD'S CAMPAIGN CIRCULARS.



## JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD

#### Just Think!

Is not everything needed for our physical wants drawn from the land? Yes.

Can labor produce these things? Yes; nothing but labor.

Is there any scarcity of land? No.

Is there any scarcity of labor? No.

Are all human wants satisfied? No; children are crying for bread.

Then why should you tax food, and make it dearer?

#### Vote for Wedgwood.

The taxation of land values will force all valuable idle land into use,

Lower house and shop rents and abolish rates,

#### Raise Wages,

And establish justice for all.

\* \* \*

A correspondent sends to the London Nation the following as "the joke" of the recent elections: An

old Radical farmer was asked how he intended to vote. "I've allers voted Radical," he replied; "but I'm told the Blues are going in for Traffic Reform, and so I shall vote for them. I can't abear them motors."

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### A CANDID MILLIONAIRE.

Report in the Chicago Tribune of March 10, 1910 of a Startling Speech by Joseph Fels.\*

"Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan and other captains of industry are robbers and their millions are ill-gotten gains. We cannot get rich fast enough nowadays without robbing the public. I admit that I, too, have robbed the public and I am still doing it, but I propose to spend the accursed money in wiping out the system by which I made it."

Joseph Fels, who became a millionaire by making an extremely "sudsy" soap, made this statement last night in talking to fellow diners at the University of Chicago settlement, Gross avenue, near Ashland. As suds is to soap so is public speaking to Great Malefactor Fels.

He was the guest of honor, the hostesses being Mrs. W. F. Dummer and Miss Mary McDowell. His remarks were in amplification of a briefer statement that startled members of the City club, whom he had addressed at luncheon earlier in the day.

Under a fire of questions, Mr. Fels, who had fled from the LaSalle hotel to escape the appeals of fortune hunters, excited by reports that he intended to divide \$5,000,000 among "the worthy," explained his plans to "quiet his conscience" by heavy expenditures of his "robber wealth."

"I do not believe in charities," he said. "They are agents of pauperization. Neither am I a philanthropist. I have in mind no plan to aid institutions of mercy, however worthy they may be generally esteemed."

Neither, said Mr. Fels, did he mean that he and Rockefeller and Morgan and Carnegie had been personally dishonest in the accumulations of their fortunes. He did not mean that he had advertised his soap as containing a certain thing when in fact there was none in it.

"Nor do I have any intention," he added in reply to a query, "of reducing the price of soap."

"John D. Rockefeller," he continued, "is a mild, harmless man with a mistaken ideal, but personally honest. None the less, he is a robber."

"Rockefeller and other millionaires have accumulated their wealth through unjust laws, especially under the tariff's protection, and because of these laws I, too, have robbed the public, and

\*The statement in this report that Mr. Fels delivered this speech at the University Settlement is an error. At the Settlement he was a private dinner guest and made no speech. He had spoken at the City Club (228 Clark street, Chicago), which has printed his speech in full.

am stilling robbing it. I am not responsible for these laws, but am doing and intend to do what I can to change them."

"How are you getting rid of your 'robber wealth'?" Mr. Fels was asked.

"For one thing," he replied, "I am interested in spreading the Single Tax propaganda throughout the world. The movement is active in the United States, England, Canada, South Australia, New Zealand, New South Wales, Denmark, Sweden and other nations."

One of the diners who knew volunteered the information that this work was costing Mr. Fels \$150,000 a year, as he duplicated, dollar for dollar, every contribution made to the cause. A host of public speakers, trained in the arguments against "land monopoly," are kept in the field.

"If we had an educational fund of \$1,000,000 a year," said Mr. Fels, "we'd upset the world in twenty years as to economic conditions. I will be one of twelve to supply the funds."

Mayland, a "model town" fifty miles from London, also has been the recipient of about \$150,000 of Mr. Fels' "conscience fund," or "swag," as he calls his wealth.

"I intend to use my money," explained Mr. Fels, "to force into use land that is being held for the increment. I do not believe in speculating in land values. It is an enormous swindle. As a business man and land owner I have taken advantage of monopolies which private ownership of lands gives me, lands which rightfully belong to the many instead of the few."

"The tariff is a further pauperization of the toiler for the benefit of the monopolist. Perhaps I would have made a fortune despite these laws, but I want to bring into operation conditions of equal manhood, conditions under which all will have an equal chance."

\* \* \*

### ON THE ROAD TO JERICHO.

From an Address on High Prices by Herbert S. Bigelow.

That unnamed person who was recipient of the charity of the Good Samaritan discovered, if he ever got to Jericho, that his purchasing power in that city was not what it had been in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem he could command the necessaries and perhaps some of the luxuries of life. In Jericho he could not pay his board bill. This, of course, was because he had been robbed on the way.

But if, while going from one city to the other, the United Steal Corporation of Jerusalem and Jericho, with the High Priest, head of the Meat Trust of Jerusalem, as president, had been organized, and had doubled the price of the necessaries of life, the condition of this man on reaching Jericho would have been much the same as though he had

been robbed. As it was, the robbers reduced his purchasing power one hundred per cent. Those who could have doubled the price of what he had to buy, would have reduced his purchasing power at least fifty per cent. They would have left him something and he would have suffered no personal violence. But if he was a thoughtful man he would probably have come to the conclusion that he had been robbed nevertheless.

Were this parable of the Good Samaritan to be translated into the terms and conditions of modern experience, our Good Samaritan would not be spending his time rescuing the victims of bandits. The police would see that such thieving was reduced to a minimum. Even the priests and the Levites are against that kind of robbery.

But there are robbers who are still held in much esteem by priests and Levites and whose crimes are beyond the reach of the police. They do not rob an occasional victim of all his wealth. They half rob whole communities all the time.

Our Good Samaritan would try to teach the people by what subtle means this systematic legalized robbery is accomplished, knowing full well that if the people could only see through it they would put a stop to it.

But even a modern Samaritan would find the priests and Levites preaching to the people the blessedness of robbery. They call it poverty, of course, but its the same thing. They have taught them a weary long while that if they will be good and tamely submit to being robbed on earth, they may themselves live like robbers in heaven.

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## BOOKS

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### THE PEOPLE'S LAW.

**The People's Law; or Popular Participation in Law Making, from Ancient Folk-Moot to Modern Referendum. A Study in the Evolution of Democracy and Direct Legislation.** By Charles Sumner Lobngier, Ph.D., LL. M.; Judge of the Court of First Instance, Philippine Islands; Commissioner to Revise and Edit Philippine Codes; Member of National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform Laws; Member of the Bar of the United States Supreme Court; Sometime Member Nebraska Supreme Court (Commission); Professor of Law in the University of Nebraska. With an Introduction by George Elliott Howard, Professor of Political Science and Sociology in the University of Nebraska. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. 1909. Price, \$4, net.

A book so fully described in the title calls for no elaborate description in a review, nor do the author's qualifications for the work need any further voucher than the bare statement on the title page of his experience in public service. It is enough

to say that the work is a comprehensive compilation and logical classification of facts regarding law-making by the people. It is especially timely now in view of the strong tendency toward the initiative, and the referendum. Although the author appears to write in the spirit of the Federalists, his devotion to the historical school of jurisprudence holds him so close to the line of the law as it has developed historically that he may be regarded as almost non-partisan—as nearly non-partisan perhaps, as a man can be if he says anything. The book may be unhesitatingly recommended for reference and study in preparation for debates with regard in general to the relation of the people to Constitution making, and in particular to the very live subject of direct legislation.

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### EDUCATION DEMOCRATIZED.

**Education for Efficiency.** By E. Davenport. Published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 1909.

Educational doctrine from the Dean of the Agricultural College and the Director of the Experiment Station at the Illinois University is most welcome to anyone who knows the recent progress of our State University. The chapters in Prof. Davenport's book are several of them made-over addresses, and in a volume so put together, there is naturally repetition. So very valuable, however, and so clearly expressed are the ideas repeated, that criticism of style melts at once into admiration for thought.

Part I is a general discussion of the demand for a universal education and how the educator and the citizen can most wisely make answer. Part II, far briefer, is specific technical suggestions about the incorporation into the secondary schools of agricultural courses, these to be taken as a type of what might be offered in other industrial subjects.

The author not only acknowledges but most heartily welcomes the widespread demand for industrial education. But just as heartily does he disapprove of meeting that demand by the establishment of separate vocational schools of any kind, anywhere. This tendency, pedagogically bad, socially pernicious, Prof. Davenport as educator and citizen utterly condemns.

We are now engaged in the most stupendous educational, social and economic experiment the world has ever undertaken—the experiment of universal education; . . . and if it is all to result in further development of the race and not retrogression, then a few fundamentals must soon be clearly recognized:

First, universal education must contain a large element of the vocational, because all the needful activities must be maintained in the educated state as heretofore. The efficiency of the mass must be increased and not decreased by education.

Second, within the limits of needful activities one

occupation is as important as another, and a system of universal education must enrich them all.

Third, in the working out of these plans such policies and methods must be observed as shall prevent social cleavage along vocational lines. Unless we can do this, democracy will, in the end, fail. . . . The only safety for us now is in the education of all classes to common ideals of individual efficiency and public service along needful lines and with common standards of citizenship. To this end the individual must have training, both vocational and humanistic, and it is better if he does not know just when or how he is getting either the one or the other.

Fourth, remembering that much of our education comes from association and that the best of it comes in no other way, . . . we must agree that in a system of universal education the best results will always follow when as many subjects as possible, and as many vocations as may be are taught together in the same school under the same management, and to the same body of men. . . . To teach all subjects to all men in the same school—this is the great educational, social and economic opportunity of America, where both collegiate and second-

ary education are in the hands of the general public and not of any sect, class or faction.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

## PERIODICALS

Speaking of the English Small Holdings act of Parliament which took effect January 1, 1908, Consul Frank Mahin of Nottingham officially reports: "As to all England, a government official says that 64,000 acres have now been acquired, at a cost of about \$5,000,000; that only 9,000 acres had to be taken by compulsion, and that only two cases of alleged hardship resulted therefrom" (Consular Reports).

+

Mrs. Philip Snowden writes in The Chautauquan for March of "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Great Britain." The "fifteen great organizations working for women suffrage" all alike ask "only for the thing which men have already won. They feel that they could not reasonably ask for more, though many of them dislike the property qualifications and

## New Advertising Rates

¶ Beginning with April 1, THE PUBLIC will establish a new advertising rate card which we think will conform more closely than heretofore to the average cost of advertising based on mere numbers of circulation.

¶ THE PUBLIC now has a permanent circulation of 10,000, and the new rates take into consideration numbers only, not quality. Yet it is well understood among advertisers that character of circulation is highly important. A person advertising yellow-back dime novels does not use the same medium as he who advertises the Encyclopedia Britannica.

¶ We believe that for reaching thoughtful, reading, active people—men and women who take a keen interest in public affairs, those who in modern Classic English are termed "live wires"—there is no better publication than THE PUBLIC.

¶ We have space for only a few advertising pages. The advertising will not intrude nor interfere with the reading matter, for THE PUBLIC will always be a readers' newspaper.

¶ But there are certain lines of advertising that ought to be using THE PUBLIC, and an effort will be made to get them.

¶ Friends of the paper can assist by calling the attention of advertisers to THE PUBLIC and to this announcement.

¶ The new rates will be as follows:

One page . . . . .	each insertion	\$15.00	Ten per cent discount on advertisements running without change for six months.
Half page . . . . .	" "	8.00	Five per cent discount on advertisements running without change for three months or every other week for six months.
Seven inches . . . . .	" "	6.75	Three per cent discount for cash in ten days from receipt of bill.
Quarter-page . . . . .	" "	4.00	
One inch . . . . .	" "	1.00	
Half-inch . . . . .	" "	.50	

EMIL SCHMIED, Mgr.

desire plain, universal suffrage; they consider it would be scarcely dignified to ask for less." In ways of asking there is great disagreement, as every one knows. The members of the Women's Social and Political Union—the Suffragettes—"oppose every Liberal candidate whether he is in favor of woman suffrage or not, to the infinite wonderment of the stolid British voter, who cannot for his life understand why a man who supports a cause should be opposed and attacked by those he is supporting." On the other hand, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies—founded in 1863 by John Stuart Mill—"goes into every election and questions every candidate." To win their support a favorable answer must be given to four questions.

A. L. G.

+

The most complete history yet published of the struggle over the Lloyd George Budget in Great Britain down to the dissolution of Parliament, is that of Prof. Porritt of Harvard, which appears in the Quarterly Journal of Economics (Harvard) for February. It is a thorough report upon and conscientious review of the whole subject in its historical, economic and political aspects. In the same issue of the Journal, Prof. Davenport of the University of Missouri discusses the single tax in the Budget. For the most part his discussion is like the problem of "the age of Ann," in that it is entertaining; but he contributes two points which should not

escape the attention of his cult: that the appearance of the single tax as a political issue in England will compel the economists to take an interest in it; and that though they are mistaken in method "the truth is with the single taxers in principle." This issue of the Journal is pretty much all given over to land questions. Besides Prof. Porritt's and Prof. Davenport's papers, there is a paper by H. L. Gray of Harvard on yeoman farming in Oxfordshire since the 16th century, and one by F. T. Carlton of Albon on the land reform movement in the United States "of the 'yeasty' period of the forties and fifties."

+ + +

The horeshoe used to keep at bay  
Disasters dire.

What is the proper charm today—  
An auto tire?

—Washington (D. C.) Herald.

+ + +

Mr. Lloyd-George is famous, of course, for his brilliant repartee and biting sarcasm. "I am here" he remarked once at a political meeting, but before he had time to finish the sentence, a noisy interrupter had chimed in, "And so am I."

But the retort was as quick as it was overwhelming. "Yes—but you are not all there!"

"What do our opponents really want?" he inquired in a recent speech. In the momentary pause

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that followed the question there came a voice husky from the effects of alcohol, "What I want is a change of Government."

"No, no," was the ready reply, "what you really want is a change of drink."—M. A. P.



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No. This is not an excerpt from the latest muck-raking article. It is one of the objections raised by Mr. Henry Clews to the establishment of a central

Government bank. It would be terrible if we had such a state of affairs in this country.—Puck.



Visitor (in factory): "Great Scott! What precautions! You've got so much safe-guarding apparatus here that I don't see how you find sufficient room for your hands to work."

Manager: "It is rather inconvenient, but you see it is only for one day. The factory inspector makes his annual visit this afternoon, so we'll have all things back in shape again tomorrow."—Puck.

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# **DECLINES DEBATE**

**with ARTHUR M. LEWIS  
and gives his REASONS.**

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH., March 13, 1910.

I have just read with amazement in *The Public* of March 11 an advertisement relative to a proposed debate between Mr. Arthur M. Lewis of Chicago and me, to take place in Chicago on March 20. Such a debate was arranged for, the subject submitted and agreed to by me being: "The Theories of Henry George." If any modification of or substitute for this was thought desirable by Mr. Lewis, I should have been glad to consider it; but without the least consultation, the subject, as worded in the advertisement inserted by Mr. Lewis in *The Public*, was changed to: "Are the Theories of Henry George Exploded?"

Even did this title not contain a slur offensive to one holding the Henry George ideas, it could not be supposed by anyone knowing me that I would publicly debate as to whether or not "Henry George's theories" are "exploded." Such a question I do not for a moment admit to be debatable. The progress of the world speaks for itself. Mr. Lewis' wholly unwarrantable action in this regard makes any meeting whatever with him entirely undesirable and I have notified my manager that I regard the debate set for the 20th as cancelled.

Aside, however, from this disagreeable personal incident, I take this occasion to say regarding debates between Single Taxers and Socialists, that at this juncture in the world's march of progress I am strongly of the opinion that they should not be engaged in, lest they foolishly antagonize two divisions of the democratic army whose united efforts should be spent against their common enemy—privilege. Whatever real differences may exist between Socialism and the Single Tax philosophy, this is not the time for debate over them, since such debate is more than likely to lead to acrimony, if not to downright fighting between forces which now should be working together. The wisdom of such joining of forces now when there can be no dispute as to the immediate practical things for radicals to do, is seen exemplified in British politics, where Single Taxers have not differentiated themselves from Liberals, and where Liberals and Single Taxers are working in harmony with the Socialists in the Labor Party against the House of Lords and Landlordism. This same wisdom is also seen in Germany, where Single Taxers and Socialists are not only working together in the same great democratic movements, but are enrolled in the same organizations.

I have held this view for some time and have for that reason frequently refused to debate with Socialists, lest it raise an antagonism which certainly should not be raised for a long time to come, if ever. For this reason I was disinclined to meet Mr. Lewis in debate when the matter was first broached to me, and this experience with him confirms that judgment.

**HENRY GEORGE, JR.**