

securities, \$64,048,000; Dominion Government guarantees, \$43,432,848. The Branch Lines Company of the G.T.P. has Provincial guarantees on bonds outstanding to the amount of \$13,469,004. The total cost of the G.T.P. system, including "branch lines," and including \$26,938,139 interest during construction, was \$197,129,391. Of this the company has received in cash or guarantees \$127,939,892.

Total Public Investment

Not counting the loss of interest for many years upon the investment in roads operated by the Government, it appears for the eight systems (the above-named C.N.R., C.P.R., G.T.R., G.T.P., the G.T.P. Branch Lines, the National Transcontinental, the Intercolonial, and the Prince Edward Island) in which the public is most interested, the people of Canada, through their Governments, have provided, or guaranteed, the payment of sums totalling \$968,451,737—approximately, £198,900,000. This works out at \$30,000 (£6,160) per mile of road. But even this is not all. In addition, they have granted great areas of land as yet unsold and unpledged. They have undertaken the construction of other lines whose cost will be an important addition to this large outlay. Further, in the case of some of the companies included above, to which they have given or lent large sums of money to meet pressing needs, unlike private lenders, who would naturally have demanded a security charged in front of all previous investment, they have voluntarily accepted a charge ranking after the bulk of the private capital already put into the undertaking.

The Report of the Canadian Railway Commission, now known as the "Drayton Report," from the name of the chairman, Sir Henry Drayton, is a striking document which would well repay study by those interested in the relations that should subsist between the public and the public service. Enormous privileges have been built up in Canada by the unregulated policy of land grants, subsidies and guarantees. The folly and danger of this policy are pointed out repeatedly and with emphasis. The Commission make many recommendations, the most important of which is: "That the whole of the Dominion Railways be operated by Trustees as one united system, on a commercial basis, under their own politically undisturbed management, on account of, and for the benefit of, the people of Canada."

A. W. M.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

The Mexican Revolution is only one little corner of this Titanic, world-wide struggle—the struggle for the right to live; the struggle for the rich and fully-rounded civilisation to which the knowledge and the capacity of the human race entitle it, and for its equal, clean and sensible enjoyment. This world is incalculably rich, with a richness that means the possibility of happiness for all; but the richness is under lock and key. It must be freed. Monopoly must disgorge. It must give up the key. The slavery by which the many must toil when and as the few, the very few, decide, must go and go forever. The human hive must purge itself of drones. Its members must be free to suck life's honey to the full; to garner it in freedom, and to feast, secure against invasion by the idler on the product of their toil.—From "Land and Liberty"—Mexico's Battle for Economic Freedom.

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THE CHILDREN OF THE DUBLIN SLUMS

By George Bernard Shaw

(Appearing in *The Star*, London, June 4.)

Judge Henry Neil has visited my native town of Dublin. He is very properly ashamed of the condition of the children there; and he asks me to second his appeal to America to send I forget how many thousand pairs of shoes and stockings to clothe them.

It is certainly more sensible than sending them handkerchiefs to cope with the effect of bare feet and wet flags. But my advice to America is not to send a single cent to Ireland ever again, for shoes or anything else.

Ireland is perfectly well able to feed and clothe her children if she chooses. It is a mistake to suppose that she is poor; she is only an incorrigible beggar, which is not the same thing. She persuades you that except for a corner of Ulster, where a handful of bigoted enemies of hers build ships and make linen, she is penniless. Do not believe her.

Ireland a Bad Mother

The trade of the Irish Catholic South in butter, cattle, and agriculture generally represents far more money than the shipyards and mills of Belfast. Co-operation can develop this agricultural industry by leaps and bounds: it has already done so. Ireland can afford a pair of good boots and a couple of changes of warm woollen stockings every week for every one of her children; and if she is a bad mother and prefers to leave the children bare-footed and hungry whilst she is enjoying herself at hunt meetings, regattas, horse-shows, and the routine of sport and fashion generally, I do not see why America should encourage her.

It is true that America does the same thing, and worse: I am not forgetting the poor little slaves in the cotton mills of Carolina, on whose behalf I am prepared to solicit, not shoes and socks, but fire from heaven (serve America right if the Germans supply it!); but the moral is that if America wants to rescue children from poverty and slavery she had better look at home, and not supply another superfluous demonstration of the fact that the eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth.

I do not want to see children fed and clothed by the hand of Charity. Let them be fed by the hand of Justice.

The Nation's Necessity

When an Irish gentleman with thirty pairs of trousers complains that he has not yet ordered his thirty-first, I would have Justice (quoting Shakespeare, as a cultured Justice naturally would) say, "Nor shalt not, till necessity be served." People cannot be got to see that the necessity is the nation's necessity: they think it is only the child's necessity, and that its parents should look after it, the said parents having been starved in their youth out of all possibility of looking after themselves effectively, much less their children.

Baby-killing is an international crime.

"The English kill their babies fifteen times as fast as the war kills men. The Germans are worse. The Italians worse again. The Russians perhaps worst of all. I don't know exactly where America comes in, but Judge Neil has let out the fact that he found America's kindness to children worse than her neglect. He makes no complaint of that kind against Dublin. There you see the straight thing—the rags and the bare feet.

The Judge says that it is the bare feet that get at an American; but I am a Dublin man and think nothing of bare feet; if you give a country girl in Ireland a pair of good

boots she will carry them in her hand for miles to the fair or the market town, and then put them on to make a fine show with. What got at me when I walked about the slums of Dublin lately were the young women with the waxen faces, the scarlet patches on the cheeks, the pink lips, the shuffling, weary, almost ataxic step, representing Dublin's appalling burden of consumption. They are not the product of bare feet, but of wet feet in broken boots, of insanitary poverty generally.

Easter Week, 1916

When the police were driven from the streets by the week-long struggle for an Irish republic in Easter, 1916, these people came out and began to pillage the shops as naturally as their neighbours a mile or so away pick up cockles on Sandymount strand. Civilisation is nothing to them: they have never been civilised. Property is nothing to them: they have never had any. The priest came and drove them away as if they were flies; but the moment he passed on they came back like flies. Civilisation means "Respect my life and property and I will respect yours." Slumdom means "Disregard my life and property and I will disregard yours." Giving money is no use.

It is like people at a railway accident offering surgical instruments and splints and bandages to one another, when there is nobody who knows how to use them. If you give shoes to a hungry child, it will eat them (through the medium of the pawnbroker) and be just as hungry next week. And the person who gives the money or the shoes, instead of feeling like a scoundrel because the children were in misery, feels saintly because he has played the generous sailor of melodrama.

The Irish Pose

Until we all acquire a sense of social honour and responsibility as strong as our present private family sense (and even that is not very strong in many of us), the children will shock that social conscience in Judge Neil.

I do not object to his showing up Ireland, which poses as warm-hearted, affectionate, impulsively generous, chivalrous, and all the rest of it. I am fed up (unlike the children) with these professions. If the United States, instead of asking its immigrants silly questions as to whether they are anarchists and the like, so as to make sure that all her foreign anarchists shall also be liars, were to refer to the statistics of infant mortality in the country or city from which the immigrant came, and send him back contemptuously if the rate were anything like so infamously high as it is in the slums of Dublin, such a step would do more to call the attention of Irishmen to the disgrace of their annual Slaughter of the Innocents than all the shoes that ever were pawned.

Charity is only a poisoned dressing on a malignant sore.

If we are callous enough and silly enough to let that easily preventable sore occur, the only remedy is the knife; and if it is too long delayed, the knife may take a triangular shape and slide in a tall wooden frame overhanging a Procrustean bed.

Starved children always revenge themselves one way or another.

"I have come to, and discover that it is not really a housing question as such, but a question of overlordship and legal restrictions imposed upon productive enterprise. For example, a man pays 30s. per acre to breed and rear pigs. If he proposes to build houses for the breeding and rearing of human beings, he will in all probability be asked to pay from £25 to £100 and over for the same ground. In addition to this, he has to pay all the higher taxes, while the man who rakes in the enormously added values walks off tax free. In the meantime, therefore, the pig has the best of it. Under such circumstances it is nothing short of miraculous that we manage even to build as we do."—Wm. D. Hamilton in the *Ardrossan Herald*.

THE PHYSIOCRATS*

This twenty-year-old book is a monograph on "the first scientific school of political economy." The believers in the "order of nature," who saw the impossibility of successfully ignoring natural law, to the requirements of which all political effort must be subordinated, were the representatives in France on the eve of the Revolution of the Single-Tax men of to-day. But the Physiocrats, while they were the originators of "*l'impôt unique*," were more than professors of political economy, and Physiocracy, as a political philosophy, is a system which might well satisfy the need felt by a number of half-articulate thinkers of to-day whose complaints will grow louder as the confusion caused by war increases.

Mr. Higgs' study of the Physiocrats is, on the whole, sympathetic, and is, at any rate, so packed with well-ordered information and references that it is an invaluable addition to the English Single-Tax library. The author's own view of *l'impôt unique* is, however, not clear; and an apparent confusion between land and wealth occurring early in the book warns us to be on our guard. In a description of the state of France we read: "The duties levied upon land were so onerous that some proprietors preferred to abandon their property," and, on the same page, "A man was assessed according to his apparent wealth"—this in connection with special taxation; but the only duties on land which are mentioned are feudal dues.

The chief taxes which ruined French commerce and agriculture immediately before the Revolution were taxes on capital and industry, and were three: the *taille*, or poll tax, farmed out and arbitrarily imposed on individuals; the *gabelle*, or salt tax; and the *corvée*, or forced labour system. If any capital remained with the producer, the tolls on commerce and communications prevented its ever increasing. There is no need here to describe the effect. "Young men and maidens refused to marry, asking why they should add to the misery around them."

Amongst the names of those who saw and voiced the approaching ruin we note with interest that of Vauban, the great military engineer, who died of disappointment at the rejection of his protest. But no one spoke to the economic point until the Englishman Cautillon (d. 1734) asked, "What is wealth? and began his essay with the words, "Land is the source and material from which wealth is extracted," "human labour is the form which produces it, and wealth itself is no other than the sustenance, the conveniences, and the comforts of life."

A manuscript of Cautillon, whose English works are lost, came into the hands of the elder Mirabeau, who made the doctrine the theme of his first great essay, *L'Ami des Hommes*, a book which took all France by storm and gave him his nickname. There is no English translation, and it is not clear whether Mirabeau formulated the radical solution in this book. He dares, in his preface, to tell the King that he had been falsely assured by his courtiers that the greatness of a prince consisted in the value, and, above all, in the numbers, of the favours he divided among them. He defined luxury as the abuse of wealth, and he taught that in the encouragement of agriculture and in the increase of population and production lay the hope of France's greatness. This was a great step in a country where the only political problem had been how to seize at once for the King all capital as it made its appearance.

Mirabeau's book, in its turn, reached a deeper thinker still. Quesnay was the physician of Madame de Pompadour. He met Mirabeau and, says Mr. Higgs, converted him. Quesnay was at the time writing in the famous *Encyclopædia* the two articles *Grains* and *Fermiers*, in which was outlined the philosophy of the school which was founded by his meet-

* Six Lectures on the French *économistes* of the 18th century, by Henry Higgs. (Macmillan and Co. 1897. 3s. 6d.)