

which will complete the Free Trade we have hitherto enjoyed by extending the system to the produce of commodities as well as the exchange of commodities.—(cheers).

Mr. Hunter seconded, and the motion was carried with acclamation.

The meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to the speakers and chairman.

**New Zealand.** We deeply regret to learn from *The Southern Standard*, Gore, Otago, New Zealand, of the death of an esteemed worker in the Single Tax movement, Mr. R. Dodds, who died Sunday, 20th September, after one week's illness. Mr. Dodds was an able and indefatigable worker both by pen and voice. Thousands of people in New Zealand know of the movement, work in it, and sympathise with our ideas through Mr. Dodd's efforts, which were in every useful direction untiring. To quote the *S.S.* "He scattered Single Tax literature far and wide, which he paid for freely out of his own pocket. To his friends he would say: 'It won't benefit me; but I wish to leave the world better than I found it.'" He has a lasting place among the pioneers and teachers of the movement in New Zealand; his work will be carried forward by others whom his faith and zeal has called into the fray. We can only give our sincerest sympathy to his widow and family.

**Bavaria.** The proposal of the Bavarian Centre to impose in the towns of the Kingdom an increment tax of 20 per cent., and to hand half of it over to the community and half to the State, has brought the idea of the increment tax with one bound into the sphere of practical politics.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which was formerly one of the strongest opponents of the Centre, has a leading article in its issue of 16th October, in which it says:—"All measures of taxation having to do with the land and housing questions are only patchwork so long as the unearned increment is not attacked by means of a substantial increment tax. It is the first aim of a serious land policy—no cure-all, but the most important means—to make large sums which have not been earned by any individual again accessible to the community, and thereby to keep house rents proportionately low. Germany requires the increment income much more urgently than her Chinese colony, and although its introduction into Germany will be more difficult than in a new country, yet come it must. If the Bavarian Centre is in earnest about the matter, it will do itself a service that only sheer stupidity can gainsay."

With the leading journal of the South German democracy stands the leading journal of the Prussian Conservatives, the *Kreuzzeitung*. Its leading article of 19th October closes thus:—"With regard to the enormous increase of land values in the large towns, the proposal of the Bavarian Centre party appears absolutely well timed, and deserves thorough discussion. It will perhaps lead to a feasible method of getting hold of such a productive object of taxation as the unearned increment in the large towns is, in a proper form and by proper measures for the bearing of the public burdens."—A. DAMASCHKE, in *Deutsche Volkstimme*, 5/11/03.

EVERY VOTER SHOULD READ

## "TALKING IT OVER:

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## CRIME AND CRIMINALS.

This pamphlet, by Clarence S. Darrow, a well-known American lawyer, is by far the strongest, most original, and remarkable plea for far reaching radical reform that has ever come under our notice. We regret very much that we cannot reprint it in full, but rejoice to know that our readers will find it in the October Number of *The Humane Review*, or can obtain it in pamphlet form (post free 2½d.) from the New Age Press, 8 John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C., and we would cordially recommend our active co-workers to secure a copy. It is a verbatim "report of a talk made to the prisoners of Chicago jail," and we only wish that all criminals, legalised and illegal, in jail and out of jail, as well as all peaceful law-abiding citizens of every class and quality could be induced to read it, and to understand it.

Mr. Darrow commenced his talk by candidly telling his audience that, as far as he was concerned—

"I do not believe there is any sort of distinction between the real moral condition of the people in and out of jail. One is just as good as the other. The people here can no more help being here than the people outside can avoid being outside. I do not believe that people are in jail because they deserve to be. They are in jail simply because they cannot avoid it on account of circumstances which are entirely beyond their control and for which they are in no way responsible."

He then continues—

"I suppose a great many people on the outside would say I was doing you harm if they should hear what I say to you this afternoon, but you cannot be hurt a great deal anyway, so it will not much matter. Good people outside would say that I was really teaching you things that were calculated to injure society, but it is worth while now and then to hear something different from what you ordinarily get from preachers and the like. These will tell you that you should be good and then you will get rich and be happy. Of course we know that people do not get rich by being good, and that is the reason why so many of you people try to get rich some other way, only you do not understand how to do it quite so well as the fellow outside."

Our author then proceeded to explain to his audience that to his view, "in one sense everybody is equally good and equally bad. We all do the best we can under the circumstances." Dwelling on the different trades, professions, or should we say "callings" most of them have adopted, such as burglary, pocket picking, and so on, he admits that, without having the least thing against him personally, some or all of them would unhesitatingly ply their calling at his expense if he met them outside. He then continues, with that philosophic blend of humour and wisdom peculiar, we think, to American writings, and which is probably the fruit of looking the facts of social life fairly and squarely in the face, without the blinding and distorting influence of the spectacles of conventionalism, as follows—

"There is no doubt there are quite a number of people in this jail who would pick my pockets. And still I know this that when I get outside pretty nearly everybody picks my pocket. There may be some of you who would hold up a man on the street, if you did not happen to have something else to do, and needed the money; but when I want to light my house or my office the gas company holds me up. They charge me one dollar for something that is worth twenty-five cents, and still all these people are good people; they are pillars of society and support the churches, and they are respectable. When I ride on the street cars, I am held up—I pay five cents for a ride that is worth two and a half cents, simply because a body of men have bribed the city council and the legislature, so that all

the rest of us have to pay tribute to them. If I do not want to fall into the clutches of the gas trust, and choose to burn oil instead of gas, then good Mr. Rockefeller holds me up, and he uses a certain portion of his money to build universities and support churches which are engaged in telling us how to be good. . . .

"When I want to get out and find a place to stand anywhere on the face of the earth, I find that it has all been taken up long ago before I came here, and before you came here, and somebody says, 'Get off, swim into the lake, fly into the air, go anywhere, but get off.' That is because these people have the police and they have the jails and the judges and the lawyers and the soldiers and all the rest of them to take care of the earth and drive everybody off that comes in their way."

He warns them that "a great many people will tell you that all this is true, but that it does not excuse you," and then proceeds to demonstrate the connection, of cause and effect, between the crimes of the respectable classes, who live outside the jails, and the crimes of what are known as the criminal classes, who fill the jails. He points out that there are a good many more people go to jail in the winter time than the summer time, and in hard times than in prosperous times. Not, however, because people are more wicked in winter than in summer, or in hard times than in prosperous times, but because of the economic effects of established social customs, laws and institutions which, whether they know it or not, are ever determining the actions of the masses of the people. After again dwelling on the different callings of his audience, on their dangers and disadvantages, he continues—

"The more that is taken from the poor by the rich who have the chance to take it, the more poor people there are who are compelled to resort to these means for a livelihood. They may not understand it, they may not think so at once, but after all they are driven into that line of employment."

Somewhat later he points out that—

"Everybody makes his living along the line of least resistance. A wise man who comes to a country early sees a great undeveloped land. For instance, our rich men twenty-five years ago saw that Chicago was small . . . and that if they had all the land around here it would be worth a great deal, so they grabbed all the land. You cannot be a landlord because somebody has got it all. You must find some other calling. In England and Ireland and Scotland less than five per cent. own all the land there is, and the people are bound to stay there on any kind of terms the landlords give. They must live the best they can, so they develop all these various professions, burglary, picking pockets, and the like."

Approaching the end of his talk he points out that in America as elsewhere—

"Those men who own the earth make the laws to protect what they have. They fix up a sort of fence or pen around what they have, and they fix the law so that the fellow on the outside cannot get in. The laws are really organised for the protection of the men who rule the world. They are not made to do justice. They were never organised or enforced to do justice. We have no system of doing justice, not the slightest in the world. . . . These people who have property fix it so they can protect what they have. When somebody commits a crime it does not follow that he has done something that is morally wrong. The man on the outside who has committed no crime may have done something. For instance: to take all the coal in the United States and raise the price two dollars or three dollars when there is no need of it, and thus kill thousands of babies and send thousands of people to the poorhouse and tens of thousands to jail, as is done

every year in the United States—this is a greater crime than all the people in our jails ever committed, but the law does not punish it. Why? Because the fellows who control the earth make the laws. If you and I had the making of the laws, the first thing we would do would be to punish the fellow who gets control of the earth. Nature put this coal in the ground just as much for me as it did for anyone, and Nature made the prairies up here to raise wheat for me as well as for them; and then the great railroad companies came along and fenced it up."

And he summarises his conclusions on the whole subject in the following clear, lucid, and most suggestive manner—

"There is only one way to cure it. There is one way to clear all these offences, and that is to give the people a chance to live. There is no other way, and there never was any other way since the world began, and the world is so blind and so stupid that it will not see. . . . The only way in the world to abolish crime and criminals is to abolish the big ones and the little ones together. Make fair conditions of life. Give men a chance to live. Abolish the right of the private ownership of land, abolish monopoly, make the world partners in production, partners in the good things of life. Nobody would steal if he could get something of his own some easier way. Nobody will commit burglary when his house is full. . . . The only way to cure these conditions is by equality. There should be no jails. They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. If you would wipe them out, there would be no more criminals than now. They terrorise nobody. They are a blot on any civilisation; and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their greed."

Truly a remarkable pamphlet, which we should like to see in the hands of every social reformer.

L. H. B.

## TOM L. JOHNSON ON THE SINGLE TAX.

At the huge meeting at Bryan, Mr. Johnson spoke on the single tax, doing so in answer to a question from the audience. As reported by Carl T. Robertson, the staff correspondent of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, he said:

"They say that Johnson's doctrine is to put all taxes on land so that the burdens of taxation will bear with great injury upon the farmer. This is not true, and the men who are making this charge, who are sending out boiler plate to the country newspapers, know that it is not true. If they really believed what they are charging, they would be in favour of the single tax, for they are the owners of the valuable privileges and franchises and not of the farm lands. Instead of single tax these men believe in double tax, they believe that you should pay your own taxes and the taxes of the steam railroads as well. The single tax does not propose to tax land. It proposes to tax land values. The steam railroad right of way is the most valuable of all land, made valuable by the people of the State. Under single tax the farmers would pay less than one-third as much in taxes as they pay now, while the railroads would have to pay a good deal more. But the single tax is not in this campaign. I wish to God it was! You will never settle the labour problem, you will never learn how to live most happily, till you learn that it is franchises and valuable privileges and monopoly rights that should bear the burdens of taxation now borne, unjustly, by the masses of the people."—*The Public*, Chicago, U.S.A.