

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### SONG FOR A DRIFTING SHIP.

(Pennsylvania.)

Dedicated to the Keystone Party.  
For the Public.

Little they care for thee, O Ship,  
The pelf-mad pirate crew,  
Whose black flag flutters from thy peak  
Where once Truth's ensign flew;  
Little they care for thee, O Ship,  
Or if thy course be true.

Thy voyage is by uncharted coasts  
Where white-fanged breakers reel;  
The barnacles of fifty years  
Have fouled thy rotting keel;  
A blind man from the fore-chains peers,  
A knave is at the wheel.

Rag-rent thy sails by warring gales,  
Thy cordage frayed and old;  
On deck the drunken buccaneers  
Are dicing for thy gold;  
But they whose hope thou art, O Ship,  
Lie shackled in the hold.

About thee clings the reek of death,  
Thy planks are slimed with shame,  
And from thy battered hatches come  
The groans of want and pain,  
Thy people clamoring for light  
And liberty again.

Great men were they who wrought in faith  
To make thee staunch and free;  
Strong men and true the sturdy crew,  
That took thee out to sea;  
But now thou driftest derelict,  
The pawn of piracy.

A storm wind charges from the west  
Across the snarling shoals,  
And portendwise across the skies  
The angry thunder roils;  
Say, canst thou breast the gale, O Ship,  
And save thy shackled souls?

God send his pilot from the shore  
To guide thee in from sea;  
God send his flame-winged messenger  
To set thy people free;  
God make thee strong to seek, O Ship,  
Thy mightier destiny.

GEORGE M. P. BAIRD.

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### THE RULE OF THE DEAD.

From an Address By Herbert S. Bigelow, People's  
Church, Cincinnati, May 27, 1911.

Ninety millions of people are ruled by nine old gentlemen.

Not in Germany or Russia, but in America and under the stars and stripes.

This is the greatest hoax in history.

A Constitution, practically impossible of amendment, was adopted before anyone had ever heard of the theory that the Supreme Court and not Congress was to interpret the Constitution.

Then straightway this theory was set up, and by assuming to interpret a document that the people cannot change, nine old gentlemen, or five of the nine, exercise a degree of sovereignty which has not been equaled among Anglo Saxon people since the days of the Tudors.

Behold our kings, our nine nice old kings!

What about them?

Some say, Make this office elective; elect the judges. Others say, Recall them; make them subject to immediate dismissal.

But why not recall their decisions? Why not apply the popular Initiative to amendments of the Federal Constitution. Why not let the ninety million people decide whether that judge was right when he went to bed, or when he got up,—that judge who changed over night his vote on the income tax and thereby overruled a unanimous Congress and a united people.

Suppose five of these nice aged persons should decide in the case now before them that the Initiative and Referendum in the States is unconstitutional? Would it not be handy to be able to start a petition for a popular vote on that decision?

Let the stage-coach, sail-boat, hand-cradle statesmen arise now and tell us why not. They will shed many tears about the sanctity of the past, and they will urge many arguments, but they will have but one reason. Their reason will be that they are royalists at heart, and like an irresponsible court and a rigid Constitution because they fear the people.

We have the Initiative and Referendum in ten States of the Union. We have it in over a hundred cities. In cumbersome form we are to have it now in every city in Ohio. Has not the time come to demand the application of this principle to Federal affairs? The popular Initiative on amendments to the Federal Constitution is respectfully suggested as our means of deliverance from the Rule of the Dead.

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### THOUGHTS FOR FARMERS.

Synopsis of an Able and Brilliant Address on Land  
Value Taxation Delivered at the Manitoba  
Farmers' Convention at Brandon, Prov-  
ince of Manitoba, Canada, January  
24, 1911, by F. J. Dixon.

You farmers are deeply interested in the question of taxation. The recent delegation to Ottawa to protest against our protective tariff is sufficient evidence that you are alive to the injustice of taxing labor and the products of labor. Those among

us who have watched and waited were glad to see that in presenting your demands you stated that you were prepared to adopt the taxation of land values as an alternative to the tariff.

Land value taxation is the only logical alternative to the tariff. Protection is a great wrong. It is a system of organized greed which robs the toilers and enriches the spoilers. Land monopoly is a greater evil than protection, and is the cause of far more poverty and hardship than the tariff.

The protected manufacturers chastise us with whips; but the land speculators chastise us with scorpions.

Land value taxation is the true system of free trade finance. Richard Cobden recognized this as long ago as 1841 when he stated that the repeal of the corn laws and the decreased taxation of the food of the people should be accompanied by a revaluation of the land of England and increased taxation of the landlords' rents.

The British chancellor, David Lloyd George, has made his name immortal by introducing the principle of land value taxation into his famous Budget of 1909.

Land value taxation will eventually destroy both the tariff and land monopoly.



Farmers should be under no delusion about the land question. You toil and sweat in the heat of summer, and endure the cold and hardships of the winter, to earn a scanty living, while the land speculator is living upon Easy Street and having a good time at your expense. He is able to do this because your labor adds to the value of his land.

All wealth is produced by labor upon land; and under our present system of land tenure, the land owner levies toll upon the workers for the opportunity to produce wealth.

Millions of acres of fertile land are being held idle by the railroad corporations and the land speculators.

Vast fortunes are being accumulated by the shareholders and the speculators at the expense of the workers.

This is a crime against humanity.

The unequal distribution of wealth is the main cause of the economic and social ills which afflict humanity.

If some men grow rich without working, others must work without getting rich.

If some men get something for nothing, others must get nothing for something.

When a man buys a piece of vacant land, and after holding it idle for a few years, sells it at an increased price, he is getting something for nothing. He is reaping when he has not sown. He is appropriating a value which is not due to his own efforts, but is due to the industry of the

members of the community in which his property is located.

Millions of dollars worth of wealth are annually being filched from the toilers in this country by the great land owning corporations and speculators.



When the Canadian Pacific Railway obtained its charter in 1873, it received, in addition to \$62,000,000 in cash and construction, 25 million acres of land. It is estimated that the company has realized \$100,000,000 by land sales up to date, and still holds 13 million acres which are valued at \$150,000,000. The average price per acre in 1896 was \$3, which in 1909 had risen to \$13 per acre. The Canadian Northern Railway, and its allies, has received over five million acres in public land grants from various sources.

According to an eastern paper the Grand Trunk Pacific is starting in with a vim. A subsidiary company has been formed which is known as the Grand Trunk Pacific Development Co., with a capital of \$1,000. This company owns 81 town-sites, making a total area of 78,640 acres, and a three-quarter interest in the Prince Rupert town-site. Mr. C. M. Hayes is one of the five shareholders in this company, each of whom owns two shares of \$100 each. The enormous amount of money they will make out of this can be better imagined than described.

The Hudson Bay Company realized \$1,508,953 from its land sales in twelve years—1898 to 1909—and it still has on hand some 5,500,000 acres of the most fertile land in this country. This company paid a dividend of 42½ per cent in 1908, and 30 per cent in 1909.

Again we note the increase in the value per acre of land sold.

In 1898 the average price was \$4 per acre, and in 1909 the price was \$11 per acre.

Is it any cause for wonder that the directors of the company in their report to the shareholders, announced that their policy in the future would be to hold the land for higher prices?

Jefferson Levy, one of the largest shareholders in the H. B. C., estimated that the company's holdings in the city of Edmonton are worth \$16,000,000.

In addition to these notorious corporations, there are many other companies and individuals speculating in Canadian land. Coal land, oil land, timber land, agricultural land, and city land, all are the legitimate prey of the speculator.

With these many and various parasitical interests draining away the wealth of the nation, the cost of living is unnaturally high. Rent and taxes are the cause of the high cost of living.



Corporations and speculators are becoming dan-

gerously wealthy by means of the rent they collect from the workers of Canada for the use of our natural opportunities. For rent is wealth or service received for the use of land, and when men buy land they simply pay the rent in advance.

As land increases in value, rents rise higher and higher, and wages, the share of wealth which is the reward of labor, sink lower and lower.

Meanwhile, governments must be maintained, and taxes are the food of governments.

Since our government fails to secure its revenues from the natural source, the rent of the land, it has to raise its revenue by taxing commodities, the food, clothing, homes, and implements of the workers.

This system of raising revenue is inimical to the national welfare.

It is unjust because it places a heavy burden of taxes upon the industrious members of the community, to the great benefit of the speculators and monopolists, thus encouraging idleness and greed, and discouraging honesty, thrift and industry.

It enables speculators to hold millions of acres of the best land in Canada idle.

Thus the price of land is artificially raised.

This makes it harder and harder for the workers to get land to cultivate, or build upon. Idle land means idle men. No crops are ever reaped, no homes are ever built, on land held out of use by speculators.

In the country, land monopoly forces people to live too far apart; thus preventing them from enjoying that social intercourse which is essential to human happiness. Farmers' children are partially or wholly deprived of educational facilities.

Farmers and their wives and families often suffer preventable pain during sickness, and sometimes die, from the lack of medical attention.

Homesteaders are forced to endure unnecessary hardships, privation and melancholy, and sometimes starvation and insanity and death, because of land speculation.

There are in Canada millions of idle acres of fertile soil, near the towns and railroads, which would support a happier and more prosperous population but for this demon land monopoly.

In our towns and cities we already have our slum districts, where poverty appears in its most hideous forms.

Unemployment, drunkenness, prostitution, disease, crime, insanity and suicide, are the results of unjust social conditions, chiefly caused by land monopoly fostered by an iniquitous system of taxation.

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Not only is our system of taxation unjust and iniquitous, but, from the standpoint of national economy, it is foolish.

In spite of the heavy burden of taxation now imposed upon the workers, our public debts are

constantly increasing—notwithstanding the fanciful surpluses brought forward annually by crafty politicians. These debts are largely incurred to provide public improvements, railways, canals, bridges, schools, etc.

Every expenditure of the public money in this direction increases the value of land. As Thorold Rogers says:

Every permanent improvement of the soil, every railway and road, every bettering of the general condition of society, every facility given for production, every stimulus supplied to consumption, raises [ground] rent. The landowner sleeps, but thrives.

It is to this source that our governments should look to replenish their treasuries and replace in them the money that has been expended upon public improvements.

We would abolish all taxes upon improvements farming implements and stock, buildings of every description, business, machinery, tools, food, clothing, etc., etc., and raise all governmental revenues (municipal, Provincial, and federal) by the taxation of land values.

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The most important point for the public in general, and farmers in particular, to grasp, is the fact that we propose to tax land according to its *site value*, exclusive of all improvements in or upon it.

We do not propose to tax land according to its area.

Mr. T. A. Russell, chairman of the Tariff Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, thinks the farmers are ill advised because they advocate a direct tax on land, and they are large land owners.

This is an old bogey always brought forward to scare the farmers away from land value taxation. There is a great difference between a tax on land and a tax on land values.

The land which the farmer uses is of low value.

The gentlemen who ride in the automobiles, manufactured by the company of which Mr. Russell is a member, are the owners of the valuable land, town sites, coal mines, timber limits, etc.

One acre of land in the heart of the city of Winnipeg is valued at \$2,000,000, which equals in value 100,000 acres of farm land at \$20 per acre.

This will give an idea where the tax on land values will fall.

The bare land on which the city of Winnipeg stands is assessed at \$108,000,000 and shows an increase of about \$100,000,000 in ten years, or \$10,000,000 per year.

The farmers of Manitoba have helped to create this value.

Only by the adoption of a system of land value taxation can they hope to obtain their just share of the value which they have created.

The principle of land value taxation is making great progress in different parts of the world, notably in Germany, Denmark, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

Last year the city of Vancouver adopted the single tax system of raising its civic revenues, and the results have been good in every way.

We have only to extend a principle already recognized and we shall evolve a system of taxation which will be just to all members of the community and which will bring undreamed of blessings in its train.

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## BOOKS

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### PRAGMATISM.\*

**Pragmatism and Its Critics.** By Addison Webster Moore, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Asked by a subscriber "to define pragmatism in words of one syllable," the *New York Independent* did its little best in this fashion:

The only way to find out if a thing is true is to try it and see how it works. If it works well for a long time and for all folks, it must have some truth in it. If it works wrong it is false, at least in part. If there is no way to test it, then it has no sense. It means naught to us if we cannot tell what odds it makes if we hold to it or not. A creed is just a guide to life. We must live to learn. If a man would know what is right he must try to do what is right. Then he can find out. Prove all things and hold fast to that which is good. The will to have faith in a thing oft makes the faith come true. So it can be said in a way that we make truth for our own use. What we think, must be of use to us in some way; else why should we think it? The truth is what is good for us, what helps us, what gives us joy and peace, what shows us how to act, what ties up, fact to fact, so the chain will hold, what makes us see all things clear and straight and what keeps us from stray paths that turn out wrong in the end.

That certainly has the look and sound of pragmatism, save the short words; but we doubt if Professor Moore would accept it as a definition. He might welcome it, however, as a sample of what the critics of pragmatism are trying to say. A definition of pragmatism seems indeed to be impossible. As may be gathered from an observation at page 129 of this book, pragmatism is incomplete except in its denial of absolutism. Like Senator Ingalls's conception of a Kansas day, perhaps it is "something that cannot be described, but once seen can never be forgotten."

We haven't the space for a review of this collection of scholarly essays, as from a scholar in phil-

osophy; and though we had the space, the scholarship would be lacking. But the more familiar pragmatism becomes, if one may presume to think of pragmatism as familiar to anybody even in degree, the stronger there grows an impression of the subject which has a pleasing prospect. Possibly the pragmatists are trying either to drive common sense into technical philosophy, or to find common sense there if there is any. Were we sure we might do so without giving offense where none is intended, we should be inclined to say that technical philosophy, having been a good deal of an ass all down the centuries, is beginning to find it out, and that pragmatism is making a cryptic record of the fact.

In Professor Moore's book, pragmatism appears to stand out so frequently as the antithesis of absolutism that the technical controversy between pragmatists and absolutists takes on the color of age. It suggests that old "shindy" of the Greek philosophers, which confronts and bothers students of technical philosophy at their first plunge—the quarrel over the question of "being" or "becoming" as the principle of the universe. Is the universe fixed or in flux? Is it perennially changing or forever unchangeable? Is it absolute from everlasting unto everlasting, or do we pragmatize it as we go along?

In one phrase or another this has always been the issue in technical philosophy, always the substance of the elementary quarrels of the schools. At least it would seem so to unscholarly observers of the battle fields of professional philosophers. Whether the universe is in perpetual flux or not, there would seem to have been, in the issues of philosophical warfare, much constancy except as to terms. Terms have been as elusive in the history of technical philosophy as the three cards of a monte man at a county fair. And now, unless we are still very much at sea about the matter, the battles of the ancient Greek philosophers are again raging in newest environments and with newest terms.

Through the lenses of Professor Moore's book, at any rate, things look very much as if the static doctrine of "being" were again in collision with the dynamic doctrine of "becoming," in a struggle between absolutists and pragmatists. But there does seem to be a hopeful difference. Possibly pragmatism is not setting up the doctrine of "becoming" in irreconcilable opposition to the doctrine of "being"—the dynamic against the static—but is making itself the ligament of thought necessary to unite the two in the ultimate relationship of Siamese twins. Instead of an enemy with banners, pragmatism may be bearing a flag of truce to absolutism, with rough notes for a permanent treaty of peace in this age-old war of the schools.

With whatever set of names the votaries of phil-

\*See review of William James's "Pragmatism" in *The Public*, volume x, page 1650.