

record. The result is not the less certain and worth working for because we may not see it. Ours is a faith that in such times as ours must be only the substance of things hoped for, only the evidence of things not seen.

In the world about us, commercially—and the world about us is in the main a commerce, a selling of the minds of men, the bodies of women and the souls of children—commercially, socially and politically things do not go as we would have them.

Over and over again has the standard of Truth and Justice been raised in this world, over and over again it has been beaten down, oftentimes in blood. If they are weak forces that are opposed to Truth, how should Error so long prevail? If Justice has but to raise her head to see Injustice flee before her, how should the wall of the oppressed so long go up?

And yet the result for which we labor will come,—will come so surely that we may close our eyes upon our labors certain of that result and that the wisdom of this choice of our life's work is justified already.

As I grow older, as I realize the bitterness of failure in that which I have tried to do, the weary barrenness of political effort, of crying out to those who will not hear, and of pointing the way to blind leaders of the blind, I have my own dream of how that not unwelcome mustering-out will come. The one only reform work that I really love for the work's sake is, with all deference to your several judgments, the colony work. And when our fields at Arden have grown their crop of men and become the village of our dreams, I picture there a village church, maybe like that at Stratford or of Gray's Elegy, and there the end and peace.

To rest beneath the clover sod
That takes the sunshine and the rains,
Or where the kneeling hamlet drains
The chalice of the grapes of God.

Maybe it will come so, or maybe it will come as George has written,—“In penury and want, in neglect and contempt, destitute even of the sympathy that would have been so sweet, how many in every country have closed their eyes.” Fall as it may, this life is only, as he said, the avenue and vestibule of another life. We do not really lose our lives. We have not really lost these men who have gone from us. They have not really gone.

So without regret and without bitterness, let us consecrate ourselves to the service in which they died. They have deserved well of the Republic. If the Spartans, holding courage and the endurance of pain to be the highest virtue, did well to bury with all military honors the women who died in childbirth, then no man has merited more glorious memorial than these our brothers who elected to bear in their own bodies the sins of the world and themselves, to suffer with the birth pangs of the new civilization for which the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain. And the highest tribute, that which we can render without waiting for the tardy recognition of a world that still stoneth the prophets and killeth them that are sent unto it, is emulation. The road they trod is open even to us. That cry of the oppressed and him who hath no helper, which led them on, rings in our ears by day and night. That which they achieved is possible to us, even to the end, even to the “Well done, good

and faithful servant,” even to die beloved as we love them. What more could man ask for the living of this life or the passing into another?

And in this hope and faith let us go from to-night's meeting to take up again the mighty work we have in hand,—joyous in the certainty of its final success.

Good gentlemen, look fresh and merrily.
Let not our looks put on our purposes,
But bear it as our Roman actors do,
With untired spirit and formal constancy;
And so, Good Morrow to you, every one.

* * *

THE FUTURE OF THE LAND QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Editorial in the London Tribune of January 7, 1907.

We are afraid that English people generally are not very much interested in Scottish Bills. This is partly the fault of Scotsmen themselves, who have been so remarkably successful in keeping all local legislation practically in their own hands; partly of the inferiority of the Southron intellect, which fails to grapple with the legal terminology and many subtle distinctions wherein the countrymen of Hume and Hamilton move with ease. Hence it may be thought that the findings of the Select Committee on the Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill* are not a matter of the highest interest. Yet these findings are of very great importance for the future work of the present Parliament. They raise questions on which much of the policy of the Government in the immediate future must turn, and they will certainly be heard of often enough in the coming session. The future of the Liberal Party, it is not too much to say, turns on its capacity to deal successfully with the problems of social reform. The time is gone by when the gifts of civil, religious, and political freedom could exhaust the programme of a great party. The Liberal Government have done something and have yet to do more, in securing freedom. But their work will not in the end pass muster with their supporters if they cannot also do something towards a solution of the pressing problem of poverty. Now, there is great divergence of opinion as to the roots of poverty. Some find it a necessary outcome of the struggle for existence. Some hold that in our free industrial system it is mainly a question of character, and that those who deserve to get on have no difficulty in raising themselves above the level of want. Others at the opposite extreme declare that the poverty of the masses is but the reverse side of the wealth of the few, and that as long as the means of production are in the hands of private people the masses will always be poor. Others, again, occupying an intermediate position maintain that the source of economic evils is in monopoly, and that the two remedies for monopoly are either free competition or public ownership.

Thus, so far as monopolies and any property capable of being monopolized are concerned, the two last-named groups, differing widely in other respects, come to a working agreement. Questions of landed property in particular interest both groups alike, and here, accordingly, it seems most hopeful to secure united action on the part of those who believe

*See The Public of December 29, 1906, page 920.

that the State has a duty in relation to the problems of poverty, and can by wise legislation do something towards their solution. With the ownership and tenure of land many of the practical questions of most urgency are seen to depend. They affect, for example, the question of urban housing, which is at bottom resolvable partly into a question of space, partly into a question of transit. They affect the movements of population and the overcrowding of the towns from quite another side, for the depletion of the rural districts is a consequence of the failure of the peasant to find a career worth having in the country, and this, again, is due in very large measure to the present system of land tenure, which tends to maintain the divorce between the laborer and the soil. They ultimately affect all problems of local finance. The development of urban areas, for example, to which active bodies would naturally devote themselves, is hampered by the consideration that the benefits received will largely flow into the pockets of private landlords, who, in proportion as a neighborhood is improved or is brought into connection with a great center, snap up a great deal of the general benefit by charging higher rents for house accommodation. Indeed, by perfecting its tramway service a great town may find that, financially, it has been working mainly to raise the rents and assessments outside its own area, while within its boundaries they may even be diminished. A just system of land taxation is therefore, to begin with, a requisite basis for progressive municipal government. It is also a condition precedent of any extended measure of land purchase, for, if all land should justly be taxed at a different rate from that at present levied on it, the amount of this taxation ought to be settled before bargains are struck by a public authority. Once again it is held that an improved system of taxation would tend to bring land into the market whether for the public or the private buyer. Advocates of the municipal ownership of land would give the landlord the right to sell to the municipality upon the assessment made by them, both as a simple means of protection to the owner against exaggerated assessment and as a means whereby more land may come under public control. Further, the owner who finds himself taxed on his land irrespective of the improvements which he has made on it has a strong inducement to make the best possible use of his land, or part with it to those who can do better. Lastly, by the taxation of the site the present heavy tax on buildings may be reduced, if not in the end abolished.

These are some of the points in the case for the taxation of site values which has been reinforced by the findings of the select committee. This committee, over which Mr. Alexander Ure presided, recommended, indeed, the rejection of the actual bill before them, because it appeared to combine two irreconcilable proposals. But taking a wide view of their reference, they proceeded to consider and report on the questions which they justly held to underlie the bill of which the chief is the separate assessment and taxation of sites and the improvements made thereupon. They go at length into the question whether this separate valuation is possible. They decide, we think rightly, that it is, and to give effect to their decision they propose as the next step a bill for the separate valuation of land in Scotland,

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The fair and able review of the two years of faithful public service by Mayor Dunne, which appeared in THE PUBLIC of Jan. 19, '07, has been received by the public with much satisfaction, and there have been many demands for extra copies of THE PUBLIC of that date. We ask all who would like to distribute copies of this review in Chicago to communicate with us promptly.

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both in burghs and counties. We hope to see this bill passed next session, but we hope to see it for England and Wales as well. It is the first step to any far-reaching land reform. Without it we are all more or less in the dark on the land question. Arguing with hypothetical figures, we can show the general tendency of the financial change proposed. We can see, for example, that the separate rating of the site must tend to reduce the rate on buildings. But how much this tendency is worth, what proportion, taking the country over, its site value bears to its improved value, how the proposed reform would affect overcrowded towns, and how it would apply in rural districts are questions which we cannot know until we can replace the hypothetical figures with real figures. We can push this valuation, and we can push a preliminary measure for the development of small holdings in the coming session. But we cannot adequately grapple with the ramifications of the land problem till the results of the valuation are known.

BOOKS

A NEW BOOK ON THE TARIFF.

Second Review (See p. 1076).

The Tariff and the Trusts. By Franklin Pierce. The Macmillan Co., New York. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago. Price, \$1.50, postage 12 cents.

In the last chapter of this book, which curiosity led me to read first, I found words that seemed perhaps overstrong in indignation. "Our democratic government," says the author, "needs to-day leaders burning with indignation and horror at the injustice of this legalized robbery of the people. We need agitators like Garrison and Phillips, like Cobden and Bright, who hate in their hearts and with all the loathing of their souls this cruel injustice." These seemed strong words, and yet when one turns back and reads the book through, he will see that the words are not too strong. There was a good eye to business in the old gentleman of the story who rose in a dilly-dally meeting and said, "O Lord, I pray thee that some of us may get mad." It is indeed hard to see how anyone can read this book through and not feel at the last all the indignation that the author demands.

Since Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade," this is the best book that has appeared on the tariff question. One cannot but wish that like George's great work it could be put through the Congressional Record in piecemeal and as widely distributed. Chapter III, on "American and English Shipping," might be sent to congressmen for enlightenment on our shipping industry. Chapter IV, on "Protective Tariffs and Public Virtue," might be sent to Good Government clubs and Civic Federations. Chapters V, VI, VII, containing Talks to Manufacturers, Laborers, and Farmers, might be sent to these respectively. Chapter VIII, "Our Tariff History," might be sent to the teachers of history in the colleges. And selected passages from the last three chapters might be sent to the White House.

By and by, in a hundred years perhaps, or, let us

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