

or of men can correct these evils. A political change will not affect judges with their judge-made laws, and so long as Privilege controls both parties, a political change will not affect the legislative bodies which create judges. An effective recall of judges would furnish the machinery to correct many abuses, and this step can be taken without waiting for the economic changes which must afford the final and fundamental relief.

For it is to *economic change*, and not to political change, that the people must look for the solution of this problem. Not *lawbreakers*, but *lawmakers* are responsible for bad economic conditions; and these only indirectly, for it is business interests controlling lawmakers that furnish the great motive force in the protection of Privilege.

The economic change that will correct these political abuses is one that must remove the prizes which Privilege now secures from the People. It must reserve to the public the ownership and management of public-service utilities so that they shall be regarded no longer as private loot, but as public rights to be safeguarded and protected.

That good, law-abiding corporations and good, well-meaning men cannot correct these wrongs without changing the economic conditions which produce them, has been proved times without number, and only serves to emphasise the fact that the real fight of the people is not to abolish lawbreaking, but to put an end to that lawmaking which is against the public good.

It is true that the contest looks like an unequal one; that the advantage seems to be entirely on the side of Privilege; that its position appears invulnerable.

Is there then no hope? Let us see.

The people's advance guard has been routed often, and will be time and time again. New recruits must come to the front. As the firing lines are decimated the discontented masses must rush forward to fill the gaps in the ranks. Finally, when *we are fighting all along the line*, public opinion will be strong enough to drive Privilege out of its last trench.

Agitation for the right, once set in motion, cannot be stopped. Truth can never lose its power. It presses forward gaining victories, suffering defeats, but losing nothing of momentum, augmenting its strength though seeming to expend it.

Newspapers controlled by the Interests cannot stop this forward movement, legislatures must yield to it, the courts finally see and respect it, and political parties must go with it or be wrecked.

[The above is an extract from the Foreword to MY STORY, by Tom L. Johnson.]

As we go to press we learn with profound regret of the death of our young friend Alfred Pedersen. He died suddenly on Wednesday, May 12th, at his home in Copenhagen, 20 years old. He was a gifted writer and speaker even at this early age and had a most charming personality. He twice visited Great Britain, the last visit being the occasion of the Cardiff Conference in October, 1913, where he made many lasting friendships. His memory will not soon pass from all who knew him and came to love him both for his sterling qualities and his enthusiasm for the cause. His little note of appreciation of LAND VALUES, to be found in another column can be taken as his final hand-shake with his British friends. In his brief sojourn among us he added strength and purpose to the movement in his native land, where his loss will be keenly felt. We affectionately convey to his family and to his Danish friends and comrades our deepest sympathy.

BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIALISM IN PRACTICE*

The chief value of this book to students of Social questions is that it is a compilation of a very large number of instances of State and municipal enterprise in all parts of the world. But it is more than a mere collection of facts. It is an attempt to show, by reference to what has been accomplished, that the ownership and control of industry by the community is desirable and should be universally adopted. The author denies, and here takes up a definite challenge, that the field of public industry should be restricted merely to services of the nature of "natural monopolies." He insists that:—

The only remedy visible for many of the evils from which modern society suffers, the only possible solution of the ever more threatening labour difficulty, the only method of enabling the great mass of consumers to meet the ever-increasing cost of living is that of nationalising or municipalising various services and trades, and thus reducing the tribute paid by the masses to the monopolist, the speculator, the middleman, or the non-producer.

If this is the remedy, Mr. Davies's painstaking investigation does not support nor prove it. None of the State or municipal services and trades he has described—the food supplies in Buda Pesth; the State tobacco, match, or insurance monopolies; the banks and city pawnshops; the Glasgow trams and lodging-houses; the Doncaster coal mine and racecourse; the gasworks, railways, canals, &c., &c.—have contributed one whit to solving the main problem of poverty, no matter how excellent the administration may be. Even in the few cases quoted of communities owning land, it is only here and there that the conditions of land tenure under public authority can be shown to bring any advantage to the individual citizen. Land is too often held by the community at monopoly prices, and individuals have no easier access to it than if it were in the hands of private landowners. The revenue derived under such a system no doubt enables general taxation to be reduced, but it is ultimately absorbed in higher prices and rents by all the private landowners within the district. The influence of public landownership on industrial development depends also on other considerations, the most important of which is the way in which the property has been acquired—whether it has existed since time immemorial or has had to be purchased at a recent date from private owners.

The land question, however, is not the theme in this book. It is in fact barely referred to, and we are called on to discuss the author's enthusiasm for the public control of trades and industries. Glasgow, for instance, which is cited as a "highly municipalised" city, should, if any weight can be attached to the author's contentions, be a kind of British paradise. Yet its social conditions, proved by the statistics of housing and wages and the reports of the sanitary inspector, are perfectly appalling. The French, Austrian and Italian people derive no visible or peculiar benefit (smokers certainly do not!) from the government production and sale of tobacco, any more than Seville citizens are wealthier or happier because they can deposit goods in a municipal pawnshop.

There is no denying the fact that States and cities can operate, and operate successfully, industries of all kinds, but it is impossible to see how public ownership and control have brought us a step nearer the "Collectivist state." Mr. Davies himself is uncertain about the whole matter and cannot make up his mind what to do with the profits. At one point he declares the surpluses are not a just source of revenue, since as such they are merely a

* THE COLLECTIVIST STATE IN THE MAKING. By Emil Davies, Chairman of the Railway Nationalisation Society. London: G. Bell & Sons. Price 5s. net.

form of indirect taxation. Then he contends that it is only by the community running and owning most of the principal services that the reversion to the community of "surplus value" can be secured. A further contradiction is contained in the dictum that "surpluses from State or municipal undertakings should be utilised to increase facilities, to create certain services which conduce to the prosperity of the nation but may not immediately be productive, to reduce rates, and to improve the condition of the worker."

Here is the dilemma. If State enterprises are to return no profit, where are the public revenues to come from? If they are to produce a surplus, how is the profit to be distributed so that each citizen shall be an equal partner in the dividends? The problem is too much for Mr. Davies, and he has to conclude his treatise with a despairing note. We take him back to Doncaster, the town "without a borough rate" but yet festering with slums and degradation, or to Buda Pesth which opens civic shops for the "cheap" sale of heavily taxed foodstuffs and provides reading-rooms largely used by *envelope addressers*, and emphatically agree with him that:—

It would be possible to carry out that portion of the Socialist programme which aims at the nationalisation (and municipalisation) of as large a part as possible of trade, industry, and public services, without achieving the Socialist ideal of "from each according to his ability; to each according to his needs"; all that can be said is that Collectivism appears to be the machine or tool necessary to the Socialist in order to bring about his ideals, if ever he can persuade the community to operate the machine and to divide its products in the manner he desires.

THE COLLECTIVIST STATE IN THE MAKING makes it quite clear that all the benevolent schemes described in its pages are simply necessitated by poverty and none of them cure poverty. Municipal lodging-houses and soup kitchens are not required in Park Lane or in the "residential districts." Successful undertakings, on the other hand, like the Glasgow trams or the Southend pier, enrich a very particular class of non-producer—the person who can charge rent for the ground on which Glasgow and Southend stand and can, moreover, hold up that ground till he gets his price. If the Socialist would "operate the machine so as to divide the product in the manner he desires," he cannot at the same time ignore (as Mr. Davies has evidently done) the power of the landowner to intercept the benefits both of public improvements and *public charity* in every place and at every time. Until that power is removed progress itself will only widen the breach between wealth and poverty, and intensify the evils the reformer seeks to destroy.

A. W. M.

CRIMES OF THE MINORITY*

In this time of crisis when we see millions of precious lives being sacrificed and millions of lives shattered by the severing of the dearest and most sacred human ties, sorrow and despair and pessimism overwhelm us. The only escape from this feeling of pessimism is the conviction that human sufferings have definite causes—human causes—that it is within the power of human beings to remove. What these causes are Mr. Scott tells us in this pamphlet. They are the oppression of the masses by the minority—that oppression which produces poverty, disease, ignorance, madness, and desperate revolt. Wars, cruelty, persecution, are the crimes of the classes; the French revolutions, Chartist and anti-corn law riots were but the feeble and much less sanguinary revolt of the masses against the

* CRIMES OF THE MINORITY : an address delivered before the Egyptian Club of Memphis, Tennessee, by Alex. F. Scott. One penny.

oppression of the minority. The masses are much more tender, just and merciful than the classes; and the only hope for a stable and decent civilisation is when they have the reins of power. Equal opportunity, especially in the economic field, and special privilege for none is the only safeguard. This is Mr. Scott's thesis. Louis F. Post in the foreword to the pamphlet says:—

Outside the brilliant writings of Henry George himself, I doubt if his elementary principle of civilisation is advocated anywhere else than in this pamphlet with so effective a blend of convincing argument and stirring eloquence or in a broader spirit of charity for all, irrespective of mass or class or person.

This is high praise, but we think that everyone who reads this speech will deem it not too high.

F. C. R. D.

SANITATION AND THE SINGLE TAX*

This pamphlet is a reprint of two addresses, the one by Surgeon-General William C. Gorgas and the other by Professor Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard University. Dr. Gorgas is world famous as the sanitarian of the Panama Canal and for similar good work in Cuba. Mr. Johnson is prominent not only in his own sphere as a Professor of Engineering, but also as a worker in many progressive movements.

Dr. Gorgas tells how his work as a medical man brought him to see the necessity of "increasing the ability of the people to live well and get better food and better clothing." Then he says:—

While dwelling upon thoughts such as these, I came across PROGRESS AND POVERTY. I was greatly impressed by the theory and was soon convinced that the Single Tax would be the means of bringing about the sanitary conditions I so much desired. It was impressed upon me in a concrete form everywhere, in the United States, in the tropics, and particularly in Panama, the great benefit that some such scheme of taxation would confer upon sanitation.

Professor Johnson in his paper shows what the housing conditions in cities are, how the land which might provide sites for houses and breathing spaces for the people is held out of use for speculative purposes. All over the world it is the same story, high rents and low wages, and these are the conditions which breed disease. Sanitation is good, but the Taxation of Land Values is the greatest sanitary reform of all because it will clear out the breeding grounds of disease.

The two speeches in this pamphlet are among the most brilliant contributions to the literature of the land values movement in showing what bearing the reform has upon the practical problems of the day.

F. C. R. D.

MIDDLE-CLASS PROPERTY VERSUS SLUM PROPERTY.

Speaking at a meeting of the Charity Organisation Society on November 30th, 1914, Mr. Bernard Holland said there were whole areas in London that ought to be cleared and rebuilt with new cottages and tenements. There were 20,000 or 30,000 houses that ought to be pulled down at once and rebuilt. The difficulty was to buy up those houses. It was much cheaper to buy middle-class property than slum property.

* PUBLIC SANITATION AND THE SINGLE TAX. Two papers by Surgeon-General William C. Gorgas, U.S. Army, and Professor Lewis J. Johnson, Harvard University. Published by the Joseph Fels Fund of America, Cincinnati, Ohio. 3 cents.