

recent times the possessor of great wealth has been credited with industry, prudence, superior ability and the special favor of Heaven; poverty to the reverse of these qualities and to the will of God. But we have learned a valuable lesson and one that can never again be obscured, and that is that unjust privileges and nothing else, is the basis of all vast fortunes, and that the most fundamental of these privileges is the holding of the earth as the private property of a few. The "Problem of the Unemployed" points this moral in convincing fashion. But I have one serious objection to offer to its pages. This is its chapter on "The Immediate Nationalization of Land."

The author, indeed, disclaims the special favoring of the proposed scheme, merely suggesting it as a possible means to an end. Still, this chapter is an integral part of the book and can not be passed over. The proposition is that the Government shall at once buy out the present owners of land so that the Single Tax on rent might be immediately instituted; the money for this purchase to be raised by the issue of interest bearing Government bonds. The sum required to reimburse present owners he sets at forty billion dollars, the interest for bonds and expenses of government as about two billion six hundred million. The required revenue, it is suggested, might be easily raised by a budget as follows:

Ground rent taxation, not in excess of economic rent. . . .	\$866,000,000
Tariff so levied as to produce a revenue without reference to protection.	400,000,000
Internal revenue taxes on liquors and tobacco (which would include all license taxes now levied by States and municipalities.	525,000,000
A general stamp tax.	100,000,000
An ad valorem tax on railroad freight and passenger rates, collected by stamps applied to tickets and bills of lading.	500,000,000
An inheritance tax.	75,000,000
From an increase in postal rates.	84,000,000
From miscellaneous sources.	100,000,000
Total	\$2,600,000,000

Whether the impetus to all branches of industry which would follow the nationalization of land would quickly liquidate the debt, or whether, as Spencer contended, to properly indemnify landlords would permanently swamp the whole people, is a question which might prove interesting for abstract discussion, but to seriously propose to buy out the octopus who has so long drained the life blood of the body politic is analagous to a proposition to retire a class of Capt. Kidds in opulence and ease. They

have had too much already. Besides to speak of compensation is to lose the moral strength of our position. If land owners have a right to compensation they have the right to retain possession. The Single Tax is not a mere fiscal reform, it is the harmonizing of social law with the law of Justice. Even if we were obliged to wait longer for the day of freedom, better that than attempt to palter with Justice and buy the abolition of this hoary wrong.

This book has been read by me with such pleasure that I am reluctant to set down these adverse criticisms on some points in it, and these objections are made in no cavilling spirit, but with a sincere appreciation and admiration of the good work done for the cause of freedom by its unknown author.

IDA HIBBARD.

*A REMARKABLE WORK.

The author of this book is one of the Republicans whose real democratic instincts were recognized by the Hon. Tom L. Johnson when the latter became Mayor of Cleveland. With that profound knowledge of men which has availed him so well in his selection of individuals in sympathy with those intelligent and far reaching aims which he has in mind for the government of Cleveland, and ultimately for the regeneration of society—for it is no less important a task to which this remarkable man has dedicated the labors of his life—Mayor Johnson from the beginning has sought the co-operation of both parties whose knowledge of municipal problems and high minded devotion to their solution have set them apart from the self-seeking horde of office holders, municipal grafters, and the mass of indifferent citizens.

This book from the hand of one whom Mayor Johnson has so signally honored is by far the best work extant on the problems of the cities. There is not a book on the subject in which general conditions and the many problems of city government are so fairly and accurately stated; and the remedies presented so closely in line with the abstract and practical knowledge of these vexed questions.

If, to begin with, one would know the chief cause of the corruption of cities, and knowing the cause would seek a remedy, this book is of inestimable value. Where others have dealt with the manifestation of civic corruption in their personal aspects, our author has seen them in their true and deeper relation. Forms of social disorganization which Lincoln Steffens ascribes to business our author more accurately attributes to "Business—plus the valuable franchises of the cities." He shows that here is the power which creates the "bosses" and supplies them with the funds needed to

* The City the Hope of Democracy. By Frederick C. Howe, Ph.D. Cloth, 12mo, 312 pp. Price, \$1.50 net. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y. City.

carry elections and buy legislatures. The fortunes of the bosses are derived from the power to control nominations of those friendly to these interests. The conservation of these privileges secures a perpetual fund for bribery, intimidation and the betrayal of the people through successive legislatures. Behind the boss, lurking in the shadow, looms the power greater than the boss, of whom the boss is but the pliant tool—the franchise magnate.

Specific instances are cited, in which the characters but not the essential drama changes—Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis and other cities. It is interesting to note that the author speaks of three cities, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Philadelphia “as remaining untouched by reform.” But time has witnessed even their reclamation.

In the chapter, “The Way Out—Municipal Ownership,” the author says, referring to public utilities: “Before the city dweller can begin to feed, clothe, or take care of his family, these monopolies which the city creates, and must of necessity create, impose upon him a charge of probably one hundred dollars a year. They form one of the largest items in his domestic budget. Nor do these charges tend to decrease. For the same causes which lead to the growth of rent increase the earnings of these companies as well.”

These increases are of course essentially increases in rent. These street railroad values are economic “rent” values precisely as is the income received by the owner of a corner lot. They are the unearned values which must be appropriated by the public before any real and lasting reform in our cities can be brought about. This is the formal justification for public ownership—a method of accomplishing the object which in the matter of general land values of the city may be secured by a change in the methods of taxation. But to this aspect of the problem our author is acutely alive, and his treatment in the chapters, “The City’s Treasure” and “The Revenues of the City,” leaves nothing to be desired.

If any criticism is to be made on Mr. Howe’s book it may be indicated in a somewhat faulty concept of the real office of the State in society, and the line that marks off its legitimate province from the field of individual activities. After unmistakably indicating this line of demarcation in the words, “Whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly,” he writes as follows:

“A generation ago it was urged by John Stuart Mill that the burden of proof was upon those who advocated an extension of the activities of the State; that private initiative should be the rule, governmental activity the exception; and that only in rare cases should this rule be departed from. This burden on the advocates of municipal ownership has been a heavy one, heavy in

the interpretation put upon it, equally heavy in the proof required.”

It should be said that the position of Mr. Mill is exactly reconciled with the dictum which Mr. Howe has laid down, “Whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly.” It is clear, too, that Mr. Mill’s position is a sound one. We are perfectly content that the burden of proof should rest upon those who advocate an extension of the activities of the municipalities involving as it really does a minimization of the activities of the State. But Mr. Howe has enunciated the principle which those who oppose municipal ownership must meet fairly and squarely. Monopoly is destructive; it must therefore be destroyed. In some cases it can be destroyed by introducing the principle of competition; where this is impossible of introduction other methods must be adopted. Therefore the thought that is behind this sentence of our author seems to us open to denial. “A conscious housing problem is one of the pressing obligations of city administration, just as is the supply of water, gas, electricity, police and fire protection. We cannot rely upon the free play of competitive forces for private agencies now have no pecuniary interest in such a problem.” The saving clause of this sentence is the word “now.” But there is “now” no free play of competitive forces. Such forces, if allowed free play, would solve the “housing problem” with no extension of municipal government activity.

Indeed every tenement house law, largely absolute or ineffective under present conditions, could then be dispensed with. Under the terms of a free contract now impossible between landowners and landless the housing problem could be left to the individual. Such necessary socialism as is involved under present conditions in laws similar to these tenement house regulations, could be done away with in a society in which private monopoly becomes public monopoly, and distinctions of *meum* and *tuum*, of *mine*, *yours*, and *ours* are recognized in the laws.

The Single Tax is philosophically and in its concrete application a reconciliation of the individualistic and socialistic claims and tenets. In appearance, and taken in conjunction with the public ownership of municipal functions now privately controlled, it is an extension of the activities of the State; actually, considered in its more general effects, it is a minimization of such activities and a simplification of government. But all this Mr. Howe recognizes, even if it seems to us he has not laid the necessary emphasis upon it.

The municipal unit may increase its functional activities as the State diminishes *its*. The smaller, or at least the more compact and independent the social unit, the more effectively may it organize for increased public activities.

It is not easy to speak of this book in

terms of praise that will not seem extravagant. It is by far the best work on municipal problems of which we have any knowledge. Long before democracy has finally justified itself the student and the practical reformer must return to it again and again for knowledge and inspiration. Severely practical as are the various steps in the processes of its reasoning it is not without that fire of enthusiasm which directs the conscious application of the philosophy of those who have caught true glimpses of the Promised Land of democracy, and the splendid possibilities of its realization.

J. D. M.

* A STUDY OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

This little book is not a life of Garrison, though it relates the main incidents of his career, most of which are to be found in "The Story of His Life as Told by His Children." It is not as a biography that this little book appeals to the reader. It is with quite another aim that Mr. Crosby writes. Garrison, the Abolitionist, is famous the world over; but Garrison, one of the earliest apostles of the doctrine of non-resistance, is hardly known at all. It is with this side of his teaching, and incidentally with that phase of his character which illustrates such teaching, that this book is intended primarily to deal.

Even if we do not accept the doctrine of non-resistance it is well to understand it. Single Taxers generally, if we mistake not, do not accept it. But it is not a policy of cowardice. Indeed, it is a counsel of perfection which in many cases requires far more courage to adhere to than the meeting of force with force. It is true, too, that in many cases it is infinitely more effective. Garrison was a man of supreme courage—quite as courageous as John Brown or Owen Lovejoy, one of whom defied a State with arms, and the other of whom died fighting. It was by the merest chance that Garrison escaped the fate of these heroic souls; his policy rendered him no more immune. The gentility, intelligence, and culture of Boston would have lynched him quite as summarily as it would the others, had circumstances permitted, and on one occasion indeed nearly succeeded in doing so.

Mr. Crosby makes an eloquent—and shall we say "logical," which word Mr. Crosby does not altogether like—argument in defence of the doctrine of non-resistance. Certainly it is almost convincing; we are carried along with the gracious and highly reasoned argument until we are almost willing to agree with him, that "violence is played out," by which is meant that it has now lost

* Garrison, the Non-Resistant. By Ernest Crosby. Cloth. 16mo. 144 pp. Price 50 cents, net, with photogravure portrait of Garrison. The Public Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.

its potency for good if it ever possessed any. The work is dedicated to William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., "a son worthy of his father," and himself one of our honored leaders in a work of wider emancipation.

J. D. M.

* CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND THE SINGLE TAX.

This work, with its sub-title, "A Feeble Attempt to Unite Two Mighty Subjects," is written to show the identity of what to the author are the fundamental truths of Christian Science with those of the Single Tax philosophy. Doubtless the uniting of two severed truths may establish a medium which will act as a current for the more perfect communication of thought. We are not competent to judge if this has been successfully accomplished, but it appears to have been attempted with much serious thought and the book may be destined to do good among the followers of Mrs. Eddy. All great questions are at bottom moral and religious questions, and we do not doubt that a more than superficial likeness can be established between the Single Tax and what is true in the Christian Science philosophy. The author thinks—and she claims to have the evidence for so thinking—that this attempt at harmonizing these principles will be resented by many of Mrs. Eddy's disciples. But in view of the respectful appeal to the founder of the church, and the seriousness of the general treatment, it hardly seems reasonable that offence can be taken.

The Single Tax Primer which forms the appendix is in the main a very lucid elementary statement of our principles, though in strict accuracy a few of the definitions leave something to be desired. But for Mrs. Goldzier's purposes it may be that economic rigidity can be sacrificed to a slightly more loose but flexible construction for popular understanding. This is always more or less permissible if no positive misconceptions are conveyed.

J. D. M.

President Roosevelt has appointed Franklin K. Lane, of California, whose Single Tax sympathies are well known, to be Interstate Commerce Commissioner.

At the latest Glasgow municipal elections 20 out of 26 candidates were returned as favoring the rating of land values.

W. D. Lamb, of Plumas, Manitoba, has started a weekly paper.

*The At-One-Ment of Christian Science and the Single Tax. With Hints for a Single Tax Primer, Second Edition. Paper. Folio. 76 pp. Price, 60 cents by mail. Julia Goldzier, Bayonne, N. J.