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EDITORIAL

Playing Politics.

What a spectacle for the gods is the pack of Little Congressmen snapping at the heels of a Big President!

S. C.

The Vital Point.

A correspondent thinks that there may be some good in exemption from Panama tolls of American coastwise vessels because its abolition is favored by such reactionaries as Senator Root and ex-President Taft. Such a method of judging may only be resorted to when no better means are at hand. In this case there are better means. It is never right to give special interests free use of valuable property that belongs to all. That is what the exemption would do. Every time a ship, even though it sail under the American flag, should pass through the canal without payment of tolls, an injustice would be done to every American citizen having no financial interest in that ship. This being the case, it matters not who may favor or who may oppose exemption. It does not even matter if treaties with foreign nations permit it. The vital point is that, regardless of all other considerations, the proposition is in itself indefensible.

S. D.

Drawing the Line.

President Wilson has endeared himself to the democrats of the country—of whatever party affiliation—in many ways; but in none more than by the enemies he is making. That the Democratic party embraces two distinct and antagonistic parts becomes every day more apparent. These antagonistic parts were held together while the party was out of power by the necessity of winning an election. They have been held together thus far while in power by the desire for the offices that are at the President's disposal. But just to the degree that the patronage is given

out does the rift between the two wings of the party widen. It matters not whether the avowed cause of the split be the repeal of the Panama tolls, or some other measure, the split is bound to come. The Bourbons will never consent to serve under a real democrat longer than is necessary to secure the offices at his disposal. Nor is the fact that one of the Bourbon leaders is afflicted with an incurable grouch conducive to political harmony.



The outspoken opposition of Speaker Clark and Floor Leader Underwood, and the enlistment of the Bourbons under their banner at this early day, will give real democrats the more time in which to prepare for the coming struggle. The two House leaders are united only in the sense that they are opposed to the President's democracy. Both aspire to the Presidency, and each thinks old line conservatism a winning issue. But they are reading the signs of the times while standing on their heads. We are not going that way. The issue before the country is not personal, popular as the President is; it is not political, much as the men who displaced the "rascals" would like to have it appear; it is economic. And the moment the Democratic party forgets how to spell its article of faith with a small "d" it will be time for the turning out of another set of rascals. Democracy is the word, live, progressive democracy with the little "d." And if Speaker Clark, or Floor Leader Underwood, or any other Bourbon does not like to march to that music, he should lose no time in joining some other procession. The Democratic party out of power included every known variety of politician, and professed all the vagaries known to man; but the Democratic party in power must choose between democracy and not-democracy.

s. c.



A Message Worthy of Attention.

Herbert Quick's "Message to the Women of America" disposes in a few brief paragraphs of all the jingo speeches, and exposes the true inwardness of the demand for intervention in Mexico. Says Mr. Quick:

All I can say to the women of America is this: Your sons are in danger! Your lovers are in peril! There is a damnable conspiracy to tear them from you and kill them, or return them to you crippled, diseased in body, diseased in soul! Owners of great newspapers are also the owners of great estates in Mexico, which will be tripled in value the day the Stars and Stripes wave over the land! Senators stand up in the halls of Congress and demand inter-

vention in Mexico because their own interests will be made more valuable. They talk of honor, but they think of dollars.

That is all that need be said in answer to the ravings of the Hearst papers and the speeches of Penrose, Fall and other congressional betrayers of the interests of the people they pretend to represent. Mr. Quick's suggestion as to the way to meet the agitation for intervention applies with equal force to all jingo agitation.

Lay down the law that the women of America are willing to "endure" disorder in Mexico, not for one year, but forever, rather than send a single American boy in khaki to die in Mexico.

s. d.



Washington's Land Question.

Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington on March 14 in the House of Representatives came dangerously near to proclaiming a great truth. He read with approval the letter of a farmer constituent in Jefferson County who had taken up 149 acres on the Queets river. The farmer complains that after putting \$3,000 worth of improvements on his land, his taxes were raised so high that he says, "I saw no hope, gave up in despair, and moved out." Further on he says, "They tell me the tax is on the timber and improvements, and as there is a strict law against burning timber or improvements, I naturally expect the increase to continue." He has offered his place for sale but "can not find anyone fool enough to buy" and so offers as an additional inducement "to remove all improvements so as to make the tax . . . as light as possible." He finally expresses willingness to take only "enough to pay me and my family's way across the line into Canada where a farmer that tries to improve his place is protected." The letter is published in full on page 5511 of the Congressional Record. Mr. Johnson declared that he has "a hundred or more letters in a similar vein." There is nothing surprising about that. What the State of Washington clearly needs is revision of its tax system so that those who put improvements on land will not be taxed for so doing, and those who withhold lands will be penalized.



Mr. Johnson got very close to this truth—and then sidestepped it. He tried to place the blame on the government's conservation policy; there being, as he states, 730,000 acres of untaxed forest lands in Jefferson County, while the area of assessed lands is but 280,000 acres. But such an explanation does not explain. If the untaxed for-

est land were government land, then, as was explained by Philip P. Wells on page 201 of the current volume of *The Public*, "their ripe timber is for sale to the highest bidder; their pasturage is for rent to the neighboring ranchmen." But a large part of it is owned by lumber companies. So it does not seem that the federal government is any more to blame for such a situation in the State of Washington than it is in any other State. The State of Washington can, if it will, adopt the methods of western Canada, "where a farmer that tries to improve his place is protected." Congressman Johnson can, if he will, be helpful in making such a change. But the place to do it is at the State, not the National Capitol.

S. D.



Prosperous Exploiters of Iowa Labor.

Addressing the House on March 19 Congressman Vollmer of Iowa said: "A pretty good index to the prosperity of the farmer is the price of his land. . . . In my county I have seen it go up from \$50 to \$250 per acre, and still going up. . . . It is a resistless tendency, due to increase of population in the world at large at geometric ratio, while the increase of cultivated area is only at arithmetical ratio." Further on he spoke of the number of retired farmers "who have grown wealthy by reason of the increase in the value of lands." What is there to boast about in all this? Mr. Vollmer plainly shows that what he calls "the prosperity of the farmer" is in fact the prosperity of the land speculator. It is no wonder that the last census shows a decline in Iowa's agricultural population. Mr. Vollmer's speech makes it appear that these farmers would have prospered just as much had they never seen a plow or never worked at all. Their prosperity is not due to labor but to "increase of population in the world at large at geometric ratio while the increase in cultivated area is at arithmetical ratio." In other words, it is due to land monopoly. As long as there is good land unused there is no excuse for increase in cultivated area failing to keep pace with increase of population. That it does not, shows economic injustice somewhere. The retired farmers of whom Mr. Vollmer speaks are prosperous because able to appropriate the labor of cultivators of the farms they have left. That Iowa tenants are not prosperous Mr. Vollmer admits and correctly attributes to "the unearned increment and its tendency in higher rents to absorb the profits of farming as active business." This he further says: "Is not a matter of astonishment to students of the Singletax." Perhaps

Mr. Vollmer could give a more accurate and logical presentation of conditions in Iowa were he not under the mistaken impression that his duty as a Democratic partisan requires him to make a showing of general prosperity where it does not exist.

S. D.



A Progressive Business Body.

The Chamber of Commerce of Oakdale, California, numbers among local attractions the singletax system prevailing in the irrigation district for irrigation revenue. It proudly announces that "Oakdale has abandoned the primitive plan of taxing both land and improvements and has assessed the land alone for the cost of irrigation." It further shows how the adoption of this plan has encouraged improvement while the old plan had the opposite effect. "Many of the settlers in the older districts," it says, "lived in barns because the taxes on improvements prohibited them from living in comfortable houses with modern conveniences."



Does Oakdale realize that it has not only a splendid climate, fertile soil and just taxation as attractions, but something more which the circular could not well mention? It has a rare asset in a Chamber of Commerce that is so progressive as to push a reform which privileged interests oppose. In most cities the opposition of the Chamber of Commerce to progressive measures is looked upon as a matter of course. In Oakdale the business men are apparently as progressively inclined as the rest of their fellow citizens. It is a fortunate community.

S. D.



More Work for Pastoriza.

Texas is not only a state of vast area, but of varied examples of wisdom and folly. Houston, under the guidance of the inimitable Pastoriza, serves as an example of one; Austin, lacking the council of the unique tax commissioner, serves as the other. Houston, as is now pretty well known, has undertaken to encourage enterprise by removing taxes from industry, and placing them on privilege. Austin not only does not do this, but it has recently engaged in an undertaking that displays in all its crudeness the folly of modern government.



Austin is building, at an expense of a million and a half of dollars, a dam for the empounding

of the waters of the Colorado River, which will make a lake thirty-five miles long, extending back among the beautiful hills of the plateau, yet within the municipal limits. The advantages of such a body of water to the city are many, and the building of the dam is considered legitimate municipal enterprise; but it offers another illustration of how the incidence of public enterprise may be of greater consequence than the enterprise itself. Without the dam and lake at Austin the land of the neighborhood is worth but a few dollars for grazing purposes; with the dam and lake the land is worth hundreds, and, in favorable locations, thousands of dollars per acre. And, as is usual in all such American municipal enterprises, the land that is thus enhanced in value from one hundred to three hundredfold does not belong to those who are building the dam. That is to say, the persons who are paying for the dam are entirely separate from the persons who are reaping the benefit.



Here is repeated in one of its most glaring forms the time-honored folly of the civilized world. Where could be found a business man who would do such a thing? Had any private citizen undertaken to perform such a work, he would have bought up the lands to be benefited before building the dam, so that the expense of putting in the improvement would have been met by the advance in the values of the land, and left a handsome profit beside. The public, however, which is merely a collection of individuals, any one of whom would have acted sanely had the enterprise been his own, proceeds in no such way. Deliberately closing its eyes to the inevitable consequences of its act, the political body does what any individual would be put in a madhouse for doing. The making of the Austin lake is a benefit to the whole community. People, to be near the water, are willing to pay a thousand dollars for land that before the lake was formed was worth less than ten; but they are paying it to the wrong persons. They are paying it, not to those who built the dam, but to those who "owned" the land.



Yet the capital of Texas has not distinguished itself by this glaring display of folly. Similar things, identical in principle, are done in every city in the country. For the building of a school house, the paving of a street, or the laying out of a park has exactly the same effect upon the sur-

rounding land that the empounded waters of the Colorado River have in the city of Austin. One set of citizens pays for the improvement, and another set of citizens reaps the financial benefit. Nor is it sufficient answer to say that the law does not allow the municipality to do what every business man under the same circumstances would do. The law is merely the written expression of the popular will, and may be altered as often as the will of the people changes. The only reason why the law remains as it is, is because the people remain as they are. And they go on doing collectively what no one of them would do individually because they are unconscious of their stupidity. But such cases as the Austin dam are opening their eyes.

S. C.



Chicago Aldermanic Elections.

Aldermen are to be elected in Chicago on April 7. There is little involved that is of more than local interest except in a few wards where there are candidates making contests on issues more or less fundamental. One of these wards is the Seventh, where John N. Kimball, running as an Independent, has as his principal opponent the Roger Sullivan Democrat, Robert P. Bamrick. Mr. Kimball's position is explained in a letter to the Woman's Party of Cook County: "My platform declares for home rule on all local questions. This includes home rule on the subjects of revenue and expenditure in which, of course, taxation is included." This declaration makes a clean-cut issue of democracy between Mr. Kimball and Mr. Bamrick. The latter, beside his Roger Sullivan connections, has appeared as lobbyist before council in the interest of the Illinois Central Railroad. Democratic voters of the Seventh ward can best show their adherence to Democratic principles by supporting Mr. Kimball.



Equally worthy of democratic support is Professor Allen Hoben, independent nominee in the Sixth ward. Professor Hoben is waging a vigorous campaign on fundamental issues. Kimball and Hoben would form with Alderman Merriam a trio in Council who could do much to awaken Chicago to the need of something more in the way of reform than merely replacing "gray wolves" with "good men." Another candidate, Miss Harriet Vittum, independent nominee in the Seventeenth, has shown herself capable of making a fight in behalf of democracy.

S. D.

The Milwaukee Campaign.

Of more than local interest is the approaching Milwaukee mayoralty election. The opposing candidates are the Socialist, former Mayor Emil G. Seidel, and the so-called "Non-Partisan" present Mayor, G. A. Bading. As occurs wherever the Socialists are strong enough to command a plurality, upholders of privilege in Milwaukee have united on the Non-Partisan candidate. Opponents of Privilege, regardless of their views on Socialism, should not hesitate to support Mr. Seidel. Beneath the specific declarations of either side a clean-cut issue is presented. Mayor Bading represents acquiescence in existing fundamental wrongs, together with a promise of futile palliatives to apply to some of their effects. Mr. Seidel represents a protest against these wrongs. Opposition to him by democrats can not be justified unless thereby may be advanced a policy more fundamentally correct than Socialism. But this is not the case in Milwaukee at the approaching election. As the most efficient representative of democracy in the field, Mr. Seidel deserves the united support of Milwaukee democrats. S. D.



Making a Bad Law Odious.

One of the most conspicuous limitations of human nature manifests itself in the avidity with which so many men eagerly buy gold bricks. A similar and even more striking characteristic is the prevailing faith that the personal property tax is a means of compelling the rich to bear their share of the burdens of government. The advocate of the personal property tax has but one rival in persistency and absurdity, the perpetual motion inventor. In spite of the appeals to reason, the dictates of justice, and the admonitions of experience he clings to his hallucination, and seeks by means of statutory enactments to reverse the laws of nature. But a way seems at last to have been found to open his purblind eyes. Women deputy assessors have been appointed in Chicago to list the household furnishings of the rich, and one of two things must speedily happen: Either their assessments will be disregarded and set aside by the Board of Review, or there will be a mighty protest from the wealthy householders against the personal property tax. In either event the appointment of women assessors will redound to the benefit of tax reform.



The tax rate in Chicago is nearly six per cent on a one-third valuation; in some of the districts

in Cook County it is a trifle over nine per cent, that is to say, over three per cent on a full valuation. If money in savings banks were assessed according to the law that the assessor is sworn to obey, the owner would have to pay more in taxes than he receives in interest. Some time ago a moderately well-to-do citizen of a Chicago suburb attempted to have his assessment raised; but it required a good deal of argument and urging to get the assessor to make the correction. A few days later the owner received word from the assessor that the original assessment had been restored. Persistent inquiry on the part of the owner finally brought the reluctant admission that if his property were assessed at his own valuation, it would make the assessments of his rich neighbors "look bad."

S. C.



The Limit of Absurdity.

The following is from the Real Estate Indicator of New York City of February 7:

Suppose that two owners have properties worth \$1,000,000. The one has a lot worth \$300,000 on which there is a building worth \$700,000; his tax rate is 4.20. The other has land worth \$700,000 on which there is an old building worth \$300,000; his rate is 3.18. These both produce the same amount of taxes, \$18,000. Is there anything more absurd than that a man's tax rate should rise with the extent to which he improves his property?

There is one thing more absurd than the illustration quoted, and only one. It is the fact that the Real Estate Indicator honestly believes it has thus described the Singletax and publishes a 6,000-word article to show its fallacy.

S. D.



Colorado's Un-democratic Governor.

In 1904 and again in 1906 the Democratic state convention of Colorado denounced the overthrow of constitutional government by Governor Peabody. In 1904 the present Governor Ammons was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor on a platform declaring the right of every individual "to bear arms, to be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures, to freedom of speech, of person and of conscience, to the writ of habeas corpus and speedy trial by jury." In 1906 Ammons was again nominated for Lieutenant-Governor on a platform making similar declarations and denouncing the State Supreme Court for abolishing the writ of habeas corpus. Now Governor Ammons, elected as a Democrat, is guilty of the same wrongs for which Peabody was denounced. Something more than a party label is needed to prove democracy.

S. D.

Exit the Sensational Triflers.

Mr. S. S. McClure's prediction that we have reached the end of the "sex problem" stories, and that the "cave man" and "cave woman" in fiction will make way for normal human beings, expresses a welcomed opinion of a shrewd observer of affairs. And in hazarding the opinion that the public is turning to a more wholesome style of fiction, Mr. McClure has noted but one of the symptoms that indicate a general state of mind. One critic notes a reviving interest in poetry; another, saner art; another, wholesome fiction; another, cleaner politics; another, loftier statesmanship; another, closer fellowship; another, broader religion; and so on in the various fields of thought. There is a turning from the hopeless, stifling pessimism of the past two decades to a confident and inspiring optimism. There is less denunciation of persons and more recognition of conditions; less questioning of motives and greater appreciation of human nature. When Lincoln Steffens, in his search for "the man higher up," traced the stream of political corruption to its source he found, instead of a human monster of unspeakable depravity, merely men very much like other men, who were the victims of conditions that make for evil. Punishing the men does little toward purifying politics, for the reason that the same institutions tend to produce the same kind of men. This is not to eliminate personal responsibility, but rather to extend the responsibility to those who support and maintain the institutions that make for evil, instead of confining it to the victims of the institutions.



There is a most decided awakening of the people to the new duties and opportunities of citizenship. Party politics, in the old sense, never made less appeal to the voter than today. Turning the rascals out has ceased to be our chief national diversion. The average voter is coming to feel less concern about the personality of the candidate and the party to which he belongs, than what the candidate will do when he has been elected, which leads to a keener interest in fundamentals and a better tone in speeches and editorials. This is not to imply that the millennium is about to set in, for the people are groping, and the politicians are as blind leaders of the blind. The first thing toward seeing the light, however, is the wish to see it; and there were never before so many earnest men and women honestly seeking the truth, nor such rare opportunities for those who have already seen it.

s. o.

England's Crisis.

That a government's policy that jailed a labor leader for asking soldiers not to fire on strikers, while permitting members of Parliament to drill soldiers for the avowed purpose of resisting the lawful action of the government, was certain to bring trouble to that government, has long been apparent. That it should have taken the dramatic form of the present crisis few anticipated. Yet, when the known factors are taken into consideration, what else could have been expected? The officering of the British army has been as much a perquisite of the landed aristocracy as the House of Lords itself. Consequently, when the hereditary chamber had been deprived of its veto power, it was but natural that the landed interests should have turned to tampering with the loyalty of the army. And it was inevitable that a body of officers who owe allegiance to their class first, and then to their country, should have betrayed their trust.



The vigor with which Premier Asquith acted when the storm broke may be taken as evidence that he did not suppose earlier in the movement that the opposition would go to such lengths. But had he, and those associated with him, realized the far-reaching effect of the Lloyd George Budget, had they appreciated the fact that in that Budget lay the germ of a new economic state, they would have been prepared for the Tory rebellion. The landed interests of Great Britain know what the Budget means; and they know from the popular enthusiasm that greets Lloyd George's speeches on the land question that the principle in the Budget will be extended year after year until it eats the marrow out of their holdings. It is not Irish Home Rule that they are opposing; nor is it to protect Ulster that they have tampered with the army; it is simply and solely a mad effort to preserve the land system of Great Britain.



The land system of Great Britain can be saved only by reversing the course of history. The Liberal party must be thrown out, the Lords' veto must be restored, and, most of all, means must be found to stop the mouth of the pestiferous little Welsh democrat who has fired the Briton's imagination with the idea that God made the land for all his children, instead of for a few. And far as Lloyd George falls short of the desires of the Land Values group in his present plans, his proposals strike terror to the heart of the English

landlord. If Premier Asquith remains firm in the face of Tory machinations, Ulster bluster, and army mutiny, he may weather the storm; but should he fail, should his government go down now, rest assured that no future Liberal government will offer as mild a program as the present.

s. c.



NATURAL LAW IN THE ECONOMIC WORLD.

Part Three.

Limitation of competition in industries not specifically endowed by privilege has been the favorite device of despotic governments which have thus sought to retain for specially favored interests benefits which would otherwise be distributed among the masses of producers. Protective tariffs, and the privileges allowed mediæval guilds, are among those devices of government which have sought to restrain competition.

It has been remarked by one of the most searching writers on political economy (Max Hirsch, "Democracy versus Socialism") that no inquiry into the nature and function of competition has ever been instituted by socialists (and he might have included the orthodox school as well) who have contented themselves with asserting its inherent wickedness. Such an investigation rigorously pursued would show that in those instances where competition has seemed to produce evil results it was really because of an interruption of its free operation; and that such competition was one-sided, and therefore not free.

The true office of competition is to establish the relation between efficiency and reward. Nothing will do this save unhindered competition. Let us pause to reflect upon the importance of this for a minute. The naturally inefficient must be eliminated from social production. This does not imply any harsh fiat of the law; the extent of the penalty is the relegation of the competitors to their appropriate places as producing or distributing factors, according to their degrees of efficiency. "From all according to their abilities, to all according to their needs" (Louis Blanc) is a counsel of private philanthropy, not a law of social progress, nor of social continuity. The law of competition, which alone of all means determines the just balance of reward and efficiency, works in the end to the highest satisfaction of the race. To treat this law with contempt, or to attempt to replace it with the altruism of Louis Blanc, is to invite disaster and ultimate social decay.

It is assumed by such writers as Herbert Croly ("The Promise of American Life") that the present congestion of wealth in a few hands is due to "the freedom which the American tradition and organization have granted to the individual." Viewing the problem in this way—and it is the popular way—Mr. Croly urges that freedom has been beneficial up to a certain point, but beyond that it is fatal, or in danger of becoming fatal. He therefore declares for regulation, which is only the adoption of the same remedy which the Socialists, with a program more drastic, and therefore more consistent, urges as the sole panacea. This is the popular economic theory of the day in which the vast majority of Americans share with varying degrees of difference. It is time that these were all properly and distinctly categorized as belonging to the same school of thought. They have too long, to the bewilderment of true principles of logic, occupied the arena as antagonists, and their attacks and riposte on the socialistic position have been mistaken for genuine opposition. It has proved an engaging but not sanguinary encounter, since no false principles have been laid low and the issue of battle has never been clearly defined. It has all the characteristics of a mock tournament, and the false champions of individualism can be shown with their masks torn off as the sorriest of pretenders.



If competition is beneficial why should limits be set to its free operation? If it is a natural law *how can* such limits be set? It is evident that the law of co-operation has itself determined the limits. It ought to be clear that if in certain lines of industry competition reduces earnings temporarily below the normal return to capital, the principle of combination will restrain competition within limits. But so long as special privilege of legal creation is absent from the control of such combinations they cannot raise earnings or profits beyond the normal return to capital. And the reason again is clear—potential competition remains though actual competition is absent. Capital itself is fluid and answers every call; privilege only is solid, and on it, and not on combinations per se, must all monopolies finally rest.

What the forces of competition are doing does not impress itself upon us at all times as it should. Let us assume that the problem of feeding, clothing and housing the population of New York or London had to depend upon a single intelligent directing head. We will fail to appreciate the magnitude of the task, but an active imagination will aid us somewhat. There are few who

in the contemplation of such an undertaking would not confess its utter hopelessness as a task beyond the powers of any single directing human agency. Yet with each individual free to choose his own occupation, with each seeking chiefly the satisfaction of his own desires, and all being free to trade in what is produced, a population of five million people, with no general plan of distribution, contrives to feed and clothe itself in comparative comfort. By what strange alchemy are the individual economic impulses, desires, and productive energies of all these men and women producers poured into a common crucible and made to yield a residuum in which is fused the general good? By what other alchemy indeed than the law of individual and group competition which secures the highest welfare of the mass? How otherwise could New York or London be fed, clothed and housed? To alter the metaphor somewhat, this great economic machine is made up entirely of parts composed of individual wants and small group activities, each answerable to the general call.

If this supplying of general needs is not done with righteous equality, if in the distribution of products the really deserving are forgotten, it is not the fault of these natural laws, without which it could not be done at all. The lesson we are to learn is the unfailing precision, as well as the quality of immutable justice, which resides in the operation of these laws of competition, now called the "life of trade," and now stigmatized as brutal, cruel and unfeeling.



It is to be observed that New York neither grows its wheat nor forges the iron that goes into its buildings. It does not contain within itself these things. With the same unconscious co-operation of forces it secures them by the processes of exchange with outside communities; the springs that govern these processes are all hidden from the eye; they are no part of the conscious operation of individuals. The contemplation of such facts as these are full of pregnant lessons.

A discussion of what is the legitimate province of the state, just how far it may travel in the assumption of public activities, is too large a subject to be treated here. But it may be said that *the state is justified in proceeding only so far as will secure the free operation of natural economic forces*. Having in view the principle of the largest competition, it must not go beyond this what it may decide to do. The sole justification of any state activity is the state's obligation to permit all economic forces to freely operate. It

ought to be clear that attempts to regulate private business are from every point of view undesirable. But there are some businesses in their nature public, which, being in private hands, must be taken over or controlled from the point of view of public policy. These are railroads, telegraphs, telephones and gas companies. Then there are private businesses in which governmental regulation finds its apparent justification in the quasi partnership maintained by government toward them in the gift of tariff favors and in the maintenance of the institution of land monopoly, the exercise of which would be impossible if government had exercised only its prerogative. Let us insist that but for this quasi partnership with private business there would be no justification at all for regulation—for the Sherman Act, or any legislation of similar character.

It is assumed that "agreements in restraint of trade" are dangers against which law is to guard us. But we are told by those who realize how elastic is the term, and how perilous to industry must be almost any exercise of the power to regulate, that the law must guard us only against "un-reasonable" restraint. Would it not be well for advocates of restraint to turn again to "first principles," and ask themselves if there is not a decree of greater validity than the decree of courts or industrial commissions which has already rendered innocuous "agreements in restraint of trade"—I mean, of course, such agreements as involve nothing but the intention to combine, which represent combination *per se*, combination plus only the agreement to combine. Nothing is more harmless.



Imagine a state of economic freedom, such a condition as may be brought about by the abolition of every form of special privilege. Imagine then the working of the law of competition, qualified by its opposites, the impulse of men to combine economically. This law of combination or co-operation is qualified or limited by more than one economic factor. It is folly to talk of "indiscriminate competition," or of an age of competition that has passed. No economic laws exist today that were not here in the earliest development of industry. Later periods present more complex phases of the same problem—that is all. And what has bedeviled the same simplicity of its operation is not perfected machinery—as socialists would have us believe—nor the increase in size of industrial combinations, but monopoly. And monopoly is always the creature of government—it is not, as we have said, inherent in com-

bination. The evils exist, let us say again, in special favors conferred in tariff, railroad and patent favors, and in the gift of natural monopolies and natural opportunities—consist, in short, of the quasi-partnership maintained by government with industry or certain industries.

In no country have the natural laws of economics been wholly unimpeded. But in Great Britain the obstructions to trade imposed by excessive customs were repealed fifty years ago. With them have also disappeared certain more onerous and irregular methods of taxation still in vogue in continental Europe. The result has been that economic progress has been far more noticeable than in countries where more backward legislation survives. In France, from other causes, certain long-fixed obstructions to the free operation of economic laws were removed by revolution. The people came more largely into the ownership of the land and the laws of inheritance were modified; the result has been that France is a country which is singular in the material quality of its citizens, and where few colossal fortunes loom ominously over great centers of population pauperized or dependent.

But these countries are almost alone where timid, half-way concessions to the law of economic freedom have been made. The forcible breaking away by the revolution from uneconomic traditions, and the more enlightened legislation of the Code Napoleon in France made way for a greater prosperity, while in Great Britain the natural forces of trade and maritime growth leaped the confines of barbarous tariff and navigation laws the minute their bonds were broken.

Germany should not be wholly neglected in naming the states where economic laws have been allowed a measure of freedom. With the creation of the German Empire and the merging of many duchies and principalities was adopted the *Zollverein*, or Customs Union. This entailed the abolition of all tariffs which these former independencies had levied against one another and a consequent extension of the principles of free trade. Almost at once the effect of natural laws began to be manifest in the increase of German manufactures and the greater prosperity of the German people.

No argument should be required for the contention that a natural law is a beneficent law. We cannot speak of the law of gravitation as a law beneficent or otherwise—since it deals with purely physical phenomena. But social and economic forces include human impulses; they deal with the voluntary acts of mankind; and if civiliza-

tion have a meaning, all natural economic laws must tend to the harmonious development of the race. We can read into them what theological concept we please, but beneficent they must be if life upon this planet is anything but a sorry joke of a very poor sort of creative intelligence. And although we have not yet begun to test the working of these laws evidence is cumulative that obedience to them secures the maximum of human happiness and the onward march of the race to unimagined goals. JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SOUTH AMERICAN PROGRESS.

Buenos Aires, February 18, 1914.

The year 1913 has now closed. A short review of the outstanding features from a Single Tax standpoint may be of interest to the readers of *The Public*. Unquestionably, from an economic standpoint, the most important has been the adoption by Paraguay of the principle of Taxation of Lands Values as a source of National Revenue, with the expressed idea, as clearly set out by the Minister of Finance, when introducing the measure, of gradually increasing the tax and using the revenue so produced to reduce the taxes heretofore paid on most of the produce exported from the country. What is perhaps more remarkable is the form in which it has been provided that all valuations shall be made. The new law decrees that the owners of all lands shall declare the value of their holdings, setting forth the value of the land, buildings and other improvements. This value shall be accepted by the government as the actual value of the declarant's property, the Government being given the right to expropriate any property that is considered to be undervalued by the simple method of adding 15 per cent to the owner's declared value and paying same over through the Supreme Court to the owner, provision being made that should any difficulty arise with the owner re-accepting the purchase money, same shall be deposited in the Banco de la Republica and the expropriation thus not be delayed by the almost interminable lawsuits that can be raised under the law systems of most Latin countries, and for the matter of that, where the litigant can pay, in Anglo-Saxon communities also.

This Paraguayan law further establishes a surtax of 40 per cent on all properties where the value of capital invested in the working of same does not amount to 20 per cent of the value of the land, while it is also most clearly set out that in striking the rate of tax on any property the value of the LAND ONLY must be taken into account.

Thus does distant Paraguay lead the world in the matter of making valuations and the levying of taxes for national purposes on Land Values only. This law will strike the death blow to land monopoly in Paraguay as we see it today. There we have estates of 2,000 leagues belonging to one man—18,000 square miles—a mere 11,520,000 acres and the owner has scarcely seen the fringe of his property. These lands,

and many others, were given in exchange for debts due by the nation, and for the purpose of settlement of accounts were calculated as being worth £5 per league. Today these same lands are worth and being sold at from £500 to £1,000 per league. The recipients of these lands until recently, paid no taxes on them. The tax-paying was left to those who put a little bit of elbow grease into the country and worked the timber or "Yerba Mate" (a sort of tea that is very extensively consumed all over South America). The man who made these lands yield anything was "fined" by taxation whenever he produced anything for export. Under such conditions no one can be surprised that the exports of Paraguayan products shrunk until the premium on gold reached about 1700.

At last it seems to have dawned on those ruling the destinies of the Paraguayans that there was some other and some better way of developing the country than that of protecting from taxation some 200 or 300 land owners, many of whom had never seen the country that yielded them such a rich harvest. The legislature now seems to be determined to protect those who live in Paraguay, whether Paraguayans or foreigners, and to compel those Paraguayans and shareholders in joint stock companies—mostly men who are, even if Paraguayans, "too superior" to live in Paraguay, but who own three-fourths of Paraguay—to pay their quota to the National and Municipal outlay.

In the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, the President, Dr. Borges de Medeiros, has openly and with very clear reasoning signaled his conversion to the Taxation of Land Values. For many years the State of Rio Grande has, through its government, been struggling with the question of colonizing the fertile rolling country of which this province contains such immense areas. The President holds office for six years. Dr. Borges de Medeiros is now in his second term of office. His first term was cast upon him through the death of that notable statesman, Julio de Castillo, the present President being then Vice.

The States in Brazil, as in Canada and the U. S. A., have the right to make their own laws dealing with taxation of a local nature. Dr. Borges de Medeiros has been instrumental in placing on the statute book of Rio Grande laws that will, spread over a term of five or six years, gradually transfer the forms of taxation for State purposes from INDIRECT to DIRECT taxation.

Unfortunately so far no attempt has been made to deal with the incidence of municipal taxes. This is to be regretted, because in that State the municipal taxation is based upon "perhaps the worst form ever devised by man."

Reform may, however, be looked for, for with a man who sees the great TRUTH as clearly as Dr. Borges de Medeiros has shown that he does everything is possible. If only that State were to adopt fair and just systems of taxation for Municipal, as it has done for State purposes, what developments we would see, for it is one of the richest cattle-grazing countries that exists in all South America; finely grassed, plentifully watered; while its soil yields most prolifically to any work put into it with the plow.

In Uruguay things are moving ahead steadily towards economic justice, thanks principally to that prolific and exceptionally sound writer, Dr. Manuel Herrera y Reissig. This gentleman has succeeded in building up a group of thorough-going Single Taxers, and aided by some of his converts the work of convincing leading members of the legislature has been undertaken most energetically with satisfactory results. Those who follow the trend of affairs in these Latin Republics are looking for very great developments in Uruguay during the current year. Already valuations have been made setting forth the value of the building and improvements in a great part of the republic. The Commission in charge of the work, including as it does such noted advocates of Land Values Taxation as Drs. Martinez, Villaverde and Cotello, are pushing forward rapidly the completion of the work.

Nowhere in the world is the cost of living so high as in Montevideo. Any change effected in striking taxation off the necessaries of life and in reducing the price of land would be welcomed by all but a select few, and as the President of the country, Dr. Battle y Ordonez, is a very thorough-going man once he is convinced, great things are looked for from the report of the Valuation Committee.

C. N. MACINTOSH.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

FREEDOM OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.

A remarkable pronouncement, having a direct relation to democratic freedom in our institutions of higher learning, has been recently made by the head of the Department of Sociology in the University of Chicago. "It is a more comfortable job," says Professor Albion W. Small, "to card-index the past or the present than to work on construction of the future. The bulk of American scholarship in the social sciences has gravitated in the line of least resistance." If this were said by a plain ungraduated, non-professional citizen, it would be either ignored or "refuted." But it comes from one who is on the inside, and who "knows the game." Taken in connection with the following from the same authority, its bearing upon academic teaching becomes luminous:

We know perfectly well that thousands of people are flourishing without earning anything at all, and other thousands earn various fractions of what they get. Of course, that means so much taken indirectly from the earnings of other people. We refuse to admit it, because we can't see how far the admission might carry us. Anyone who has his brains with him must sooner or later discover that such a position is a logical and moral stultification. Our capitalistic system is a siphon that sucks up men's rights by a law of accelerated motion. Simply give it time and let it alone and it would end before very long in having every cubic inch of land, sea and sky bonded to a clique of financiers, and then the terms under which the rest of the human race might be permitted to stay on the earth could be dictated in the licenses granted at their own price by the syndicate.

LOUIS WALLIS.



When warriors cease being honored, the world will be well on the way toward peace.—H. W. O.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, March 31, 1914.

Congressional Doings.

The bill repealing exemption of American coast-wise vessels from Panama tolls passed the House of Representatives on March 31 by a vote of 247 for to 161 against. [See current volume, page 274.]



A bill for leasing of Alaska coal lands was reported on March 24 by the Senate Public Lands Committee. After reserving a certain amount of land to be mined by the government it provides for leasing of unreserved lands in tracts of from 40 to 560 acres. Leases are to be made to the highest bidders. Railroads will only be allowed to acquire a sufficient supply for their own uses. Leases will be for indeterminate periods but subject to readjustment at the end of 20 years.



The House Judiciary Committee is considering the recommendations of the lobby investigation committee. On March 24, James A. Emery appeared before the committee and argued against censuring the conduct of himself and other officers of the National Association of Manufacturers. The attorney for Congressman McDermott, James Easby Smith, also appeared to protest against censure of his client. On the other hand, Congressman McDonald of Michigan, a member of the lobby investigating committee, has presented a minority report, urging expulsion of McDermott, and is vigorously pushing it. [See current volume, page 299.]



The National Voters' League in a statement issued on March 25 declared the House of Representatives to be controlled through an arrangement between Democratic floor leader Underwood and Republican floor leader Mann. Regarding them it says:

They do not often co-operate in legislation, but their organizations usually work together to prevent fundamental changes in the rules, to protect members of both parties, and to keep the present undemocratic parliamentary system intact.



Mexico and the United States.

General Villa completed his investment of Torreon on the 24th and from that day the reading

public has centered its attention on the most sanguinary battle of the war, if not in the history of Mexico. Both armies seem to be impressed with the fact that Torreon is the key to Mexico, and have fought with desperation. The temporary reverse of General Villa, after driving the Federals from Gomez Palacio, one of their outposts, caused a closing of the wires, so that nothing but rumors filtered through to the outside world during the following five days. The removal of the censorship lifts the curtain on a great scene of carnage, due to the desperation of attack and defense. General Villa is reported to be in possession of nearly the whole of the city, and to be still pressing the attack on the Federals, who are making a last stand in the main barracks. [See current volume, page 302.]



The losses on both sides are reported to be very heavy, that of the Federals being given at 2,500, and the Constitutionlists 900 killed and wounded. Some reports give Villa's loss at 2,000. General Refugio Velasco, Federal commander, is thought to have no more than 3,000 able bodied men in action now. Large numbers of his troops are said to have deserted to General Villa's command. But the Constitutionlist General is said to be resorting to his old practice of executing officers and irregular troops who fall into his hands. The fact that press dispatches are now received from the front is taken to indicate the success of General Villa.



General Carranza reached Juarez after his 500 mile horseback ride, on the 29th, where he was received by the people with great demonstrations of delight. In the procession through the streets the American flag was carried beside the Mexican emblem. General Carranza declared that no act or contract of the Huerta government would be recognized should the Constitutionlists succeed in capturing Mexico City. "Huerta is not President of Mexico," he said, "and none of his acts can be legal, and therefore none of them can be binding."



General Huerta, it is reported, has succeeded in raising \$33,000,000 in gold from Mexican bankers, who are making the loan on condition that he give up the idea of issuing irredeemable currency. This enables him to resume the payment of interest of the foreign debt, which was suspended on January 12. The banks take \$100,000,000 in bonds at 30 per cent of their face value. The bonds are secured by a pledge of 16 per cent of the customs. The 250 rifles consigned by the United States war department to the American embassy for the protection of American citizens in the event of disturbances in Mexico City, and which had been held at the Vera Cruz customs

house on General Huerta's orders, were released on the 24th.



English Politics.

Not in many years has the British government passed through such a crisis as that of the past week. The cabinet was embarrassed by the action of Colonel J. E. B. Seely, Secretary of State for War, who gave written assurances to General Gough and his mutinous officers that they would not be used against Ulster. Such a protest was raised by the Labor and Radical leaders and press that Colonel Seely was forced to resign on the 24th. Associated with him in responsibility were Field Marshal Sir John French, chief of the general staff, and Sir John Spencer Ewart, adjutant general. When Premier Asquith refused to accept Colonel Seely's resignation, Generals French and Ewart resigned. [See current volume, page 302.]



Premier Asquith demanded of General Gough the return of the document given him by Secretary Seely; and issued stringent orders governing the relations of the army to the government. General French and General Ewart declined to withdraw their resignations, and the Premier was compelled to accept the resignation of Colonel Seely. Then came a complete surprise in Parliament. Instead of naming another man as Secretary of State for war, Mr. Asquith assumed the office himself.



The assumption of the new office necessitates the resignation of Mr. Asquith as member of Parliament, and his standing for re-election by his constituency of East Fife. This is considered an adroit move on the Premier's part. For if his seat should be contested, he will have three weeks in which to adjust matters. So grave has been the issue between the people and the army, or rather between the people and the officers of the army, that Ulster and Irish Home Rule have been thrown into the background. Mr. Asquith's firm stand for civil government, and his assumption of the war portfolio, have aroused such enthusiasm among his followers that the trend of opinion is thought to be pronouncedly in his favor.



Japanese Politics.

The resignation of the cabinet on the 24th brings to a head the growing discontent with the home government that lately found expression in political riots. Clan government, the radicals claim, has received a severe blow in the disappearance of the Yamamoto cabinet. A statement by the government declared that the cabinet had resigned on account of the failure of the House of Representatives and the House of Peers to agree

on the budget. The opposition journals attribute the fall of the government to the naval scandal, which is undermining the discipline of the navy, and causing the Japanese blue jackets to regard their officers with contempt. The Emperor has ordered Viscount Keigo Kiyoura to form a new cabinet. [See current volume, page 303.]



Tax Reform News.

Barney Haughey, one of the members of the Board of Directors of the Colorado Singletax Association, and a tax expert of many years' experience, has been engaged to make a comparative assessment sheet for each taxpayer in Denver, which will show the actual amount of taxes paid for the year 1913 and the amount his taxes would have been under the Singletax, had that method of assessment and taxation been in use. After these comparative assessment rolls are finished, the information will be available to the general public, and any taxpayer, by applying to the association, will be able to learn in dollars and cents just what the saving will be.



The Industrial Tax Exemption Association of New Jersey is pushing the Hennesey-Fisk bill, now before the legislature, which provides for home rule in taxation for municipalities. A public hearing on this bill at the State House in Trenton was held on March 25.



Edward Polak, Register of Bronx Borough, New York City, has published a computation of the tax rate on land and improvements for the next five years under the proposed Herrick-Schaap bill, which provides for a ten per cent reduction each year of the tax rate on improvements until equal to half of the rate on land values. For the present year the assessed valuation of real estate, exclusive of franchises, is:

	Land.	Improvements.	Tax rate.
Manhattan	\$3,161,949,660	\$1,612,328,120	1.78
Bronx	336,116,060	253,280,895	1.77
Brooklyn	783,859,159	787,627,773	1.84
Queens	280,678,120	166,008,357	1.80
Richmond	40,249,108	36,687,873	1.80
Total value	\$4,602,852,107	\$2,855,932,518	
Total assessed valuation of land and im-			
provements		\$7,458,784,625.00	
The total budget for 1914 is.....			192,995,551.62

Mr. Polak figures that with the same budget the tax rate under the Herrick-Schaap bill for the next five years would be:

Manhattan:	On Land.	On Im-
Tax rate for 1915.....	1.85	1.66½=90%
Tax rate for 1916.....	1.91	1.53 =80%
Tax rate for 1917.....	1.98	1.39 =70%
Tax rate for 1918.....	2.07	1.24 =60%
Tax rate for 1919.....	2.14	1.07 =50%

Bronx:			
Tax rate for 1915.....	1.85	1.66½=90%	
Tax rate for 1916.....	1.94	1.65 =80%	
Tax rate for 1917.....	2.04	1.42 =70%	
Tax rate for 1918.....	2.14	1.28 =60%	
Tax rate for 1919.....	2.26	1.13 =50%	
Kings:			
Tax rate for 1915.....	1.96	1.74 =90%	
Tax rate for 1916.....	2.06	1.66 =80%	
Tax rate for 1917.....	2.18	1.53 =70%	
Tax rate for 1918.....	2.31	1.38 =60%	
Tax rate for 1919.....	2.46	1.23 =50%	
Queens:			
Tax rate for 1915.....	1.90	1.71 =90%	
Tax rate for 1916.....	2.00	1.60 =80%	
Tax rate for 1917.....	2.10	1.47 =70%	
Tax rate for 1918.....	2.10	1.32 =60%	
Tax rate for 1919.....	2.30	1.15 =50%	
Richmond:			
Tax rate for 1915.....	2.00	1.80 =90%	
Tax rate for 1916.....	2.10	1.68 =80%	
Tax rate for 1917.....	2.22	1.55 =70%	
Tax rate for 1918.....	2.35	1.41 =60%	
Tax rate for 1919.....	2.50	1.25 =50%	

On different classes of houses Mr. Polak figures the effect as follows:

One-Family House.				
Land	\$1,500			
Improvement	3,000			
\$4,500 the taxes would be as follows:				
	Total taxes.	Increase on lot.	Decrease on building.	Total savings in each year.
At tax rate for—				
1914	\$79.95	....	....	....
1915	77.70	\$1.10	\$3.35	\$2.25
1916	76.60	2.45	6.80	4.35
1917	73.20	3.95	10.70	6.75
1918	70.50	5.45	14.90	9.45
1919	67.80	7.25	19.40	12.15

Total savings in 5 years.....\$34.95
After that the saving would be \$12.15 each year.

Two-Family House.				
Land	\$2,000			
Improvement	4,500			
\$6,500 the taxes would be as follows:				
	Total taxes.	Increase on lot.	Decrease on building.	Total savings in each year.
At tax rate for—				
1914	\$115.05	....	....	....
1915	111.93	\$1.60	\$4.72	\$3.12
1916	108.55	3.40	9.90	6.50
1917	104.70	5.40	15.75	10.33
1918	100.40	7.40	22.05	14.65
1919	95.05	9.80	28.80	19.00

Total saving in 5 years.....\$53.62
After that the saving would be \$19 each year.

Three-Family House.				
Land	\$3,000			
Improvements	7,000			
\$10,000 taxes would be as follows:				
	Total taxes.	Increase on lot.	Decrease on building.	Total savings in each year.
At tax rate for—				
1914	\$177.00	....	....	....
1915	172.05	\$2.40	\$7.35	\$4.95
1916	166.70	5.10	15.40	10.30
1917	160.60	8.10	24.50	16.40

1918	153.80	11.10	34.30	23.20
1919	146.90	14.70	44.80	30.10

Total saving in 5 years.....\$84.95
After that the saving would be \$30.10 each year.

Bronx Five-Story Flat.			
Land	\$10,000		
Improvements	40,000		

\$50,000 the taxes would be as follows:

	Total taxes.	Increase on lot.	Decrease on building.	Total savings in each year.
At tax rate for—				
1914	\$885.00	....	....	....
1915	851.00	\$8.00	\$42.00	\$34.00
1916	814.00	17.00	88.00	71.00
1917	772.00	27.00	140.00	113.00
1918	726.00	37.00	196.00	159.00
1919	678.00	49.00	256.00	207.00

Total saving in 5 years.....\$587.00
After that the saving would be \$207 each year.

On a vacant lot in the Bronx worth \$10,000 the taxes are:

- 1914 tax rate, \$1.77; total taxes, \$177.
 - 1915 tax rate, \$1.85; total taxes, \$185; increase of \$8 over present taxes.
 - 1916 tax rate of \$1.94; total taxes, \$194; increase of \$17 over present taxes.
 - 1917 tax rate, \$2.04; total taxes, \$204; increase of \$27 over present taxes.
 - 1918 tax rate, \$2.14; total taxes, \$214; increase of \$37 over present taxes.
 - 1919 tax rate, \$2.26; total taxes, \$226; increase of \$49 over present taxes.
- On a lot worth \$10,000, total increase of taxes in five years, \$138.

[See current volume, pages 131, 223, 273.]



An initiative bill known as "The Fundamental Reform Act," is being pushed in the State of Washington. Its author, Mr. Thorwald Siegfried, explains it as follows:

The act will require every land owner to set a price on his land (exclusive of improvements) for which he will sell and on which he will pay taxes. The state may buy the land at the owner's price, or any citizen may bid the owner's price for it—if he is willing to pay an annual ground rent "premium," or super tax, of which he fixes the rate, in addition to the general taxes. In that case the owner must sell, or pay ¼ the annual premium bid by the stranger; this forced sale does not apply to land which the owner is using HIMSELF, as a home, store, factory, etc. The owner can move the value of the land down or the rate of the ground rent premium or super-tax up, but he cannot move the value up or the rate down. By that means the act will stop speculation in the FUTURE increase of land values and will take them into the public treasury for public use in the form of a "premium" paid by absentee landlords on figures furnished by themselves.

The plan has had the criticism and endorsement of some of the brightest minds in the United States. It puts the weight of private self interest on the side of justly enforcing the law instead of on the side of unjustly evading it, as is now the case. It is a plan whereby the people if they desire can administer the land values that accrue in the future on a just basis,

leaving the past as it is. It does not invade the equities of the future to correct the iniquities of the past. It recognizes past abuses as abuses and seeks to have the State of Washington go and sin no more.



At a Democratic dinner in Pittsburgh on March 21, City Solicitor Michael J. Ryan of Philadelphia, candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination announced as his taxation platform: "I especially advocate home rule for towns, cities and boroughs, so that they may follow in this world-wide movement to tax land values and encourage industry by exempting improvements from taxation."



In answer to questions of the Woman's Party of Cook County and of the Chicago Single Tax Club the following aldermanic candidates have declared themselves in favor of abolishing taxes on personal property and improvements: William J. Pringle, Republican, Third ward; Allen Hoben, Independent, Sixth ward; John N. Kimball, Independent, Seventh ward; Ernest M. Gross, Republican, Eighth ward; Joseph T. Spiker, Republican, Ninth ward; Charles J. Lucas, Republican, and Charles G. Dixon, Progressive, Fourteenth ward; Hugo Krause, Progressive, Twenty-first ward; Alfred J. Schroeter, Republican, Twenty-second ward; Lee M. Pedigo, Democrat, Twenty-fifth ward; M. P. Dempsey, Progressive, Twenty-eighth ward; Fred W. Radcliffe, Progressive, Thirtieth ward; Julia Agnew, Progressive, Thirty-first ward; Melville G. Holding, Democrat, Thirty-second ward; Arthur H. Webb, Independent, Thirty-third ward; Bert E. Smith, Independent, Thirty-fourth ward; Otto W. Struben, Republican, Thirty-fifth ward.



Governor Cox Establishes a Precedent.

A respite for a year and a day was granted by Governor Cox of Ohio on March 25 to Leslie Humphries, sentenced to die on March 27. Governor Cox declared that he will urge on his successors to continue this respite from year to year provided Humphries makes a good record as a prisoner in the Ohio penitentiary. In the meantime his wages as a prisoner will be turned over to his family.



Toledo Street Railway Situation.

The last act of the administration of Brand Whitlock as Mayor of Toledo was the signing of an ordinance establishing three-cent street railway fares with universal transfers on expiration of then existing franchises. These franchises expired on March 27 and the three-cent fare ordinance went automatically into effect. In the meantime the street railway company applied to Federal Judge Killits for an injunction to re-

strain the city from enforcing the ordinance. No decision having been rendered on expiration of the franchises, the company, while refusing to accept three-cent fares, made no attempt to eject passengers from cars who refused to pay more. As a result street railway transportation has been practically free since March 27. On March 30 Judge Killits refused to issue the injunction asked by the company.



The Labor War.

Striking West Virginia miners who had been living near Colliers in tents were evicted on March 25 by United States deputy marshals acting under orders of Federal Judge A. G. Dayton. The evicted miners with their wives and children to the number of 200 persons were compelled to walk ten miles to Steubenville, Ohio, where union officials took charge of them.



Frank Tannenbaum, leader in New York City of the homeless unemployed, arrested for demanding shelter in St. Alphonsus church, was found guilty on March 27 of "participating in an unlawful assemblage" and sentenced by Judge Wadhams to one year in the penitentiary and payment of \$500 fine, which practically makes his prison term about two and a half years. In passing sentence the judge said this extreme penalty was necessary "for the protection of society."



A professional strike breaker, Charles Killman, on pleading guilty at Seattle on March 24 to a charge of conspiracy, confessed that he had planted dynamite in order to incriminate leaders of the teamsters' strike. He claimed to have been employed by the Team Owners' Association to find evidence of lawlessness on the part of strikers.

NEWS NOTES

—Frances Squire Potter, author, educator and woman suffrage leader died in Chicago on March 25, at the age of 46.

—The new civil government of the Panama Canal Zone, headed by Colonel George W. Goethals, as governor, went into effect April 1. [See current volume, page 129.]

—Senator Crawford of South Dakota was defeated for renomination on March 24 at the primary by Congressman C. H. Burke. The Democratic nominee is E. S. Johnson.

—On March 26 the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature by a vote of 168 to 39 favored a State referendum on woman suffrage in 1915. [See current volume, page 206.]

—Federal Judge Walter Evans of Louisville, on March 25, upheld the Louisville and Nashville Rail-

road in its refusal to give the Interstate Commerce Commission access to its files. [See current volume, page 177.]

—A memorial meeting in honor of Joseph Fels and John Sherwin Crosby was held at Kansas City on March 29. The speakers were W. W. Rose and J. E. Wilson of Kansas City and George Hughes of Topeka. There was also a musical program.

—The arbitration treaty between the United States and Denmark, which was signed at Washington February 5, 1914, was rejected by the Danish Senate on the 28th. This treaty made arbitration compulsory. The old treaty expired on the 29th. [See vol. xvi, p. 1231.]

—A woman suffrage amendment will be voted upon in five States next autumn, Nebraska, by the filing of a petition containing 42,500 names on March 14 having been added to Nevada, Montana and the two Dakotas, where State campaigns are already under way.

—The Ohio State Tax Commission on March 24 overruled the Tax Commissioners of Cuyahoga County, who held John D. Rockefeller in default of \$12,000,000 taxes. All claims for personal property taxes in Ohio against Mr. Rockefeller will now be dropped. [See current volume, page 181.]

—The partnership agreement between the Chinese government and the Standard Oil Company provides for the exploitation of the oil fields in the province of Shen-se, in the northwestern part of China, and around Jehol, in the province of Chi-li, 125 miles northeast of Peking. These are thought to be the richest oil fields in the world.

—Nominations were made on March 24 at the direct primary in the Seventh New Jersey Congressional District to succeed the late Representative Robert G. Bremner. They are: Republican, Dow H. Drukker; Democrat, James J. O'Byrne; Progressive, Henry C. Whitehead; Socialist, Gordon Demarest. [See current volume, pages 149, 157.]

—Vice-President Roberto E. Leguia of Peru has met with so much opposition in his attempt to assume the office of president, made vacant by the banishment of President Guillermo Billinghurst, that he has resigned the office. A new government council is being formed to arrange for a presidential election. [See current volume, pages 206, 303.]

—A Michael J. Ryan Single Tax Club was organized at Philadelphia on March 21. The object, as its name indicates, is to work in behalf of the candidacy of Michael J. Ryan for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. The officers elected were: President, William L. Ross; vice-president, Ryerson W. Jennings; secretary, Henry B. Tawresy; treasurer, F. W. Rous.

—The non-partisan primary in Milwaukee resulted in the nomination at the head of the poll of former mayor, Emil Seidel, and of the present mayor, G. A. Bading, as second on the list. The other candidates were former Mayor Rose and Theo. Otjen. No party designations were allowed, although Seidel is known to be the Socialist choice and Bading the "non-partisan." [See volume XV, page 348.]

—Mme. Caillaux, wife of the French Minister of Finance, who shot and killed Gaston Calmette,

editor of Figaro, on the 16th, was given a preliminary examination before Magistrate Boucard in the Palais de Justice on the 24th. No new points of importance were brought out. She assumes full responsibility for the act, says she was driven to it by the fear that private letters would be published, and that she intended only to frighten M. Calmette. No further changes in the cabinet have occurred. [See current volume, page 302.]

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States [See current volume, page 158] for the seven months ending January, 1914, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce for January, 1914, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$1,521,835,450	\$1,067,920,838	\$453,914,612 exp.
Gold	34,978,050	46,246,610	11,268,560 imp.
Silver	33,464,392	20,054,492	13,409,900 exp.
Total	\$1,590,277,892	\$1,134,221,940	\$456,055,952 exp.

The imports for January, 1914, were \$154,469,263, of which 60.9 per cent were entered free of duty; for January, 1913, the imports were \$163,063,438, of which 55.5 per cent were entered free of duty.

PRESS OPINIONS

Coming Events in New York.

Reedy's Mirror (St. Louis), February 6.—A splendid feature of the New York Singletax dinner was the speech of the Socialist, J. Stitt Wilson, former Mayor of Berkeley, California. Socialists and Singletaxers are beginning to work together better than ever before. . . . In New York City, the Singletaxers, with their lower rent movement, have scared the land speculators blue and green and yellow and red and white. The rent reducing effect of taxation on land values only is easily demonstrable, inescapably demonstrable. The people who pay rent in New York are the millions. Show them and they'll vote and the land speculators cannot help themselves. The anti-Tammanyites and Progressives are strongly impregnated with Georganism. . . . The plan of campaign is to talk the exemption. New York now separates land and improvements in assessment and has steadily raised the taxes on land values. The system has only to be pushed to its logical conclusion to attain the desired result.



How Charity Operates.

The State Journal, (Raleigh, N. C.), March 6.—Tolstoi said that the rich are willing to do anything for the poor except to get off their backs. It is gratifying to see that the new idea of justice instead of charity is gaining a hold in the country. Thus, Dr. Percy Grant, rector of the Church of the Ascension of New York, recently told a story showing that men like himself are beginning to see the truth. It was the story of a tender-hearted lady in a philanthropic society who rushed to stroke and pat a stray kitten that had come for refuge into the office from the crowded street. The more she stroked the kitten's back, however, the more she soothingly said, "Poor Kitty, good Kitty!" the more the cat yowled

and spat. The ungratefulness of the animal filled the good lady with surprise and grief until it was discovered that while she was patting the kitten's head she was standing upon its tail! "The moral of the incident," said Dr. Grant, "is that no amount of external and superimposed philanthropy can produce much effect upon men and women smarting from a sense of economic wrong and social injustice."

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A HUMAN SACRIFICE.

Lawrence Nelson in the Individualist (London).

I flung myself down, in the dead of the night,
By the cot where my babe lay, so still and so
white—

My poor tortured rose, doomed to die but a bud
By the law which had forced me to poison her blood.
For a time, by the side of her cot, I stayed dumb
In that agony tense when the tears will not come;
Then they suddenly burst as I vowed I'd wage war
To save babes such as mine from this infamous law.
Then, midst sobbing and choking, I asked myself:

"Why

And how have I sinned, that my baby should die?"
An answering voice from within me then said:—
"Do you dare to demand why your baby lies dead?
Do you dare to demand how such sorrows you earn?
Such hard things must befall ere your lesson you
learn.

You have scoffed at reform and the unending fight
For true justice and freedom. You ne'er sought to
right

The wrong that is done 'neath the cloak of 'ad-
vance';

You sat heedless at home and have left it to chance.
And, at length, when the injury comes to your door,
You rise up and declare you will fight evermore.
For so long as you mothers and fathers heed not
Till your own cherished baby lies dead in its cot
Dumb to pleading of others no finger you lift
To find out what is true and you let matters drift,
Just so long there'll be mothers and fathers who
mourn

For their poor tortured children so ruthlessly torn
From the bosoms of those who so bitterly find
Love only is love when 'tis framed in the mind
By the yearning to better the whole of mankind.
See now, you but offer to fight 'gainst one crumb
Of injustice, while leaving the rest of the sum.
You think you will conquer one particle small;
But justice, as justice, must stand or must fall."

I rose from the cot, in the dead of the night,
Where my poor tortured babe lay so still and so
white,
And I graved on my shield: "Freedom, Justice, and
Right."



Unpopularity is no condemnation, but neither is it
acquittal.—Canon Barnett.

LOBSTERS I HAVE MET.

He Was Strong for "Investments."

For The Public.

I had neglected to reserve a seat on number four; the cars were filled but the conductor kindly permitted me to sit in the smoke box. Nice man. On entering I found two other passengers who were booked to keep me company. I bowed as they looked up, they nodded acknowledgment.

"Some crowd on," I remarked.

"There surely is," returned one, a big smooth-faced fellow who looked like somebody.

The other man was of medium height with black mustache; a manufacturer from New York.

Just then who should come in but my old friend Cassidy, all out of breath; he had to run to catch the train.

"Well, now—see what I found," I cried, as I got up to greet him.

"For the love of Mike where did you drop from?" he returned, cheerily, as we shook hands.

"I live here. Going to Cleveland," I replied. "Tell us a few things, here's a cigar."

Cassidy smiled, took the smoke and lit up.

"What do you want me to tell you?" he winked at our companions.

"First tell us how you come to be in this part of the country; going to break in here?"

Again Cassidy smiled. We introduced ourselves to the others, the big fellow's name was Langdon, the other's was Andrews.

"I'm thinking about getting in here," said Cassidy, answering my question; "there is a good future in Toledo. No better opportunity anywhere than I have looked over here the past two days."

"Mr. Cassidy is a land speculator," I informed the others, "he can scent a rise in land values ten years off."

"I'm glad the Currency Bill has passed," said Cassidy, changing the subject.

"I guess everybody is," I agreed.

"The money situation ought to loosen up now," observed Langdon.

"It isn't more money we need so much as more capital," said Andrews.

We looked at Andrews. Cassidy looked him over as he remarked, "You made a distinction there, old man, that few are wise to; I wonder if you are. What is capital, and what is money?"

Cassidy had started something.

Andrews seemed confident. "Why, money is wealth," he replied, flicking the ash from his cigar, "and capital is investments."

"My friend," said Cassidy, "I am sorry to say you ain't within forty miles of being right. And if its any consolation you have lots of company. You are only one of thousands of business men who have never studied economics; you probably don't even know what the term means. If you

pardon me I'll tell you what wealth is, and what the factors of production are, and also what money is. I'm a wise guy."

We all laughed.

"I would as soon learn something in a parlor car as anywhere else," said Andrews, "go ahead."

"Some of the things I tell you," continued Cassidy, "you already know as well as you know Monday is wash day, but you ain't hep to their connections. I'll tell the whole story, anyway, for fear of cutting something you ain't next to."

"I'd rather you would do that," said Andrews.

"The factors of production," went on Cassidy, "are land, labor, and capital; together they produce things which satisfy human wants—like food, clothing and shelter, which in the possession of people who use them are wealth; in the possession of dealers they are capital. An automobile used for hire is capital; when used for pleasure it is wealth. Money is a medium of exchange. Without it or something to take its place, like notes, or checks, a man who makes shoes would have to find some one who wants shoes and will give him what he wants in exchange. You can imagine what a fierce time we'd have if we had to find some one who has what we want and wants to swap it for what we have. When you trade a thing for money the deal is only half complete—you have to spend the money to complete it. Your hunch was not so bad, but you were in wrong. Do you get me?"

"I heard what you said," replied Andrews, "but you didn't say what investments are. Suppose I buy stocks or bonds; ain't that capital?"

"Nix. Capital is a product of labor; stocks or bonds are merely titles."

"Well, I'll be hanged if I can see the difference," returned Andrews.

"I can see that plain enough," put in Langdon; "if I were running a garage and a man called up for a machine it would make a lot of difference whether I sent him a limousine car or a mortgage on one."

Andrews joined the laugh that went around.

Cassidy and I kept puffing away; we were having a good time.

"But you would consider the mortgage of value, wouldn't you?" persisted Andrews.

"Oh, yes, certainly," said Langdon, "I would consider a meal ticket valuable, too, but it hasn't the utility of a porterhouse steak with French fried potatoes."

"Trying to make me feel hungry?" suggested Andrews.

"No, trying to make you appreciate the difference between a meal and a meal ticket," said Langdon.

Our laughter brought several other passengers into the smoke room to learn the cause of our hilarity. There was a seat for only one, the others had to stand.

"Getting back to what I was leading up to," continued Cassidy, "the principal cause of our industrial muss is due to the fact that most business men don't know they are pulling the same wagon as the men they employ; the men think the great accumulations of wealth they read about have been won in production; the bosses think so, too. With this false notion as a basis each side thinks it is being robbed by the other, and they fight for what they consider their share. They think there are only two factors in production—labor and capital—the other factor, land, they can't see. 'Land?' they say, 'we should worry about the land when a thousand people can work in a shoe factory and never touch any land.' Yet in the City of New York about half the net earnings of all the industrial undertakings go to the owners of the land. The land of New York City is assessed at nearly five billion dollars, the franchises about half a billion more; I don't know how much more they are worth, but if the owners get only five per cent of that amount each year they get a rake-off of \$275,000,000. Now what do they give in return for that? Nothing—absolutely nothing—they can't, as landowners, give anything; when they do anything they become producers; as landowners they merely hold title."

Close attention was given Cassidy as he made this little speech. Everyone seemed to be impressed but Andrews, and possibly he was, but his question that followed didn't indicate it.

"Don't you think landowners are entitled to a fair return on their investments?" he asked.

"For what?" inquired Cassidy.

"For their enterprise; a man who buys a piece of land and puts up a building on it is certainly—"

"I'm not talking about his putting up a building," interrupted Cassidy, "I'm referring to a landowner merely as an owner of land. As a builder a man renders a service, but what service does he render as a landowner?"

"Well, he furnishes the land, doesn't he?"

"Not in a million years," shot back Cassidy, "the land was furnished before he was born and it will be here a long time after he's dead."

"Well, anyway, he bought it and had the foresight, possibly, to make a good investment; isn't he entitled to a return for that?"

You will have to hand it to Cassidy for keeping his temper; he went back at Andrews as unconcerned as if he had been handed a franchise in the Federal League. Everyone else looked as if he was satisfied Andrew had an ivory top-piece.

"Do you think the community ought to be grateful to landowners because they had foresight enough to get title to land for which people have to pay them for permission to live on?" queried Cassidy. "Let me put what amounts to the same thing in another way. In principle slave-owning and land-owning are about a tie. Should the slave

shake hands with himself because his owner had foresight enough to 'invest' in him?"

"He might have gotten a worse master and have a harder time of it."

"Oh, yes, I suppose that here and there you might pick out a slave-owner or a landowner with a heart as big as a two-dollar bill," went on Cassidy, "but we're discussing the institutions of slavery, and of land-ownership; institutions have no hearts, and no souls—just score cards."

"That sounds like wisdom," put in one of the standing audience. "My dad owns some farm lands out in Iowa that he rents to tenants he never saw."

"He is about as much use to them as a rat is to a granary," added Cassidy, amid laughter. "I'm in on the same graft; I have been a parasite for twenty years, and there are thousands of others in the game. We run no risks as capitalists do; we carry no fire insurance, we have to employ no night watchmen, we bother about no fire extinguishers, the cold weather doesn't affect us, we don't have to heat our property, nor is it affected by damp weather; we have nothing to rust, we don't have to paint or repair, we don't have to charge anything off for depreciation or bad debts, we don't have any strikes or labor troubles; we play safe all around—and besides as population increases and the community progresses we cop more and more of the kale. The chumps are the manufacturers and working men, the farmers and business men who produce everything, render all the service and give us more than they keep. They think it's all right, or they don't think at all."

"Of my own knowledge I know it's pretty soft for Cassidy," I butted in. "Tell us about your experience at Frisco."

"There is an instance of what a cinch landowners have," resumed Cassidy; "I own some down-town real estate in Frisco. When they had that awful fire and a lot of merchants and people all over town lost so much they were nearly crazy about it, I lost nothing. In fact, my land was worth more when the town was on the blink than before."

"Well, what is to be done about it?" questioned Andrews.

"Make the landowners and the franchise owners pay the expenses of government," answered Cassidy. "They get all the financial benefits of it. When you do that you not only relieve producers of a heavy burden, but you make land cheaper, and more available for capital and labor. Our present system fences in opportunities for production. A tax on land values would open them up."

Andrews shook his head. "It's too big a question for me."

"Of course it is, poor boy," concluded Cassidy, getting up from his seat. "Let's go into the diner and I'll buy you a drink and a piece of pumpkin

pie to wash it down with. We'll can the chatter and partake like gentlemen of leisure."

We drilled into the dining car where Cassidy ordered out a swell feed for the party.

M. J. FOYER.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Panama Canal. By Frederic J. Haskin. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.35 net.

—Violence and the Labor Movement. By Robert Hunter. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Progressivism and After. By William English Walling. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Case of Mexico and the Policy of President Wilson. By Senator R. De Zayas Enriquez. Published by Albert & Charles Boni, New York. 1914. Price, \$1.35 net.

—Henry George Hakadas es Szegenyseg (Hungarian translation of Progress and Poverty). By Robert Braun. Published by Athenaeum Irodalmi es Nyomdai R. T. Kiadasa, Budapest. 1914.

PAMPHLETS

—Conditions in the Copper Mines of Michigan. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Mines and Mining. March 2, 3, and 4, 1914. Part IV.

—Conditions in the Coal Mines of Colorado. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Mines and Mining, February 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17, 1914. Part II.

—Proceedings of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries in the Investigation of Shipping Combinations. Vol. 4. House of Representatives: Sixty-Third Congress.

—The Unconstitutional Character and the Illegal Administration of the Income Tax Law Demonstrated. By Albert H. Walker. Published by the author. Park Row Building, New York. 1914. Price \$1.

PERIODICALS

The Spanish Singletaxer.

The March number of the Spanish Singletaxer begins with biographical data of some of the French Physiocrats.

An open letter from the late Mr. Joseph Fels under the heading of "Business Men and Taxes."

"Strikes and Lockouts and How to End Them," considered editorially. Trouble caused by monopoly of the land and the cure lies in the singletax.

"Property in Land," by Mr. Pi y Margall, answers the charge against singletax of confiscation, by state-

ment that even under existing laws land ownership is not considered sacred; Lawmakers in time of peace appear to regard land as the common patrimony of Mankind; that the State has an inherent right to subject it to any form on condition of social requirement.

There was a singletax conference held at Bilbao on January 23 and 24. Mr. Sanchez Diaz was the principal speaker. His subjects were "Monopolies and Politics" and "Why Is There a Scarcity of Work?"

A Bilbao daily paper, "The Liberal," gave a five-column report of each day's proceedings. In the course of his address Mr. Diaz emphasized the fact that economic slavery is entirely due to land monopoly; about 70% of the land in Spain is held out of use, causing great suffering and retarding the progress of the country. About 4,000 small communities without a road of any kind! 30,000 communities without schools! two-thirds of the population illiterate. He explained the land value tax and its progress in different countries.

Extracts are given from an address by Mr. Ranz Lafuente on the singletax before the Portugalete Democratic Club.

There is also published a letter attacking the singletax by Louis Olariaga and one in reply by Mr. Antonio Albendin.

C. L. LOGAN.



The teacher was telling the children a long, highly embellished story about Santa Claus, and Willie

Jones began giggling with mirth, which finally got beyond his control.

"Willie! What did I whip you for yesterday?" asked the teacher severely.

"Fer lyin'!" promptly answered Willie.—Everybody's Magazine.



"My boy, when I was your age I thought, like you, that I knew it all, but now I have reached the conclusion that I knew nothing."

The youth, lighting a cigaret, answered carelessly:

"Hm! I reached that conclusion about you years ago."—Chicago Record-Herald.



"I am thinking of touring in South Africa next season," remarked the comedian.

"Take my advice and don't," replied the villain. "An ostrich egg weighs from two to three pounds."—Tit-Bits.



"Father," said the small boy, "what is a jingo?"

"A 'jingo,' my son, is a man who devotes his time to thinking up opportunities for other people to go out and be shot at."—Washington Star.



"Is he a country gentleman?"

"I don't know; I've only seen his behavior in town."—Philadelphia Public Ledger.

Singletax Fiction

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A Million Circulation in 60 Days For the Land Song

While others are successfully specializing on making converts to the Singletax by presenting the fiscal side of it, can't some of us set in motion an appeal that reaches another type of person or another side of the same person—an appeal that goes to the emotions? This question was in the mind of a Chicago reader of *The Public* when he dropped into the office a few days ago.

"Say, Bowmar," he broke out, "Why can't we get into the minds of thousands of people who won't stop to think, the chorus of the Land Song Wedgwood quoted in his address the other night."

Josiah Wedgwood, M. P., of London, in all his addresses at the Joseph Fels Memorial Meetings in this country, laid emphasis on the influence of the Land Song in the Lloyd George campaigns against land monopoly in Great Britain.

"Why?"—Before we could answer this challenge was thrown out: "I don't believe the propagandists on *The Public's* subscription list in the United States could get 500,000 copies of the Land Song in circulation in this country in ten years."

We told him we thought we could get a million out in sixty days from the date of the first announcement that the slips were ready for distribution. He didn't stay to hear more—and we haven't seen him since.

The Land Song, as a song, probably won't "catch on" here. Singing at political meetings isn't popular in this country, but we believe it is possible to familiarize the words of the chorus to a very great number of people—and the last line of that chorus contains the fundamental truth. To get that line in the minds of a great number of people would be a very valuable achievement.

As an experiment, fifty thousand slips have been printed. An exact reproduction of the slip is given on this page. The quality of paper is good—not cheap. We will send 500 slips to anyone for 50c post-paid. \$1 will bring a thousand. If it is decided to print a million—and we will if interest is shown in the idea—a very special price will be made to Singletax organizations, on lots of 50,000, express prepaid. To individuals no fewer than 500 will be sold, to organizations no fewer than 50,000.

Any Suggestions?

We want to get letters, not exceeding 200 words, from readers interested. A number of these letters will be published on this page and to everyone whose letter is printed, we will send a free copy of Frederick Verinder's new book, "Land, Industry and Taxation," published last month in London.

It is not desired to lay down any hard and fast rules in regard to these letters but it is suggested that each one should give (1) The writer's reasons for thinking a million circulation of the words of the

Land Song would be good propaganda and (2) The writer should state, for the benefit of others, how he or she proposes to circulate slips—to whom and how.

Stanley Bowmar,
Manager.

(Actual size of slip.)

The Land Song

Air, "Marching Through Georgia"

Sound a blast for Freedom, boys, and send it far and wide!
March along to victory, for God is on our side!
While the voice of Nature thunders o'er the rising tide—
"God made the Land for the People!"

Chorus—

The Land! the Land! 'twas God who gave the Land!
The Land! the Land! the ground on which we stand!
Why should we be beggars, with the ballot in our hand?
"God gave the Land to the People!"

Hark! the shout is swelling from the East and from the West:
Why should we beg work and let the Landlords take the best?
Make them pay their taxes for the Land—we'll risk the rest;
The Land was meant for the People!

Chorus—

The Land! the Land! 'twas God who gave the Land!
The Land! the Land! the ground on which we stand!
Why should we be beggars, with the ballot in our hand?
"God gave the Land to the People!"

The banner has been raised on high to face the battle din:
The Army now is marching on the struggle to begin.
We'll never cease our efforts till the victory we win,
And the Land is free for the People!

Chorus—

The Land! the Land! 'twas God who gave the Land!
The Land! the Land! the ground on which we stand!
Why should we be beggars, with the ballot in our hand?
"God gave the Land to the People!"

Clear the way for liberty! the land must all be free!
True men will not falter in the fight, though stern it be,
Till the flag we love so well shall wave from sea to sea,
O'er land that's free for the People.

Chorus—

The Land! the Land! 'twas God who gave the Land!
The Land! the Land! the ground on which we stand!
Why should we be beggars, with the ballot in our hand?
"God gave the Land to the People!"

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WHAT YOU CAN DO

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It is hard to think of any single tax work which a man should do unless it be open-air speaking, that is not suited to women. You speak and your voice passes away; but what you write or what you make others read turns up again in the most unexpected places. Write "letters to the editor" in plenty; he will read even if he does not publish them.

Do not keep your "Publics." As Napoleon said when he coined the silver images of the Apostles "Send them on their mission." Hardly anyone reads over his old papers; but if, as he reads his Public, he keeps on his mind what can be done with it, he can do good to his neighbor, to the cause and to himself.

Cut out a page or an article, mark and send where it will do the most good, perhaps to some other paper. The remainder can go to someone else who needs it and who will notice it all the more because it is cut.

A marked paper will be read and talked about, when an unmarked one will be thrown away. If you do not know where to send your paper leave it in a barber shop or an hotel parlor.

The Public is more than a business venture. It is our representative, our teacher and our medium of communication. It is worth paying for. We want free trade and free labor, not free tuition or free representation.

Help those that help you. Get a subscriber this week. Get advertisements. It is easy to help a paper which has a paid circulation of intelligent readers.

If you belong to a book club get in books, not necessarily George's, about the single tax or the labor and pauperism questions. Thackeray's "Land and the Community"; Booth's "Darkest London"; Spencer's "Social Statics" (old edition) will serve to call attention to the bad state of society.

If you have no book or magazine club, organize one for such reading. Get ten to twenty to subscribe each a dollar or two with which to buy books; put a list of the members on the covers, send a book to

each and let each one forward his book every Monday morning to the next member on the list.

Effective work may be done with single tax tracts. They are an armory; "Progress and Poverty" is a fortress. You cannot find an objection which is not briefly and satisfactorily answered in one of them. Keep a supply, mark the part which suits the case and mail it. That is not expensive.

To a student or to one who is deeply interested, "Progress and Poverty" is a mine. If you are poor you can get second-hand copies for ten or fifteen cents a copy at old book shops. Some single taxers keep many copies to lend. See that your library has a copy of George's works.

It is better to get "Social Problems," rather than "Progress and Poverty" into the hands of enquirers. "Progress and Poverty" is a book to be studied; it is useless simply to read it. It must not be forgotten that few men have brains and fewer use them unless they are forced; every one, however, has a heart, here and there crusted over, sometimes deeply buried, but it can be reached. Any one who can read Miss Kellogg's Abridgment of Dove's "Human Progression" (30 cents) or George's "The Land Question" (30 cents) without wanting to do something is more to be pitied than a thief. Make every one read "Social Problems." It is a treasury of simplicity, earnestness and affection.

Many persons see at least "the deep disease of life." The Socialists, like the co-operators, are well meaning people who are going our way at present. Though they do not intend to go to the end, we may bring them.

Put our plan before the sensible ones. Do not waste time on the weak-minded. If you yourself are too stupid or busy, or, God help you, too lazy or indifferent to do any of these things, you can at least wear a single tax button.

Do something now. What is the good of being a singletaxer if you do not work?