RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

OBSOLÈTE.

For The Public.

I know a cliff remote and high, Whence terraces rise to the sky; Whereon, all stark and turreted, A hoary castle lifts its head.

The sky is low and leaden gray; The castle casements look away, Staring upon the bleak landscape; The castle pertal swings agape.

Ah, futile now the stone and moat!— The north wind mocks with husky throat: "Safe guarded from the outer world, They found the Worm within them curled!" RICHARD WARNER BORST.

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PRIVILEGE AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.

Speech of Amos R. E. Pinchot at the Banquet of National Singletax Conference at Washington on January 17, 1914.

Mr. Toastmaster, when you began that story about the turtle I got very nervous; indeed, but you ended up all right. Now I will admit that I have been a turtle for a good long time. Recently I have begun to emerge from the cave and awake from my hibernating sleep and now I stand before you tonight practically purged of all I did.

I didn't expect to be here tonight and I plead to be demoted from the honorable list of speakers this evening and put down among the United States Senators and Members of Congress who, on account of their terrible reputation, are only allowed to speak five minutes. As a religion, I am not interested in the Singletax movement. It may be that God made the land for the people, but I am interested in the Singletax because I have grown to realize that the land privilege is one of the great privileges, if not the basic privilege, upon which the exploitation of the American people, both political and economic, depends. Now I have worked out with the help of friends a kind of vision of American democracy. I am interested in the Singletax because it pertains to this dream I have. I tried to find by analyzing as best I could what was the matter with us in the United States and what was the one common cause, if there is a common cause, both of political corruption and of economic exploitation. I think I have found that the one principle behind our trouble is the principle of private monopoly. If you look around you at all places where you have corrupt govern-

ment and inefficient government, where your legislatures are bought or wrong men are put in public office, you will find that this is done almost universally in order that one small group of monopolists can keep a monopoly or price fixing power. If you look around you in the economic world and find where groups of men are able to exploit the people, you will find that this almost always has been done by their gaining monopolistic or price fixing power. Now I believe the mission of American civilization is what the mission of all civilizations has been and that is to destroy the principle of private monopoly in our lives. I am not going to speak to you long. I am not going to analyze this, but I think we are all going to analyze it for ourselves. I think we are all going to be satisfied. We are going to make everybody in public life acknowledge that the battle in America is the battle of the people at large against a monopolistic group. With this vision of American life, with this theory of practical politics, the fight against privilege can go on in all states and in all cities but not under a single flag. Singletaxers can fight land monopoly. The man who believes in government ownership of railroads can work for that, the conservationist can fight the forces that are stealing from the people our great natural resources. Each group can feel bound in brotherhood, irrespective of party-bound together to love the principle which Lincoln named the one principle of civilization, the principle to prevent one man eating the bread other men made.

I have been put on the program tonight—I don't know, Mr. Reedy, whether you were responsible for it or not-to speak about privilege and municipal reform. I suppose that subject was given me because in New York any real municipal reform along fundamental lines has had so insignificant a past and such a magnificent future. Now, I do not think I have time to go at length into our recent campaign. I did what I could with Ben Marsh, Mr. Leubuscher and other men in this room, to get my party, the Progressive Party, to adopt the Singletax principle in the progressive municipal platform. We sat up many nights discussing this question and we came to the conclusion, at least I did, and I think others did, too, that the best way to do that was to call for home rule in the question of taxation and finally we succeeded in actually working into this platform a provision for home rule in taxation. We talked it over with the mayor and he made statements which satisfied us and I think it is up to us to keep at Mitchel to make him remember that we are still there in New York just as we were before election day.

The problem of municipal reform in New York is a perfectly simple problem. Anybody can understand it and I believe before another municipal campaign comes around, every one will be obliged to understand it, whether he wants it or not. The



city of New York is not governed by Tammany Hall. That is a fundamental proposition. Tammany Hall is merely the executive arm of the real governing body and the New York City government today consists of three branches, the Edison Company, the Transportation System and the Gas monopoly. They have one thousand million dollars invested in the city of New York. It is absolutely necessary for them to control the government of New York and so long as this is necessary they will continue to hold that control. It may be broken, but with men of the character of Ryan, Belmont and Bradley, it will continue. Let Mr. Bradley and Mr. Belmont really desire and need something and associate to get it, they are exceedingly apt to get it. The only way we can succeed is to rid the city of New York of financial speculation in public utilities. We can drive Tammany out but it will always come back. So long as the successful interest returns upon that one thousand million dollars depends upon the control of New York, it seems almost right that they should have it and they will have it until we finally take away and publicly own these public utilities. This has a great deal to do with the Singletax, because I believe the most effective method of getting back into the hands of the people the things belong to them is along the lines of taxation.

Edmund Burke said "the battle between privilege and the people was always upon the field of taxation." It is still on the field of taxation and I understand that is the reason for this dinner tonight.

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NEWS OF OUR TOWN.

(By Our Special Country Correspondent.) For The Public.

Hail Columbiaville, June 26.—John Morgan, the Wall Run money lender, is complaining bitterly. He has a house worth \$5,000 he rented to Neighbor Jones. Needing some cash, he borrowed \$5,000 each from four widows and gave the house as security to each. When he raised Jones' rent from \$25 to \$125 a month to meet the interest, Jones kicked, which made John justly indignant, who says such men as Jones are ruining the securities market and threatening the investments of widows and orphans.

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Vic Berger dropped into our office the other day. He favors turning the rascals out and creating a new government with jobs enough so there would be chances for 5,559 times as many. Vic says this would end all our troubles, and we don't know but what it would.

Town Chairman Wood Wilson is having a hard

time with the town board, which insists on fixing things so some of the boatmen can send their barges through the government south canal free. However, the board hasn't yet thought of having the government haul all the farmers' wagons to town free.

Vince Astor, our popular young society leader, is in an interesting argument. He owns an acre of land worth about ten cents, and the other morning he gets up and sees that five horses worth \$100 each had wandered onto it from Jim Smith's place. Vince, he says right away that the land is now worth \$500 an acre, since the law is that any value produced by other people's exertion that strays on the land belongs to the land owner. Smith wanted to argue it, but Vince told him he was one of them confiscators, so he shut up.

Some of our wealthy philanthropists who are busy reforming the morals of the lower classes had Bill Binks pinched for running a poker game. Binks told them that title to most property is decided by accident, such as time of birth, ancestry, etc.; also that the law expressly declares wealth may be legally taken away from its producers. Bill says that his poker game depends both on chance and taking wealth away from the producer, and so it must be a law abiding institution and a desirable adjunct to our civilization. His depraved ideas cost him \$25 in police court.

CRAIG RALSTON.

ው ው ው THE CRY OF THE DREAMER.

By John Boyle O'Reilly.

I am tired of the planning and toiling, In the crowding hives of men; Heart-weary of building and spoiling,

And spoiling and building again. And I long for the dear old river

Where I dreamed my youth away— For a dreamer lives forever

And a toiler dies in a day.

I am sick of the showy seeming Of a life that is half a lie,

Of the faces lined with scheming In the throng that hurries by.

No, no; from the streets' rude bustle, From the trophies from mart and stage,

I would fly to the woods' low rustle And the meadows' kindly page.

Let us dream as of yore by the river, And be loved for the dream alway-

For a dreamer lives forever, While a thinker dies in a day.

If you are not master of yourself you are not yet free.—Leavenworth (Penitentiary) New Era.

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