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The
SINGLE TAX REVIEW

A RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF SINGLE TAX
AND TAX REFORM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

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THE
SINGLE TAX REVIEW

A Record of the Progress of Single Tax and Tax Reform
Throughout the World.

PROGRESS OF THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN
GREAT BRITAIN.

(For the Review.)

By JOHN PAUL.*

At the recent land and housing demonstration held in London the 20th of April, at which the Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill M. P. were the principal speakers, the policy of the government on the land question was made quite plain and in a way which should gratify the followers of Henry George. Hitherto the parliamentarians have fought shy of the name of the author of "Progress and Poverty;" but time and events have only shown that his practical proposals were genuine and the only possible steps to take in a society like ours. The other day *The Tribune*, our great liberal daily, boldly declared that the Separate Valuation Bill recommended last Christmas by the Select Committee on the Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill, 1906, was the Basis of all Reform. The Government are pledged to introduce a Bill on similar lines for England and Wales, but it is doubtful if this promise can be fulfilled in the present Session. However we are well organized both within the gates of the Commons and without. We have a Parliamentary Campaign Committee on the Taxation of land values which meets once a week, or oftener when necessary. This Committee is composed of twenty members of Parliament with Charles Trevelyan, M. P., as chairman; the Secretaries are Crompton Llewelyn Davies and myself. The duties of the committee are to watch events in the House and to take what steps may be deemed necessary to promote the question. When any cognate subject, such as finance, housing, unemployment, taxation, either in the form of a Bill or by resolution the Committee look around for speakers to point out in the debate where the taxation of land values comes in. In this connection the Committee possess in the chairman, Mr. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., for Newcastle-under-Lyme, a most untiring and capable organiser. Last month the Committee entertained the Solicitor General for Scotland to dinner in the House in recognition of his eminent services to the movement, as chairman of the Select Committee on the Scottish Bill. (Anyone can have a copy of the official report of the Select Committee by applying to the Scottish League for

* Mr. John Paul is the editor of *Land Values*, of Glasgow, Scotland, and one of the secretaries of the League for the Taxation of Land Values. No one has done greater service for the cause, and our British co-workers are accustomed to repose great faith in his wisdom and judgment. The Autumn number of the Review in another series of articles on "Hands Across the Sea," with accompanying portraits, will include an account of Mr. Paul's life and services in the cause.

the Taxation of Land Values, 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow.) At the dinner it was hinted that the Valuation Bill for Scotland might have to give precedence to other measures clamoring for all the available time. Our Committee got themselves together on the point, and some effective steps were taken to bring the urgency of our case before the powers that be. In these days of high pressure in legislation eternal vigilance appears to be the price of progress.

The Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill is now before the Commons and is presently being considered upstairs by the Scottish Grand Committee. Before being sent to this Committee a land purchase amendment was defeated by an overwhelming majority. The Bill is on right lines and is after the pattern of the Crofters' Act of twenty years ago. But I confess I am not very enthusiastic about it. Our Separate Valuation Bill and the adoption of the policy of no rates on improvements will do far more to establish people on small holdings, and quicker than this cumbrous, heavy-weighted, half-baked Socialistic measure. The Valuation Bill will tend to bring the landlord to the labourer—the potential small holder—the M. P.'s wish so much to benefit. The landlord and his legal adviser are not going to argue the case. He has made up his mind, and his retainers and camp followers in the County Council agree with him that there is no demand for small holdings, that taxes and rates are high enough already and that the labourers would be too independent with a patch of ground! Moreover, the land-owners everywhere can afford to sit down and wait on developments. They will wait and see whose land is wanted by this new central authority, and then the defence will be set up. Meanwhile the labourer will be sickened and tormented by the law's delays; ultimately very little will be done at the expense of much time, money and organisation.

The fact is there are too many advanced politicians (advanced so far that they appear to have forgotten, if they ever knew, the elementary principles of political economy) who want to put the labourer on the land without interfering over-much with the privileges of the land-owner. They go on talking in their sleep about not standing for "spoliation;" but they will chatter away like that for a long time before they convince the landlord class to walk into their anti-"spoliation" tent. No, the failure these good political philanthropists are inviting to their schemes is writ large on the pages of political history. We want, God knows, just now a man or two of the stamp of Richard Cobden to boldly lead the radical forces of progress in the country. We have come to the parting of the ways, and the whigs have possession. We have come to the point where, as Henry Genyer says, the danger is in not going forward boldly and quickly with the most radical measure. There is nothing stronger than an economic tendency, and the Separate Valuation Bill will prevent the landlord having one price to the rate collector and another very different price to the cultivator and improver. That is what the taxation of land values will do; it will loosen in this way the monopoly in land and open wide the natural gates to all employment and improvement. It will bring the landlord to the potential small holder, and guarantee to him the full and untaxed fruit of all his improvements. This is the beginning, the basis of all social reform, and there will be found more virtue, more independence and more insuring prosperity and hope here than in any dozen Small Holders' Bills.

Outside Parliament our men are everywhere throughout the country active and devoted. We have just formed "A United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values," and opened offices at Broad Sanctuary Chambers, 20 Tothill street, Westminster, from which to organize demonstrations and conferences throughout the country. The Committee is composed of some twenty-four representatives from the Scottish and English Leagues for the taxation of land values, and their branch associations.

The Committee was formed at a meeting at 14 Barton Street, Westmin-

ster, the London home of Crompton Llewelyn Davies, on Saturday, 23rd March, when the undernoted office-bearers were appointed. The purpose of the Committee is to strengthen the existing Leagues at Glasgow and London, and their branch Association, and for extending the propaganda into new districts. Among those present were Messers. J. H. Whitely, M. P.; C. P. Trevelyan, M. P.; Harry L. Davies, Edwin Adam, C. H. Smithson, Fred. Skirrow, W. R. Lester, L. H. Berens, Fred. Verinder, A. W. Metcalfe, Crompton Ll. Davies, and John Paul. After a lengthy discussion it was resolved unanimously—

1. That a Committee be formed to be called the United Committee for the Land Values, to consist of representatives from the Scottish, English and Irish Leagues, with power to add to their number for the purpose of promoting the Taxation of Land Values throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and in particular strengthening and assisting the Leagues for the Taxation of Land Values with their headquarters at Glasgow and London respectively, and their branches at Edinburgh, Dumbartonshire, Dumfries-shire, Warrington, and Portsmouth, and supporting the Parliamentary Campaign Committee, and taking independent action by publishing and distributing literature, organizing in fresh districts and arranging meetings and speeches in the constituencies especially during bye-elections, and that an appeal be made for contributions to a fund to be at the disposal of the Committee, and that Mr. W. R. Lester be appointed Treasurer of the fund.

2. That Crompton Ll. Davies and John Paul be Secretaries of the Committee.

At subsequent meetings of the two Leagues the formation of the United Committee was unanimously approved, and it was resolved further that everything possible should be done to make the efforts of the Committee successful. Funds are being collected and already £1,000 (one thousand pounds) has been subscribed and promised by about a dozen representative Single Taxers, mostly by those who have helped the funds of our Leagues in the past. But much more money will require to be collected if the work before us is to be even fairly well undertaken. The Prime Minister has publicly asked for the driving power from the country to see this fight through, and it is for us who have helped so much to force the issue now before the Parliament to see that the war is conducted on our side with spirit and courage. We are promoting a demonstration in Manchester next month to be addressed by the Solicitor General for Scotland, Chas. Trevelyan, M. P., Dr. Macnamara, M. P., and Ex-Bailie Burt, of Glasgow. Other meetings will be promoted in other centres as funds are available. We are striving to organise a dozen or two such meetings in the Fall when Parliament rises. Besides these demonstrations we desire to put two or three of our best speakers in the field and hope to be able to do this. We have just published some new campaign literature and are preparing to spend about £100 in a reissue of Henry George's famous addresses in pamphlet form, "The Crime of Poverty," "Thou Shalt Not Steal," "Scotland and Scotsmen," etc., etc. There is undoubtedly a great wave of enthusiasm abroad for us, and we must take it at the flood. Now is the time for Single Taxers everywhere to concentrate here in Great Britain. The Prime Minister is for us and so is this Parliament, and what we can get from it will strengthen our cause the world over

Read the Conference Report on page 37.

THE THIEF—HIS GENESIS, EVOLUTION AND MISSION TO MANKIND.

(For the Review.)

By EDMUND CORKILL.*

The nativity of the Thief is enshrouded in mystery. One of the oldest records gives his birthplace as the Garden of Eden and the crime as the stealing of an apple. It is somewhat difficult to fix the actual and relative guilt in this quaint old story—the creator—a sophistical snake, a man and a woman—being mixed up in a case worthy of our modern law courts. The man (as usual) blamed it on the woman, and she laid it on the snake, but the man half apologized for peaching on his pal by insinuating that the blame ought to be placed higher up, for, said he, "The woman that *thou gavest* to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I did eat." Now, although this is probably an allegory, there is much that is intensely human in the various characters—the unselfish devotion of the woman—the cowardice of the man, and the cunning of the serpent, whose plausible insinuations and unscrupulous lying stamp him as the lawyer in the case—in fact, he was the original prototype of the average modern lawyer, as is shown in the fulfillment of the sentence passed upon him: viz., that he should from that time, crawl and eat dust for a living. Everybody knows that he can crawl and that he goes for the dust all the time. I am inclined to go farther back than 6,000 years for the origin of the Thief. Geology shows that long before the Eden of the Theologians, conditions prevailed that were highly favorable to the evolution of predatory tendencies. We, who are enjoying the conveniences of civilization, have to think hard before we can realize the risks and difficulties that our prehistoric ancestors had to encounter in their incessant struggle to obtain necessary food and shelter. Think of those primeval conditions—the wild, tangled growths on the uncultivated ground, the total lack of tools and other means of production—constant exposure to the ever-changing elements, and the fierce monsters that roamed the trackless forests in search of prey or lurked in the dark depths of the Jungle. Later on, the discovery of fire and iron was turned to account by the ingenuity that grew out of the bitter experience that nature used to drive those rude beings on towards higher and better things. But in their savage and semi-savage state is it to be wondered at that they should struggle with each other for food that might come their way? Men struggle now with each other for the food they need—despite the vastly increased facilities for its production—how much more probable is it that they should struggle with and even slay each other then? Doubtless, the Thief was born in just such circumstances, thrust into human society by the birth-pangs of poverty.

Whether the so-called "Criminal Class" originated in some such way or not, certain it is that the Thief has harassed the march of progress from the first record of his existence right up to the present, and during that long period

* Edmund Corkill, painter, musician, *litterateur*, and over seventy years young, is one of the quiet unassuming figures in the Single Tax movement of Brooklyn. Was prominent in the *Tonic sol fa* in Manchester, Eng. He came to America more than a generation ago. His attention was first drawn to our philosophy by the articles appearing in *Leslie's Weekly* from Henry George, which afterwards in collected form became the book we know as "Social Problems." He embraced the doctrine, for his mind was at that time as open and his logical faculties as keen as happily they remain to-day. Twenty-five years ago he provided the music for Henry George's lecture in the Brooklyn Athenaeum.—Editor *Single Tax Review*.

has appeared in so many disguises that the limits of this paper make it impossible to do more than call attention to a few of the more conspicuous instances in his career.

Going back to the generation succeeding the Cave Dwellers, we see mankind growing in numbers and intelligence, their perceptions sharpened by experience and muscles hardened by exposure to the elements and by constant exercise in war and the obtaining of food. At this stage of the game, Clubs were trumps, the strongest man was the hero of the hour and the weaker man was his slave. This is the age in which Roosevelt ought to have been born, but as the Republican Party was not then on hand, that important event had to be postponed until the present, for which disarrangement all who enjoy the amazing spectacle of this modern Samson smashing all the Trusts (with a Jaw-bone only) ought to be truly thankful. The ancient hero was often but an idealized prototype of the later Thief, for he stole the liberties of his weaker fellows and planted the seed of that form of thievery that ultimately grew into a gigantic tree that produced Kings, Queens, Aristocrats, and politicians. It has taken the life blood of millions of human beings to furnish sap to keep that tree alive ever since.

With the growth of intelligence and skill came the desire to segregate into groups for mutual protection or predatory aggression, these groups doubtless merging into larger groups or tribes under the leadership of some one stronger, wiser or more crafty than the rest, and often it was the Thief who led. No wonder then, that such a leader, knowing that the free use of the soil was necessary to life and liberty, forcibly took possession of his neighbor's land and thus committed the crime of the ages—a crime that has been responsible for long centuries of injustice and suffering among the peoples of the earth.

It is interesting to note how the old admiration for brute force and the heroic, reasserted itself at a later period, making heroes of the Highwaymen and Banditti of Europe. We have not to look far for reasons for this sentiment. Some of those thieves had robbed the rich to give to the poor, and this appealed to the crude sympathies of the people, who indiscriminately accepted the charity as more than an offset to the dishonesty, this sentiment being strengthened by their admiration for the daring or cool gentlemanly style in which the robbers relieved the victim of his valuables. The achievements of Robin Hood, Dick Turpin, Jack Sheppard and other celebrated "Gentlemen of the Road" are familiar to all of us. As with the ancient heroes, the garment of romance that time has woven around their history hides the real character of these men—the hero became a God—in the "Penny Dreadful" and the old plays of the Jack Sheppard type we have the apotheosis of the Robber. The common people everywhere took an extraordinary interest in these criminals, and found much to admire in their farewell appearance on the scaffold, for at that period society knew of no better way of checking thievery than that advocated by certain politicians of our own time in dealing with the Indians, and acted on the theory that the only harmless robber is a dead one, so they undertook to *stamp out* the Thief—with what success we all know. By the by, if that policy were consistently carried out to-day we would need a vigorous application of Roosevelt's population remedy to save the country! The moral effect of the stamping out process is strikingly shown in the scenes attending the public executions of the popular criminals.

The graceful exit of the Scotch robber, McPherson, from this stage of existence is thus described in an old English ballad—"Sae rantingly, sae wantonly, sae dauntingly gaed he, He played a spring and danced it round, Beneath the gallows tree." The behavior of the crowd who came to see the show was quite in keeping with the spirit of the reckless victim, and the whole scene

would need the pencil of Hogarth to adequately describe its disgusting depravity.

Perhaps the most popular of old time thieves was Bold Robin Hood, who, with his merry men, clad in Lincoln green, roamed Sherwood Forest, the dread of the rich and the idol of the poor. The few virtues this thief possessed have brought him more praise since his death than they would have brought him while living, had he been an honest man. But we are glad to remember that he was kind to the poor, and respectful to women, which is more than can be said of the modern thieves, who rob the widows and orphans of their little all in the Savings Bank or the Insurance Company.

The tendency to a morbid, indiscriminate hero-worship among the masses was never more marked than in their treatment of the thieves of a still later period. As late as the beginning of the 18th century a learned French Abbé, living for some time in England, says that he continually met with Englishmen who were not less vain in boasting of the success of their Highwaymen than of the bravery of their troops. Tales of their address, their cunning, or their generosity were in the mouths of everybody, and a noted thief was a kind of hero in high repute. He adds that the mob in all countries, being easily moved, look in general with concern upon criminals going to the gallows; but an English mob looked upon such scenes with extraordinary interest; they delighted to see them go through their last trials with resolution, and applauded those who were insensible enough to die as they had lived. The Abbé, in one of his later letters, gives some particulars of the methods employed by the robbers of his time and a little earlier, that are especially interesting to us in our advanced social conditions. He says "It is usual in travelling to put ten or a dozen guineas in a separate pocket, as a tribute to the first that comes to demand them; the right of passport, which custom has established here in favor of the robbers, who are almost the only highway surveyors in England, has made this necessary, and accordingly the English call these fellows the Gentlemen of the Road, the government letting them exercise their jurisdiction upon travellers without giving them any great molestation." When I read this description I instantly seemed to recognize it and almost instinctively felt for the half sovereign that I slipped on a certain occasion into the insinuating hand of a gentle being—with deep, yearning eyes—and pockets, who took a great interest in my belongings and all he could get besides—that was in the year 1874, and the place was called Castle Garden. Dear me—how history does seem to repeat itself!

The Abbé continues—"About fifteen years ago, these robbers, *with the view of maintaining their rights*" (when I read this I thought of Harriman and the Railroads) "fixed up papers at the doors of rich people about London, expressly forbidding all persons of whatsoever quality or condition from going out of town without ten guineas and a watch about them on pain of death." It is interesting to compare this high-handed combination with the attitude of certain corporations who serve us in a similar capacity to-day.

For the sake of comparison and contrast with what will come later, it is worth while taking a few more notes of our light-fingered ancestors. Dick Turpin will always be remembered because of his wonderful ride to York. Some of his distant relatives vie with each other in wonderful rides to-day, not necessarily on a "Black Bess," but possibly on a "Red Devil," and the rides are much more dangerous to public safety than over Turpin's was. He seems to have been a compound of generosity and cruelty—at one time putting a woman on a fire to force her to disclose the hiding-place of her money, at another time generously returning part of the stolen cash to his needy victim, and there is little doubt that had he met some famishing creature he would not

have hesitated to satisfy hunger with anything that might be available—an order on a wood-yard or even a share in a public library.

Jack Sheppard was noted for his brutality and daring. He escaped from Newgate with the shackles on his limbs more than once and his adventures were immortalized by the pen of the poet—the brush of the painter and the genius of dramatist and actor. The clergy also made use of his career “to point a moral” as witness the following extract from a quaint sermon delivered in the streets of the City of London.

After showing how much more care men took of their bodies than their souls, the preacher illustrated his argument thus—“We have a remarkable instance of this in a notorious malefactor, well-known by the name of Jack Sheppard: What amazing difficulties has he overcome? What astonishing things has he performed! And all for the sake of a stinking, miserable carcass, hardly worth the hanging! How dexterously did he pick the chain of his padlock with a crooked nail! How manfully did he burst his fetters asunder—climb up the chimney, wrench out an iron bar—break his way through a stone wall, make the strong door of a dark entry fly before him, till he got upon the leads of the prison! Then, fixing a blanket to the wall with a spike, he stole out of the Chapel! How intrepidly did he descend to the top of the Turner’s house—how cautiously pass down the stair, and make his escape to the street door.” Here’s where the pathos comes in—“Oh, that ye were all like Jack Sheppard! Mistake me not my brethren, I don’t mean in a carnal, but in a spiritual sense, for I purpose to spiritualize these things. What a shame it would be if we should not think it worth while to take as much pains, and employ as many deep thoughts, to save our souls as he has done to preserve his body! Let me exhort ye then to open the locks of your hearts with the nail of repentance, burst asunder the fetters of your beloved lusts, mount the chimney of hope, take from thence the bar of good resolution, break through the stone wall of despair and all the strongholds in the dark entry of the valley of the shadow of death, raise yourselves to the leads of meditation, fix the blanket of faith with the spike of the Church; let yourself down to the Turner’s house of resignation and descend the stairs of humility—so shall ye come to the door of deliverance from the prison of iniquity and escape the clutches of that old executioner, the Devil.” Generally, great men have to die to be appreciated. It was so with Jack Sheppard. Although he had attracted considerable attention during his eventful life, it was after his death that he became really celebrated. His career was narrated in three volumes—his picture, by Cruikshank, became familiar from John O’Groats to Land’s End. He lived again upon the stage in the glamour of romantic chivalry and ennobled by virtues which he never possessed while living.

We cannot leave this part of our subject without a glance at the Italian Banditti. What would the popular stage and Penny Dreadful literature have done without the assistance of these spectacular rogues? A reckless, dare-devil crowd they were and so numerous that the French Duke of Guise raised an army of them to help him in his plot to seize the throne of Naples. Here is his own description of them. “They were three thousand five hundred men, of whom the oldest came short of five and forty years, and the youngest was above twenty. They were all tall and well made, with long black hair, for the most part curled, coats of black Spanish leather, with sleeves of velvet, or cloth of gold, cloth breeches with gold lace, most of them scarlet, girdles of velvet, laced with gold, with two pistols on each side, a cutlass hanging at a belt suitably trimmed, three fingers broad and two feet long, a hawking bag at their girdle and a powder flask hung about their neck with a great silk riband. Some of them carried firelocks and others blunderbusses. They all

had good shoes with silk stockings, and every one a cap of cloth of gold or cloth of silver; of different colors, on his head, which was very delightful to the eye."

The Duke spoke as he felt. All that glitter and show, the flashing gold and silver, mingled with the attractive colors and the fine muscular development of the men, and their well-known daring made the scene one of great interest to the adventurer who had bought their unscrupulous service. Such displays are always pleasing unless we catch a glimpse of the hideous spirits of rapine and murder which lurk in the background. Somehow we cannot think of such men following the ideal patriot Garibaldi, who fought for the liberty of others without reward. Yet these organized cut-throats received the applause of the unthinking masses as well as their wages, and the story book and the stage by picturesque exaggeration, idealized the rascals and enshrined them permanently in the popular memory.

In following the Thief through his devious course, we often find him assuming a lofty bearing, wearing a crown, or perhaps a cocked hat. In these pretentious characters he had seldom any trouble in fooling the people and perpetrating crimes that would have speedily closed his career had he been a less pretentious thief. As it was, the nature of his crime was covered up by ambiguous phraseology. Stealing from his own subjects was known as "Levying taxes." Robbing a weaker nation of its territory and killing a number of them in order to do that was described as "victory" and "conquest." Despite the boasted advance of what people have agreed to term civilization, many still applaud the military hero and are only too willing to help him steal territory and benevolently assimilate the occupants thereof and so "develop the resources of the country."

But we pass over the sanguinary phase of the Thief's career to notice a most ingenious disguise in which he has bamboozled the multitude in more modern times. In this he appears in the role of Captain, but not in the military sense. The title was given to him in a kind of poetic sense by the *Morning Blower* and *Evening Bluffer* whose yellow pages frequently glowed with fervid eulogiums upon the men who have—as this newspaper put it—reached the top of the ladder of success and thus shown the way to wealth and power. Young Americans were told that these men had reached the top by their own industry and that there was always room for industrious men and women right there. Between you and me, the Captain was too shrewd not to laugh in his sleeve at all this bluff, for he knew that if it had depended upon his own unassisted efforts he never would have got there. In the first place, he and his confederates fixed the ladder where the land was high and so had not so far to climb. Some applied a kind of sliding apparatus called a tariff to the ladder, which gave them quite a lift, while others went quite a distance up in balloons filled with dollar and other gas. Anyhow they got there just the same, while the poor devils who believed the Bluffer's bluff fought each other to get inside the fence round the foot of the ladder, where there was a big sign whereon the words—Private Property—were painted in big letters. I need not tell you how these Captains of industry obtained their fabulous wealth, nor how the laborer was robbed to help supply that wealth. But the monopolists are not all bad. Like their progenitor who paid his victim's way home, the Highwayman, they have earned a world-wide reputation for generosity by returning as much of the wealth as will enable the laborer to produce more wealth for them. Robin Hood, you remember, robbed the rich to give to the poor. His commercialized successors have dropped such invidious distinctions and afford the poor an opportunity to contribute to the wants of the rich. They are also delicately considerate of the spiritual necessities of the poor and generous in

their gifts of Sunday School addresses on the simple life and duty to our neighbor. During the great coal strike one of the principal Captains of industry, in a sudden burst of sympathetic generosity to everybody concerned, divulged the stupendous secret that ages ago, he and his partners had been chosen by the Almighty to take entire charge of the coal beds that he had prepared for the use of mankind in the land of Pennsylvania millions of years before these Captains of industry were born, and that they were to dispense it on such terms as might be agreeable to themselves. Of course, some irreverent persons scoffed at that revelation, and even went so far as to characterize it as a Baer-faced lie—But Mr. Baer and his partners are still weighing out coal to the poor at about 6.50 a ton. Some of the scoffers actually insinuated that these so-called Coal-Barons were confederates in the same old gang that had been stealing the land everywhere, and that at the very time of the strike, when the poor were freezing for want of coal, the Barons had 60,000 acres of coal lands lying idle in the state of Pennsylvania! The Captains of industry do not seem to give themselves any great concern about these insinuations. Corporations, Trusts and Mergers flourish on all hands, taking untold wealth out of the pockets of the people, and by controlling the necessaries of life, making it more and more difficult for the laborer to live. But the trouble does not stop here. The dishonesty, like a moral leprosy, has spread to the masses of the people; and this is only natural. On the principle that "Familiarity breeds contempt" the constant thieving by those in power, debauched the consciences of those who were robbed, so that, in time comparatively few regarded the robbery as serious crime, and grew, by habit, to accept it as the inevitable outgrowth of the ever-changing methods of the business world. So it was not at all surprising that many who became tolerant of those methods, gradually slid into the use of them when it was convenient and profitable to do so. Thus the avenues of trade—the stores—the marts of business everywhere, became so crowded with thieves that honest people never could be sure that they were getting what they paid for. If they asked for fresh eggs, they got them often fresh from cold storage. If they saw some fine apples in a newly opened barrel and bought a small measure of them, it was ten to one that on opening the bag at home, they would find a couple of the fine ones and the rest poor and small. If they complained to the grocer, he laid the blame on the farmer, who with true modern business instinct had shrewdly covered his barrel of ordinary fruit with a layer of splendid samples. So in order to make as large a profit as he could out of the whole barrel, the grocer carried the fraud one step farther, and so the demoralization spread until a thief stood behind almost every counter, assuring the buyer that the article sold was the best in the market, and so losing all sense of real comparative worth in the universal claim for the superlative. Thus the big thieves supplied the lesser thieves with an excuse for their dishonesty and the whole series of thefts were condoned by the plea of "Business" which, like Charity, covered a multitude of sins. But the buyer did not escape contagion. How often has the purchaser tempted the seller to sell his goods for less than they are worth? But you are all familiar with these every-day facts, so familiar that you would be surprised if you did not constantly meet with them. Is it then, too much to say that the general apathy towards this shockingly immoral state of the business world, is one of the saddest facts in our social life? We have become so accustomed to these conditions that the common adulteration of the food we eat, arouses but a few spasmodic protests, and nothing short of the disgusting details of the Chicago Stock Yards seems to be powerful enough to drive the people to take action against such evils. If you need additional proof of the extent to which dishonesty has spread in our own immediate neighborhood, you have but to stroll

through the newer residential sections of the Greater New York and inspect the kind of materials and workmanship of which the houses are composed. Every competent mechanic and disinterested critic will agree with me in the assertion that many of them; in fact, the majority of them, are a disgrace to our city. This is not always the fault of the builder. He builds the houses that sell. The boom in land and real estate in the suburbs of our large cities is largely responsible for these results for it gave the Thief just the opportunity he wanted and he has got in his fine work—with the aid of the Building Inspector—to an extent that only practical mechanics can fully appreciate.

My allusion to the Building Inspector naturally leads to the remark that the Thief is very much in evidence in the municipal affairs of the Greater New York. But we are hopeful that with the infusion of some Single Tax blood into that system, we may have in the near future a more healthful condition of things—and this will certainly be so—if the Single Tax officials don't catch the disease.

We have now seen more than enough to suggest the genesis of the Thief and something of this evolution in society. You can fill in, at your leisure much that I have been compelled to leave out, if you so desire.

To sum up briefly, as far as we have gone—we have seen that the Thief was cradled in poverty and reared in strife. In the primeval struggle for existence, the natural elements and his rugged environment were against him; yet, doubtless, the efforts provoked by those difficulties were in some measure conducive to the upward progress of the race. But still the struggle was very bitter, more bitter, probably, than we can conceive, and progress was very slow. Even after the development of natural opportunities and his own powers had made it easier for him to obtain the necessaries and some of the comforts of life, and thus lessened the provocation to take that which belonged to his fellows, some of his more avaricious and powerful neighbors arbitrarily deprived him of those beneficent and ennobling opportunities, thus driving him back to the predatory state. A very large number of people in all nations are still in that semi-barbarous condition and will remain at that stage of evolution, physical and moral, until they get back to the land that contains the natural complement of their necessities.

A word as to the various plans devised by legislators and others for the suppression of the Thief. A belief in the deterrent power of pain seems to have been universal. Confiscation of property, and degradation of various kinds have also been favorably regarded by the legal authorities. Men have racked their brains to invent methods of torturing the criminal, and the relics of those infernal devices are exhibited in our day as examples of barbaric cruelty, and thus affords us the opportunity of comparing them with our own police practice of the *third degree*, and the incarceration of men, women and children in cells beside which a pig-stye would be clean. To all who have given attention to these facts there is no question as to their influence upon the criminal who is so unfortunate as to get caught. The rich thief, by a judicious use of his means, has generally contrived to escape the more painful and degrading punishments to which his poorer brother has been subjected, for, among the crowd of lawyers who swarm around the Courts of Law, looking for prey, it is easy to find men ready to defend, and if possible to protect, a rich client, however vile and guilty they may know him to be. This is perfectly consistent with evolution, for the courts of law are but the natural outgrowth of the same conditions which gave birth to the criminal. The old saying—"Set a thief to catch a thief" seems to fit in right here, for the system of law as practiced to-day, is largely conducted on that plan. Many wise people are chary of going to law, or of employing a detective, for fear of falling out of the frying pan into the

fire. I may be wrong, but my experience and observation lead me to regard our legal institutions as part of the great political plan to enable a large number of parasites to live and enjoy themselves at the public expense, and further—I have no hesitation in saying that the courts, with their technicalities and quibbles and vexatious delays, so far from being aids to administration of Justice, are among the most effective hindrances to it, fostering and perpetuating the very evils they were ostensibly created to check.

I had prepared some interesting matter relating to the conduct of our prisons and the moral effect of the general system of treatment therein (which, with two notable exceptions, was far from favorable) but have been compelled, for want of space, to omit it. Our own Raymond St. Jail was included in these, but we have hope that under the enlightened management of our present Sheriff, we may have all the improvement that is possible under the circumstances. A noted man, a lawyer at that, now dead, once said—"Degradation has been thoroughly tried, with its maiming and brandings, and the result has been that those who inflicted the punishments became as degraded as their victims. Only a few years ago, there were more than two hundred offences in Great Britain punishable by death. The gallows tree bore fruit through all the year, and the hangman was the busiest official in the kingdom—but the criminals *increased*. "There is no reformation in degradation. To mutilate a criminal is to say to all the world that he is a criminal, and to render his reformation substantially impossible, whoever is degraded by society becomes its enemy. The seeds of malice are sown in his heart, and to the day of his death he will hate the hand that sowed the seeds." We will very briefly consider the mission of the Thief.

As every effect has its cause, to understand the pressing problems of the day we must trace them to their fundamental inception. All human beings are not born thieves, but all are born with the instinct of self-preservation—the love of life, and the desire for food. These instincts, with others, developed later, and quite as strong—at times stronger, have much to do, in conjunction with the peculiar environment and natural, possibly inherited tendencies of the human individual, with the formation of his character and the shaping of his destiny. The gardener knows how imperative it is that he should plant the seed in congenial soil and under conditions favorable to healthful development. At times dishonesty will spring up in the midst of plenty, but if you analyze the soil you will find ample reasons for the anomaly, and will still have to admit that crime finds congenial soil in the poverty and degradation of the slums, and in so far as these conditions spread into the social life of men and women, so far will they become criminal. Time was when there were no such conditions in our country as exist to-day. In that invaluable book "The Menace of Privilege" the case is thus clearly put—"Jefferson said that within the space of ten years he had not heard of a single highway robbery in any of the states, except in New York and Philadelphia immediately following the departure of the British army, some of the deserters from which infested those cities for a time. How odd this now sounds, when tramps are scattered all over our country, even through the newest of our States, and thieves infest our city, when every manner of crime known to poverty is to be met with in our legal procedure, and when special courts have been created for child-offenders."

Time forbids to quote further, but the reader's own experience and observations will complete the impressive picture. And so Evolution rolls on. Poverty and crime keeping pace with the monopoly of natural opportunities, and all this as the working out of natural law. Altho' the rude children of the prehistoric age were ignorant of such law, it was none the less operative on that account. What we have been accustomed to regard as violations of

the law of justice, were followed then, as now, by resentment, anger and hatred, which, as all wrongs do, bred misery or cruelty or death. The dim consciousness of the right of possession of what had been earned, prompted self-defence in case of attack. To be robbed of his food, his mate, his offspring or his property, awoke the spirit of revenge in the breast of the primitive man. The combining of a number of unscrupulous men for predatory purposes, drove the weaker ones together for mutual protection. In those wild awakenings of the aggressive and predatory tendencies we see the initial steps in the march of monopoly and oppression and the beginnings of the military power that has deluged the earth with blood. The Thief—be he pick-pocket, sneak thief or burglar, is but a cheap imitation of the Monopolist, Frenzied Financier, or Insurance Fraud—and these all have a message or mission to mankind. What is it? It is the demonstration of an eternal truth—a truth that men have found it hard to learn and still harder to reduce to practice—the truth that to be permanently prosperous and happy we must be *just* in all our relations with each other. The pitiable parasites that crawl upon the wealth producers, have by unconscious necessity been preaching this truth in object lessons more or less severe for centuries, and as they have grown bolder and more reckless, swept along by their own impetuous passions and lust of wealth and power, their warnings have been correspondingly portentous. Yet the money grubbers and the dull, toiling masses saw and heard not the signs of the coming storm. It was so in 1793. The same causes threatened the same results. The nobility lifted the finger of warning to the starving people, but for a long time, only a few took heed. The nobles held one-half of the soil of France and were exempt from military service and almost all taxation. The Church also paid no taxes and enjoyed an annual income from one-sixth of the whole land of 32,000,000 dollars. It required 250,000 officials to collect the taxes from the suffering masses. At last these warnings grew so loud that sleep was no longer possible and the giant awoke to the fact that he must fight or die.

It may not be probable that those terrible events should repeat themselves in these United States, but if it be still true that certain results follow adequate causes, our present social conditions seem to make such a repetition possible. Under the disguise of Benefactors, the predatory combinations of this age may be the unconscious prophets of approaching calamity, and the ignorance, stupidity and frivolity of the masses may not always keep them deaf to the solemn message. Why then, should we blame and abuse the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Ryans, or the Carnegies. They are but the culmination of a long series of mistakes made by the people themselves. They have stumbled and spilled their milk—why should they cry? The child learns to walk by stumbling and bruising his limbs. The human race has been falling over all manner of obstacles through all the centuries they have walked the earth, and they did so because they were blinded by ignorance and superstition—often by the tears of suffering, yet, at times, the light of dawning truth shone through those tears and cast the rainbow of hope upon the hearts of the few honest and good men and women, who, as far as they could, labored to remove the stumbling blocks out of the path of human progress. It is written—whether myth or fact—matters not here, that when Jesus of Nazareth walked the earth, He gave sight to a man who was born blind by anointing his eyes with moistened clay from the ground on which he stood. So must the eyes of the morally blind to-day (many of whom have been *born* blind) be opened to the light of liberty by anointing with the truth concerning the land. It has been well said that no great monopoly can stand unless its feet are on the ground, so, if the people are to regain their lost natural opportunities they must remove the monopolies and get their own feet back upon the land. But to accomplish this, as we all well know, time and

patience and untiring effort on the part of those who see the truth clearly enough to make them work for its progress will be needed. Happy are the men and women who are conscious that they are keeping step in the great march of Evolution—that they are intergral parts of the Universe—that while they are brothers or sisters to the worm, they are also akin to the stars. Tho' the clouds be heavy and dark, here and there we see a rift through which the light of full liberty is breaking—and when the Monopolist, the Landlord—the Captain of industry and all the varied forms of Thievery shall have accomplished their educational mission, and mankind has learned the lessons and mystery of poverty and pain, they will be ready and able to rebuild the Democracy that once made this favored land the hope of the world.

In that blessed time, in spirit, I stand and take the hand of the Thief in mine and say—Good-bye, old friend, your day is over, you were always interesting, you had such a taking way with you, and now you are taking yourself away, I am sorry and yet glad—Farewell—and I see him fading—fading—until he is lost to sight in the advancing glory of the new day of Justice—*Love*—and unbroken *Peace*.

PROGRESS AND POLITICS.

(For the Review.)

By FRANK C. WELLS.

If the last quarter has been marked by no triumphs for enlightened democracy, in any quarter of the globe, it has by no means been wanting in interesting happenings. To begin at home, there seems a chance at last that New York City, may find out who it elected Mayor two years ago. The Legislature passed the recount bill that Governor Hughes indorsed, and unless fresh interference from the courts should prevent, the ballots will be recanvassed. Mr. Hearst as Mayor might, or might not "make good" but if he was elected democracy can "make good" only by seating him. The persistent fight against a recount waged by the *de facto* Mayor has been most discreditable to him. If the recount shall show that his opponent was elected Mr. McClellan will leave office a disgraced man. If it shall establish his own right to the place he will retain it a disgraced and an absurd one. In either case his career will be at an end. He himself signed his political death warrant when, receding from his first declaration that he would take no office that was not his by right, he threw every possible obstacle in the way of Mr. Hearst's efforts for a recanvass of the vote. In this stand Mr. McClellan has had the approval, open or thinly disguised, of the plutocratic press. Who can doubt the nature of the influence back of it?

This recount bill was perhaps the most noteworthy act of the State Legislature that after an abnormally long session dissolved in a wretched tangle over the reapportionment that the unconstitutional gerrymander of the preceding Legislature had made necessary. Not the least of the advantages of the proportional system of representation is that it would render nugatory the partisan redistricting by which in every state the dominant faction seeks always to intrench itself; but such really democratic solutions of political problems make no headway in New York State. They commend themselves as little to the Gradys, McCarrens and Olivers who disgrace the minority party by their leadership, as they do the Raineses and Wadsworths of the party in power.

The Governor succeeded in getting his public utilities bill made a law, and we shall see what of public benefit it will bring. The enormous powers it places

in the hands of the Governor may be safe with a Hughes, but could an Odell or a Hill be trusted to use them for the general good? The concentration of authority so strongly advocated in some quarters as a cure for the weaknesses of a democracy is, like most counter-irritants, a dangerous remedy. A measure also advocated by the Governor, and much in line with real democracy, was that for direct primary nominations which was killed in the dying hours of the session.

IN THE NATIONAL FIELD.

In national affairs the chief interest has centered in the absorbing game of presidential candidates. The ponderous Taft, with the backing of his chief, leaped first into the Republican field. The astute Knox has followed. Governor Hughes's friends are pushing him toward the arena, while the genial Fairbanks and, it may be, the wily Foraker and the ambitious Cortelyou pursue a still hunt for unattached delegates. The attitude of the plutocratic press—Republican and so called Democratic—toward all these candidates is instructive. None of them seemed displeasing to it, though some reserve is yet maintained toward Hughes, who, despite his veto of the two-cent railway fare bill, gives evidence of streaks of radicalism all the more to be dreaded for being genuine. The radicalism of Mr. Taft the former issuer of labor injunctions and the present exponent of benevolent imperialism, does not seem to affright our captains of industry, and even should some modern Antony come forward at the Republican Lupercal to tender the crown again to Roosevelt, and the latter prove unequal to the role of a refusing Caesar, the chances are that Wall Street would manage to bear up. This culminating Rooseveltian achievement is by no means the most unlikely outcome, for many of the President's admirers are already shouting that no one else can beat Bryan, and Bryan has as yet no serious opponent for the Democratic nomination. It cannot be supposed for a moment that another "conservative" candidate of the Parker stripe will be stood up as a victim of the electoral avalanche, and among the progressive Democrats who is there so fit and so deserving to lead as the twice-defeated candidate who, though merely the Editor of a weekly journal of insignificant appearance in a small Western city, has, as much by his energy, his steadfastness and his unselfishness as by his platform ability and his political acumen, impressed himself on the rank and file of his party as its only possible leader?

But the election is a long way off and prophecy is a risky pursuit. If our make-believe prosperity, based so largely on speculation and gambling, should disappear in a wreck of railroads and a crash of banks, or if the extraordinary criminal trial at Idaho on which the eyes of the nation are now centred should lead to new lines of political cleavage in which intense class feeling should play its part, the outcome may be one as yet entirely un conjectured. After all, important to real democracy as the Presidency is, the House of Representatives is even more so, and it is a matter for regret that in the excitement of selecting the nation's head so little attention is paid to securing enlightened Congressmen.

IN THE OLD WORLD.

Europe just now presents politically a various scene. Great Britain has passed an academic parliamentary resolution that the power of the Lords should be curbed, but has proved its traditional and inexplicable attachment to its hereditary owners by defeating overwhelmingly a democratic resolution for their abolishment as an upper chamber. Ireland has contemptuously rejected the Government's milk-and-water home rule bill, and the futility of half-way measures to please anybody thus receives what should have been a needless demonstration. France has had to meet an extraordinary rebellion due, appar-

ently, to wide spread belief in the vine-growing south that prosperity can be manufactured by regulative law for the million as well as for the few. Austria has adopted a manhood suffrage law, and as a result of this great stride in the path of democracy sees her racial quarrels already waxing less bitter and a new political alignment not based on race distinctions taking form. Portugal is protesting against an autocratic administration and a pleasure-seeking King, and the latent republicanism of the Latin peoples of Europe is now being voiced in that sleepy corner of the continent. The Russian Czar has shown the value of an autocrat's oath by again dissolving the Douma and restricting still further the political suffrage of the distracted people; but no Mirabeau has arisen to dominate the tottering throne, nor a Danton to give it the last unsetting impulse. Tolstoy preaches in vain, and the terrorists above and below train their artillery on each other, heedless of the non-combatants in the way. Meanwhile, under the farcical auspices of the same Russian Czar, the peace conference pursues its deliberations at The Hague. The delegates to this great meeting and those they represent, like most of the delegates to the little meeting at Lake Mohawk in the United States, seem bent chiefly on showing that they are not fanatics or visionaries—not they—and that an abstract belief in the beauties of peace is quite compatible with a concrete appreciation of the advantages of war. Everything must have its beginning, however, and perhaps from the formal and meagre proceedings of The Hague congress something worth while will eventually "burst full-blossomed on the thorny stem of time."

EDITORIAL FROM THE JOHNSTOWN (PA.) DEMOCRAT.

Perhaps it will be prudent to wait for a confirmation of the amazing story of Harry Orchard before accepting it in all its revolting details. It is an unparalleled confession of crime. Nothing like it was ever told on the American continent before. It may be true. Orchard may have committed all the atrocities he declares he is guilty of. He may indeed have been the hired assassin of a great labor organization which sought with the gun and dynamite the extirpation of its enemies. But something more than the unsupported words of Harry Orchard will be needed to convince the sober judgement of the country that what he so calmly, so smoothly and so unconcernedly relates is true.

Orchard makes no concealment of the fact that while he was professedly serving as the hired murderer of the Western Federation of Miners he was at the same time playing into the hands of the other side. He admits that he betrayed those whose money he alleges he had in his pocket and in whose power he must have been if he were indeed guilty of the frightful crimes which he declares he shared in committing. His story appears to lack consistency. Not even a pervert as low as Orchard represents himself to be is likely to be as ready as he says he was to run his neck into a halter as he must have known he was doing if he were concerned in even half the diabolism for which he claims a sort of credit. He talks too much like one who is boasting. He seems rather to glory in the appalling record that he has partly detailed in court. Every word he says may be true. But there are a good many chances that he is lying.

However, conceding the substantial truth of his story, it but confirms the view which has often been put forward by people who have no sympathy with violence of any sort, that the condition which prevailed in the western mining states was one of war. It was a condition, not of public but of private war. It was a war between the Mine Owners' association and the Western Federation of Miners; and the latter, whether with good reason or without it, asserted and apparently believed that all the powers of the state were arrayed, not

in preserving order, but as allies of the Mine Owners' association in its ruthless policy of subjugation and destruction. This war extended over a period of years and embraced a wide territory. In its prosecution the Mine Owners' association had the state and national military forces at its command and it did not hesitate to over-ride and even to over-throw the civil authority whenever the latter failed or refused submissively and unquestioningly to do its bidding.

Under these circumstances it is not strange, although it is none the less horrible and revolting, that, denied the protection of the law, feeling that they were indeed its victims, the miners should have entered upon a policy of terrorism such as that which to-day prevails in Russia and that is almost certain to prevail everywhere under despotism. There can be little reasonable question of the condition which confronted the working men in Colorado, Idaho and other western mining states. There was a military reign of terror instituted and upheld by the Mine Owners' association whose control of the executive and judicial powers of the states was undisguised. There was deadly and relentless war on organized labor. Men were deported from their homes to distant states without legal warrant. Public officials were driven from their places under threat of death. Sheriffs and judges and other civil servants were lawlessly compelled to resign and their places were filled with the accredited tools of the Mine Owners' association. Martial law took the place of civil procedure and it was maintained until the courts of the United States intervened and compelled the governor of Colorado to restore the civil processes. The effect of all this must inevitably have been to inflame the passions of the men against whom it was directed. They must have felt that the hand of society was against them. Their souls must have become embittered. They must have been driven to that very desperation of purpose which the Orchard tale reveals; and so that is, after all, less surprising than it would be if the conditions precedent had been other than we know them to have been.

The lesson of it all is that arbitrary power, whether exercised by a labor organization or by an organization of plutocratic monopolists, is always dangerous, that it always invites to abuse, that it is always a threat against society and that it is always the enemy of order. We do not hold labor blameless. It may have gone quite to the unspeakable depths which this revolting story indicates. It may have imbrued its hands in innocent blood. It may have hired assassins and plotted the death of high officials. It may have done all these things and it may indeed have planned to go further in its destructive warfare. But if this is true, it is also true that there is another side to the case. There were the monopoly forces at work—the forces which held the opportunities, the forces which held the power of life or death, the forces that could and did take the bread out of the mouths of women and children, the forces that were able to control government and to bend it to their own will. These forces in the name and under the protection of the law and with all its machinery at command were not idle. They were making peace impossible. They were driving their employes to desperation. All the elements of war were present. And if acts of war developed it was only what was to be expected.

“It may seem strange that in England, the land where above all others the personal and political rights of the simplest freeman have been saved whole through all changes of princes and dynasties, the law should find so little room for public and unstinted rights of using the very elements. Even the air is not free, for the maxim is that the owner of the soil is owner up to the height above and down to the depth beneath. I conceive it is indisputable that to pass over land in a balloon, at whatsoever height, without the owner's or occupier's license, is technically a trespass.”—SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, *Professor of Jurisprudence*, at Oxford, in “The Land Laws.”

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PUBLISHERS' NOTES.

Send in your subscriptions. Remember the offer of one copy of "Progress and Poverty (the cloth bound one dollar edition of Doubleday, Page & Co.) for two new subscribers. Every Single Taxer knows of at least two believers who ought to be subscribers to the REVIEW.

Send in news and anything illustrative of the progress of the movement. Our pigeon holes are crowded with contributed matter, but we cannot have too much good material. Will our friends remember this and send in what they think will prove of interest.

Help us to make the REVIEW a bi-monthly.

AT LAST—ORGANIZATION!

There are brighter days coming for the Single Tax movement, and for the REVIEW. Appearing as the issues do three months apart, it is felt that much of the news becomes to some of us old news, and the reminder of the existence of a great progressive movement—protean in shape, and not usually of accredited Single Tax origin—too infrequent in its appearance. For this reason an effort will be made to make the REVIEW a bi-monthly. From a bi-monthly to a monthly may not be a step of great difficulty with an organization which will probably be effected at the approaching national conference in November, and if our friends will aid us we will bend every energy to that end.

One of the things that will be done at

the coming conference is the perfecting of a press committee, which should include a sub-committee of propaganda for the distribution of literature. The supplying of plate matter to such papers as can be induced to use such matter, with or without paying for it, ought to be considered. This, perhaps, can be better done indirectly than directly by first securing some hundreds or more papers which will agree to use matter bearing on labor, land and taxation problems, and subsequent arrangement with companies handling plate matter.

With the REVIEW appearing as a monthly or even a bi-monthly, in its present form—64 pages and cover—the movement will possess an organ containing double or three times as much matter as at any period in our history. For six years the REVIEW has done its part—no insignificant part, we believe—in keeping step to the varied phases of our progress. The entire preparation of each issue has been the work of the editor since we were deprived of the able assistance of that devoted and efficient worker in the cause, Mrs. George P. Hampton. But in this we are conscious of having made no sacrifice. There has been no financial return, but we have the satisfaction of knowing that the REVIEW has fought a good fight, and won its place as the accredited organ of the Single Taxers of the United States, with a fair measure of help to the subscription list from our brothers in Canada and abroad. What we have done we shall continue to do—and a great deal more if given the opportunity.

The REVIEW has from the beginning pled for an organization. It is the one point—the only one—on which the REVIEW has felt that it was its duty to speak in no uncertain terms. We have pointed to it as containing much of the secret of the real strength of the socialistic movement. In this we have been compelled to differ with some of our readers—with some of mere experience than ourself. But events kept on making for our contentions. Mr. F. H. Munroe was enabled to accomplish the work he had done, and is doing, through the power of organization. Then came Mr. John J. Murphy, and inside of two weeks by his own initiative he had started a movement that must now culminate into a working organization that will show what our cause has lacked for the past dozen years. The REVIEW's plea has been answered—the reply to its call for organization has been spontaneous, wholly gratifying and nearly unanimous.

It has been asked, what useful purpose can organization effect? What can it not effect? How many are the things it may do? Without interfering in the least degree with the present modes of individual activity, how it may strengthen the hands of Mr. Munroe in his lecture work,

Mr. Swinney in his labors of distribution of literature, and much other work that is being carried on. It may establish permanent headquarters, appoint organizers to watch legislation that needs to be promoted or defeated, gather up the scattered activities and draw them together to one spot—as is done in England, under the leadership of John Paul—thus securing the efficiency that comes from co-ordination. And it may be able to do something to induce the public press of the country to acquaint its readers with the remarkable progress of the movement in England and Scotland. All these are matters for the coming conference to consider. But in view of what may be undertaken, it is idle to ask what real good organization can effect. The real weakness of our movement has been its lack of organization.

There is little danger that organization can be wrested from its real purpose to aid the political ambitions of any aspirant, though we fancy that is the fear which sincerely influences some of our friends in their lukewarm attitude toward the conference. That there has been too much of ill advised support of many sporadic and pseudo reforms and sensational candidacies may be admitted. But this has been done in the absence of organization. The political ambitions of a few of our number have been satisfied—with what results to their active interest in the bridge that carried them over we are now, in one or two conspicuous instances, acquainted, with some mortification. With a thorough enrollment of Single Taxers organized for the advancement of measures looking in our direction, and remaining in close touch with one another, we are not nearly so apt to serve the purposes of ambitious individuals whose more or less active connection with the cause is used to dazzle the managers of some political machine with visions, "terrible as an army with banners," of rewards that await the party through their nominations and the consequences to be looked for in the event of their failure to receive recognition. With a compact organization we are far less likely to figure as a floating political asset.

J. D. M.

PRIMITIVE PERCEPTIONS OF JUSTICE

At Tulsa, last month, Chitto Harjo, or Crazy Snake, of the Creeks, pleaded for a return to the conditions under the treaty of 1832, when the Indians held land in common, and roamed as nomads. "In 1492 when a man landed on American shores named Columbus, whom did he find here?" cried Harjo. "Did he find the white man? No. He found the Indian. What did he say to the Indian? He said: 'The land is all yours. I will protect you.'"

DEATH OF J. H. WELLS.

Jonathan H. Wells, who passed away at East Moriches, Long Island, on March 31st, of heart disease, was an earnest and devoted worker for the Single Tax. In another column appears an article from his pen, the writing of which was suggested by another who has also passed away, the well beloved Ernest Crosby.

Mr. Wells was sixty-five years old at the time of his death. His career was not an eventful one. It was the life of the average good man who walks upright and does his duty as it comes to hand. But while he did not appear in the limelight his quiet, persistent work for the cause was not unobserved.

He worked as clerk in a store in his younger days, served as proofreader on the *Christian at Work*, and later was employed in the office of the White Star line. For the last four years he has lived in retirement at his home on Long Island, much broken in health.

He was a member of the Church of the New Jerusalem. He leaves a wife and son, and lies buried in Riverhead, a few miles from his boyhood home.

DEATH OF J. WARNER MILLS.

The death of J. Warner Mills, in Denver, Colorado, removes from the sphere of activity one who was claimed by both Single Taxers and Socialists as belonging to their number. But he had always helped the Single Tax movement, and accepted fully the logic of our position.

He had been prominent in the forward movements of the State, and shares largely the credit of having secured the franchise for the women of Colorado.

From an eloquent tribute appearing in the Rocky Mountain (Denver) *News*, written by J. R. Herman, we extract the following: "J. Warner Mills, great-hearted, brainy, loyal and true, is gone and the world is sadder to-day because of that incident, but happier because he trod for a brief moment on life's stage.

The materialism of this age idealizes intellect for the same reasons that the Romans made a god of physical strength, but materialism of all ages despises heart, and delights itself in firing its merciless shafts of ridicule into the defenceless heart that has the temerity to love. But Mr. Mills was armored. Not only did he have the power to love, but he had the intellect to command the respect of those mummies who sneer at unselfishness, just as the Christian gladiator's physical strength commanded the respect of a heartless Nero.

And I fancy now that if he found heaven blocked off in squares with that staring insult to God, 'lots for sale,' he would be

found not on the throne of privilege, but doing battle against the same forces that deprive millions of their inheritance on God's footstool, the earth. But in spite of the injustice here, let us hope that his battles for those whom he never saw and could never hope to see, will entitle him to an equal share in heaven, if it was denied him on earth; and as the curtain arose that revealed to him the other world, the joyous music and song that would emanate from a society which practiced the teachings he believed in would be wafted to his enraptured soul by breezes that floated over a people freed from greed, selfishness and oppression."

DEATH OF THOMAS JONES HASTINGS.

(Died *æt* 73. Following is the address delivered by Rev. John Gregson which is an eloquent tribute containing the essential facts in a noble life. This address was made at the meeting of the Mass. Single Tax League in Boston on May 18th.)

"How happy is he, born or taught,
That serveth not another's will;
Whose armor is his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill.

"This man is freed from servile bands
Of hopes to rise, or fears to fall;
Lord of himself, though not of lands,
And having nothing yet hath all."

"The death of Major Thomas Jones Hastings has filled a good many hearts with grief at the loss of a very true friend. His character of simple, candid and kindly friendliness bound him to his friends with strong ties of respect and affection, and their bereavement finds its only solace in the remembrance of these precious traits in him, and in the hope of a blessed immortality.

There was in Major Hastings a certain characteristic unselfishness. From his youth up, the ideal of his life seemed to be devotion of all his powers to the righteous cause which lacked assistance. This was the motive which led him to join the company of those who wished to rescue Anthony Burns from Slavery. But the better counsel prevailed; to suffer wrong rather than resist it by unlawful means, and, perhaps, the shedding of the life blood of innocent men.

A similar motive of unselfish devotion led him to enlist in the Fifteenth Massachusetts Infantry. The men who went to the war at that time were not moved by mercenary motives. It was to save the Union, and to deliver a race from slavery, that they took up arms. And this devotion kept Major Hastings constant to duty through all the perilous and toilsome campaigns of the Army of the Potomac. A service beginning at Ball's Bluff, and ending at Appomattox speaks of much hard work, of many dangers, and of loyal devotion, founded upon the hope of things not seen as yet and of much glory, as men count

glory. But the praise of a gallant, valorous and honorable soldier is warranted by scripture. To these qualities our friend added those of a loyal and gentle comrade. To this service he gave four years of his youth. Surely for a country saved by such devotion we are warranted to hope all good things.

The City of Worcester, the well beloved heart of the Commonwealth, declared its appreciation of Major Hastings' character and achievements when it sent him to the Legislature. In that body he showed that he possessed power of a very rare kind. The measures he introduced for the improvement of our taxation laws were carried through in the face of a powerful opposition; founded partly in ignorance of the true principles of taxation, partly due to a blind devotion to vested interests, and partly to a stolid and stupid indifference. In the course of this battle Major Hastings' attention was called incidentally to the Single Tax, and the measures he advocated are now the law in this Commonwealth.

The reading of "Progress and Poverty" made Major Hastings a Single Taxer. He labored with Henry George to have this cause triumph. But for a man of his sincerity to embrace the Single Tax meant a great conversion. He had been a protectionist; he was now a free trader, and he accepted these new doctrines with a clear comprehension of their bearing, and as knowing that it meant to him the loss of his standing as a Republican politician in the city of Worcester. His unselfish devotion to a great idea kept him constant, however, and it was a joy to him that this devotion cost him something. As president of the Worcester Single Tax Club he kept that cause before the public by meetings, and by his own personal labors and the distribution of literature, and his advocacy strengthened the cause greatly. He organized a memorial meeting held in the South Unitarian church, to honor Henry George, whom he knew personally, and loved and mourned.

For many years Major Hastings had been treasurer of the co-operative banks of Worcester. The success of these institutions there has been largely due to his integrity and industry. He was constant and faithful in their service, and his memory will long be cherished in many humble households as that of a personal friend and benefactor. And now we bid him farewell for a time, and commend him to the care of the loving Father of all men. Surely if we who knew him here loved him because he was lovable, much more will his Father love him, because He knows him better than we did.

"I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care."

DEATH OF FREDERICK CHAPMAN.

Frederick Chapman, a well-known Single Taxer resident of Fairhope, died May 30th, of heart failure. He was about 60 years of age, a man of scholarly attainments and many qualities of gentleness and humanity, which endeared him to his associates. He was fond of the study of nature, and wrote of his observations in a most interesting way. Many were his contributions to the *Fairhope Courier* and the *Standard of Daphne, Ala.* He was a staunch lover of liberty. He leaves a sister, Miss Altona Chapman, as well as relatives in New York City.

DEATH OF R. H. CAGE.

In the death of Robert H. Cage, at Pass Christian, on May 30th, the Single Tax movement lost one of its most earnest and successful workers. He was a whole-souled, lovable man, of cheerful temperament, whose sincerity and love of his fellow-men were written into the very lines of his face. These qualities enabled him to approach men of all classes successfully, and many a one read Single Tax literature at his request who could not otherwise have been induced to consider it.

Mr. Cage was born in Mississippi fifty-six years ago, but has resided in Louisiana almost from boyhood. For many years he was a traveling man, at first as a drummer and later as a broker. In this way he became widely known throughout the States, and made a host of friends, but no enemies. For he was one of the few who are not only without malice, but whose lack of malice is too evident to permit others to suspect ulterior motives. He was very prominent in Masonic circles, being for two terms grand master of Louisiana. Due to his intuitive sense of right, Mr. Cage had but to see the inherent justice of the Single Tax to know that it was economically correct. And his was one of the rare instances of almost immediate, yet unswerving, devotion to the cause. One of his neighbors to whom R. S. McMahon (who is the Single Tax daddy of Louisiana workers) had loaned a copy of "Property in Land," handed the book over the fence to Mr. Cage, one morning in 1893, with a rather commendatory comment, and by that evening Mr. Cage was an earnest, working Single Taxer. He was one of the little coterie who organized the Pelican State Single Tax Club in New Iberia about the fall of 1893, which club maintained an active existence for a number of years, campaigning for the movement. Its principal work was sending out literature. And in this Mr. Cage was a most valuable assistant. He knew good men at nearly every post office, and not only saw that the club mailed books to them, but every week, when start-

ing on his trip, he would load up his grip with pamphlets and tracts for distribution. And whether selling goods, or in the hotel lobby of an evening, or yet while at sessions of Masonic lodges throughout the State, Mr. Cage always found opportunity to talk Single Tax and give out literature. On going into the coffee business in New Orleans in 1899 these journeys ceased and Mr. Cage directed his efforts into new channels; but quite as earnestly. He hunted out the scattered, unknown Single Taxers of that city, infusing a degree of enthusiasm in men who had grown cold. He was constantly on the watch for new material. In a short time, his business associate, Mr. Drew, was numbered among his converts, and became active in the cause.

Seldom has a business firm, while endeavoring to build up a trade, done so much for Single Tax. They established a brand of Single Tax coffee, instructing their several drummers to explain the meaning and idea of the name whenever occasion offered. And for years in every package of coffee which left their factory they placed a Single Tax tract, in hopes, as Mr. Cage said, that whoever opened the package would thus be led to read the tract. The above are but some of the modes in which Mr. Cage's work was done. He was strongly in favor of independent political action, believing that while the party might never succeed, its principles would win, even after its death, just as what was true in Populism is now capturing the Republican party.

While it is not permitted him to see the full fruition of the work, Mr. Cage's faith in the justice of God enabled him to realize that our cause must surely win. And next in degree to seeing this great reform in operation and the benefits resulting, came the certainty of knowing that these were but delayed for a season.

EDWARD T. WEEKS.

DEATH OF ARTHUR MCEWEN.

The death of Arthur McEwen adds another to the list of those who have departed during the last quarter. Mr. McEwen was best known as a journalist, and his letters signed "A Gentleman," which have appeared in the *New York American*, have made both his name and this pseudonym a household word among those who relish genuine humor with a democratic flavor.

This sturdy upholder of democratic principles was born in Scotland fifty-six years ago, and with his family emigrated to Canada. From there McEwen made his way to California. He attended the University at Berkeley and was looked upon as one of the most brilliant students ever turned out by that university.

When he left the university he worked

with pick and shovel on the railroad. Finally, he drifted into journalism, for which his inclinations and talents so well fitted him. His work soon attracted the attention of those brilliant Californians who have since become famous to a far wider constituency, among others Mark Twain. He was associated with Franklin K. Lane, recently appointed on the Inter-State Commerce Commission by President Roosevelt, in a newspaper venture which was short lived. Later he came to New York and assumed the editorship of the *New York American*.

Mr. McEwen was a staunch believer in the Single Tax, and during the '97 campaign made many speeches for Henry George from the tails of carts. We remember these addresses very well, for we had the honor of sharing the time with him on more than one occasion, and there was a breezy western dash and audacity in the picturesque language with which he assailed the organs of monopoly. Physically he was a fine type, mentally he was strong and vigorous, and spiritually he moved with head unbowed amid the craven shams his soul so hated.

Mr. J. B. Vining of Cleveland, Ohio, is raising a fund of \$1,000 to keep "Billy" Radcliffe, of Youngstown, on the streets of Cleveland speaking in behalf of Mayor Johnson's work from now until November. Those who wish to help in this work should communicate with Mr. Vining at 604 Cedar street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Many years ago, influenced by the words of the Master, "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto me," and having been actively engaged for years in the abolition, temperance and economic movements of the day, I have learned to love justice and equality of opportunity, and to see little need for almsgiving, and none whatever for "coddling," whether done by the so-called "élite" or anyone else. My views were strengthened by these words, uttered a few years ago by the late Dr. Geo. C. Lorimer, of blessed memory: "What society wants today is not charity but justice, justice between man and man. Do you say we must clothe the naked? I tell you, give men justice and there will be practically nobody to clothe. Do you say we must feed the hungry? Make justice to reign and men will not then be hungry."—James P. Cadman in *Standard* (Baptist weekly), Chicago, Ill.

Felix Isman, of Philadelphia, paid a fancy price for a choice piece of real estate in Manhattan, yesterday. For the property at the southeast corner of Fifth avenue and Forty-second street, 73.3x100, he paid \$1,550,000, or at the rate of \$211 a square foot.—*Exchange*.

THE ORGANS OF A WORLD-WIDE MOVEMENT.

Following is a list of the periodicals devoted to the propagation of the Single Tax. Each is the accredited organ of the movement in the field it occupies:

Land Values, organ of the British Single Taxers, edited by John Paul and published at 18 Dundas street, Glasgow, Scotland. It is a twenty-four page monthly paper, ably conducted, and characterized by that thoroughness which distinguishes our British workers. Many of its contributors are also contributors to the pages of the REVIEW.

The *Canadian Single Taxer*, published at 75 Yonge street, Toronto, Canada, organ of the Canadian Single Taxers, edited by Fred B. Lake and Alan C. Thompson. It is also a monthly publication, and contains many interesting and valuable articles. Is always bright and newsy.

THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW, published at 11 Frankfort street, appears quarterly, and is the accredited organ of the Single Taxers of the United States.

These are the three principal organs of the movement in the English speaking world. Besides these, however, there is the *Fairhope Courier*, organ of the Fairhope corporation. Fairhope is the Single Tax colony on the shores of Mobile Bay, which is incorporated under the laws of the State of Alabama, and is engaged in making a practical demonstration of the Single Tax, so far as the limitations of the State laws permit. The *Courier* contains news of the colony. It is a weekly paper of eight pages, ably edited by E. B. Gaston.

No list of Single Tax periodicals would be complete without mention of the *Liberator*, of Auckland, New Zealand, the *Standard*, of Sydney, and *Progress*, of Melbourne, Australia.

The German organ of the Single Tax is the *Deutsche Volkstimme*, edited by August Damaschke, Berlin. Sweden also has a paper which is recognized as the organ of the movement in that country. *Ret* (Justice) of Denmark is another.

In this list we have purposely omitted the *Public*, edited by Louis F. Post and published in Chicago. The *Public* is the best and brightest radical weekly in America, but it is not a Single Taxer paper, though it does not fail to chronicle any important step in our direction. Many of its contributors are also contributors to the REVIEW.

The *Star*, of San Francisco, is a bright and breezy weekly, edited by Mr. Barry, who is a Single Taxer, and one of the early friends of Henry George. Joseph H. Leggett is the Single Tax correspondent of this paper, and no man in the movement is able to write a more interesting column

news letter than Mr. Leggett furnishes for each issue of the *Star*.

Among the dailies frankly and unequivocally committed to the Single Tax is the *Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat*, of which Warren Worth Bailey is editor. This paper is rapidly taking a foremost place among the more influential journals that are voicing the aspirations of the rising democratic spirit of our times. In another column we print an editorial from its pages on the trial of Haywood, now in progress at Boise, Idaho. Few editorial writers of the day—certainly none but those whose vision has been widened and made clear by a knowledge of economic truth—could write in this luminous way.

Along with the *Johnstown Democrat* as a newspaper committed to the Single Tax should be named the *Pittsburg Leader*, in which recently appeared an editorial—reprinted in the columns of the *REVIEW*—announcing its conversion to our principles.

A much larger list of periodicals could be made with Single Tax leanings, and a larger one still of those sufficiently hospitable to print Single Tax communications. Even the great metropolitan journals, so many of which are in bondage to privilege, will do this, and they would do it even more readily were they convinced that the movement had a vitality and a public sympathetic to its teachings. The *REVIEW*, which contains such evidences in convenient form, ought to be on the editorial desk of every daily and weekly newspaper in the country.

THE SINGLE TAX AND OTHER REFORMS.

Do not let Single Taxers be opportunists. Let others adopt that role. Let us preach the Single Tax. By educating public sentiment it will move in our direction—not the whole way, but part of the way. This will be the politicians' opportunity—they are the opportunists, not we. Our work is more serious—in a sense, and so far as avails immediate ends, more hopeless.

Our position is academic, we may be told. It is. So is the position of all teachers and preachers of righteousness. So was abolitionism in the days of chattel slavery before abolitionism got into politics. But "You make history and we profit by it," said Seward to the abolitionists of his day.

In this there is intended no criticism of those Single Taxers who are working for municipal ownership and direct legislation. Let them continue to agitate for these reforms, as individuals, for they are both important, the latter exceedingly so. But the Single Tax is supremely so. It is important that the people should possess in their own hands the machinery of government. But it is more important that they

should know how to use such machinery intelligently. Representatives today seem to be capable of all sorts of fool legislation on every conceivable subject. But are the people themselves likely to be any wiser when framing their own laws or when rejecting or accepting such laws as come before them? Is it not a question, after all, of the intelligence of the man who uses the instrument rather than a question of the instrument, to put it somewhat crudely?

There are two motive powers behind all reforms. Socialists say there is only one, but never mind that just now. There are really two—economic necessity and our sense of responsibility—the religious, or ethical motive. Both together accomplished the reform of the corn laws; both together brought about the abolition of chattel slavery; both together will give us industrial emancipation.

Economic necessity we have nothing to do with; we cannot create it. But the ethical motive we can appeal to, and the ethical motive, enlightened by an intelligent apprehension of our doctrines and purposes, will deliver us from economic bondage. To this as Single Taxers, no matter what we choose to do as individuals in other spheres of political activity, let us devote ourselves, knowing that here is the power that will provide opportunity for the opportunists, strengthen the hand of the Nicodemus, render the timid confident, and overcome all and every imperfection of our defective political machinery in the passionate impulse of a people economically enlightened and ethically awake.

J. D. M.

THE ISSUE JOINED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

It is weighty and inspiring news that comes from England and Scotland, telling of the remarkable progress being made by the friends of the cause in the United Kingdom. Very little of this finds its way into the news despatches printed in the American newspapers. Even the special correspondents make only veiled reference to the rising democratic movement for the restoration of equal rights to land through the exercise of the taxing power. This movement is stigmatized as "socialistic," and in the correspondence of the *New York Sun* persistent effort is made to represent the Liberal party and the premier as committed to weak and ineffectual policies. The organs of privilege in this country realize the danger of giving too great a prominence to a movement which has for its ultimate object the destruction of landed privilege, and we find that a general policy of silence characterizes nearly all news-

paper organs in this country respecting the movement for the taxation of land values in Great Britain. THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW is the only American publication from which any reader in the United States has been able to extract any information respecting one of the chief policies—to us, of course, the most important one—of the Liberal party. If the REVIEW were on the editorial desk of the many thousand journals that are really free and uninfluenced by those considerations that govern the great metropolitan organs of privilege, they would be in possession of a medium that would lead them to modify much that they reprint from sadly biased sources of information.

In Great Britain this policy of concealment is no longer possible. There the issue is fairly joined. The friends and enemies of the movement for the taxation of land values are out in the open, fighting under banners whose legends leave no doubt of the meaning of the conflict. The speech of Winston Churchill at the Drury Lane Theater, printed in another column, which places the rising young democrat in the forefront of the movement, is not the only significant sign of advance. Quite as welcome evidence of the progress that is being made is the fact that Lord Roseberry has at last been tempted into open opposition, and in the debate in the House of Lords spoke as follows:

"In Scotland there is a great but silent enthusiasm, which has communicated itself only to the prime minister and the lord advocate, of a measure which shall extend the most disastrous form of agriculture known to mankind, that of the Highland crofters, to the prosperous regions of the Lowlands. I am a student of the Scottish press, and I find one constant and unvarying source of support, and only one. It is that which comes from those particular socialists who are called Single Taxers, who write ingenious letters in support of this measure in the Western papers, and sign themselves Single Tax."

It may safely be said that if Lord Roseberry is under no delusion as to the real meaning of the movement in Great Britain for the taxation of land values, neither are its defenders in the government. Mr. Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, in a speech at Halifax declared that "the Valuation Bill would be the first step to land reform." Only the first step, it will be observed, for it is recognized everywhere that with the passage of the Scottish Bill a movement of large significance has begun. The *Times*, the "Thunderer" whose thunder no longer induces the old ladies of both political parties to seek their feather beds, says "that the very people who called most loudly for it are staggered by the discovery of its real meaning and effect." We do not

believe that this is really true of any great numbers, but we can easily imagine that as regards some timid souls it may very well picture the state of their minds.

Perhaps one of the most interesting incidents illustrative of the rapidity with which events are likely to move was a luncheon in the afternoon of April 20th given to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at the Holborn Restaurant in London, preceding the Drury Lane meeting in the evening. Before us lies the *menu*, the diagram of the order in which the guests were seated, and the programme of the exercises. At one table sat those whose names are familiar to us all: E. A. Adam, C. H. Smithson, Johan Hansson, F. Skirrow, Mr. and Mrs. Berens, Arthur Withy, F. Verinder, W. R. Lester, J. W. S. Callie, Peter Burt, John Paul, Edward McHugh, Rev. S. D. Headlam, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fels, and others.

The programme contains extracts from the notable speech of the Prime Minister at Albert Hall, in December, 1905, in which he said:

"We desire to develop our undeveloped estates in this country, to give the farmer greater freedom and greater security in the exercise of his business—to secure a home and a career for the laborer who is now in many cases cut off from the soil.

"We wish to make the land less of a pleasure ground for the rich and more of a treasure-house for the nation.

"What, then, is that which we can do? We can strengthen the municipalities by reforming the land system and the rating system, in which I include the imposition of a tax on ground values."

Nor was the speech delivered on this occasion by the Premier, who unites the wisdom of the practical politician with the ideals of the true statesman, any less candid. He said in conclusion, in a passage that has the glow of prophecy:

"I look behind material aspects to the character and spirit of the nation. In freeing the land we shall raise the people. Happy shall we be if to us it is given to disperse the cloud of gloom which has settled over our villages and to enable the peasantry to lift up their heads and call their souls their own by giving them some little foothold where they will be no longer tied men but free. Happy shall we be if before our day is over we see the brightness and color of pleasant homes for the people in our cities, with vigorous and well-nourished children playing in gardens instead of in sunless streets; and to achieve these blessings you and I are resolved—I see it in your enthusiasm—we are resolved, without haste but without rest, to press on the crusade of reform."

Notable were the songs sung on this occasion, in which the audience are invited on the programme to take part. One of these

to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne" runs as follows:

"God opens out His mighty hand,
And showers his blessings wide;
He never made this glorious land
To pamper rich men's pride.
Give back the rights upon the land
Our fathers had of yore;
We'll be content with nothing less,
We ask for nothing more."

Another to the tune of "Johnny Comes Marching Home" contains this:

"What'll you hear about to-day
The Land! The Land!
We hope there's something good to say.
The land! The Land!
The landless man for the manless land:
A programme you can understand,
And it's Land! Land! Land! Land!
Give us our right to the land!"

Two hundred and fifty years ago Gerrard Winstansley (and there sat at the table one who has told the story with loving pen) was persecuted by the government of his day for these self-same doctrines now spoken in the presence of the Prime Minister and re-echoed by him in words of grave eloquence. How the Surrey Hills must have leapt!

J. D. M.

THE NATURE OF CAPITAL.

(For the Review)

BY E. J. SHRIVER.

By a single paragraph the *Public* in a recent issue made a statement of the evanescence of what we commonly call capital, which for conciseness can scarcely be equalled, and is well worthy a most thoughtful consideration. So firmly has capital as a concrete working force been grounded on economical discussion, following the definitions by Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, that it rarely occurs to anyone to question its accuracy. Radical and conservative thinkers alike magnify its importance,—the one on the Socialistic extreme thinking the control of machinery (or what Mill called "fixed" capital) as the essential element in the distribution of product; the other as the exponent of vested rights, claiming that those who have saved and accumulated concrete wealth are justly entitled to the lion's share of the world's daily produce as their reward. And between these two extremes, the everyday man, who rarely attempts to think at all, as well as the would-be economist of the daily press, who only thinks he thinks, is firmly convinced that he who saves and stores is the common benefactor;

ignoring or ignorant of the fact that communal saving is a practical impossibility, however beneficial individual saving may be to the individual.

For the law of nature is that nothing can abide. The condition of existence is that birth, growth, death and reproduction must succeed one another in endless chain. There are comets which take myriads of years to complete their orbits; there are satellites of the planets which circle about their central point in a few hours. So do some things last longer than others, but the same inexorable law applies to all, and of the products of human mind and brain the percentage of those which endure more than a brief period is the smallest.

Most of us have favorite pieces of furniture which we prize because they are old, and coddle and pet and often repair them, thereby in reality reproducing them; but if we try to dispose of them to others we rarely find, except a fad may intervene, how little of real value is left. Here and there an old building stands, only to emphasize the fact that of this apparently most permanent expression of human labor a brief span is its limit. But when we come to the actual tools of production it is almost astonishing how quickly they are used up, and how almost more quickly they are antiquated, so that they must be replaced, and when we consider such things as are created to consume, such as food-stuffs or wearing apparel, all which comes within the Adams-Mill definition of capital, their life is even briefer.

In reality, all that the world as a whole stores is knowledge. One man may produce more in a day or a year than he consumes himself, either directly or through exchange with other producers, but he in reality lays by nothing in any broad sense. He may benefit himself thereby, but he does not benefit his fellows. By refraining from the consumption of all this product, he simply acquires a title to the future product of the labor of others. Were he to spend instead of saving, in other words demand in exchange for his excess product, which he cannot store but must perforce transfer to some one else, a similar value of that other person's product, he would create a demand that would afford a stimulant for increased effort and with a broader distribution of results, would correspondingly increase the sum of human comfort.

What we ordinarily call saving indeed, is after all only indirect spending; and to the careful analyst nothing illustrates this more clearly than the recent revelations about how the insurance funds were used. With marine or fire insurance the conditions are such that each year the income about equals the outgo. In essence, what we do on these classes of insurance is each to contribute to a pool sufficient to liquidate the current losses. The principle of life insur-

ance is the same ; that every insurer who is not swindled, or does not swindle somebody else by his lusk in one of the fortunate tontine schemes, gets back if he lives out his expectation of life and no longer, just as much as he pays in, plus interest and less expenses. But the term over which life insurance runs is much greater than that of the other classes, and so the apparent accumulation of savings is much greater.

But what the moderately poor man, who in the aggregate is by far the largest policyholder, really does is to forego day by day, week by week, month by month, the enjoyment of that which he produces, for the sake of being guaranteed, not by the company but by his fellow insurers ; but if he lives out his expectation of life he will get it all back again, and if he dies sooner that they will contribute to turn over the entire estimated product to his heirs. What product he relinquishes in this way is not stated however. If honestly administered it is turned over at once to other laborers by hand or brain to support them while creating new forms of wealth—in themselves perishable, but for the time being useful as the means of further production. Administered as the revelations show it has been too often, the laborers to whom a great part of the so-called "savings" are given for sustenance devote their time to the making of objects of luxury, to be enjoyed by those who control the manipulation of the funds, in which we express their savings.

Not that this diversion is made directly. In these instances of high finance with which we have all been made so familiar of late, the process has been a far more intricate one—so intricate indeed as often to deceive, we may well believe, even the master manipulators themselves as to exactly what does happen.

The policyholders transfer little to the product from consumption of which they have refrained to the insurance companies ; which "invest" it by passing the title along to other corporations or individuals whose function it is to act as captains of industry, and who give in exchange certificates of indebtedness of one kind or another. These last, the actual employers, turn over to the real workers (whether the chief engineer of a railroad for instance or the humblest Italian workman who labors with a pick), the "saved" product, for their sustenance while creating new forms of wealth ; which no matter how substantial however, are essentially ephemeral, and worth creating in almost exact proportion as they may serve toward still further production. When we build a great railroad for instance, we do not create a monument that is to last forever, but merely construct a tool that begins to deteriorate almost before it is completed.

Following out this claim, it is easy to see how it is not "capital" which carries out vast undertakings—that builds our railroads,

our ships, our skyscrapers even ; but the daily labor of hand and brain, constantly renewing and replacing itself. It is as if the policyholder or the petty investor of any kind, whose small contributions make up the great mass which the bankers gather together into an imposing total, should hand over direct to that other set of workers who carry out the ceaseless progression of industrial force, that portion of product, immediate consumption of which is refrained from, and taken back a little to call on the shipper by the railroad, the tenant of the office, for a proportionate share of *his* earnings derived from use of the new tool. That there cannot be in practice so direct an exchange—that there must be the genius for assembling the productive forces goes without saying, and here the true banker who is not a mere employee of the master of financial juggling, seems a high purpose ; but it nevertheless remains true that it is not a concrete mass of accumulated capital which does the world's work, but the daily and continuous effort of the world's workers.

If the financial kings used their great mental capacity wholly to facilitating this exchange of product from worker to worker—as they unquestionably do in great part—no evil could result ; but outside of their legitimate toll, through many devious methods, they levy tribute as bad as that of the old robber barons. The product of the trusting policyholders in our great life insurance companies, instead of being passed along to other workers to use in new productions of which the policyholders would get the benefit, less a reasonable percentage, has been to a very great extent and still is, largely directed to maintaining labor to produce results which accrue only to the financiers. And as if to heap insult or injury we are told that it is the financiers who have added this daily increment to the total sum of human compacts ! So far has the confusion of thought gone indeed, that only a few days ago the Census Bureau issued a statement of the country's wealth in which the largest item was land values, absolutely of no creative force in itself and representing only the power of some men to levy tribute on the labor of others. Carrying out the foregoing reasoning for instance, when one man abstains from consuming a portion of his product and gives it to another for the capitalized value of a piece of land, he gives him title to demand labor from still a third man absolutely without having rendered any equivalent, and yet purchaser of the land comes into possession of the power to command similar service for its use. The recipient of the price may throw into the sea the goods which in essence constitutes the payment, when all real wealth concerned in the transaction will disappear, yet according to the Census Bureau the wealth originally created would remain.

E. J. SHRIVER.

IS THE NEW BETTER THAN THE
OLD ?

(For the Review.)

BY THE LATE J. H. WELLS.

William Robertson, 1791, in his "Historical Disquisition concerning India," says: "There were four original castes:

- First, priests and teachers.
- Second, soldiers and rulers.
- Third, farmers and merchants.
- Fourth, servants and laborers.

The ascent from an inferior to a higher caste was absolutely impossible.

The sacred rights of the Brahmans opposed a barrier against the encroachments of regal power. Nor were the benefits of these restraints upon the power of the sovereign confined wholly to the two superior orders in the State; they extended, in some degree, to the third class employed in agriculture. The labors of that numerous and useful body of men are so essential to the preservation and happiness of society, that the greatest attention was paid to render their condition secure and comfortable. According to the ideas which prevailed among the natives of India, as we are informed by the first European who visited their country, the sovereign is considered as the sole universal proprietor of all the land in his dominions, and from him is derived every species of tenure by which his subjects can hold it. These lands were let out to the farmers who cultivated them, at a stipulated rent, amounting usually to a fourth part of their annual produce paid in kind. In a country where the labor of cultivation is inconsiderable, the earth yielding its productions almost spontaneously, where few clothes are needed, and houses are built and furnished at little expense, this rate cannot be deemed exorbitant or oppressive. As long as one paid the established rent, he retained possession of the farm, which descended, like property, from father to son. This arrangement has been maintained in all the provinces subject either to Mohammedans or Europeans. In a more remote period, before the original institutions of India were subverted by foreign invaders, the industry of the husbandman, on which every member of the community depended for subsistence, was as secure as the tenure by which he held his lands was equitable. Even war did not interrupt his labors or endanger his property.

These maxims and regulations of the ancient legislators of India have a near resemblance to the system of those ingenious speculators on political economy in modern times, who represent the produce of land as the sole source of wealth in every country; and who consider the discovery of this principle, according to which they contend that the government of nations should be con-

ducted, as one of the greatest efforts of human wisdom. Under a form of government which paid such attention to all the different orders of which the society is composed, particularly the cultivators of the earth, it is not wonderful that the ancients should describe the Indians as a most happy race of men; and that the most intelligent modern observers should celebrate the equity, the humanity, and the mildness of the Indian policy. A Hindoo Rajah, as I have been informed by persons well acquainted with the state of India, resembles more a father presiding over a numerous family of his own children, than a sovereign ruling over inferiors, subject to his dominion. There were established among the Indians three distinct classes of officers, one of which had it in charge to inspect agriculture, and every kind of country work. They measured the portions of land allotted to each renter. They had the custody of the tanks, or public reservoirs of water, without a regular distribution of which the fields in a torrid climate cannot be rendered fertile, and they measured and marked out the course of the highways. To a second class of officer was committed the inspection of the police, and the third class superintended the military department. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, Akbar, the sixth in descent from Tamerlane, mounted the throne of Hindostan. He is called both the Great and the Good. Although of Mohammedan race, he protected everyone in the free exercise and enjoyment of his own religion. A general and regular assessment of revenue in Bengal was begun in his reign. From the reign of Akbar unto Jaffer Ali Cawn, in 1757, the annual amount of revenue, and the modes of levying it, continued with little variation. But in order to raise the sum which he had stipulated to pay the English on his elevation, he departed from the wise arrangements of Akbar; many new modes of assessment were introduced, and exactions multiplied.

Here bodily health and comfortable subsistence were assumed and taken for granted without comment. Such a thing as a famine, or a plague, or a pestilence, was not so much as mentioned. Here was practically common ownership of land, tenure from the sovereign; here was practically a Single Tax for revenue, in proportion to land value, or productiveness, and the result appears so far to have been beneficent. If there was a hindrance to equity in distribution it was in the separation of castes. The Scotch historian a hundred years ago had already shown that the result of comparison between old and new was unfavorable to the English. If that be so, what shall we say of a comparison with the conditions in the twentieth century? Charles Edward Russell, 1906, in *Everybody's Magazine* for June, says:

"The four great divisions were originally

- 1 The Brahmans or priests.
- 2 The warriors.
- 3 The farmers and traders.
- 4 The Sudras, who were serfs and laborers.

No person born in one of these classes can by any possibility raise himself to a higher class. As he was born, so he remains. Wherever this system exists is no progress, no enterprise, no improvement. The English government, instead of trying to obliterate caste, sedulously upholds it as a bulwark of its own supremacy.

"The one hundred and fifty years of British rule in India have seen twenty-three great Indian famines. Famines grow worse and come oftener. The primary cause is the land and tax systems. The immediate cause is the failure of the rainfall. Water may readily be had by digging, and where there is water there is no famine. Every day the wind blows ten to fifteen miles an hour, but I traveled 2,000 miles and saw only two wind-mill pumps. Gasoline is cheap, but I have never seen or heard of a gasoline pump anywhere in India, and I have never heard that the Government took enough interest in the matter to introduce such things. The famines are absolutely unnecessary. The farmer of India is the most heavily-taxed person in the world. The tax that he pays is equivalent to an income tax of 50 to 55 per cent. In some regions it is even more. He is literally taxed into famine. The Indian cultivator lives in a state that no American farmer would tolerate for his hogs. Sometimes the Indian farmer is a peasant proprietor, owning the land he tills. Many of these have been sold out for defaulting in their taxes. He is never able to accumulate even the smallest reserve, and at the best he must live from hand to month. But instead of digging canals for irrigation, the Government is spending its revenue in restoring old tombs. In the famine's wake epidemics follow. Famine slays its millions, and the diseases that are famine's children slay their tens of millions."

Mr. Russell further describes the condition of the Sudras, or common laborers, as being even worse than that of the farmers. But as Mr. Robertson, for whatever reason, scarcely more than mentions them, I have not included them in my comparison. In respect to land tenure, taxation and irrigation, as determining general conditions, the contrast is clear. Who can say that the new is better than the old? Who can say that it is not now much worse? Is not a Hindoo Rajah who will feed us, better than an English Lord Viceroy who will starve us? Mr. Robertson indeed acknowledges that progress was impossible, and Mr. Russell admits that although the Hindoo and Mohomedan rulers had the power to collect the same taxes, they never exercised

the right to the limit, up to a century and a half ago.

The late Ernest Crosby's article in a recent number of THE REVIEW furnished me the occasion for writing this, and I am free to acknowledge that he has given me a new point of view. Though he is speaking of Japan, I could apply his contention equally to Peru or to India. It has enabled me to see what I did not see before—that the picture of the Hindoo Rajah presiding over his children implied not only the kindness of the ruler, but the absolute and childlike subserviency of the people; that it was "the peace which reigned in Warsaw," the most abject submission to the most irresponsible tyranny. He has diminished for me the painful contrast between the new and the old, but as it yet seems to me not so much by showing that the new is better, but rather by proving that the old was worse than I had thought. I believe that the profitableness to Single Taxers of a knowledge of the history of ancient nations is that it may enable us to avoid their errors and to improve on their successes. I believe that the land tenure, the tax system and the irrigation methods of ancient India were good, because they promoted freedom. I believe the caste system was evil because it destroyed freedom. I agree with Mr. Crosby that individual freedom should be fought for always and maintained at whatever necessary cost. I believe the general welfare of all is best promoted when the freedom of every individual is greatest. Henry George has most clearly shown that association in equality is the law of progress; that modern civilization owes its superiority to the growth of equality with the growth of association; but that in our time, as in times before, insidious forces have entered, and by producing inequality, destroyed liberty. "Where liberty sinks, there virtue fades, wealth diminishes, knowledge is forgotten, invention ceases, and empires once mighty become a helpless prey."

THE SINGLE TAX IS THE AUTOMATIC EQUILIBRIUM.

One part of the world raises an incessant cry for more labor. The Western States need harvest hands, the South wants more cotton pickers and laborers generally, the Panama Canal Zone cannot get enough diggers, South Africa quarrels over a few Chinese, Cuba seeks plantation hands to handle its sugar crops, the Hawaiian Islands report a never ending labor famine, our Pacific Coast States are in a chronic condition of under supply of workmen in all enterprises, New England is worried over its servant problem. Another part of the world has so many laborers that they starve in heaps. An automatic equilibrium in human energy does not exist, and possibly one never will.—*Springfield Republican*.

UGHT SINGLE TAXERS TO REVISE
THEIR PHILOSOPHY.

Editor *Single Tax Review*:

The expression, "Single Tax," has come to have two very different meanings, which are used indiscriminately, causing much confusion of thought. Ignore the fact if you will, it nevertheless remains a fact, that because we think in words our concepts are limited by the words we use. Just as surely as the word "protection" has been used to vastly expand the scope of oppression, just so surely does the term *Single Tax* contract the scope of the movement Henry George started.

Before "a new epoch in the struggle for freedom" can be started by any *Single Tax* conference, a somewhat more definite criterion than seems now to exist must be found for determining what is properly included in the definition of *Single Tax*, and what doctrines properly qualify, or disqualify, one for being recognized as a *Single Taxer*. Does the abolition of all other forms of taxation save that upon land according to its market price, and increasing that to 90 or 100 per cent., constitute the *Single Tax*? And is a *Single Taxer* one who accepts that doctrine? Or does the *Single Tax* include the solution of the transportation problem? or the interest question? or the money question?

In the April *SINGLE TAX REVIEW* the editor says: "It is true that Mr. George tried the *Single Tax* by the canons of taxation, because it is in form a tax, though not one in essence." Suppose, now, that a way be found to apply the "essence" in some *other form* than that of a *tax*, so that the real thing would not be a tax either in form or essence; could its advocate be properly recognized as a *Single Taxer*?

In a former issue the editor quoted Henry George as saying, in response to the inquiry whether the *Single Tax* was a social cure-all, "No, but freedom is." Undeniably—the anarchists to the contrary, notwithstanding—the land question is fundamental. But it is logically demonstrable that nothing short of a *balanced* land tenure will settle it. If it is true, as W. L. Ross asserts in the April *REVIEW*, that "the *Single Tax* will combine the advantages of private possession of land with the justice of its common ownership." the *Single Tax* is not the kind of "gateway," (see Bolton Hall's article) Henry George thought it, else he would not have said "Property in land is as indefensible as property in man." It is so absurdly impolitic, so outrageously unjust, so flagrantly subversive of the true right of property, that it can only be instituted by force and maintained by confounding in the popular mind the distinction between property in land and property in things that are the result of labor."

If the *Single Taxers* of today desire "to

make even an equal impress on the rising generation to that which Henry George and his confreres did a quarter of a century ago," they will have to "get together," a little closer in their conceptions and terms, and, looking beyond the "gateway," make *equal freedom* their goal. A conference of the admirers of Henry George which does not recognize by the comprehensiveness of its aim that Henry George lived and died for the cause of real *freedom*—not for any mere form of procedure—might decorate his grave, and then vanish into oblivion; but it could not inspire any movement to fruitful action.

Henry George repeatedly urged his readers not to take his conclusions for granted, but to *think them out for themselves*. Are they honoring his memory by doing so, or are they disgracing it by a sheep-like treading in his path? Has not the time come for all who desire *real freedom* to recognize some all-too-long overlooked facts? One of these is that the disposition of public funds has as vital a bearing on the balancing of the land tenure as has its collection. Just as surely as there is a right way to collect public funds, there is also a right way to disburse them. And as surely as inequity will result from a wrong way of collecting, as surely will inequity result from a wrong way of disbursing those funds.

In his discussion of "value" in "The Science of Political Economy," Henry George pointed the way to a correct understanding of this. Isn't it about time that we drew clearly the line of demarcation between *real rent*—that excess of produce from equal effort, which is *neither more nor less* than the labor of those who produce the highways, which labor is stored in advantaged locations—and that *tribute* which *property* in the privilege of exclusive possession of locations enables appropriators to extort from users? ("The power which the *ownership* of valuable land gives is that of getting human service without giving human service."—Henry George).

If the government, after collecting its revenue by means of a *Single Tax* on land at its market price, should distribute the fund to the same parties who now obtain it, and in the same proportion, would that settle the land question? Would giving the fund to another set of persons, in a different proportion, *regardless of its origin*, do more than vary the inequity? Is it not becoming increasingly evident that there must be some definite and clearly distinguished criterion for determining the correct disposition of rent, as well as for determining its equitable collection? How can this be done without first clearly recognizing its source? Are not vague conceptions of the proper use of public funds due to equally vague conceptions of their real origin? So long as we look upon "land values" as "created by the community" in

some mysterious way we have never yet been able to clearly explain, does it not logically follow that we will feel just as uncertain as to the proper disposition "the community" can make of the same? Henry George said: "Land in itself has no value. Value arises only from human labor. It is not until the ownership of land becomes equivalent to the ownership of laborers that any value attaches to it." The labor applied on the highways is stored as the advantages which "attach" to locations. Said Henry George: "When the ownership of land can command labor, or the products of labor, the transaction, though in form it may be an exchange, is in reality an appropriation." This power of appropriation—tribute compelling power—coming from ownership of the privilege of exclusive possession (for, as a matter of fact, the land itself cannot be owned), must be utterly wiped out before equal freedom can exist. This tribute compelling power constitutes "land values." But rent—which is an entirely different thing—consists solely of the labor stored in advantaged locations by maintenance of common ways; and if it was used exclusively to compensate that labor, the advantages of exclusive possession of locations would be equalized; the privileges of such possession would be BALANCED, and cease to be treated as property (because drained of that power which is "equivalent to the ownership of laborers") and no possible nucleus for a tribute compelling power would remain. Those who are too timid to face this question and thoroughly discuss it haven't enough of the spirit of Henry George in them to make any "impress on the rising generation" worth mentioning.

Freedom must be either *equal* or *unequal*. Is it the purpose of those who propose to make "a new start" on the tenth anniversary of the death of Henry George, to "mark the beginning of a new epoch in the struggle for freedom" by a *direct* movement for *equal* freedom? If so, there is but one way open for them, and that is through restoration of the equilibrium of equity by means of a Balanced land tenure. If they have any other purpose, it must inevitably lead to *unequal* freedom.

Henry George once said: "How men vote is something we need not much concern ourselves with." (And it's a pity we don't seem to think so too.) "The important thing is how they think. Now the chief agency in promoting thought is discussion." (Hence the importance of discussing the principles of equity.) "The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in its fulness, and point to its complete attainment as their goal." (This, at least, is what equitists are doing.) Do you suppose that if the professed followers of Henry George had acted in accordance with the above conceptions it would be possible today for

anyone to speak of "the apathy of a great majority of Single Taxers in recent years?"

Those who would prove themselves worthy to honor the anniversary of Henry George's death by an attempt to organize a new movement must show that they are at least as sincere and fearless as he was when he said: "I propose to beg no question, to shrink from no conclusion, but to follow truth wherever it may lead. Upon us is the responsibility of seeking the law, for in the very heart of our civilization today women faint and little children moan." (And that is doubly true today.) "But what the law may prove to be is not our affair. If the conclusions that we reach run counter to our prejudices, let us not flinch; if they challenge institutions that have long been deemed wise and natural, let us not turn back."

Those who can rise to this level will not hesitate to discard a label that all admit to be inadequate and enroll themselves under a name that is inspiring and needs no apology. To all such the equitists hold out "the glad hand."

WARREN EDWIN BROKAW.

Pasadena, Cal.

REPLY BY A. C. PLEYDELL.

The first charge which Mr. Brokaw brings is that the Single Taxers are deficient in courage because they decline to affix to themselves the label of "equitist," or to pose as spectacular strivers for equal freedom.

Freedom has been sought for in many countries and for many centuries, and yet its most ardent advocates often have failed to agree as to what really constitutes freedom. Herbert Spencer first formulated a working definition, commonly known as the law of equal freedom, which serves to test social adjustments. And yet even those who accept Spencer's definition and law disagree sincerely in regard to its practical application. Henry George applied the doctrine of equal freedom to the use of the earth, and what is known as the Single Tax is the method which Henry George proposed as the one which under modern conditions would best insure equal freedom in the use of the earth. Those who believe with him that the first step is the public appropriation of rent can unite in their efforts to secure this result without surrendering their opinions in regard to other matters. What folly to claim for them and their cause a monopoly of desire for equal freedom, or to demand that before anyone shall work for that taking of rent known as the Single Tax, he shall be in complete accord upon all other questions with everyone else who is working toward that end.

That there are some who believe in the George plan merely as the solution of the

tax question, and who have become known as "Single Taxers, limited," is really a minor matter. Those who so believe do not usually label themselves Single Taxers, or assume leadership in the Single Tax movement.

The second charge which Mr. Brokaw brings is that Single Taxers are not agreed as to the cause of natural rent. But this is neither surprising nor vital. We know fairly well the cause and nature of the present abnormal rents, and that the application of the Single Tax will not merely diminish the abnormal portion but will, by the elimination of many present complex factors, simplify the problem of the proper expenditures of government.

The theory that normal rent will only equal the value of the labor expended in highway communication may be discussed peaceably, and even if it were shown to be true there is no need to drive out of the Single Tax ranks those who refuse to accept it. Whether or not the other expenditures of government are exactly reflected in the value of land, we all know that the people now demand the performance of many governmental functions, and that the process of educating them down to the minimum of governmental expenses is apt to be a long and tedious one.

It is twenty-five years since the publication of "Progress and Poverty," and yet to-day we are not all in agreement as to who pays the rent. It is no use calling each other names because we find it still harder to agree as to what element of the present day rent is an absolute reflection of governmental expenditures and how much is irrelative. If we stop all work for the Single Tax while we thrash out these questions, the women and children to whom Mr. Brokaw alludes will continue to moan and faint for many a long day. There is a golden mean between that "doing something practical," which consists of throwing a crowbar to a drowning man, and the refusal to do anything practical until all theoretical questions have been thrashed out to universal agreement.

A. C. PLEYDELL.

A GREAT MAGAZINE SPEAKS OUT.

Government is the name of a magazine launched in Boston some few months ago. It is a superb and artistic specimen of magazine building, and the clear, large type, fine paper and wide margins are a treat to the eye. The leading editorial in the May number of this latest and most impressive new comer into the field of periodicals treats of "Government and Revenue" in the following luminous terms:

"Notwithstanding the contentions of philosophical anarchists and extreme individualists some form of organized government is an absolute necessity of human

society. No condition of human society, however perfect, can be imagined in which organized government would not be necessary. If government were no longer necessary for the suppression of crime, if every individual were a sincere altruist, an established authority would still be required to decide on the thousand etceteras of streets, roads, railways, bridges, schools, inheritances and many other things which could not possibly be left to individual initiative and control.

It is equally clear and equally true that government requires public revenue. Society could not exist without government, and government could not exist without revenue. The matter of taxation is the most important question that can engage the attention of citizens; and, more vitally than any other question, it concerns their material and social conditions.

* * * * *

Governments have long ago discovered how easy it is to plunder a nation by indirect taxation. The elder Pitt, when speaking in the House of Lords against the proposition to increase the income tax to seven pence in the pound, declared that it would produce a revolution. "But," he added, "you can get the money by an easier method. By the method of indirect taxation you can tax the last rag of a man's back, the last mouthful of food from his mouth, and he won't know what is injuring him, and he will grumble about hard times." It is this method of taxation on which governments chiefly depend for their resources, and it is this method which produces the inequalities and the injustice and the hardships which people see and feel but do not know how to remedy. It is in the interests of every manufacturer and merchant, of every capitalist and workman, to understand the natural laws which control the production and distribution of wealth. This knowledge alone can reveal to legislatures the true method of raising the national revenues. For nature has provided a proper revenue for governments as surely as it has provided proper sustenance for man.

* * * * *

Consider to whom does interest belong. Undoubtedly it belongs to the man whose capital has assisted labor in production. Let him have it. To whom does wages belong? Undeniably it belongs to the man who by mental or physical effort produced the wealth. All the product naturally belongs to him. Adam Smith says the whole of the product of labor is the natural wages of labor. Not half of it, but the whole of it. But labor must pay interest for the use of capital if he employs it, and rent for occupation or opportunity. When those payments are made the whole of the remainder belongs to labor. And if we did not interfere, labor would get it. The manufacturer would

get his share, the merchant would get his share and the workman would get his share. Now neither of them gets his whole share. His share is clipped by taxes, not one dollar of which he need be called upon to pay. Whence then must public revenue be derived? We shall learn if we enquire: To whom does rent belong? We are speaking of economic rent solely—rent of land or other franchise or privilege. Most assuredly economic rent belongs to the general community which creates it. It cannot belong to the laborer. He has done no more to create it than any other man. And this is true of the capitalist, and it is just as true of the ground landlord. He has done no more to create rent value (site value) than has the tenant or any other man. The value, ground rent, is communal value, created solely by the community, and should be appropriated by the community for public use. It is the natural revenue which nature provides; and when men first allowed this natural public revenue to be diverted into private hands they let loose a whole train of social evils on mankind.

It is easier to point out the economic errors into which past generations of mankind have strayed than to provide a proper remedy. That must be a work of time and thought and education and statesmanship. But the first absolutely necessary step to be taken is to learn and understand and acknowledge the error. When that is done statesmen will be confronted with the most important problem of the age—the introduction of a method of raising public revenues that shall be natural, unburdensome, impartial and just."

THE JEFFERSON DINNER.

A SUCCESSFUL AFFAIR. — LETTER OF W. J. BRYAN.

The Jefferson dinner of the Manhattan Single Tax Club was held at the Union Square Hotel, this city, in the latter part of April. The affair was a decided success, though only about seventy-five persons participated. The speakers were F. C. Leubuscher, president of the club, Robert D. Towne, Hon. A. J. Boulton, John S. Crosby and John J. Murphy.

Letters of regret at their inability to be present were read from Hon. W. J. Bryan, Hon. Tom L. Johnson, Louis F. Post, Augustus Thomas, and others.

Mr. Bryan wrote as follows:

"I regret very much that it will be impossible for me to attend the Jefferson dinner to be given by the Manhattan Single Tax Club on April 20th. Appreciating as I do the sincerity and intelligent devotion of the members of your club, and honoring as I do the name of Jefferson, I would be glad to attend your banquet if circumstances permitted.

Jefferson is an exemplar of the civic virtues which at this time need most to be presented to the country. An educated man, he endeavored to give to all an opportunity to attend school; a rich man, his sympathies were with the poor, and he asked for himself no rights that they did not share; the apostle of democracy, he possessed as no one had before him the virtue of a government resting upon the consent of the governed, and no one since his death has surpassed him in his confidence of the capacity of the people for self-government. We need today in the State and in the nation the application of his ideas to government, for in the doctrine 'Equal rights to all and special privileges to none' we shall find the solution of most of the problems which now vex us.

Wishing that your dinner may be a success in every way, I am,

Very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN."

A clever "playlet" was read in inimitable style by Wm. C. DeMille, the popular playwright, in which William R. Hearst and Andrew Carnegie visit the apartment of Thomas Jefferson overlooking the Styx. Many of the hits in the dialogue that ensued evoked much laughter and applause.

Now the injustice of taxing improvements on a farm in assessing a road tax is easily apparent if we compare the tax collected from two quarter-sections, one being a finely improved farm owned and worked by a real farmer, one who farms with his hands, and the other quarter being wild land, owned by a foreign syndicate and holding it for speculation. As a general rule in most cases the land and improvements are of about equal value on this basis, the farmer is taxed to increase the land value of the absentee owner.—Robert Heriot in *Little Rock (Ark.) Daily Democrat*.

The *Newton (Mass) Graphic* contains a report of the proceedings of the Newton Single Tax Club nearly three columns in length.

The *Ellis County (Texas) Mirror* always contains good Single Tax articles from the pen of its editor.

Mr. John Bagot, who is editor of *Middleton (Eng.) Guardian*, writes that he is making use of the news contained in the *SINGLE TAX REVIEW* to illustrate to his readers the progress the movement is making. The *Guardian* is a large eight-page paper, filled with interesting matter and is run on Single Tax lines.

SOCIAL JUSTICE.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE MEN'S CLUB OF HOLY COMMUNION CHURCH, ST. LOUIS, BY MAX P. STAHL.

We are assembled here tonight as guests of a congregation which holds a singular position among the churches of this city, which is doing a work which in due time will be duly appreciated by our community for which it is bound to prove a great boon. During the last five years not less than eight prominent churches have left the downtown district and moved into the more fashionable west end, while this part of our city is more and more changing into a tenement district, where live people who, unable to pay the steadily increasing rent, are compelled to put up with very scanty home accommodations. Seeing these conditions, and recognizing that it is just these kind of people to whom Jesus of Nazareth directed the attention of his disciples with the words: "The poor ye have always with ye," Rev. Blaisdell, rector of this Church of the Holy Communion, refused not only to follow the general trend westward, but in addition decided to build his house here and open it to the people as a sort of neighborhood house. By this action he recognized the mission of the church in our times to confine its activities not merely to the spiritual needs of humanity, but, recognizing the interdependence of body and soul, to try simultaneously, as much as is in its power, to better the surroundings and social conditions of men.

But every clear-sighted student of our social conditions must see that the best which can be achieved by work of this kind is only an alleviation of the evils which the crowded tenement conditions of every great city bring with them, that it is insufficient to try to cure the symptoms, that we must do as the physicians do, first make a diagnosis and find out the cause and then remove the causes.

The distinguished lecturer of the evening, Mr. John Z. White, of Chicago, will speak to you to-night on "Sources of Municipal Corruption," and after you have heard him you will be surprised that you have not found the solution of the vexing problem long ago for yourselves; and you will also clearly see that they are the very same sources from which spring all the other evils under which our social organism is suffering, and which make wholly ineffective all the benevolent work which is done in the name of charity. As the late Mayor Jones, of Toledo, "Golden Rule Jones," as he was called, said: "Charity is mere make-shift; the only way to help the poor is to abandon a social system that makes them poor!" The great English thinker, John Ruskin, is the author of the words: "The considerablest part of the misery of the

world comes from the tricks of unjust taxation." That is the crux of the whole matter. The only means by which we can bring about a thorough sanitation of our social conditions is by abolishing privilege, and especially privilege in taxation, thus securing equality of opportunity for everyone. The abolition of privilege alone will achieve what all the charities of the world can never achieve, benefit each and every one of us, yea, in the end, even the multi-millionaire Rockefeller himself as much as the poorest denizen of the slums, giving the former the security of possession in what his individual labor has produced, and securing the same for his children and children's children without earning for them the hatred and contempt of their fellow men for their rapacity, and by removing the obstacles in the life of the poor, giving the downcast and downtrodden a new impetus and a new chance in life. In a just plan of society the least is as important as the greatest, a thought which was expressed by Jesus in the words: "What ye have not done unto the least of them, ye have not done unto Me," which is commonly, but wrongly, interpreted a message of charity, not as the world-liberating gospel of social justice.

It is a great law of social justice which will teach people the art of living *by one another* instead of *upon one another*; which will establish among men the golden rule instead of the rule of gold; which will bring about for mankind a new, glorious day, the dawn of which we may already perceive. Ours is the sacred duty to bend all our energies to help in bringing about that day:

"Aid the dawning tongue and pen,
Aid it, hopes of honest men,
Aid it, paper, aid it, type,
Aid it, for the hour is ripe,
And your earnest must not slacken into play;
Men of thought and men of action: Clear
the way."

Such a man of thought and action, a militant preacher of the gospel of social justice, we have with us here to-night, and it is, indeed, a great pleasure for me to introduce to you Mr. John Z. White, of Chicago.

Progress, of Melbourne, Australia, is reprinting from October SINGLE TAX REVIEW Mr. P. J. O'Reagan's article on "The Real Truth Regarding Land Values Taxation in New Zealand."

"The landlord is not a partner in the industrial community; he is not a partner in it, but a parasite upon it."—Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith.

THE AGE OF GRAFT.—Nurse—Why, Georgie, your hands are all dirty!

Georgie—I don't care! This land is worth \$2,800 a front foot.—Puck.

LEGISLATION DENOTING PROGRESS IN OUR DIRECTION.

Considerable progress has been made in several States towards an improved system of taxation, especially in the direction of lightening the burden of taxation upon thrift.

The most important legislation probably was in Missouri, where the legislature has provided for the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment that will permit the abandonment of the general property tax, and the establishment of local option in taxation.

This amendment was recommended by the special tax commission appointed by Governor Folk, who reported that the first step in tax reform was the separation of the sources of State and local revenue, so that the different rates of assessment in the different counties would no longer produce inequality in the State tax paid. "Furthermore, each county could adopt, subject to the constitutional requirement of uniformity, such modifications of the general property tax upon real and personal property as would be found most effective and best suited to the needs of that locality."

The Missouri constitution now requires the assessment and taxation of all property at the same rate. The amendment proposed by the commission and passed by the legislature provides that "the general assembly shall separate the sources of State and local (that is, county, school and municipal) revenue and establish local option for the counties and municipalities of the State in the selection of the subjects of taxation."

There are some more sections to the amendment setting forth that the legislature must discontinue the levy under the general property tax, and that, while the counties and cities may exempt any class of property within their jurisdiction from taxation either wholly or by reduction of the rate, any taxation or exemption shall be uniform upon the same class of subjects within such territory.

While this amendment has yet to be voted on by the people there has been no opposition manifested so far, and the chances for its adoption seem good.

The Oklahoma constitution recently adopted is in line with the recent changes elsewhere in the direction of leaving legislatures free to modify existing systems. It provides that the power of taxation shall never be surrendered or contracted away, but allows the legislature to classify taxable property, subject only to the usual restriction that taxes shall be uniform on subjects in the same class.

Minnesota voted last fall on a constitutional amendment to remove the restriction that required the general property tax, and permit the legislature to classify the

subjects of taxation. This amendment was reported to have been adopted by the people, and the legislature proceeded to discuss various changes in the law. It adopted a mortgage recording tax similar to that in New York, in spite of the opposition of non-resident money-lenders who profited by the increased rates of interest due to the attempts to tax residents on their mortgages as personal property. The legislature also had before it a bill to put a "tonnage tax" on the iron mines owned by the Steel Trust. A similar tax some years ago was declared unconstitutional, and this year the proposition was defeated because it was seen that such a tax was really a tax on production. Nevertheless the mine-owners became frightened and instigated an agitation for a "recount," which is now in progress, and which has so far cut down the reported majority for the amendment that the result is in doubt. To meet the situation should the recount declare the amendment lost the last legislature adopted a bill resubmitting it to the people.

The Washington constitution requires the taxation of all property and an amendment changing that feature has passed the legislature. Meanwhile, the constitutional requirement has been evaded by the amendment of the tax law, so that "mortgages, credits, public bonds" and other intangibles are declared not to be property within the meaning of the word as therein used; consequently the assessors have no authority to assess them. That this law is constitutional is open to doubt, but more important is the fact recently reported that there was an error in its enacting clause. Nevertheless the assessors have been acquainted with the desires of the people, and it is a safe guess that very little intangible property will be found on assessment day.

The New York mortgage recording tax law of last year has been amended so that the holders of old mortgages may secure exemption from personal property assessment by payment of the recording tax.

Alabama has adopted a franchise tax law that provides for the taxation of public service corporations on the difference between their taxed tangible property and their value as going concerns; that is, on their "intangible, privilege values."

Altogether, the tendency of recent legislation seems to have been towards the exemption, or lessening of taxation on mere evidences of property already taxed, and in the direction of increasing the taxes on various forms of privilege.

An increase of \$400,504,542 in the total value of New York city real estate is recorded for 1907 by the city's tax assessors, according to President Lawson Purdy, of the Tax Board.

News—Domestic.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE MEETS AT ORANGE—MANY ADMIRABLE PAPERS READ—A WHOLLY SUCCESSFUL AFFAIR.

The seventh annual conference of the Women's National Single Tax League was held at Union Hall, Orange, N. J., May 27th, 28th and 29th.

Although the day was cold and the rain came down in torrents, there was a splendid gathering of women. Presidents and members of Orange clubs came on despite the unfriendly elements to extend a greeting to the Single Tax women gathered in their town and show their good-will to the cause.

The meeting was called to order at 2 p. m. by the president, Mrs. Minnie Rogers Ryan of Brooklyn, N. Y. After a prayer by Rev. Adolph Roeder, an address of welcome was given by Miss May L. Adams, president of the Orange Woman's Single Tax Club. A brief business session followed, and among the reports submitted it was shown that Single Tax speakers had been sent to about forty woman's clubs during the year.

The president reported that in response to a circular letter sent out a few weeks before the convention, asking for contributions to help continue the work, \$125.00 had been received.

Several interesting letters were read, showing that the clubs were so well pleased with the speakers, and so much interested in the subject, that they desired other speakers, and in many cases have arranged to have Single Tax talks at their meetings next season. At the close of the business session, Mrs. Thomas S. Henry, vice president of the New Jersey State Federation of Woman's Clubs, extended a warm greeting to the delegates and friends of the conference. Then followed a charming soprano solo by Miss E. Jones.

Mr. Chas. Maginn gave a brief but clear and very instructive explanation of the Single Tax. Miss Charlotte Schetter told of the progress of the cause in various parts of the world.

Miss Grace Colburn spoke of municipal ownership in the old world, and gave special praise to the management of public utilities in Sweden.

On Monday evening several excellent musical numbers were given. Miss Aeschmen quite charmed the audience by her singing. Mr. Wilson Farrand, president of the New England Society of Orange, welcomed the convention, and expressed his belief in the ultimate success of the Single Tax. Owing to illness, Mrs. John S.

Crosby could not be present, so Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe of Washington, D. C., responded to Mr. Farrand, and assured him that the delegates were enjoying to the utmost the hospitality of the good people of Orange.

The principle address of the evening was made by Mr. John S. Crosby, who in his usual clear and convincing manner pointed the way to industrial freedom.

The Tuesday morning session was devoted entirely to business.

The election of officers which brought the meeting to a close, resulted as follows: Pres., Mrs. Minnie Rogers Ryan, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 1st Vice Pres., Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe of Washington, D. C.; 2nd Vice Pres., Miss Charlotte Schetter of Orange, N. J.; 3rd Vice Pres., Dr. Florence Leigh-Jones of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rec. Sec'y, Mrs. Kate E. Freeman, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Cor. Sec'y, Miss Maud Malone, New York City; Treas., Dr. Mary D. Hussey, E. Orange, N. J.; Auditor, Mrs. Florence A. Burleigh, Philadelphia. Executive Board—Mrs. Noah Pomeroy, New Haven, Conn. Mrs. E. Murray Frye, New York City. Mrs. John S. Crosby was made Hon. Pres. by unanimous vote. At the Tuesday afternoon meeting Miss Volckman delighted the audience with a soprano solo, and a few words of good will heartily commending the organization for its broad scope and abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of its principles were spoken by Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, President of the Orange Political Study Club, and by Mrs. Fred. G. Handel, President of the "Monday Topic" Club.

Mrs. E. M. Frye gave a short, but very clear explanation of the Single Tax, followed by a paper on "Child Labor" by Miss Ida Hibbard, who in a manner which brought tears to the eyes of her auditors told of the pitiful conditions of the children who are working long hours in the cotton mills, tobacco and cigar factories, etc., and showed the only real door-way of escape.

The President very wisely struck while the iron was hot, explaining that the League was sending speakers to other clubs to bring before them this terrible evil, and the only effective remedy, and called for contributions to help on the work. Seventy-six dollars were added to the fund. Two violin solos by Mr. Lucius Cole, of the Philadelphia Philharmonic Orchestra, were enthusiastically encored. Addresses were also made by Maud Malone on "Equal Suffrage," Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe on "The Fairhope Experiment," and Mrs. Margaret Hughan on "The Single Tax in Relation to the Home."

At the meeting in the evening Mr. Thomas S. Crane brought a greeting from the Civics Club of Orange, of which organization he is president, and gave every evidence of a thorough grasp of the Single Tax philosophy. A violin solo by Mr. G. Hasler, and later a vocal solo by Miss Moffat were much enjoyed.

Miss Anita Trueman in her address on "Single Tax and the artists" brought out very clearly the sad truth that under present social conditions the painter instead of being able to give his best efforts to the world must paint unsightly signs that can be read blocks away, and the musician with the ability to compose symphonies puts "rag-time" on the market, "because there is a living in it." Mr. Alfred J. Boulton, Register of Kings County, closed the meeting with an address on "The Uses and Abuses of Trade Unions."

The convention which was voted a success in every way was brought to a close on Wednesday evening with a banquet. Addresses were made by George L. Rusby, Mr. Robert Towne, Miss Jennie A. Rogers, Henry George, Jr., Frank Stephens and Miss Grace Isabel Colbron.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NOTABLE MEETINGS IN BOSTON—THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT NO LONGER DISCREDITED BY THE SCHOOLS—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL ANNOUNCES HER CONVERSION.

The REVIEW asks for articles showing the progress of the movement. Two meetings have recently been held in Boston which reveal this in an interesting manner.

The Massachusetts Single Tax League, which is ever rich in fresh devices for the good of the cause, has taken a new departure. Instead of inviting prominent guests to a public dinner, and after feasting them ask them to listen while we instruct them in the three factors of production, with their laws of distribution, prominent guests were invited to dine with us and then to instruct us concerning Single Tax theory and the progress of the movement. The result was most encouraging. The public announcement that Hon. Josiah Quincy, ex-mayor of Boston, was to speak, as well as Alice Stone Blackwell, Professor Bullock of Harvard, the well-known editors of the *Transcript* and the *Watchman*, the announcement of these speakers, with others, including the name of William Lloyd Garrison, drew a fair and expectant audience.

Think of the scheme of inviting a professor of political economy and editors of the press to tell us Single Taxers—who know the whole alphabet of this science, and every wind and tide of its movement—to tell us how the Single Tax will work when put in practice, how much of it should be at once adopted, and the wonderful interest these truths are arousing in England. This last—the Single Tax movement in England—was the theme of the address by the editor of the *Transcript*, and it was not only interesting and instructive to our guests, but to Single Taxers as well. The very fact that it seems no longer necessary,

here in Boston, to tell intelligent people what the Single Tax is, reveals, strikingly, the progress of the movement.

Hon. Josiah Quincy's address revealed the fact that he was thoroughly conversant with our theories and largely in agreement with our principles. He stated his belief in the justice of taking the entire ground rent for all public uses, provided it was done gradually.

Alice Stone Blackwell for the first time publicly declared herself "a Single Taxer from conviction." Professor Bullock had time only to rejoice that we had one organization in Massachusetts that was devoting its time and energy to the study of taxation. Compare this with the objection to the Single Tax so often made by scholars only a few years ago, that Henry George was discredited by *The Schools*.

Mr. Walker, an architect, whom the present mayor of Boston has engaged to work out plans for beautifying the city, assured us that although his knowledge of the Single Tax was quite limited, he yet found himself in harmony with many of its ideas and ideals.

These speakers are by no means exceptional, but are fairly representative of a large class of intelligent and observing people who are with us at heart, yet who do not appreciate their need of being marked and ticketed with the Single Tax label.

We purpose to continue these meetings, taking up different points of interest, such as "The Selling Value of Land as an Untaxed Value," "The Agency of the Single Tax in the Distribution of Wealth," or perhaps devoting one evening to the subject, "The Power to Tax." This, it seems to me, is the most important truth to be emphasized at the present time, and here let me urge all writers and speakers to impress this point upon those whom they have the privilege of addressing. The "*de-lenda est Carthago*" of our movement. Constitutions rest the power to tax in the hands of the people, yet owing to their ignorance of the importance of this power there has ever been a privileged class. Carthage can be destroyed only by taxing privilege.

Would it not be well for every member of the Letter Writing Corps to write out a clear, brief statement of this theme, keep it "on tap," and when asked to fire at a target use it. It would save much time and labor; for, by a few introductory remarks it could be made to fit nearly every case.

If the masses could only know how they are enslaved by taxation, and how easily they could be freed by taxation the beginning of the end would appear.

The second meeting that revealed, somewhat, the progress of the movement was a smaller gathering of old time Single Taxers. At this meeting the progress of the movement, and the proposed confer-

ence in October, were discussed at length. This meeting was also representative of the larger body of Single Tax workers, nearly all of whom believe the movement to be very much alive.

With the exception of a few captious criticisms, the old time enthusiasm rang clear and strong in the interesting words of each speaker.

Some complaint is made because we are not impressing the rising generation. Are we not doing better? Have we not already converted the present generation? All, except the sheep, who follow their leaders, and the seekers after the loaves and fishes.

Again, it is said, "We have no political party." The Socialists and the Prohibitionists have political parties; yet what is their influence on political issues compared with ours? Not long ago England had no political party that took up this issue; but the schoolmaster was abroad, and when the people understood, and demanded this reform, the Liberal Party came into power pledged to carry out in some measure the wishes of the voters.

Sooner than we dream some party in this country will voice the public opinion now being created by our united and individual efforts.

True, the old time moral enthusiasm is wanting at our public meetings, because our speakers dwell chiefly upon the practical side of the subject. It was the white heat born of that holy enthusiasm that germinated the seeds of truth, scattered them round the entire world, filling all lands, and this practical discussion is now indicative of a coming harvest. When any reform is about to enter and influence practical affairs its advocates are forced to talk about its practical effects.

ELIZA STOWE TWITCHELL.

CANADA.

ALDERMAN BENGOUGH WINNING RECRUITS TO THE EXEMPTION MEASURE IN THE TORONTO CITY COUNCIL—BROOKLYN BOROUGH PRESIDENT COLER'S CITY BULLETIN MAY FIND AN IMITATOR IN TORONTO.

Things have been rather quiet with the Toronto Association lately, but we would assure our friends that we are still "doing business at the same old stand," and are looking forward to a period of greater activity in the near future.

Ald Bengough is soon to move in the City Council that the Council apply to the Legislature for power to pass a measure exempting dwelling houses from taxation to the extent of \$700 of their assessed value, the measure to be submitted to a referendum vote of the property owners of the city before becoming law. Several members of the City Council, who have opposed the

measure in its original form, have expressed willingness to support it if this last clause is added, and we feel confident that a majority of the property owners of the city would vote in favor of the exemption.

There is a strong sentiment in favor of public ownership of public utilities taking hold of the people of Canada. A central and five branch Public Ownership Leagues have been organized in Toronto already, and the central body, at their organization meeting, passed a resolution in favor of the initiative and referendum as far as public utilities are concerned.

A club was organized in Toronto on April 2d, the object of which is to get people who are interested in various progressive movements, to come together and exchange their views. The plan has been to have a dinner every Tuesday evening at 6 o'clock, at which an address would be given on some subject of interest, by some representative speaker, followed by three-minute speeches by any person wishing to take part. One or two solos have also been a feature of each meeting. The plan has been very successful, a membership of about a hundred having been built up in the three months the club has been in existence, not a few of whom are ladies. It is called "The Progressive Club," and, while in no sense a Single Tax organization, its membership includes quite a number of Single Taxers. We therefore regard it as a valuable medium through which to get our views before a thoughtful class of people.

The need of giving greater attention to the circulation of economic literature is being realized here, and it is the writer's purpose to submit to the Single Taxers of Canada a plan for carrying on such work somewhat on the lines followed by the Brooklyn Borough President. We believe there are great possibilities in that method of propaganda, if carried on in the right way.

D. B. WALLING,
Secretary.

Hon. George M. Fowlds, of Auckland, New Zealand, sends us the following clipping from a local paper:

"A record compiled by Mr. H. G. Ell, M. H. R., shows that since the introduction of the system of rating on unimproved lands polls have been demanded in 28 districts, with a view to adopting the system, the following being the results: Counties, 20 won, none lost; total 20. Road districts, 10 won, two lost; total 12. Town districts, two lost; total two. Cities and boroughs, 88 won, 10 lost; total 48. Grand totals, 70 won, 12 lost; total 82."

"In two places," writes Mr. Fowlds, "a vote was taken to reverse the system, but in each case it was upheld by a greater vote than had in the first instance resulted in its adoption."

THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE.

THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL—A FAIRLY REPRESENTATIVE GATHERING—A NATIONAL, NOT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER.

The meeting of the committee of arrangements to consider the calling of a general conference, met at the Union Square Hotel, this city, on Decoration Day, May 30th. About one hundred and fifty Single Taxers attended. Among those from out of town were Chas. M. Ogle and D. Bachrach of Baltimore, Md., Miss Katherine Kennard, Chicago, Ill., Wm. D. Kendal of Worcester, Mass., Cornelius Keevit of Passaic, N. J., Andrew Hutton of Schenectady, N. Y., E. H. D'Lany of Tennessee, Messrs. Wallace, Ross and Powell of Philadelphia, Pa., J. J. Pastoriza of Houston, Texas, John E. Dugan of Albany, N. Y., Mrs. E. M. Schofield of Wayne, Pa., Samuel McVeigh of England, and Mrs. Munroe of Washington, D. C., and others. New York and vicinity were well represented, and there was a very generous attendance of ladies, who took an oftentimes spirited part in the debates.

The meeting was called to order by Fred. Cyrus Leubuscher, president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. W. L. Ross of Philadelphia was unanimously chosen for temporary chairman and James McGregor of New York temporary secretary. John J. Murphy of New York, temporary chairman of the committee of arrangements of the club, made a report, showing that of 345 replies received, all but five favored the holding of a conference.

A motion was made and seconded that a conference be held in New York City some time in October of this year, and discussion was invited. The date of the conference and the purpose for which it was to be called gave rise to protracted debate. When the time for adjournment of the afternoon session arrived, it was decided to postpone a vote until the meeting re-assembled in the evening.

The session re-convened at 8.30, and after further discussion it was decided that a conference be held as soon after the coming election as possible, and that a committee of fifteen, with power to add to its number, be given full power to make the necessary arrangements. The committee is as follows:

John J. Murphy, chairman, W. L. Ross, ex-officio, James McGregor, F. C. Leubuscher, Edward Polak, John S. Crosby, Jos. Dana Miller, Benjamin Doblin, H. D. Albright, Frank Stephens, Mrs. M. R. Ryan, Miss Amy M. Hicks, Wm. B. DuBois, Robt. F. Powell, J. V. Gilloon, Geo. R. Macey.

The above committee met at the Manhattan Single Tax Club on Thursday, June 27th, and decided to call the conference for November 18th and 19th, 1907.

Following is the address issued by the conference committee:

ADDRESS FROM COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

The Committee of Arrangements desire to impress upon their Single Tax brethren everywhere, the importance of making the Conference, which has been called for November 18th and 19th next as impressive a gathering as it is possible to make it. The necessity for holding such a conference, at this time, will be obvious to any one who has observed the Socialistic trend given to public opinion by the well-meaning, but economically ignorant leaders, who officially or privately occupy so large a measure of public attention. Like the protection policy whose speciousness has blinded the last two generations, there is serious danger that the even more fallacious propositions of Socialists, fostered by those who believe that their interest will be served by a greater centralization of power, will find a secure lodgment in the public mind unless strenuously combatted by the only arguments which can nullify their sophistry. The arguments of Socialists cannot be successfully refuted by the apologists of monopoly and privilege any more than by the compromisers among the "regulationists."

After a quarter of a century of criticism, through which it has passed unscathed, the Single Tax programme remains the only antidote for the poisons which have saturated the body politic.

We, therefore, appeal to Single Taxers everywhere as loyal citizens of this great Republic, whose welfare is menaced not merely by the evil conditions which exist, but equally by the remedies most commonly proposed, to bestir themselves and to weary not in preaching the gospel of Henry George. To enable the committees to do their work and the conference to achieve success, drafts will have to be made upon your time and your resources. Let these demands be met cheerfully and to the limit of your ability. Only by sacrifice can a cause like ours progress, and he who hesitates to give, whenever he can give, falls to that extent below his own standard and himself must be the sufferer.

A movement is on foot in Philadelphia to perfect an organization to purchase, care for and suitably use the house in that city in which Henry George was born. The idea is to make it the headquarters for some suitable method of propagating the doctrines of the author of Progress and Poverty.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS RECEIVED
BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CON-
FERENCE COMMITTEE.

Following are a few selected extracts from some of the letters received in answer to the call for a preliminary conference. They show how almost universal is the feeling in favor of a convention. Manifestly it is impossible to print more than a few words from a very small proportion of the hundreds of letters received:

From L. P. Custer, St. Louis, Mo.—It is with a great deal of pleasure I acknowledge the receipt of your call, for I see the crying need of a revival of the activities of the adherents of the cause to save it from collapse as a present day movement.

From Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Cincinnati, Ohio—You may use my name in any way you please and I will contribute my mite; but it would be no respect to the memory of Henry George for me to leave Ohio at this time. Our Legislature meets next winter—the iron is hot—and there is a great chance of winning the initiative and referendum. I would never forgive myself if I went off at so important a time.

From J. B. Johnston, Chicago, Ill.—I rejoice in the movement thus announced.

From G. M. Briggs, Elkhart, Indiana—It strikes me that this is a move in the right direction, and I hope your meeting on Decoration Day will be a rousing success.

From R. S. McMahon, New Iberia, La.—For years I have felt restive under the inaction of our leaders, and believed that our beloved cause was not making the headway which we should expect.

From J. C. Porterfield, Houston, Texas—I regret that I cannot be present. I think the movement a wise one and wish you all possible success.

From W. L. Miggett, Ann Arbor, Mich.—I am in hearty accord with the movement.

From E. Q. Norton, Daphne, Ala.—You can count on my hearty support in the matter of a Single Tax Conference.

From George V. Wells, Chicago, Ill.—I note what you say as to the apathy of Single Taxers and hope that something may be done, not to remove the apathy, for I think that does not really exist, but to bring all earnest advocates of human economic freedom, who believe our remedy is the true one, together so that our work may become more effective than it has been along the unorganized and rather too individualistic lines it has moved of late. What should be done no one knows. What can be done the wisest of us can only guess.

Consultation and discussion may develop some plan that will be helpful and effective.

From Chas. H. Ciliske, President Chicago Single Tax Club—The Chicago Single Tax Club at our next regular meeting will, if possible, have an authorized representative at both the meeting and the conference.

From E. B. Swinney, N. Y. City—I am in receipt of your circular letter of the 8th inst., and I rejoice to think that the Single Taxers have at last begun to realize the necessity for "waking up." I am heartily in sympathy with any line of work that will produce that much to be desired result.

From J. H. Root, Washington, D. C.—I sincerely hope that you may have a large enough attendance to fully represent the Single Tax sentiment throughout the country and to encourage you in calling the proposed conference, which I trust may be very successful and largely attended.

From S. H. Howes, Southboro, Mass.—I thank you for the opportunity to be a member of the Committee on Preliminary Organization and wish that I might accept. I am certainly in sympathy with the movement for a general Single Tax Conference and will do everything I can to make the affair a success.

From Judge Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago, Ill.—It is with great regret that I find myself unable owing to my official duties to join in the meeting of Single Taxers on May 30th. It would give me the greatest pleasure to renew there old friendships and make new ones in the one thing worth living for—comradeship in a noble cause. I hope that the fullest success will attend your work. Could I break away from here during the court term I would certainly come on.

From A. V. Scott, Rosedale, Miss.—It will give me a great deal of pleasure to act as a member of such a committee as suggested by your circular, and I will be pleased to undertake any work to advance the interests of the conference that the committee may desire.

From R. Hickmann Mann, Washington, D. C.—As I look forward to its being impracticable for me to attend such meeting on the 30th instant, being booked for a journey to the South covering that date. I cannot promise active support. I think it proper, therefore, to decline the honor you tender me. In doing so I desire to express my gratification that active steps are to be taken to further the Single Tax cause, and to thank you for your courtesy.

From Henry Ware Allen, Boston, Mass.—The time is certainly ripe for another big

conference. Former ones were successes, and there is every reason to believe that the conference proposed would give just the impetus that is now in order for the Single Tax movement.

From John P. S. Voght, Denver, Colo.—I am heartily in accord with the purposes of the call, and desire to be enrolled as one of the crusaders in the cause. We owe it to the memory of our leader that his teachings are not forgotten.

The time is opportune, engulfed as we are in economic chaos, to rise to the surface and bring about order.

From ex-Senator S. A. Stockwell, Minneapolis, Minn.—I am in cordial sympathy with this movement, and will do anything I can to make the conference proposed in October a success. Will try and arrange my business so as to be present at that conference, and will in the meantime be willing to do anything that lies within my power to advance the movement in this section of the country. You can put me down as a member of the committee on preliminary organization if you care to, and I pledge you such co-operation and work as I am able to give.

From Fred J. Miller, Center Bridge, Bucks County, Pa.—In a general way, however, I think it is a good thing for those who are interested in the same things, or are trying to do the same work, to get together and confer about it, and learn to know each other.

From Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston, Mass.—Absence from town has prevented an earlier reply to your circular letter of the 9th. If feasible, it will give me great pleasure to be at the Single Tax Conference in New York on the 30th, but I cannot be certain of coming. I shall know better as the time approaches.

From A. C. Quisenberry, Hyattsville, Md.—I can not, at this time, say positively whether I can attend the meeting or not. The most I can now promise is that I shall attend if it is possible for me to do so. My full sympathies are with this movement; and, whether I attend the meeting or not, you may count on me to do everything in my power to assist in the effort to revive the Single Tax movement.

From E. Stilman Doubleday, Brooklyn, N. Y.—I should be glad to be a party to any well directed movement in the promotion of a favorable popular sentiment toward the Single Tax.

From Hon. F. D. Larrabee, Minneapolis, Minn.—I take great interest in the coming conference which you propose to call. I shall take great delight in doing whatever

I can to make it a success, and though I may not be able to attend I shall use extra efforts to do so.

From George C. Madison, Chicago, Ill.—It is possible that old time propaganda methods cannot be revived, but the truth embodied in the Single Tax idea will never die. As a working body we are few and cannot expect activity unless we have harmony and co-operation. In my opinion indifference and opposition by recognized leaders of our movement to every plan of action that did not originate with them and leave them in full control, is largely responsible for the apathy of the past few years. I hope the meeting will be well attended and that the plans made for the future will prove wise and successful.

From Ex-Senator Bucklin, Grand Junction, Colo.—I quite agree with you that a new start is necessary, and desire to do everything in my power to make the Conference a success. Upon our shoulders, more than on any others, rests the responsibility of arousing the Democratic spirit of this decade, or perhaps century, and am willing to give it active support. Do not hesitate to ask me to do anything in my power to aid in making the Conference a success. Will take hold of the matter actively in this State as soon as I can,

From H. Martin Williams, Woodlawn, Ill.—While it will not be possible for me to attend that meeting I am heartily in favor of the General Single Tax Conference which is proposed to be held on or about October 29th next, and will gladly do all in my power to further any plan to make the Conference a great success and demonstrate once and for all the fact that the Single Tax movement is a living, breathing entity.

From Vernon J. Rose, ex-Mayor of Kansas City, Kansas—By all means let us have the Conference.

From John Anderson, Montreal, Canada.—The idea is a splendid one.

From George Hughes, Hymer, Kas.—That you have my heartiest good wishes rest assured.

From J. G. H. Buck, Elkhart, Tex.—God speed your leaders and the triumph of the cause.

From Ralph Hoyt, Los Angeles, Cal.—I regard it as a wise step.

From Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo, Ohio.—Hope to be with you in October. Won't you let me know how the matter is getting along.

From Edward Keating, editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, Colo.—

I think we should arrange for the Conference. The country is ripe for the movement.

From Read Gordon, N. Y. City—I presume the Conference would be useful to a degree, if nothing more than exchange of views. My heart is with the movement.

Marion Reedy, editor of the *St. Louis Mirror*, writes that he believes the time is ripe for such a gathering. He says: "The occasion is a splendid one to shake off the apathy to which your circular refers and to give effect to our enthusiasm among people whose minds are in a peculiarly receptive condition toward remedies for the great evils which have been conspicuously pointed out during the last four or five years. You can rely on me through the columns of the *Mirror* to do that I can for the cause. I wish the project all success."

Letters received also from the following persons express hearty sympathy with the project: R. Bostrom, Rev. August Dellgren, S. J. Chubb, C. J. Buell, Rev. John Gregson, De Witt Clinton, E. R. Curry, A. Freeland, S. Tideman, R. B. Brinsmade and many others.

It should be said that the query on the call sent out asking if the Single Tax were dead was inserted merely for the purpose of stirring our friends to self examination. The spirit with which this insinuation is refuted is proof of the fact that the movement is neither dead nor sleeping. Nevertheless, that the state of the movement is not in all respects satisfactory is admitted, and the purpose of the Conference is to adopt measures that will make for a renewal of activities all along the line.

It would not be fair to permit our readers to assume that all communications received by the Committee, any more than the voice of the Conference, were unanimous for a convention in October. Mr. W. L. Crossman, of Boston, expresses himself as doubtful of the value of such a convention. Mr. E. J. Shriver, of New York City, argues frankly against it. Mr. John Z. White desires to be more fully informed of the purpose of such a Conference, of which he will be duly apprised as time goes on. Mr. Fillebrown does not desire to write for publication, not having fully considered the matter. It seems to him, however, that the time is perhaps not just ripe, and that maybe a year or two hence might be a better time. Mr. J. B. Vining does not think that it would be possible to get Ohio Single Taxers at the conference in the autumn in view of the immensely important issues to be there decided. This is of course true, and the absence of Mr. Johnson from such a great national gathering would be a matter of great regret. Still as the decision has been to hold the convention *after* rather than before election, Mr. Vining's objection no longer holds good.

All things considered, the communications tell their own story, which is one of a growing enthusiasm for the project, an enthusiasm which assures a great Conference and the adoption of important measures for the advancement of the cause.

SPEECH OF FREDERICK C. LEUBUSCHER IN OPENING THE DECORATION DAY CONFERENCE.

"The Conference which will be held in October will mark a new phase in the progress of our movement. We have already passed through two stages. The first was when Henry George and Edward McGlynn were the leaders of a host of earnest missionaries, who hoped to accomplish in their own time the regeneration of the social world. Then came a quieter period during which it seemed as if the wave of enthusiasm had receded, but although there were few external manifestations of it, in every community a few earnest workers were engaged in the silent work of discussion with their neighbors. The consequence has been a tremendous spread of the knowledge of the underlying principles of the Single Tax.

"The Single Taxers have observed with apprehension the spread of Socialism which has affected so many branches of the Government and many of our most conspicuous popular leaders, during the past few years. In spite of his innate antagonism to socialistic methods, the Single Taxer has not been wholly sorry for the progress which sentimental socialism has made. He has often proclaimed that the future must choose between him and the socialist, and he is not sorry to see that the time for action is nearly here.

"It is with a view to preparing for this inevitable conflict that the Conference has been projected—to take a count of resources and to devise ways and means of putting before the people the only scheme of economics which stands for the doctrine of inherent individual rights, for a basis of property rights which shall rest in production and not in mere legality, for the principle that value which society creates and wealth which the individual creates are capable of differentiation, and that each product should go to its creator.

"I cannot say at this time whether the Conference in October will be national or international. The time is too short to allow of our co-workers in Great Britain, Germany, Denmark, and Norway, not to speak of the more distant laborers in Australia and New Zealand, to attend. Doubtless we shall have visitors from several of these countries, who will be most welcome."

Daniel Kiefer will spend a protracted vacation in California.

News—Foreign.

ENGLAND.

**THE MOVEMENT STEADILY ADVANCING—
THE PRIME MINISTER ASSURES US THERE
WILL BE NO TURNING BACK—THE WORK
OF TWENTY YEARS ON THE EVE OF ITS
GREAT TRIUMPH.**

When writing you three months ago I was hoping to be able to report by this time that the valuation bills for England and Scotland would have been passed through the House of Commons at least. This has not been accomplished as yet, but there is no reason why Single Taxers should despair. For, although the legislative machine fails to work as some of us would like to see it we have the assurance of the Prime Minister that the Scottish bill will be put through all its stages this season, and that there will be no going back on the part of Government with regard to the English valuation bill. There are difficulties in England with regard to valuation which do not exist in Scotland. The system of valuation in Scotland is very plain and simple, but in England it is done by the overseers under local committees who are by no means expert. Under these circumstances it is found to be necessary to reform the present rating machinery as well as to make provision for the separate valuation of land.

The fact is becoming every day more patent that public opinion is growing at such a rate and apparently such a volume of strength that it will become more and more impossible for government to delay this reform or for obstructionists to resist it. It is public opinion which finally decides all such issues. History will show that the year 1907 marked an epoch in the history of the land law reform movement in Great Britain. During the past few months events of great significance have taken place. On March 28d a meeting of representative Single Taxers was held at the home of Mr. Crompton Llewelyn Davies, 14 Boston street, Westminster, where following some considerable discussion it was decided to form a United Committee of the various Leagues for the Taxation of Land Values with Messrs. Crompton Llewelyn Davies and John Paul as secretaries and W. R. Lester as treasurer.

This committee is to watch over the interests of the movement in the House of Commons and throughout the whole country. Its representative character, together with the fact that it has Messrs. Davies and Paul as its secretaries, may be taken as a guarantee that it will command the confidence and support of all concerned, and that effective work will be accomplished.

April 20th was a red letter day for those of us who stand for the recognition of the law of equal freedom as the touchstone and test of what is right and wrong in legislation. This day was the date of a great national demonstration in London in favor of land law reform. At 1 o'clock a luncheon was served at the Holburn Restaurant with Sir John Brunner, M. P., in the chair, and the Prime Minister as the principal speaker. Among those present were 150 members of Parliament and several hundred well known land reformers from all parts of the country.

Those of us who had the pleasure of listening to the Prime Minister's speech are not likely to soon forget the impression he made on all present. It was surprising and significant, and clearly represented the convictions of a great statesman who only needed the necessary support of public opinion to enable him to carry the reform we seek to promote. On rising to address the meeting the Prime Minister was received with the utmost enthusiasm.

Thanking those present for the warm reception he had received, he assured them that they were not nearly so glad to see him as he was to find himself in the company of so many keen land reformers. He was cheered again and again when he declared that "in taking up the land question and having put our hands to the plough we are not going to turn back." Many different brands of land reform were represented by the delegates present, but it was quite clear that the separate valuation and taxation of land values held the field against all others. When the Prime Minister stated in so many words that the separate valuation of land was the indispensable preliminary to land reform, he was stopped for quite a time by loud and continued cheering. When quietness reigned and he resumed his address, he looked across at the Single Tax table and remarked: "Valuation is a rather unexciting term, though it seems to have a mesmeric effect on you." But as a matter of fact the whole meeting joined in the applause. It is coming more and more to be realized that the question of allotments, small holdings, garden cities, housing schemes by local rating bodies, are like so much shop window goods, of very little use for any practical purpose until the separate valuation of land and the rating of land values are inaugurated.

At the subsequent demonstration in the afternoon, in Drury Lane Theatre, Mr. Winston Churchill, M. P., under secretary for the colonies, backed up the Prime Minister's radical statement declaring for a separate valuation of land, with a view to shifting the burden of taxation from industry to the monopoly of the land.

The following resolution was unanimously carried:

"That this meeting cordially welcomes the intention of the government to intro-

duce drastic measures for dealing with the land and housing problems, and urges the importance of providing for the separate valuation and rating of land values, apart from improvements; for the compulsory purchase of land by public authorities, for any public purpose, at a price based on this valuation; for the regulation and planning of urban areas; and for increased powers to a central authority to promote housing and small holdings."

A good business-like beginning. As Mr. Churchill said: "We were ringing up the curtain on a piece that was going to have a long run." Well, we shall see. Anyway, we can only regard the day's proceedings as a great triumph for our ideas. It is now beyond recall that a Liberal Prime Minister is at one with us in the policy we have promoted in the political field during the last twenty years or more. In the meantime, other undercurrents in the Cabinet, if not in the House of Commons, seem to have prevailed, and the land bills now before the house are not for valuation, but for the planting of people on small holdings in England and Scotland. These bills have one redeeming principle which we must recognize as something to be grateful for. They do not propose to create peasant proprietors, as the last bill did for Ireland. They propose to establish the small holders as tenants of the State. Meanwhile, the bill for the separate valuation of land applying to Scotland has been introduced, and the Prime Minister has promised to see it passed during the present session.

The valuation bill for England is a little more difficult owing to the chaotic condition of the present system of assessment. We are publicly assured however by the Prime Minister that the English valuation will be brought forward next session and Dr. Macnamara, M. P., (Parliamentary Secretary of local Government Board) stated on Saturday, 22nd of June, at Manchester, at a public demonstration organized by our United Committee of the Manchester branch of the English League that "the Local Government Board would earnestly bend their energies to the work of preparing the bill this autumn." This demonstration at Manchester on the 22nd of June was a signal success. It was our first big meeting here. As the *Manchester Guardian* points out the traditions of the town, as the home and inspiration of the free trade movement, mark it out for such a similar propaganda. It is said that what Manchester and Lancashire think to-day England will think to-morrow. Well, it is admitted all round that we have a good beginning in this direction of starting this volume of thought and we mean to maintain the fight.

F. SKIRROW.

For special premium offer see back page of cover.

THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN.

The Henry George movement in Sweden is not new. For more than twenty years ago the teachings of Henry George had attracted the attention of Swedish social reformers. His first books, "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems" and "Protection or Free Trade" were translated into Swedish as early as the middle eighties. But this attention was only very superficial and partial. Many years before the publication of "Progress and Poverty" the struggle of the Swedish farmers to rid themselves of the old land tax had dominated the whole political life of the nation. Also the few social reformers whom we had working at this time were influenced by the farmers' movement in the direction of making the land free of all taxation. It was natural in such conditions that George's idea could not be easily understood. Of course, in reality there was a great difference between our old very unequal land tax and the proposal made by Henry George. But the people in general failed to make a just distinction, and so his theory was met with opposition from ignorance when it was not opposed by vested interests.

Now, this struggle was ended several years ago. The land tax is abolished. The social condition is not improved, but people have begun to reflect and question whether the settlement is satisfactory that relieves land of taxation. For this reason the teachings of Henry George are now beginning to be understood. In recent years the propaganda for the taxation of land values has made real progress. In our neighboring country, Denmark, it is the class of small farmers who especially favor George's proposal; in our country it is the large and well organized temperance party which is most attracted by it. Prohibition is becoming more and more possible, but the high taxes on intoxicants which would then be lost to the government hinders further legislation in that direction. For two years past the proposition has been made that the government should resort to a tax on land values, and so make it easy for the nation to adopt prohibition. Yet this proposition is not made entirely from financial considerations, but also for social reasons. It has become more and more clear to temperance reformers that bad social conditions are largely the cause of intemperance. Consequently, the improved social conditions which would be the result of taxation of land values would also work beneficially in favor of temperance.

Recently small societies have been formed in some parts of the country chiefly for the purpose of spreading the idea of land value taxation. Much of the press also is beginning to advocate the wisdom of our pro-

posed means to break up the land monopoly, especially the monopoly of forest land, which has been largely increasing during the last few decades.

The idea of taxing land values has also been advocated in Parliament in this year by Mr. Carl Lindhagen, M. P., the Mayor of Stockholm. He has by a motion in the House requested the government to investigate the matter with a view to ascertaining the best means of applying the principle to legislation. But vested interests were too strong in the Parliament to permit the motion to be carried. It was defeated in both chambers. About the same time the proposal was in the House to tax the *increased* land values only. This proposal was defeated in the upper House, but carried in the lower. It was, of course, also very easy for this most very democratical House to carry this measure. The tax on increased values would not be a yearly tax, but only a tax when the land was being sold—an idea which is realized in some cities of Germany (*die Zuwachssteuer*). I was rather glad that the latter was rejected, because I am not sure that its adoption would not have hindered the realization of the greater principle. And I am also more and more opposed to the taxation on increased land values only, because it would be only partial, and would be effective only in advancing communities and not in rural districts, nor in stationary communities, which would be left untouched. The influence would be for the rural population to migrate to the towns in yet larger numbers. I consider it is very necessary for the Single Taxers in every country to think out this important phase of the question.

We have now in Sweden a very hard struggle to propagate our radical ideas, and I would finally appeal to my fellow countrymen in the United States to assist in the contest as much as possible. I intend this autumn to visit the United States for the purpose of studying the social problems of the country. I would invite any of your readers who may feel disposed to communicate with me to do so to the address below.

"Land Values," 876-77 Strand,

London, W. C.

JOHAN HANSSON.

PROGRESS IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

Some further details of the tax provisions in the New South Wales Local Government Act are given in a letter from Mr. J. R. Firth of Sydney, received just after the last number of the REVIEW went to press. This act, now in operation, creates a number of new local governing bodies called Shires, which cover all of New South Wales not under local government before (practically the county districts) except the very sparsely settled portion.

These shires have only one source of

revenue, a tax on unimproved value of land, not to exceed two-pence in the pound, *i. e.*, 4 cents on each \$4.80, or a little under 1 per cent. They can tax nothing else, though they will receive a subsidy from the central government.

The act also gives new power of taxation to municipalities. Under the former law they were compelled to raise their revenue by a tax on the annual income from improved real estate and a similar tax on 5 per cent. of the capital value of unimproved land. But the tax on vacant land could be evaded by leasing it for a horse pasture at a low rental; while the tax on improvements was much the heaviest because computed on gross rental.

Under the new law the municipality must impose a tax of a penny in the pound on the capital value of all land. The balance of the revenue can be raised by a tax on improved property or an additional tax on land values only. In the latter case the total levy must not exceed the amount that would be produced by a tax of 2d. in the pound on unimproved property and 2 shillings in the pound on the rental of improved property.

The important feature of this legislation is the recognition of land values as the proper subjects of all increases in taxation.

While the taxes proposed will not give the people a greater share of the annual rent, in most cases, than is now taken by real estate taxes in the United States, still the increase obtained will be accompanied by a decrease in the taxation of improvements. Instead of seeking for new ways of taxing labor products the people of Australia and New Zealand are gradually shifting the tax burden on to the land values.

PROGRESS IN GERMANY.

Quoting from the German Single Tax organ the progress the Fatherland is making in putting our fundamental truth into practice I will only name a few of the larger communities, though in Saxony alone nine towns, ranging in population from 551 to 5,085 inhabitants, have adopted a land value tax.

But the city of Leipzig, also in Saxony, 371,434 inhabitants, did not seem to feel quite safe, so it has limited this new tax on land value to three years, and stipulates that the extra income from it shall be used to build good roads. The city council of Manheim, together with the councils of other towns in Baden, asked the government of Baden for the permission to tax the increased value of land not in use.

The Committee of Finance of the Hessian government urged unanimously the adoption of a bill taxing the unearned value of land in the face of petitions from the land owning societies. Quite a number of small towns near Blumenthal, Hanover,

are reported to have resorted to the land value tax. But the most important and far reaching step was taken on the 20th of March, when the Berlin city council by a vote of 65 against 54 providing for a tax on the increased value of land (Zuwachsteuer). To this the German S. T. organ remarks: Its practical application is of course postponed, as it was referred to a committee, and we are prepared for many a hot fight yet, which only he who knows the heated ground of Berlin can understand, but in spite of all that we may consider it an extraordinary victory.

A given amount of land in the city of Cologne yielded a tax revenue of 20,000 marks, but after one year taxing this same area in accordance with its selling value it produced 200,000 marks.

Everywhere, where the taxation of land value has been adopted, a reduction in rents has followed, in Dortmund, 90,000 inhabitants, where the first, or one of the first adopting the new system, a home which rented before for 154 marks is rented now for 101 marks, another 206 marks, now 136 marks, etc., etc. And, says the writer, this is not yet quite our ideal tax, since we still tax houses also, and will make a still better showing when we exempt the improvements. But half a loaf is better than no bread, and keeping hammering at it we will get the other half a loaf later. It would be idle to wait till the state gave us permission to tax land value only. Let each community go ahead and make its own tax laws, with which the state does not interfere as long as it "pays the King what is the King's."

We are pleased to hear that now in Italy the seed of our doctrine is planted. Our fellow Single Tax worker, Mr. Ummen, has delivered in a series of Single Tax lectures in northern Italian towns which has appeared in pamphlet form under the title of *Riforma dei Tributi Agrari*.

On May 1st a daily Single Tax paper has been launched in Berlin named *Deutsche Nachrichten* which is to stand shoulder to shoulder with the present German organ, which has changed its name to that of "*Bodenreform*."

The *Bodenreform* of May 20 reports the following additional towns as having adopted land value tax: Schmalkalden, Rudesheim, Herford, Witzenhausen and Freiberg, and it says that in fifty towns, or their councils, it is under discussion, and such discussion, with hardly an exception, has ended in our favor. F. BURGENDORFF.

Fred. Skirrow, of Keighly, Yorkshire, was in Manchester last month organizing the great demonstration which took place at the Belle Vue Gardens on June 29d, of which mention will be found in the article by John Paul on another page.

NEW YORK GROCERY CLERKS ORGANIZE.

A REMARKABLE MEETING, WHICH ELICITS UNMISTAKABLE TESTIMONY OF THE SPREAD OF SINGLE TAX DOCTRINES AMONG THE WORKERS — STRIVING FOR RELIEF FROM FEARFULLY OPPRESSIVE CONDITIONS.

On a rainy Sunday afternoon in the most unseasonable May of this year, a crowd of men were gathered in a grimy, ill-lighted hall on 54th Street, near Third Avenue, in the City of New York. The meeting consisted principally of young men, country boys, who had come to the city from their rural homes, from Ireland or Germany. They occupied long seats which were placed across the room at intervals. Upon a raised platform at the end of the hall stood a desk and a chair for the use of the chairman and on either side, placed against the windows, were desks for the secretaries. A sign, reminiscent of the signs which one sees outside grocery stores, read "Persons wishing to join the Grocery Clerk's Union enroll here."

This meeting was interesting as illustrating the inception of many similar movements which have seriously and favorably affected the well-being of the laboring masses of the city. It is often said that unions are organized by the men to enable them to tyrannize over their employers, but this was the beginning of a union, and even the most unfriendly critic would find it difficult to deny that the purpose at which it aimed was worthy of support by every citizen who believes in bettering the condition of his fellow men. The union was organized not to advance wages, not to restrict employment to its members, but simply to ask for living hours of labor. The present condition compels the majority of the men who are working in grocery stores to work from six in the morning until nine at night, winter and summer, with the exception of Saturday night, when they work until midnight or one o'clock, according as the stress of business demands.

Not alone were the employees protesting, but there appeared with them many of their employers, anxious to be relieved from the strain of keeping their stores open so late, for the employer or capitalist is almost as badly hurt by this system as the employes. The organizers had invited to address the meeting John S. Crosby, H. Robinson, Abram Abrams, of the Central Federated Union; John J. Murphy, J. P. Kelly, of the Letter Carriers' Association; Timothy Murphy, a grocer, and some of the officers of the Manhattan and Bronx Retail Grocers' Association.

The speeches were extremely interesting, especially to a Single Taxer. With the exception of the representatives of the Central Federated Union, who urged the men to place their main reliance upon organiza-

tion and did not otherwise refer to economic remedies, all the other speakers urged upon the men present the importance of viewing their troubles from the standpoint of the general condition of labor which could only be bettered by the destruction of land monopoly.

The Chair was taken by a Mr. D. H. McLain, who read a letter of regret from Henry George, Jr., and who affirmed his belief in the principles enunciated by the late Henry George as the only cure for the evils they were suffering from. Mr. McLain is a man who, from being an employee, has become an employer, and is still sympathetic with the men in the ranks, and he promised to do everything that he could to help their cause. Mr. J. S. Crosby spoke at considerable length, pointing out such unreasonable hours invaded the sacredness of family life and made it impossible for men to maintain those relations with their wives and children which civilization and humanity alike require. He showed the men that they were oppressed by the same conditions that oppressed their brethren everywhere and that only by restoration to the people of their fundamental rights in the land could men be able to understand and enjoy the full products of their toil. He was followed by Herman Robinson, who detailed at considerable length the efforts which had been made to bring a few inhuman and grasping employers to a realization of the responsibility which they were assuming in preventing the reduction of the hours during the summer time from fifteen to thirteen. Mr. Abram Abrams spoke at length and very eloquently on organized labor, and said he would recommend to the Central Federated Union that its members be advised to avoid stores which kept open later than seven in the evening. Mr. J. J. Murphy told of his own experiences in the business many years ago and how it enabled him to understand and sympathize with the men who were struggling for better working hours. Mr. Kelly, of the Letter Carriers' Association, told of the struggle which the letter carriers had made to improve their condition and how as the result of its success letter carriers had devoted the spare time which their shorter hours had given them to self cultivation in many directions. They had organized a fine band and individual members had studied for and been admitted to the professions. Mr. Timothy Murphy, a grocer, made one of the most effective speeches of the afternoon and declared himself entirely in accord with the idea that relief to labor would only come by the recognition of the rights of men to the earth upon which they lived.

Officers of the Manhattan and Bronx Retail Grocers' Association expressed their sympathy with the efforts of the men to shorter hours of labor, and the meeting adjourned after resolutions of thanks had

been proposed and carried to the men who had made the various addresses. The significant feature of the gathering was the impression which it gave of the widespread knowledge of the Single Tax theory among laboring men generally.

The whole spirit of the occasion was one calculated to encourage Single Taxers, and there seemed to be excellent reason for believing that the Union would accomplish the purposes of the organization, and in its work we bespeak for them the sympathy and co-operation of other Single Taxers. Even thirteen hours a day in a store is a long time and it is to be hoped that it will soon be reduced. No one will be inconvenienced, because when people know that they cannot procure supplies after a certain hour they will secure them before, and thousands of our fellow citizens will have two hours more to give to self-instruction and to civic advancement.

TOUR OF JOHN Z. WHITE.

At Springfield, Ill., a pulpit was occupied on Sunday evening, and an address dealing with the moral phase of economic study and practice was given. Especially was it urged that the development of Christian character is rendered needlessly difficult by the pagan public and social arrangements by which we are surrounded. If we would truly make men better we must correct industrial injustice, and this injustice results wholly from mistaken application of political authority.

Pekin, Ill., has a clear headed man at the head of its school system who is earnest to present sound doctrine. If the pupils and people do not profit by his advice it will not be because of faulty instruction. The meeting was interesting.

Crown Point, Ind., had a good address according to report. They seemed to anticipate something beyond ordinary people, but upon discovery that Single Tax men are just human beings became quite friendly.

An excellent meeting was held in Milwaukee, Wis., the address being before the Knights of Columbus, nearly all of whom are actively engaged in business pursuits. They have a fuller realization of conditions than their votes would indicate.

On February 19th, an address was given before the National Convention of Women Suffragists at Chicago. It is not held that any one's opinion was changed—that were too great a claim—but the ladies were very cordial.

At Waukesha, Wis., the Y. M. C. A. was visited, and an excellent meeting was held.

Our religious friends are rapidly locating the lion that bars the way. They listen very closely to explanation of the difficulties that confront every young man entering active business, whether as employer or employee.

At Colby, Wis., a new school building is the pride of the city, and we were fortunate to hear its former principal greet his old friends. In the evening our meeting was held in the court house. It was a large meeting for the city, and was enthusiastic for reform in taxation.

A small meeting in the afternoon was held at Minneapolis, and a debate with a socialist in the evening. A debate in name only, for our good socialist avoided anything that might even figuratively be called joining issue. Our good friend, S. A. Stockwell, had called together a great meeting in the Unitarian Church for the morning of the same day, which was Sunday, but not even a three o'clock in the morning start would make up for slow trains.

A very good meeting was held at Duluth, Minn. The climate is much colder in that region, but that fact did not chill the audience. They gave close attention and were very cordial at the close. Single Tax ideas steadily gain ground. The growth is like the hickory tree—it is strong.

Dr. E. Wahle, at Marshfield, Wis., is a thoroughgoing Single Tax man of much energy, and a lively meeting was held at that point. The active people of the city were out and evidently enjoyed the notion of making the world better by removing obstructions. Questions served to bring out some points that were not clear, and the gathering dissolved in a jolly frame of mind. On the following morning a talk was made before the high school. The pupils were generous of applause.

Oshkosh, Wis., is somewhat more sedate, but close attention was paid to the lecturer, and it was learned that some of the more quiet ones were already of our faith. No telling when one will "strike pay dirt."

Two Sunday mornings were given to the Church of the Redeemer in Chicago. The first on "Single Tax," the second on "Public Ownership." At each an official of the church was quite energetic in opposition. Could not perceive present day privilege—but was very clear as to vanished privilege, and was heartily in favor of freedom—so far as already established. Curious how one can see a thing that is dead, but is unable to see the same thing while it is alive. A teacher asked the class of small boys, "What kind of little boys go to heaven?" One grimy little chap shouted, "Dead ones." Our official will on that gospel reach the realms of bliss.

A very good meeting was held in Champaign, Ill., although a violent rain began just at the time the audience was gathering.

Kalamazoo, Mich., was visited and we found some of the officials of the Y. M. C. A. much more vigorous than their following. Still we had a pleasant evening and were invited to come again.

A number of political meetings in Chicago were addressed in behalf of Mayor Dunne and the defeat of the traction grants, but as readers of the REVIEW have learned, without the desired result. Still the battle is a long way from finished.

Recent trips, particularly the one north as far as Duluth, have been among the best that have occurred in any Single Tax campaigning not directly connected with active politics.

While we wish the Dunne defeat were a victory, still we would be blind if we did not realize the great change that has taken place in recent years.

The people are a long way in advance of their mental attitude of even five years since. They move without fully realizing it themselves.

Single Taxers have more opportunity than ever before to do effective work for freedom.

On April 26, at South Bend, Ind., under the auspices of the local Real Estate Board. A very good meeting.

April 27, at Goshen, Ind., under the auspices of the Commercial Exchange. Meeting small, but close attention given.

April 28, in Golden Rule Hall, Toledo, Ohio. A very good meeting among the late Mayor Jones' personal friends and followers. The present mayor, Brand Whitlock, is perhaps less picturesque, but possibly not less effective.

On the following day, April 29, before the Y. M. C. A. of Toledo, a talk was given on Public Ownership before a very good audience, which assembled in spite of the rain.

April 30. "Henry George and his Doctrines," before the Credit Men's Association of Detroit. A fine group of men. In every sense a good meeting.

May 1, Port Huron, Mich., before the local Commercial Club, a substantial level headed body, who listened closely to a presentation of "Direct Legislation."

May 3. The Moline Club, of Moline, Ill., gave opportunity to explain the "Referendum." This society was attentive, but critical. Half-doubtful, half-convinced.

May 6, Atchison, Kas. A small group

assembled. Opposition appeared in the persons of one lawyer and one preacher. They were curious. The lawyer thought rent an element of price. The preacher had an equally brilliant notion.

May 7, St. Joseph, Mo. Special invitation to speak to the city council in the council chamber. Practically the whole city government was in attendance, as were also the county officials. The subject was "Public Ownership," and the closest attention was given. They are conscious of existing wrongs and steadily gathering energy for wise alterations.

May 9, Emporia, Kas. Small meeting, with local men trying to misstate facts as to local conditions in an effort to mislead the speaker. The love of freedom in America is often manifested in an effort to destroy even its form. Rather a cheap lot, the present inhabitants of God's country.

May 10, Strong City, Kas. A number of prominent men attended—the sheriff and clerk among others. They are acquiring a quantity of the real views. We will hear more from this point. It holds a genuine Croasdaler in the person of Geo. Hughes, who, thank the Lord, is not a native citizen. He is a Britisher, and therefore has some concept of freedom.

The St. Louis, Mo. Bar Association gave an invitation to listen to a talk on "Public Control of Public Utilities," by Mr. White. The meeting was held in the University Club rooms and was well attended. One member of the State Supreme Bench, Judge Leroy C. Valliant, was present, as were Judges Jesse A. McDonald, Daniel G. Taylor and Chas Claffin Allen, of the Circuit Court. The bar in St. Louis is much more progressive than most similar associations elsewhere. A rather general recognition that something is wrong is plainly perceived, and some tendency toward correction is manifested. Hon. Fred. W. Lehman, Vice-president of the Bar Association, presided, and was unable to coax any one to the floor in opposition. After adjournment several had questions to ask which indicated opposition, but nothing at all serious appeared. Possibly the closest four listeners were the four judges named. Judge Valliant's decisions certainly indicate that he largely appreciates the validity of our position. Seem to have a lot of good stuff in Missouri—no wonder they selected Folk. Meanwhile Marrion Reedy is still printing the "Mirror."

In St. Louis talks were made before a number of trades unions—the Structural Ironworkers, the Electrical Workers, the Machinists, also the Building Trades Council. These meetings were largely in behalf of the Direct Legislation movement, which

it is believed will be carried to a successful issue next year. The unions will be solid for this reform.

A series of debates with Arthur Morrow Lewis, of the Socialist organization was carried out during June. The points visited included Joliet, Ill., Peoria, Ill., Springfield, Ill., Clinton, Ind., Terre Haute, Ind., Evansville, Ind., Indianapolis, Ind., Springfield, Ohio, Warren, Ohio, Pittsburg, Pa., Akron, Ohio, Cleveland, Ohio, Hamilton, Ohio, and Cincinnati, O. A godspeed dinner was given Daniel Kiefer, of Cincinnati, on his departure for a Pacific Coast visit, and afforded opportunity to present Single Tax gospel to a fine body of business and professional men. One stray humorist thought he had caught the disease, but it was later discovered that he was soliciting life insurance. He gave no bond for sincerity, and therefore was turned down.

TEXAS.

HOUSTON SINGLE TAXERS CELEBRATE—DEDICATION OF THE LOG CABIN—RESOLUTIONS ENDORSING THE NEW STATE REVENUE AGENT.

On Sunday, May 19th, the Single Taxers of Houston, Texas, met to celebrate the gift to them by Mr. J. J. Pastoriza of the Single Tax Log Cabin, a description of which and the purposes for which it was built have already appeared in former issues of the REVIEW.

In the afternoon a fairly good number of visitors heard a lecture on Single Tax by Prof. J. G. M. Buck, of Elkhart, Texas.

Mr. Jas. Charlton, president of the club, presided, and in his introductory address paid eloquent tribute to Henry George, laying emphasis on the fact that for many years he was a "printer man," from which he drew the local parallel of Mr. J. J. Pastoriza, who has been a "printer man" through his entire business career. He voiced the sentiments of every Houston Single Taxer when he feelingly referred to Mr. Pastoriza's gift of the unpretentious log cabin and the motives which inspired it, comparing it with the more pretentious gifts of Carnegie and Rockefeller, stating his belief that it was not an exaggerated statement to say that in the day of final and just reckoning the former would be found to be the better, nobler and more useful benefaction.

Prof. Buck made a most forceful presentation of the Single Tax philosophy, proving beyond doubt the ethical contentions upholding the Single Tax, and incidentally making a strong attack on the Malthusian doctrine, and showing the many absurdities of the personal property tax.

The meeting was concluded by the passage of the following resolution relative to

an effort being made by the State Revenue Agent, and appointee of the present Governor of Texas, Tom Campbell, to insist on assessments of property at the full value.

"Whereas Captain W. P. McDonald, State revenue agent, has insisted that the various assessors of the State shall enforce the law requiring a full valuation of all kinds of property, and

"Whereas, this action has subjected Captain McDonald to much adverse criticism, therefore be it

"Resolved, By the Houston Single Tax League, that we endorse and approve the action of Captain McDonald."

It is true that a tax upon improvements and personal property tends to discourage their production and increases their cost? This is not Captain McDonald's fault. It is the people's law. It is true that a tax on money tends to drive it out of the State, but it is the people's law. It is true that a tax on various forms of credits is double taxation, but it is the people's law. It is true that all these forms of taxation tend to promote perjury, but it is the people's law. For over twenty years the Single Taxers of the State have been proclaiming the evils of these laws, but the people have insisted on maintaining them. Captain McDonald, in carrying out the will of the people, deserves our thanks, and we hereby extend them."

In the evening the members of the Log Cabin Club gave an informal supper in honor of Mr. Pastoriza, who was to leave on the following week for Europe. The meeting was a veritable love feast. Many speeches were made, and as the only inspiration furnished was black coffee and cigars, the eloquence which flowed in golden streams from the lips of every speaker could only have been inspired by the affectionate regard and esteem in which the guest of the evening was held. It was such a gathering as will long live in the memory of those present as one of the delightful resting places along life's somewhat weary journey and they can doubtless say, as did the disciples of the Nazarene on their way to Emmaus when the Master unknown to them walked and talked with them, "Did not our hearts burn within us?"

The following were present: J. J. Pastoriza, J. G. M. Buck, Jas. Charlton, H. F. Ring, J. C. Porterfield, P. W. Schwander, E. P. Boyle, B. E. Tarver, Col. P. W. Robinson and D. Woodhead.

D. WOODHEAD,
Secretary.

**GOOD WORK OF GOVERNOR TOM CAMPBELL
IN ENFORCING THE LAW TAXING LANDED
ESTATES.**

Owing to existing laws in this State it will be impossible to adopt the Single Tax or even a kindred measure until we get a

constitutional amendment providing for local option in taxation. The present law not only fixes the rate of taxation, but it also designates the species of property to be taxed.

For a long time it has been customary to allow the owners of farming lands to render it for taxes much below its market value. Good intentions have inspired this practice for the purpose of leniency towards the producers of wealth, but the fact that the land grabbing element have gradually enlarged and extended their powers at the expense of the public in general and home seekers in particular, have convinced the enquiring element of the economic error in which the State has fallen.

The election of Governor Campbell in this State was a great surprise to the ring politicians who have almost wholly had control for many years. Some time ago when Governor Campbell was a fairly successful lawyer, attracting no special attention, until he was appointed Receiver for the International and Great Northern Railroad. But a short time after he took charge of this road a peremptory order was given him to cut the salaries of all the employees of the road. This he flatly refused to do, but after some wrangling about it he did cut the salaries of all the high officials, including his own, and then added it to the pay rolls of the employees receiving the least pay. When he was voted upon for Governor at the primaries all friends of the labor movements organized their forces with a silent determination which knows no defeat. In the meantime the Farmers Union had started its organization in this State and it too aligned itself with this movement, with about 125,000 members. When the results of this primary were flashed upon the curtain Tom Campbell's large majority was a surprise even to his most enthusiastic friends. He has been instrumental in the enactment of many good and progressive laws. The 30th legislature under his administration repealed the occupation tax law. We also have an effective anti free pass law. Corporations can no longer lobby with the legislature. A pure food law was also enacted. It is a heavy penalty for railroad companies to work their train crews long hours and thereby endanger the lives of passengers. Heavy penalties for gambling have virtually driven all the gamblers out of this State. Pool rooms and bucket shops have gone with them. Juvenile courts have come to stay. The intangible asset law while somewhat imperfect in its operations reaches the hidden franchises of many corporations.

The governor has strictly enforced the law taxing landed estates and its direct result has been to completely rout many land grabbing individuals and corporations, and in spite of the rapid influx of emi-

gration to this State many large tracts of land have been thrown on the market at reduced prices.

A. W. FOLSOM.

DEMONSTRATION AT COOPER UNION.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB HOLDS A MASS MEETING TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF SUBWAYS—SPEECHES BY PRESIDENT LEUBUSCHER, HON. BIRD S. COLER, JUDGE JOHN FORD, HON. ROBERT BAKER AND HENRY GEORGE, JR.—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club, feeling the impulse that is now stirring among Single Taxers everywhere urging them to renewed activity, held a meeting, enlivened by a band of music, on the night of July 1st, in the big hall in Cooper Union for the purpose of urging upon the newly appointed Public Utilities Commission the calling for bids for the construction of the new subways, leaving their operation or leasing until after completion, and urging that body to keep to the routes already selected. President Leubuscher opened the meeting in a vigorous speech, after which the resolutions prepared for submission to the meeting were read by the editor of the *Single Tax Review*. Speeches followed by those named at the head of this column. That of Hon. Robert Baker drew attention to the undemocratic nature of government by commission, and the small hope that existed of such a commission doing anything effective to correct monopolistic abuses. "No Pass Baker," as he has come to be known, no longer in derision, since there are dozens of "no pass" governors now-a-days since Congressman Baker took that bold stand, and more who wish they were, aroused the enthusiasm of his audience. Mr. Coler, President of the Borough of Brooklyn, went into the debt limit bugaboo, and made short work of that contention to prevent the people from escaping the toils of monopoly. Judge Ford, author of the Ford Franchise law, touched aptly upon the situation, and the meeting wound up by Chairman Leubuscher putting the resolutions to a vote, and their adoption by acclamation.

A REFERENDUM LEAGUE FOR NEW YORK STATE.

There has been organized in this State for active work an Initiative and Referendum League, the objects of which are "to render bribery futile, needed reforms possible and make the government more directly answerable to the people." The president of the league is Hamilton Holt, and among its vice-presidents are F. W.

Hinrichs, Rev. Newall Dwight Hillis, Josiah Strong, James B. Reynolds and Edward M. Sheppard. George Foster Peabody is the treasurer, and the chairman of the executive committee is John Martin. Among the members of such committee are the well-known names of A. J. Boulton, John B. Clark, C. H. Ingersoll, Herman G. Loew, Milo R. Malthie (just appointed member of the Public Utilities Commission), Gustave Thompson, John De Witt Warner, and Judge William H. Wood. The secretary is Henry B. Maurer, and the office of the league is 299 Broadway, this city.

The work of the league will be to propagate its doctrines by means of lectures and a press bureau, etc., to secure legislation providing for the referendum in the cities, and to put candidates on record respecting this much needed reform. It will start referendum leagues wherever possible, and will co-operate with all bodies, farmers' Granges, labor and suffrage organizations, etc., which will aid the work. A bill has been framed, combining the advantages of the Maine and Oregon amendments, and is now in the hands of Senator Fuller, of Brooklyn, who may introduce it at the next session of the legislature. It is proposed to call a convention at Carnegie Hall, perhaps some time in January, at which it is hoped John Wanamaker will preside. One night will be given to mayors of cities where the initiative and referendum are operative, and another night to the governors of States similarly situated.

Single Taxers will give this movement their support without relaxing their efforts to popularize the Single Tax, realizing that the electors must be trained to the intelligent use of political instruments even before the instruments are perfected.

THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LABOR.

There was held on May the 13th, in this city, the Fifth Annual Convention of the C. A. I. L., which is short for The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. Bishop Potter is president. Its specialty seems to be rummage sales, advancement of legislation respecting the prohibition of child labor and tenement betterment. Worthy objects, all of these. But like all people who are fighting symptoms rather than causes, and who, all things considered, rather prefer that kind of campaign, since it arouses no antagonism and threatens nobody's special interests, they evince a decided aversion for doing anything that would go to the roots of privilege.

Mr. Alexander Law, who was a delegate from the St. Chrysotom Chapter to the convention, is not that type of man. He knows what is the matter with society and is will-

ing to strike at it. So Mr. Law introduced a set of resolutions which recited that the present condition of the people, the degradation of labor, the herding in unsanitary, disease breeding tenements are directly due to our present land system, and called upon the convention to resolve that it recognize the supreme importance of the land question and place itself on record as favoring the taxation of land values. Perhaps the resolutions were a little extreme for a non-Single Tax convention, but they were designedly so. The convention did not have to favor so radical a set of resolutions, but no milder declaration would have stood any better chance of adoption by such a conference. It was rejected on the ground that it was "outside the scope of the convention." Think of it—a convention for the advancement of labor! Outside the scope of the convention to consider labor's relation to the land! If the Association may not consider the land question what in the name of heaven is it organized for? Does it propose to advance the condition of labor without touching the land? Suppose it were possible to give all the laws to labor and all the land to those who do not labor—does this remarkable association imagine that any of its laws could be made effective? Did this association ever consider that but few of the tenement house laws of this city are observed, that, as a matter of fact, many of them *could not* be observed. They cannot be observed for this reason, among others. Take many of the sanitary regulations, the law seeking to compel the lighting of dark tenement hallways, and other regulations that might be mentioned? In so far as these laws are observed at all the poor—Labor, for which this Church Association evidences such tenderness—must pay for them. Because the poor cannot afford to pay for them they are mostly dead letters. Does Bishop Potter know this? Does the C. A. I. L. know it? They are curiously incompetent if they do not. But any real analysis of the situation, any method other than the silly one of coddling labor with rummage sales and smooth words would disclose the heart of the problem—would reveal the grinning figure of special privilege, which is the skeleton in every official closet of these ultra respectable organizations, and which must therefore be kept carefully padlocked, and always "outside the scope" of their conventions.

Mr. Louis F. Post, who has occupied the position of member of the Board of Education in the city of Chicago, by appointment of Mayor Dunne, is among the dozen members of the board whose resignations are demanded by Mayor-elect Busse. It is not often that a public man is so signally honored by two administrations.

AN INTERESTING DOCUMENT.

THE STEVENS REPORT ON GAS AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING—GOVERNOR HUGHES, COUNSEL OF THE STEVENS COMMITTEE, SHOWN TO BE SOUND ON THE QUESTION OF THE CAPITALIZATION OF ACTUAL PROPERTY, VERSUS THE CAPITALIZATION OF FRANCHISES OR PRIVILEGE—HAS GOVERNOR HUGHES SELECTED HIS MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TEST HE LAYS DOWN?

A most interesting document is the report of the Stevens Committee, which appeared in May, 1905. That during all the stir that has been made over the attempt of the Consolidated Gas Company of this city to defeat the law making power that would be willing to accord some relief to the consumer, no reference has been made to it by the public press of the metropolis, is a peculiar circumstance—and a suspicious one.

The committee which presented this report were authorized "To proceed to investigate and examine into the organization and operation of the gas and electric lighting companies; the reasonableness of the charges maintained by the gas and electric lighting companies operating in the City of New York for services rendered by the city and its inhabitants with reference to the cost of service and the capital actually employed therein; the conditions under which the business of the companies is conducted with reference to competition; the quality of the service; the circumstances connected with the negotiation and execution of the city light contracts of 1904; and any other phase of the gas and electric lighting business as conducted in the City of New York, deemed by the committee to be germane to the purpose of such investigation," and to report "the result of their investigation with such remedial measures as it may deem proper."

This committee which brought in this admirable report consisted of Frederick G. Stevens, chairman, Alfred R. Page, James K. Apgar, George B. Agnew, Edwin A. Merritt, Thos. F. Grady and G. M. Palmer. The last two named brought in a minority report, as was to be expected from a friend of the common people of such stalwart steadfastness as Tom Grady. The present governor of the State of New York was counsel for that committee.

But here is the paragraph of that report that will most interest the readers of the REVIEW, since whether written or approved by the present governor at least had his endorsement, and is a very clear statement of what a public service corporation is entitled to. Its capitalization should be only such as may fairly represent the actual capital in-

vested, not the franchise or privilege value. Inferentially this is an assertion of the people's rights in the streets. But we will let the paragraph speak for itself:

"The fact that the company, by rendering competition impossible, has been able to earn large dividends, does not justify it in adding to the value of its plant an additional amount for good will or earning capacity and thereby justify a continuance of excessive charges. If this were permitted it would be able to secure in perpetuity the maintenance of exorbitant rates. Extortion for a series of years would be sufficient excuse for further extortion. Indeed, there would seem to be no escape from the conclusion that successful imposition upon the public would warrant increased charges upon the ground of enhanced good will. The company is entitled to a fair return upon its capital actually invested, but it is not entitled to capitalize its grip upon the public. The fact that it may be proper to value good will due to efficient organization and to the securing of public esteem through good service under ordinary conditions of competition furnishes no reason for an addition to capital to maintain high charges of an amount which while termed good will, is really an estimate of an earning capacity due to a monopolization of a public service."

This is the significant paragraph of the Report which should be given wide publicity, since it shows the manner in which the governor regards the matter of public franchises, and is of immense importance at this time. Will he, now that the law which he has forced the two parties to put through the legislature is finally enacted, appoint as his commissioners to carry out the provisions of that law only such men as are able to stand the test of the distinction between franchise value—land value—and improvement value which he has laid down?

Now why during all this talk of the gas company and of its defiance of the people have we not heard of this report, known as the Stevens Report? Why have we not heard of the assertion made from this high official source that the Consolidated Gas Company has no right in the street—that no franchise was granted to the company save the franchise to be a corporation? And to the statement also made in this report that "it is a serious question to what extent the Brooklyn Union Gas Company is lawfully exercising rights in the streets of that borough?"—in other words, conveying the intimation that it is unlawfully exercising some of its rights, at least.

No wonder that this Report seems to have well nigh disappeared. So scarce has it become that several well known officials of this city have been unable to secure copies either from the Gas Commission or the Senate document clerk at Albany, though finally an inquiry addressed to the latter

has resulted in the REVIEW securing a copy, though earlier inquiries for the pamphlet had brought the answer that it could not be obtained. But whether the scarcity of this document has been brought about by design or not it is easy to understand how the friends and organs of privilege would wish to suppress these radical utterances of the man now occupying the office of Governor. For to somebody's discomfort someday these radical utterances like chickens will come home to roost.

There are many matters of importance in this report. But it is chiefly of significance in that it reveals the fact that if the chief counsel of that committee who made the report will in the office of governor adhere to the very vital economic distinction that appears in the paragraph quoted, and which is of general application, we may have more than one reason to thank ourselves for the defeat of Mr. Hearst.

J. D. M.

SPEECH OF WINSTON CHURCHILL,
M. P., AT DRURY LANE THEATRE,
LONDON.

(As Reported in Glasgow (Scotland) Land Values.)

Mr. Winston Churchill, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, said that he saw upon the platform a great number of gentlemen who had devoted their lives to the study of the land problem. He did not suppose there ever was a moment in the whole of their lives when the prospects of land reform looked brighter or rosier than they did to-day. (Cheers.) It was not a light thing they were going to do. They had pulled the curtain up on a piece that was going to have a good long run. (Cheers.)

"We have," he continued, "to face all the resources of a great monopoly so ancient that it has become almost venerable. (Laughter.) We have against us all the modern money power. We have to deal with the apathy and levity of all sections of the public. We have against us the political machinery of class and privilege, represented by the Second Chamber in the State. We have the innate difficulties and perplexities of this subject itself."

This island alone amongst civilized States presented the melancholy spectacle of a landless peasantry. Side by side with, and arising directly out of it, they saw a blighted agriculture. No one could doubt that there was great cause for alarm at the great physical deterioration that was taking place in the great cities. Whereas in France one-sixth of the population were employed in agriculture, and in Denmark—a Free Trade country—one-fifth were so working, in England only one-fortieth were employed in agriculture. (Ories of "Shame.")

He observed that a very distinguished man attributed the migration of the agricultural laborers to the towns to their love of amusements. (Laughter.) The motive which inspired an agricultural laborer to exchange a cheerful life in the country with 14s. a week and the workhouse at the end of it for the squalor of the city slums was not rollicking hilarity. (Laughter.) If there was a steady stream of the best men from the villages into the towns it was because, as the Prime Minister had said, they could not call their souls their own. (Loud cheers.) They wanted to be free men, to rise in the world by their own resources, and the country had no career for them. (A Voice; "Perfectly true," and cheers.)

GOVERNMENT INTENTIONS.

"His Majesty's Government intend to introduce a Land Bill dealing with the question of small holdings in England, as a companion bill to that which the Lord Advocate has introduced in regard to Scotland. A bill has been prepared by the President of the Board of Agriculture, Lord Carrington. (Cheers.) When I tell you that it is to be piloted through the House of Commons by Mr. Harcourt—(cheers)—I think you will be sure that it will not lack Radical inspiration, or successful parliamentary defence." (Cheers.)

They did not want to steal anybody's land. (A voice: "Whom did the landlords pinch it from," and laughter.) They wished to pay a fair market price between buyer and seller. (A Voice—"Did they pay for it gov'nor," and laughter.) In regard to the land acquired by the State, it could never be alienated. (Cheers.)

No Liberal or Radical Administration ought to consent to provisions which might be calculated to delay or obstruct a system of public ownership. He dismissed the idea of a policy of advancing money to the landlords to enable them to start small holdings, and also the idea of conferring upon the small owners a private ownership which they could transfer or mortgage at any future time. They were working, not only for the day, but for generations that are to come, and they did not want the job to be done all over again. (Cheers.)

PRODUCTION AND PLUNDER.

The urban problem was not less important than the rural problem, and it was a good deal more controversial. It excited fierce passions. Whereas a policy in regard to rural land was gradual, the reform of our rating system required one bold stroke. (Cheers.)

All roads lead to Rome. All considerations of the urban land policy led to one central point—valuation. We required and we were going to have a Valuation Bill—(cheers)—first, to disentangle site-values from buildings and improvements; sec-

ondly, to adjust rates according to ability to pay; and thirdly, to intercept the future unearned increment in land. (Cheers.) They must repeat in local taxation the same triumph which was achieved in Imperial taxation when the Corn Laws were repealed. (Cheers.)

"There are only two ways in which people can acquire wealth. There is production and there is plunder. (Laughter.) Production is always beneficial. Plunder is always pernicious, and its proceeds are either monopolized by a few or consumed in the mere struggle for possession. We are here to range definitely on the side of production, and to eliminate plunder as an element in our social economic system. The present land system hampers, hobbles and restricts industry. Just as the reform of the old system of taxation was followed by a remarkable expansion of enterprise and contentment amongst all classes, so, I believe, a reform of our rating system and our system of land tenure would be followed by an upward movement in the material welfare of the nation. Our rating system is a patchwork of perversity." (Laughter.)

There was no intention of plundering the landlord, and there was no intention of allowing him to plunder us. (Cheers.) They did not want to take from any class that which belonged to it; but they were resolved if they could—and he was not quite so sure that they could not—to prevent any class from steadily absorbing under the shelter of the law the wealth in the creation of which they had borne no share—wealth which belonged not to them, but to the community—wealth which they could only secure by vexatious obstruction of social and economic progress—far more injurious and wasteful than could be measured by inordinate gains.

A recent lecture by Mr. Bolton Hall in Philadelphia before the Clerical Brotherhood at the Church House, Twelfth and Walnut streets, was the occasion for a remarkable demonstration of the progress that is being made. About sixty clergymen were in attendance, and one who spoke in opposition to the Single Tax was received with very evident symptom of dissent. Bishop Mackay Smith announced himself as a believer in our principles. The Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph* gave nearly a column in report of Mr. Hall's lecture, which had for its title, "The Single Tax; or Poverty, its Cause and Cure."

Mr. Lewis H. Berens writes us that Mr. John Paul's transference to London has imparted fresh vigor into the movement, though unfortunately they are without the funds proportionate to the work that must be done.

COMMUNICATIONS.

AN INSPIRING LETTER.

Editor *Single Tax Review* :

With regard to your magazine I know of no publication which is more interesting and valuable to a Single Taxer. When I read of your splendid and stalwart work in the States I feel as if I were there with you in the fight. Your country has great area, but that after all is only a trifle compared with the intellectual and moral giants you have working with such splendid zeal in the cause of freedom. May God bless you all. There will be a glorious harvest reaped some day.

As for us we seem to be near the citadel now and hope to have the most cheering news for you before long.

WM. D. HAMILTON.

Glasgow, Scotland.

A TRIBUTE TO E. H. CROSBY.

Editor *Single Tax Review* :

I read with a great deal of pleasure and interest the splendid reviews of the life of Ernest Crosby. I do not know why it is, but I was more attached to Mr. Crosby and his teachings than to any other American, and this in spite of the fact that I heard him but twice and had the rare pleasure of meeting him personally but once. But there was something about the man that was attractive and impressive, and I have a sort of intuition that it was the spirit of the Law of Love that animated his being, that made him the lovable character that he was. At all events I loved him, and not a day passes but what I think of him.

CHARLES R. ECKERT.

Beaver, Penna.

CHARACTERISTIC LETTER FROM
POULTNEY BIGELOW.

Dear Fellowcraftsman and Land Reviver:

As one of Henry George's earliest friends in New York and Ernest Crosby's life long intimate and disciple, let me thank you for sending me the *Single Tax Review* with its admirable tributes to our recent champion.

Crosby is to me the embodiment of manly out-door health. As a youngster I have tramped the Catskills with him—the last extant photograph of him is one taken here last summer—he in his shirt sleeves sharing my farm labors.

Success to your magazine!

You know that I am an old journalist and am overburdened with pressure on my purse and time and cannot subscribe to anything beyond a canvas bag in which to sew me up when my time comes to be slipped to the sharks over the side of a steamer.

So don't look to me for that which I have not, but count on me for any other form of work in the cause of Free Trade, Free Land, Free Minds.

For I am faithfully yours,

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

Malden-on-Hudson, N. Y.

DEATH OF CAPTAIN HASTINGS.

Editor of *Single Tax Review* :

I hear from Worcester, Mass., that Capt. Hastings has passed on. Twenty-one years ago we organized the Land and Labor Club and chose him our president. We had never heard of the Single Tax, but we advocated the placing of all taxes upon the value of land. Henry George, Abram S. Hewitt and Theodore Roosevelt were running for the office of Mayor of New York, Grover Cleveland was President of the United States, and J. G. Blaine wanted to be. Mr. George and Allen Thorndike Rice were advocating a scheme called "The Australian ballot system." I walked five miles to attend the meetings of the Land and Labor Club, for the horse (!) cars did not run my way. We thought to revolutionize the world, and I think we shall do it yet.

The club is probably not larger to-day than it was then, but it has leavened the loaf.

PRESCOTT A. PARKER.

Volenta, Ala.

LET DEMOCRATS SPEAK OUT.

Editor of *Single Tax Review* :

Why is it that our political leaders are so shallow in their thinking when it comes to principles of political economy?

Grover Cleveland started off finely for "tariff reform," but never got nearer to free trade than tinkering, which is worse than leaving it alone.

Roosevelt is ready to reform anything and everything but the tariff. He knows it is a dangerous subject to agitate; and Bryan, well, he is following dutifully in Cleveland's footsteps for "tariff reform," which means nothing definite one way or the other.

The Republicans are outspoken for protection. Why are the Democrats not equally honest in coming out fairly and squarely for free trade?

HENRY WARE ALLEN.

West Newton, Mass.

MR. BERENS WRITES OF MR. JOSEPH
DARLING'S DISCOVERY OF THE
BURGESS LETTERS.

Editor *Single Tax Review* :

I have just written to Mr. Joseph Darling, of Boston, re the "Letters on Taxa-

tion" written to the Racine, Wisconsin, journals during the years 1859 and 1860, and subsequently reprinted in England in pamphlet form, by the widow, for private and gratuitous circulation, in 1871. They are good, very good, and the poems, too, despite all their shortcomings, reveal a fine grip of the Land Question, as well as of the one simple and effective remedy. Mr. Darling writes that he proposes re-printing the pamphlet, or rather the letters, and they well deserve it; two, at least, of the poems, "The Song of the Earth" and "The Lay of the Landless," should be added as a sample of the man's fine democratic mind. As you will doubtless have inferred from the above, a copy of Edwin Burgess' pamphlet is now before me; it came from Charles Bradlaugh's library, which comprised over 30,000 pamphlets, and is now in the Gladstone Library, National Liberal Club, London. I am advertising for copies, and shall send you one if they are obtainable. I am informed that there is no copy in the British Museum Library, but have not yet looked myself; I only heard from Mr. Darling about the pamphlet early this week. Yes, within the next few weeks I shall look up what the British Museum Library has of Thomas Spence. He wrote much, but the only writing of his with which I am acquainted is contained in the little pamphlet I am sending you under separate cover, but which, doubtless, you have already seen. I was glad to read in the REVIEW that you found my book on "The Digger Movement" interesting, even though you do not appreciate my hero's poetry, or what he thought was poetry. However, his Digger's Song is not at all bad. This week's *Athenium*, our leading literary paper, contains a fine review of the book, some four columns, and very appreciative. This may stimulate some of the other leading papers, which have hitherto not noticed it. But altogether I have no reason to complain of its reception, as most of the notices the book has received have been very appreciative, and very long. The Quakers are very lukewarm about Winstanley, as they object to anything that may possibly detract from the glory of their own hero, George Fox, who, however, was obviously not the founder or originator of Quakerism, and to my mind is not to be compared with Withstanley, either as a philosopher or theologian.

LEWIS H. BERENS.

London, Eng.

(We had hoped to present Mr. Joseph Darling's article on Edwin Burgess in this issue. But indisposition has compelled Mr. Darling to forego the labor of presenting in condensed form the material now in his possession. But he confidently expects to have it in readiness for the Autumn number.

EDITOR SINGLE TAX REVIEW.)

A FEW WORDS OF CRITICISM.

Editor *Single Tax Review* :

Two sentences in the spring number of the SINGLE TAX REVIEW invite a word of captious criticism in the interest of clear reasoning.

The first sentence is this: "The Single Tax will combine the advantage of private possession of land with the justice of its common ownership."

In "Progress and Poverty" Mr. George said: "We must make land common property," but a dozen years later, in his "Chapter on Compensation," Perplexed Philosopher, he made the following exceedingly clear technical statement:

"It will be observed . . . that Mr. Spencer, in "Justice," never so much as alludes to the proposition to secure equal rights in land by taking land values, not land. . . . In truth, the right to the use of land is not a joint or common right, but an equal right; the joint or common right is to rent, in the economic sense of the term. Therefore it is not necessary for the State to take land, it is only necessary for it to take rent."

The second sentence is—"The Single Tax persistently declines to put in the same category capital and nature's storehouse from which all capital is drawn."

Mr. George says, in "Progress and Poverty," Book III., Chap. II.:

"Rent of land does not arise from the productiveness or utility of land. It in no wise represents any help or advantage given to production. . . . No matter what are its capabilities, land can yield no rent and have no value until someone is willing to give labor, or the results of labor, for the privilege of using it."

The land values of cities and towns, and the land value in railroads and other franchises, beside which the value of "nature's storehouse" (if we except mines) is almost a negligible quantity, are not natural values, but artificial values, are they not?

STICKLER.

(It should be said that Mr. George's statement in no wise conflicts with the sentence quoted from the REVIEW that "The Single Tax will combine the advantage of private possession of land with the justice of its common ownership." Mr. George's statement was written to clear up certain confusions likely to arise from Spencer's reasoning, and has reference to the practical method of securing man's equal right to land by the taking of rent in taxation, as opposed to the communism of its possession which Mr. Spencer seems to present as the alternative.

Secondly, and in truth, there are no "natural values." All values are artificial. Land has no value until people come upon it and communities arise. But we were not

thinking of that when we wrote of "capital and nature's storehouse," nor of the unquestioned fact that the land value of cities and towns is greatly in excess of the value of lands which may be termed "the storehouse of nature." We ought not to except mines from such consideration. Even if we do, however, forests and agricultural lands remain, and these are not "negligible quantities" as regards value. But suppose they were. The purpose of the Single Tax is the enfranchisement of labor through the opening up of natural opportunities, whether they be more or less valuable.—Editor Single Tax REVIEW.)

BOOK REVIEWS.

AN EPOCH MARKING BOOK.

The worldwide struggle of the enslaved masses to burst their ancient bonds is the most interesting and inspiring spectacle on this earth at present, and nowhere is this spectacle so hopeful and so fascinating as in Great Britain. In his new book, "The British City," Mr. Frederic Howe presents us with a series of sketches of this scene which show him as an artist of a very high order. From the graphic and comprehensive preface to his final picture of "The City of To-morrow," every stroke has meaning and purpose, and where repetitions occur they are always the salient features, which gain new force and significance with each appearance.

Though Mr. Howe professes to be hampered by his inability to "understand a nation to which he is an alien" there is little doubt that few born Britons will read these pages without gaining new light on home conditions. A fresh eye will always detect faults which custom hides from those familiar with them, and the author here illustrates his conclusions by an appeal to universal principles common to every people. Thus the most universal instinct of man is to avoid effort, to live if possible without labour. This is the motive that underlies the surface phenomena of all history. It is the one note that is common in the contemporary politics of all countries. Back of the spectacular controversies of parties, the by-plays of Kings and Ministries, of Parliament and Congress, is the struggle of the few to get upon the backs of the many. It is the lust of something for nothing that makes of the House of Lords and the United States Senate instinctive obstacles to democracy. Both chambers are the sanctuaries of privilege. At their doors democracy is beating in the name of humanity. The movement is inspired from below among the common people.

*The British City. By Frederick C. Howe, 12 mo., cloth, 370 pp. \$1.50 net. Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y. City.

Government by gentlemen is the costliest burden under which the nation staggers. The ideal statesman is a member of the nobility, the country squire, the leisured gentleman, and the generous employer of labor, some dignitary of the community. And because Great Britain has succeeded in luring this class of men into her politics we have been assured that representative government was there at its best. It is to this class that many reformers would have America entrust her affairs. British and American observers have been deceived by the appearance of things. The members of the gentry are in Parliament, for the same reason that the railway director is in Congress. They are looking after their interests.

The popular fallacy that municipal graft and corruption is a strictly American product Mr. Howe punctures with some very enlightening facts and figures concerning the ancient Livery Companies which still retain control of government in the old city of London. True, as the author points out, this corruption is considered quite proper because sanctioned by ancient statutes, which view of the case reminds one of Henry George's chapter on "The Great Grandson of Captain Kidd." It is, however, none the less corruption "and the viler as underhand." So long as such a sore festers at the heart of the kingdom's chief city her claims to superior civic and political purity must fail to impress the well informed American. Such barriers of ancient privilege, however, are one by one being swept away by the rapidly rising tide of civic democracy, and to the next generation of Englishmen they will perhaps seem as unreal and incredible as Robin Hood and his Merry Men seem to-day. It is to the doings of this civic democracy that Mr. Howe devotes the major portion of his book. Four-fifths, he reminds us, of the British people live in towns and cities. In discussing in "Progress and Poverty" the possible decline of modern civilization Henry George points to the modern cities as the nests from whence might issue the new Goths and Vandals to destroy our boasted institutions. And truly but a few steps backward were apparently needed when he wrote to make such a thing possible. Now, however, thanks to Henry George and his kind, the danger seems past, and in Britain at least these hordes will issue forth to build and not destroy. And their efforts like charity and all other good things are beginning at home. "Back to the land" is a good cry, but "Forward to the city" is a more practical one, and gives promise of a better country also when the new democracy gets around to that. If the work at hand is well done later tasks will prove easier.

Mr. Howe, of course, tells us all about the wonderful spread of municipal enterprises of various kinds upon which nearly

every British city has entered, and in every case is carrying, or has carried, to final success. He gives what should be the permanent quietus to the stupid charge that these enterprises are being carried on at the expense of the tax payers by showing that the tax or "rate" payers, as they are there called, are much more strictly attentive and actively alive to their own interests than the same class here, and we may therefore rest assured that if they approve the new ventures they are gaining instead of losing by them. True, the city councils are frequently hampered in extending their projects by the rate-payers' conservatism, but once their consent is gained success may be considered certain. And it generally proves so, for not only are prices lowered, but the rates or taxes as well. It is not surprising that in such circumstances public service is considered exceptionally honorable. Public service of that kind is real service, and not a private snap at the expense of the public, and so it would surely prove here if the opportunity to render it were given. Nothing tends so much to give dignity and satisfaction to any work as the knowledge of something accomplished for the general welfare. A sense of *noblesse oblige*, says Mr. Howe, seems to animate even the humblest of city employes, every one of whom apparently feels the responsibility resting on him to demonstrate his usefulness to the fullest extent. This is somewhat curiously illustrated in what is perhaps the only unsatisfactory episode in the book. Mr. Howe relates how he went and personally investigated offices and officials and enterprises of all kinds until at last his duty called him to the wonderful sewage filtration plant of Glasgow, of which we have all read with admiration, not unmingled with doubt as to at least one of its features.

It seems that the sewage of the whole city is taken charge of at this wonderful place and transmuted by some magical process into solid bricks of the finest fertilizer on the one hand and living springs of the finest water on the other. This water we have been assured is not only fit for drink but exceptionally pure and healthful though the fact that it was turned after purification into the Clyde instead of into the city's reservoirs seemed somewhat suspicious. However, now we would know for sure, for Mr. Howe was going to see for himself. He was shown the way by one of the oldest though humbler of the officials engaged in this branch of the city's business, who was also imbued with the usual spirit of *noblesse oblige*, as was soon to appear, for after explaining to Mr. Howe the details of the process of filtration he drew off a glass of this wonderful water and naturally handed it to his guest to sample, but strange and sad to relate, while we hold our breath for his verdict, Mr. Howe simply and soulfully remarks, "I

did not feel very thirsty just then, so he drank it himself." Here was *noblesse oblige* indeed, but of what use to a waiting continent was this second hand demonstration? Every one knows to what lengths British pride and prejudice will carry a man, and "a poor thing, but my own" is a motto that might well animate the Glaswegian here, but how it would taste to an American is what we wanted to know. Mr. Howe, as we understand it, went abroad to investigate and he should not have shirked his duty. Suppose he had not felt like riding would that have excused him from testing the British trains? Had he pleaded being a Kentucky Colonel we might have excused him, but that he was not thirsty just then is an obvious evasion. Before he goes again he should eat plentifully of salt herring for breakfast and let us know the truth. But if the sentiment of *noblesse oblige* animates the city governments the general government, composed largely of the ancient nobility, to whom the motto is supposed to have a special appreciation, have ceased to practice it, not that they ever did practice it, save within their own narrow and selfish limits, though in feudal times they had certain obligations since incontinently shuffled off, but it is the old story that as soon as the proposition is made them to really get off the people's back there's "nothing doing."

But it is the ground rent of his country that is the chief and peculiar graft of the British aristocrat, and it is to its continuance that his constant efforts are directed. Here is the tender spot wherein he is threatened by the new democracy of the cities. For as the Glaswegian said to Mr. Howe: "We got control of our tramways and extended them to the suburbs, thinking to get cheaper sites for workingmen's homes, but instead of making land cheap for the workman we found we simply made it dear for the landlord." This is the crucial point. The crisis has been reached and the issue joined in Britain. This is why the new radical parliament calls for the suppression of the House of Lords. We seem to be ages away from such a situation in America, and it is for this reason that the prospect seems so much more hopeful in Britain. Everyone interested in this momentous struggle should read Mr. Howe's splendid book, which is fittingly dedicated to Tom. L. Johnson.

P. AITKEN.

From a report of the Woman's Suffrage League of Natal we gather that one of the most active members of the League is Mrs. Henry Ancketill. This report is from her pen, and takes a wider range than most of the utterances of woman suffragists on this side of the water. So true is it that a well grounded knowledge of the science of economics tends to widen even one's view of the suffrage question!

A GERMAN AUTHOR ON SOCIALISM
AND THE SINGLE TAX.

It is rather late to review a book that has appeared quite a while ago, but in this case it is better late than never. For the book on which I wish to speak here has been written with the special intention to help our movement and to bring about a clearer understanding of the principles of our cause, and in this it has succeeded remarkably well.

The book is entitled: *Die vier Hauptrichtungen der modernen sozialen Bewegung* (The Four Principal Currents of the Modern Social Movement), by Benedict Friedlaender, published by S. Calvary & Cie, Berlin, 1901. Price \$3.00.

As the title indicates, Mr. Friedlaender deals with the principal currents of social reform, which he defines as follows: Marxian Socialism, Anarchism, Eugen Duhring's Social System and Henry George's Neophysiocracy. It must not be supposed that Mr. Friedlaender uses the name neophysiocracy to belittle George's philosophy; on the contrary he speaks of him in the highest terms, and the special aim of his book is to show that all attempts at the solution of the social problem, except the Single Tax philosophy, must fall short of their purpose. He is perfectly aware of the shortcomings of scientific socialism, as well as of those of the scholastic political economy, and he deals them many a severe blow. The fallacies and the useless, but often imposing subtleties of both these schools, are mercilessly exposed. Ignorance and conceited sophistry are shown to be the chief hindrance to a universal acceptance of the Single Tax doctrine. A little story which the author tells in one of the last chapters of the book is very enlightening. "A rich American told him that he need not be afraid of George's agitation; of course, the thing would be of the greatest benefit to the working people, and would destroy at once our economic supremacy; but happily the workmen do not understand the thing, and never will understand it."

On only one point do I differ with Mr. Friedlaender, and that is his treatment of socialism. Though I know him to be right in his exposure of the fallacies of the Marxian doctrine, I have come to think his condemnation somewhat too hasty and one-sided, inasmuch as he overlooks the merits of the socialistic propaganda. This has led him to treat the leaders of socialism more harshly than they deserve. There is truth in the saying that to understand everything is to pardon everything. And the truth is that in matters of social as well as in matters of technical progress, most people are unable to distinguish between a practical and a beneficial idea, and a wild and unsound one. Socialism was the first of all schemes of social reform; it is therefore

only natural that it has attracted more popular attention than any other plan. And in this respect even Marxism has a great merit for the cause of mankind. Marx was the first German author who ventured to attack the superficiality of the Manchesterian school, who reminded those who were singing the praise of harmony of interests, of the starving children and the men and women working fourteen hours a day in dismal factories and more dismal slums, perishing between the two millstones of the landed and capital interest. He felt that it is not the task of political economy to produce capital, but free and happy men and women. That he unconsciously erred in the remedy which he proposed, that his mind lacked the acuteness of thought and the foresight of genius is not a fault which he is to be held responsible. It is true that socialism evidences a want of accurate thinking. But is there not a good reason for this? Have not the landed interests for generations tried to confuse the difference between land and capital, land values and labor values? Is it to be expected that the working people, after having been cheated out of their birthright by all possible sophistry, will at once discover the difference between the possession of land and the possession of capital, capital that is often produced by labor reduced to a state of abject misery. Certainly socialism is wrong. But no less certain that if socialism should produce a social cataclysm in which the good and bad should be destroyed alike, our ruling classes will only reap what they have sown. We ought not to point to the incoherences of socialism without recognizing that these incoherences are the inevitable results of the injustice of the present order of things. By every word we speak against socialism we are in danger of morally degrading our cause and degrading ourselves to the plane of defenders of injustice and robbery. It is better to take side with those who suffer injustice than to side with those who do injustice. This is the flaw in Mr. Friedlaender's criticism, as well as in all other criticisms of socialism from the Single Tax point of view, and though Mr. Friedlaender has not quite overlooked it, it would have strengthened his argument had he pointed it out more clearly.

What Mr. Friedlaender says about Henry George's theory (pages 140 to 386 of the second part of his book) is certainly the best and clearest description of the teachings of our great master that has hitherto appeared in the German language. He accepts fully George's views, except his theory of interest. With excellent clearness he shows how George's sober, business-like taxation reform would more certainly sweep away the injustice of the present systems than those more elaborate schemes of social rearrangement and revolution. There are many excellent passages and ingenious remarks in this part of the book

which will delight the full-blooded Single Taxer. In accuracy of thought Mr. Friedlander's interpretation of the Single Tax philosophy leaves scarcely anything to be desired.

His treatment of the theories of anarchism in all its forms is equally enlightening and comprehensible. For the readers of *THE REVIEW* I need not further comment upon them here. The third part of the book is devoted to the theories of Mr. Eugen Duhring, a German writer of great power and ingenuity; certainly the most important author on social subjects whom Germany has produced. Having fallen a victim to a strange conspiracy of silence and slander, he is very little known outside Germany. On the whole, his fate is such as hardly to be comprehensible to people accustomed to more liberal conditions of mind and thought than prevail in Germany. The essence of the doctrine of this author was an attempt to reconcile communism and personal liberty on the basis of an enlarged Trade Unionism, an attempt which it is hardly necessary to say must fail, and has at last been abandoned even by its author. Nevertheless, Duhring's theories have had more influence than any other writer in Germany, besides the more noisy teachings of the Marxian school. Here also Mr. Friedlander conclusively shows that all attempts to reconcile communism and personal liberty must necessarily fail.

The book is, on the whole, well worth reading, and really indispensable to one who wishes to understand the development of ideas of social reform on the continent of Europe. Single Taxers ought to know of it, for it is another proof that:

"Never yet
Seed of truth was vainly set
In the world's wide fallow."

GUSTAVE BUSCHER.

Zurich, Switzerland.

PUT THE TAX ON LAND VALUE.

The Legislature had decided to put a tax of three cents a ton on coal.

"Dear, dear!" said the coal baron, sympathetically, "won't those radicals ever get through clinching the poor consumer?"

Thereupon he marked the price up ten cents a ton, naturally charging the extra seven cents for his trouble.—Chicago (Ill.) *Journal*.

The Seattle, Wash., Library, would like to secure the following issues of the *REVIEW*: No. 3, vol. 1; Nos. 1 and 2, vol. 2; No. 2, vol. 3; Nos. 1 and 3, vol. 4. The library displays the current *REVIEWS* conspicuously. The librarian is W. E. Henry,

RAILROAD LAWS.

In his Decoration Day speech at Indianapolis President Roosevelt said that he asked for railroad regulation "nothing more than the provision of such laws as now obtain in England." His own recommendation is for a national commission, and New York, under pressure of a great unanimity in public sentiment, has authorized a "public utilities" commission to be ready for business.

Confronted as she is by the final steps in a wholesale consolidation of railroads and electric ways and waterways, what State could have more immediate need for such a commission than the commonwealth of Massachusetts to day?

The English parliamentary committee of 1872 was composed of five peers and six members of the House of Commons, under the presidency of the Earl of Derby. Upon its recommendation the administration of the railway and canal traffic legislation was assigned to a special tribunal of three members, one a lawyer, one a transportation expert, and one a statesman. The immediate remedial measures which this parliamentary committee proposed were:

"First. The maintenance of effectual competition by sea by preventing railway companies from obtaining control over the public harbors. Second. The maintenance of competition by river and canal, by requiring, under severe penalties, the railway companies that had already obtained important links or whole systems of canals to maintain them efficiently.

"The further utilization and development of inland navigation was strongly recommended, as also an absolute inhibition on the transfer of any inland navigation then in the hands of a public trust to the control of a railway company.

"It was further proposed to enable canal companies to purchase from railway companies, by compulsory process, canal lines which could be made to form a part of a canal system, and to prevent thereafter any canal from being transferred to or placed, directly or indirectly, under the control of any railway company.

"A recommendation was made to prevent the temporary lease of any canal to a railway company being renewed until it could be conclusively ascertained that the waterway could not be amalgamated with or worked by an adjacent canal, or by any trust owning adjacent inland navigation.

"Railway companies were also to be required to make through rates for the canal companies, or trusts operating canal or river navigation, upon their lines of rail."

Under an act of parliament these commissioners were appointed for five years, and after two renewals came to be regarded as a permanent tribunal, having all the powers

of a court of law to render judgment and enforce obedience thereto.

If this reference of President Roosevelt throws light upon the track ahead that has got to be patiently traversed why should not Massachusetts make haste to get in step with her sister State and the federal government toward conquest of this problem.

C. B. FILLEBROWN,
in *Boston Advertiser*.

From James W. Hill, of Peoria, Ill., we have received a number of clippings from the papers of that place relating to the work of John Z. White, whose visit aroused much enthusiasm.

W. A. Hunter, of Oakland, Cal., has issued a number of private mailing cards for his own use containing a number of well chosen selections from the writings of Henry George.

J. H. Meyer, of Cincinnati, a well known Single Taxer of that city and an active trade unionist, prints on the lower corner of his visiting card, "Trade Unionism for the Present—Single Tax Next."

Mr. J. B. McGauran, 1960 Broadway, Denver, Colorado, wants numbers of vols. 3 and 4 of the REVIEW to complete his set for binding. Those wishing to dispose of such copies will kindly communicate with him.

Mr. J. J. Pastoriza, of Houston, whose work for our cause has made him widely known, will sail for Europe this summer, visiting a number of the cities of Great Britain, Germany and Switzerland.

W. D. McCracken, prominent in the ranks of the Christian Scientists, and once president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, has just issued a new book, "The Italian Lakes," through the publishing house of Page & Co., Boston, Mass.

Among those who have recently published letters in the *New York World* on taxation and other subjects, are Whidden Graham, E. J. Shriver and R. S. McMahon, of New Iberia, La.

George Wharton James, who has written

a number of valuable and interesting books, is preparing a volume on California literature, and is just now busy with the part dealing with Henry George. If any one of our readers can help him with data not likely to reach him through printed channels his address is Pasadena, California.

Michael Flurscheim made a visit to New York recently but was forced by an attack of influenza to hasten his departure to the Pacific Coast. He was thus prevented from calling on any of our Single Taxers. There is not much doctrinally in common these days between Single Taxers and one who used to be called "The Henry George of Germany." But his genuine affection for our dead leader, the valuable work he has done, and his personal qualities, lead all of us to think of him in the kindest way.

Andrew Hutton, Chas. D. Ryan and others still continue their letters to the Schenectady, N. Y., *Gazette*. Mr. Hutton in a recent letter to the REVIEW writes that "for the past two years or so the *Gazette* has had seldom less than two or three letters each week. I observe that quite a number of our citizens are now expressing themselves in sympathy with our efforts. The low tax on land here makes it easy to hold land idle and at a high price, so much so that several car loads on each of a number of lines take passengers from town each evening who cannot find house room here to cities fifteen to twenty miles distant. But our business men are slow to perceive the advantages of a much higher tax on land values. Perhaps the fact that many of them are land speculators accounts for it."

WHAT OUR READERS SAY OF THE REVIEW.

Following are a few words of commendation bestowed upon the REVIEW during the last quarter:

The last number of the REVIEW is excellent.

BOLTON HALL, N. Y. City.

I am greatly pleased with the REVIEW and think it is doing excellent work. I received my spring number and read it with great interest. I especially liked Frank C. Wells' article reviewing recent law making in the United States and England.

F. H. MUNROE, Chicago.

The REVIEW is much appreciated here.
JAMES BUSBY, Glasgow, Scotland.

THE REVIEW keeps us posted better than
any other publication. May it survive!
W. S. BROWN,
Stoneham, Mass.

I always look carefully over every number
of the REVIEW and never fail to find
more or less that is both interesting and
instructive.

J. B. LEWRIGHT,
Cuero, Texas.

Permit me to say that I entirely like the
Single Tax Review. It is growing better
and better, and is doing the work we need.
MAJOR A. R. CALHOUN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

I want to read the REVIEW as long as you
publish it.

J. H. KRAFT, Neosha, Mo.

You are making a marked improvement
in THE REVIEW. It grows more and more
interesting and useful.

EX-GOVENOR GARVIN,
of Rhode Island.

THE REVIEW contains too much of vital
interest to the Single Tax movement to
forego the perusal of a single issue. Its
publication and editorial conduct must be
largely a labor of love for yourself, and the
least one may do is aid in paying the cost
of its production and distribution.

J. HAMILTON DILLON,
N. Y.

The Single Tax world has no better friend
than your most interesting REVIEW.

NOAH G. POMEROY,
New Haven, Conn.

MORALITY AND THE PERFECT LIFE

By the late HENRY JAMES
(Father of the Novelist)

Showing the self-life of morality, and setting forth a possible DIVINE LIFE IN MAN;
whose spontaneity is illustrated by the inspiration of the Artist, and whose ultimate expres-
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