

The
SINGLE TAX REVIEW

A BI-MONTHLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF SINGLE
TAX AND TAX REFORM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

**This number contains discussions
of the Present Trend of the Single
Tax Movement, with Pregnant Words
from John Paul and Joseph Fels, with
News of the Land Value Tax Party
Movement, Correspondence, News and
Reports at Home and Abroad of the
Advance of Our Cause, and Celebra-
tions of Henry George's Birthday.**

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1910

VOLUME 10 x x x NUMBER 5

Yearly Subscription, \$1.00 > > Single Copies, 25 Cents

PUBLISHED AT 150 NASSAU STREET
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

SINGLE TAX REVIEW

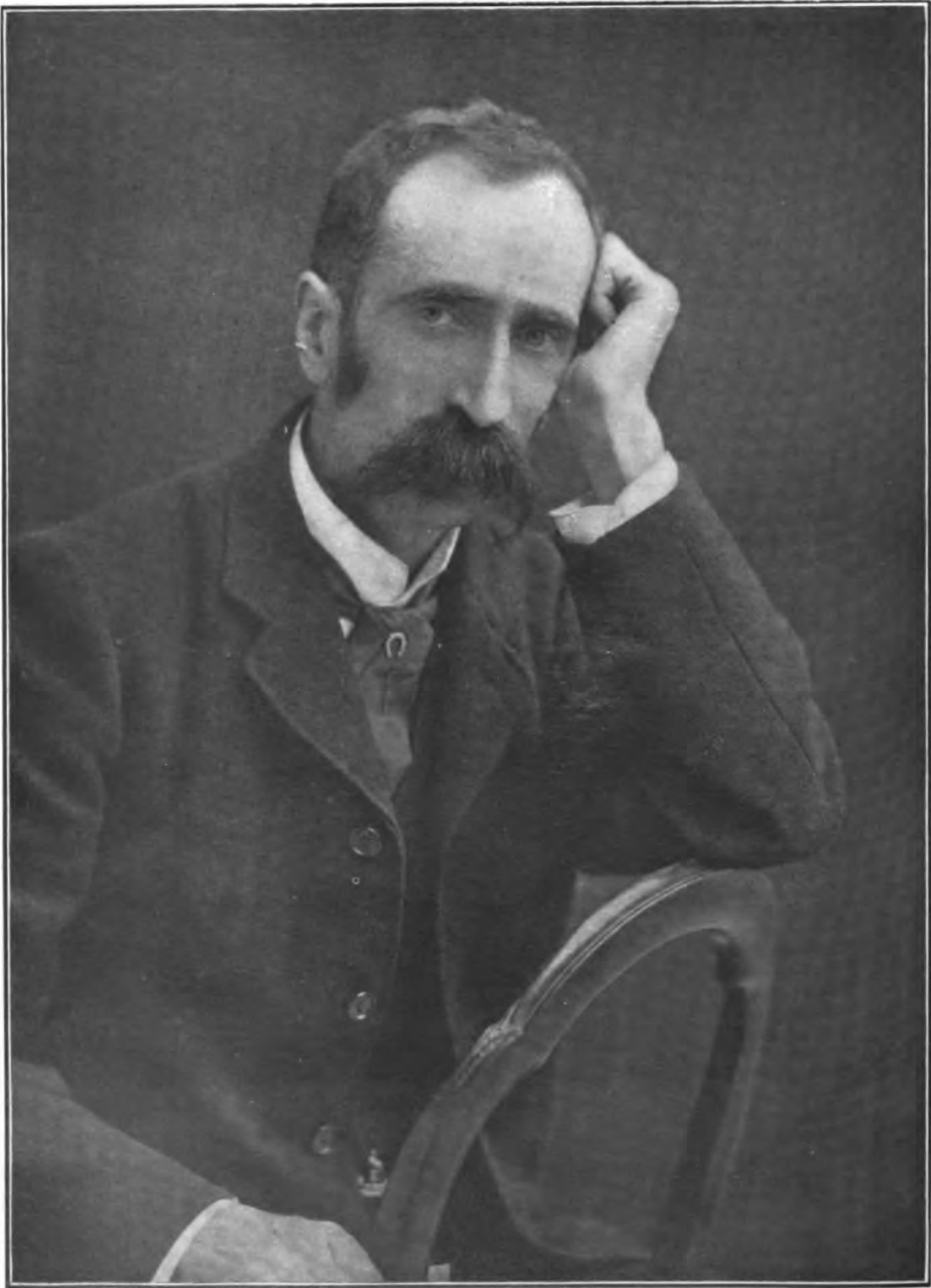
JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor and Publisher



TABLE OF CONTENTS

LITTLE ESSAYS ON A BIG SUBJECT (Continued.).....	<i>J. W. Bengough</i>	1
AT EASE IN ZION.....	<i>W. A. Douglass</i>	8
RECENT SOCIALISM.....	<i>John Smith</i>	13
HENRY GEORGE—ADDRESS.....	<i>Alexander Mackendrick</i>	21
EDITORIALS.....		33
THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB CELEBRATES GEORGE'S BIRTH- DAY.....		36
NEWS—DOMESTIC....	<i>George D. Liddell, ex-Governor Garvin, A. D. Cridge, Paul M. Clemmens</i>	40
CELEBRATION AT ARDEN.....		46
CORRESPONDENCE.....	<i>George Wallace, A. C. Pleydell</i>	47
ACTIVITIES OF THE LAND VALUE TAX PARTY.....		52
NEWS—FOREIGN.....		54
OUR BRITISH COMRADES.....	<i>George Wallace</i>	58





ALEXANDER MACKENDRICK

PRESIDENT OF THE SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

(See pages 21-35)

THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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

LITTLE ESSAYS ON A BIG SUBJECT

(For The Review.)

By J. W. BENGOUGH.

(Continued.)

V.

SENDING FOR THE SCHOOLMASTER.

The wise man in the scriptures admonished sluggards to go to the Ant for an example of Industry. Mankind in general might be well advised to go to the Ant for comprehensive instruction in the art of living. The teaching they would get, if they had their eyes open, would be of more practical benefit than any they can get from human universities. But, since mankind will not go to their little black brother to learn by observing his ways the secrets of universal prosperity, abolition of involuntary poverty, right relationship of capital and labor, solution of the tramp-and-millionaire problem, and the right method in general of living as God intended us to live, why, there is nothing for it but to send teachers to mankind. They must have lectures and books, and instructions in as many other forms as possible from Political Economists. These to human society must be and remain serious and literal school-masters, and by no means ornamental poets, merely celebrating the harmonies of life. For the sad fact is that the harmonies of life have disappeared, and we have a painful jangle instead. In the early days of the world, the historians assure us, mankind lived as successfully almost as the Ant communities; it is certainly far otherwise now. By a strange paradox the nations of the Earth that are now most highly civilized are the ones that present the spectacle of the worst savagery. There is nothing in any heathen island of the southern seas so barbarous as the conditions of life to be found in London and New York. It would seem that in highly civilized lands the art of making a living is a lost art. There is nothing for it then but, by main force of the Schoolmaster, to restore the knowledge. The one great thing—or rather the two great things—which constitute the

task of Political Economy now are to teach mankind, first, where they have gone astray from the Ant wisdom, and second, how they can get back into the right path again.

Can anything be imagined of more living and breathing human interest than the clear and sympathetic discussion of these two propositions? One would scarcely think it possible for human ingenuity to make the subject dry if we did not know that it is even possible to preach dry sermons. They are not likely to have dry treatment, however, at the hands of the Schoolmaster who really knows his subject. And on the other hand, the Political Economist who does not himself see just where civilization has gone astray; nor precisely what must be done to rectify the error, what can his treatment possibly be but dry? If there is so much dust in the atmosphere of his thinking that he cannot see his way to any better conclusion than that the present topsy turvy condition of things is, alas! the dispensation of Heaven, how will it be possible to keep the dust out of his teaching? He will indeed be dry, and if men refuse to read him small loss will be theirs. The question then is, Can Political Economy place its finger on the precise Error and on the precise Rectification? A short time ago the answer must have been, No. Now, happily, the answer may be given confidently, earnestly, Yes!

VI.

THE WHY OF IT.

Consider the natural instincts which are at the foundation of Parenthood. You can detect them by observing any normal, thrifty mother of a family. We may state these principles categorically: First, she gets as great a supply of the good things of this world as possible. Second, she gets these good things with as little effort as possible. Third, having secured them, she distributes them as fairly and justly as possible among her children. The woman who should ignore any one of these principles would rightly be regarded as an oddity, if not something worse, in the neighborhood. For notice: Suppose that she deliberately refused to provide for her family as abundantly as she was well able to do—willingly allowed her children to go short in the matter of food or clothes, or her house to be ill furnished when she might have a plentiful supply of everything. Or suppose her when out shopping to prefer paying dearly rather than cheaply for the things she needed; or when at home doing her housework, to insist on scrubbing her floors with a tooth brush rather than a scrubbing brush, doing all her work in the most round-about, difficult and laborious way she could contrive; and lastly, fancy her feeding and clothing some of her children well, and keeping others of them half starved and almost naked. You would assuredly consider such a woman *non compos mentis*, and notify the authorities of her sad condition. The instincts I have mentioned are those of common sense and right reason, and are shared not merely by all normal human beings who are in responsible positions as parents, but by parenthood throughout creation. The hen

deals with her brood on these principles. Now, Society being made up of individuals, the principles which govern the conduct of the units must be those that guide the community, and hence it goes without saying that every sane community seeks to have abundance of wealth; to obtain the same by the easiest possible methods, and to distribute it fairly; in other words, sets before itself the ideal of prosperity and equality. And although every state is made up of individual persons, we must, of course, clearly distinguish between the units and the mass when we come to consider rights and duties. They are separate and distinct, occupying two spheres apart. The individual has rights of property; so has the community, and it is only when these respective rights are acknowledged and guarded that there can be the highest measure of prosperity and comfort to both. The question of all national house-keeping, then, is twofold: How can the greatest possible amount of wealth be produced? How can it, when produced, be most equitably distributed, as between individuals, and as between individuals and community? These are the questions with which Political Economy must deal.

There is not much trouble, as a matter of fact, about the first of these propositions. The problem of production has been solved, practically. With the means and methods of agriculture and manufacture now available it is possible to provide abundantly for any possible demand for food, clothing, shelter and the general comforts, if not the luxuries, of life. So vast indeed is the productive power of labor, assisted by machinery, in the present day, that the fears once seriously expressed of population outrunning sustenance are now matter for laughter. Instead of these gloomy forebodings, what we now hear is lamentation of an alleged evil called "over-production." Of course, it is possible that some may suffer from the novel malady—those who have stocks of goods on hand which they cannot dispose of, that is, too much capital; and those who have a superabundance of good things, which they foolishly buy because they can afford it—too much wealth. The latter are simply people who are said in common language to have "more money than they know what to do with," and are not fit subjects for pity. The former class do deserve our commiseration, as they are suffering from a state of things beyond their own control. But both of these classes are limited; and at the very moment when they are complaining of "over-production," there are great masses of their fellow-creatures suffering want.

It must be manifest to every man of sense that such a condition of things is only to be explained by a failure of equitable distribution. There is sufficient for all, but it happens, somehow, that all do not share in fair proportion. The Why? of this is the theme of the political economist.

VII.

A VERY CURIOUS FACT.

Very remarkable things fail to excite our wonder, or even our notice, when once they are familiar to us. They do not cease to be remarkable on

that account, however. I have just mentioned a strange fact in connection with human life which I venture to say has not in the least moved the reader's surprise; yet if the same statement were made by a writer of the Ant community, it would be met with all the astonishment and indignation which a slander justly calls forth. I have stated, namely, that there are vast numbers of human beings who suffer want, notwithstanding that they are both able and willing to work. This is a fact so familiar and a statement so hack-nied, that it is read without the slightest emotion. He who would make the same allegation with reference to any section of the Ant population would need to be a liar of some hardihood. It is sadly true in the one case; ridiculously false in the other. Why this difference? As I have already pointed out, the physical conditions are the same in both cases: abundant raw material, and adequate power of turning it into the forms of wealth required. In so far as reason is superior to instinct, and the labor-saving inventions of man superior to the unaided natural implements of ants, the proportionate differences of comfort and prosperity should be all on the side of the human race. Yet there is the strange and humiliating fact—no pauper ants; millions of pauper men. In other words, fair and just distribution of wealth in the insect community; utterly unequal distribution in our advanced nations. Mark that the production of wealth is by the same method in both cases, and in all possible cases. It is by the application of labor to raw material already provided by the Creator. There is no exception to this rule; there is no other method by which wealth ever was or ever can be produced by insect, bird, or animal.

In the case of human beings, to be sure, labor may have two factors, viz., the natural powers of the body, and the artificial power of tools or implements. A laborer who has heretofore endeavored to cultivate a field by means of his bare hands, may get a spade, by which his work will certainly be rendered much more productive. He then enjoys the aid of what we call capital. If the spade is loaned to him by another man, he may be said to have the aid of a Capitalist, and inasmuch as his product is greatly increased by the use of the tool, it is fair and right that some portion of the product should go to the owner of the spade. The whole result secured is the Wages of Labor, that portion of it paid to the lender of the spade is called interest on capital. This principle is of course familiar and clear.

The case then, as to the production of wealth stands thus: on the one hand the raw material of nature provided by the Creator and called inclusively Land; this is the passive factor. On the other hand, human exertion in the single form of labor, or the double form of labor and capital; this is the active factor. So much for wealth Production, over which as I have already said there is no difficulty either among ants or men. How about wealth Distribution, which among ants seems to be automatically perfect, and among men is confusion worse confounded?

For an answer to this question we have only to enquire as to the law or rule by which the wealth produced in an ant-hill is distributed, and in what

respect, if any, this law or rule differs from that in vogue among ourselves.

Well, so far as my observations throw light on the matter, Ant Distribution is guided by the simple and obvious law of common sense and fairness. The workers enjoy the product in due proportion to their work. Each individual, in other words, gets the whole of what his own labor produces. If perchance there are idlers who have done nothing, these go hungry, or live meanly on charity. Of the two factors in the production, the lands and the ant, the former does not need any share of the wealth, being but a dead and passive thing. The ant, therefore, gets it all, and as between ant and ant, the rule of absolute fairness is that each ant gets all of his product. If in any case a producer has had the assistance of a fellow ant, a fair ratio would go to the latter as joint laborer or capitalist. But the one thing that the simplest insect in the community understands clearly is that wealth Distribution concerns only the workers of Antdom. No share goes to the passive element, the raw material—which would be a crazy notion; and no particle is due to idlers, if there were such. The “problem” is really no problem at all, for the Ants obey the plain dictates of right and reason in this matter.

VIII.

HUMANITY'S QUEER TANGLE.

I pick up a book written quite recently and read, “The Problem of Distribution has come to be looked upon as the riddle of the ages. . . . It is largely a moral and social question; it has to do with justice and equity; is bound up with law and custom, and is interwoven with the whole social fabric as it has developed out of the past.”

Which simply means that at some point in the path of history man has gone astray and so his affairs have got into a terrible tangle, whereas the Ants have continued obedient to the law of their being and are vexed by no “social question.” Where was the mistake made? What is its nature? Can it be rectified? These are surely the supremely interesting and vital questions of the day.

Let us now fix our attention on Humanity. We find it composed of two personalities, so to speak, namely, the state or collective person, and the individual, or private person. Each of these must have full justice if there is to be peace and prosperity, and the safe rule for guidance in this may be borrowed from a word of the highest authority—Render unto the government the things which are the government's, and unto the private citizen the things which are his. The government, as representing all, requires a revenue for the due provision of the things and services required for all. This means that to the government must be handed a sufficient portion of the wealth produced by the community to meet its needs. What remains of the wealth belongs to the individual workers, each worker, whether as laborer or capitalist, getting his due share. Now, it is conceivable that there might be a practical difficulty in settling the exact ratio as between laborer and capi-

talist, but that could be solved without much trouble. At all events, it is not the root of the difficulty as it exists. That problem would have been there for settlement if mankind had never left the path at all.

The state is entitled to one part and individual labor to another. That seems to be simple enough. The portion to be rendered to the State may be measured accurately by the public needs, as set forth by the proper officer in his annual budget. It only remains, then, for the due division of the remainder to be made between capital and labor, the human factor of production. There would seem to be no occasion for any great confusion or tangle in the transaction. Why not follow the instinctive method of the ants, and let each individual man keep the whole of his own product?

Let us first settle the method by which the Government's share would be provided, in other words, the public revenue. This essential point was not overlooked by the Creator who made man to live in a social condition and therefore knew that a public revenue would be required. Justice must of course rule for both community and individual if their mutual relations are to be permanent and harmonious, and surely there is no rule of justice more obviously fair than this: "He who makes ought to possess." Does the community as such make or cause or produce any fund that could be used for revenue and would be sufficient for that purpose? If so, the question of revenue is solved. The answer is, yes. Everybody knows that wherever a community establishes itself, a peculiar value attaches to the land thus settled upon. I say a "peculiar" value, because if the community dissolves this value disappears; and meanwhile it responds to the increase or decrease of population by increasing or decreasing pro rata. Moreover, it is "peculiar" in this, that it is not like other values, the result of individual toil; it is caused by the mere presence of population. We find it to be the exact measure of what it is worth to live in that community, automatically registered in the form of land values. In other words, it is the exact amount of the land-rent at any given time within the bounds of the community, and it tallies the amount of revenue required for public purposes, for it is manifest that precisely what it is worth to live in any particular town or city must be precisely what it costs to provide the conveniences which constitute this worth. To put the statement in another form, the coming together of people to form a town, gives rise to a necessity for public expenses; but it also gives rise to new value in the form of land-rent sufficient to meet these expenses. The community as such has needs, and the community as such creates a fund to meet those needs; sense and reason surely say take this fund for public revenue, and justice fully endorses the advice, for the automatically created value belongs to the community through whose mere presence it arises.

Justice as certainly dictates that labor-created values shall go to the individual producers. Here, then, is the plain solution of the question of distribution, which has become such a vexing "world problem." The sum total of wealth is produced by the application of Labor-Capital force to Land; the distribution of the sum total of production, then, must obviously cor-

relate with these—that portion which represents individual effort—going to laborers and capitalists in due ratio; and that portion which represents land-value going to the treasury of the community. This would put us on the level of Ant-wisdom. Every worker would get all he produced; and the Society as a whole would receive what it produced. If this is obvious, clear and straight reasoning—and is it not?—whence does the tangle arise? We have solved the question of abundant production; what prevents the settlement of the question of fair distribution? What stands in the way of the adoption of the system above described?

IX.

ASKING THE MASTER.

When a boy at school comes to a word in his First Reader which he can by no means make out, or when he encounters a sticking-point in a "sum" he has set out to cipher, what does he do? His last resort is to go and ask the "Master." The School-teacher is there and gets his wages (such as they are) for this very thing—to explain, elucidate and clear away the difficulties which arise on the road to Knowledge. Well, here in the School-room of the Work-a-day world we have come upon a knotty point. Many intelligent workers are actually asking why it is that we cannot have as perfect a system of Distribution as the ants enjoy; and many others, if not clearly asking the question, are at least conscious of the fact—made manifest by their narrow circumstances—that there is somewhere a sad failure of civilization in the matter of fair and steady wages. There stand the schoolmasters, a great multitude of learned gentlemen, wearing gowns and hoods, the Professors of Political Economy in our Universities and Colleges, who not merely lecture day after day, but write books on their professed subject. It is our right and privilege to ask them for a solution of the problem. Acting on behalf of the voiceless millions I step up to the desk and request an explanation. The Master—a composite personality, embracing the genius and learning of all the Political Economists from Adam Smith's day to our own—rubs his chin thoughtfully, looks carefully into the matter through his spectacles, shakes his head, and finally says the thing is insoluble. He does not know, and cannot by searching find out, why it is that the wealth produced in the world cannot be equitably divided between the community and the private worker, each according to his respective contribution.

The master perhaps tells me this in plain terms, or perhaps he tantalizes me with a "barren maze of complexities" made up of technical jargon which to a mere every-day human being is utterly incomprehensible. It is simply the round-about way of saying he does not know. There are some who are inclined to say this Schoolmaster is a disingenuous, if not positively false man, who does know, but has his own reasons for not telling. I do not like to think so. I am inclined to believe that he is honest in saying he does not know, and sincere in adding that in his belief the difficulty in question is there by reason of the "inscrutable decrees of Providence."

Nor can I see that anything is to be really gained by stopping at this point to set forth the theories and explanation (in so far as these can be made out) which this Schoolmaster employs to justify his position. Enough that they will lead to the above hopeless conclusion—that he does not know what is wrong, unless it be some mysterious dispensation of the Creator. Nor would it be more useful to spend time in castigating the teacher for not knowing, since he is paid his wages for finding out.

Of course, we reject his conclusion, with the whole body of argument that leads up to it. It is manifestly unbelievable, and even involves something like blasphemy. There are two free agencies in the matter, God's and man's; and for my part, I must be fully convinced that man can by no possibility, through his folly or selfishness, be the cause of this miscarriage of things, before I shall feel at liberty to say it is by the will of God. I say there are two free agencies: What I mean is, that there are two law-making powers, the Human and the Divine. The latter being itself perfect, promulgates only perfect laws—laws, that is, which, being obeyed, infallibly secure a smooth, orderly, harmonious condition; the former, being itself imperfect, is capable of establishing laws that will necessarily produce friction and disorder. My belief being that the Ants do not legislate for themselves, but contentedly obey the laws of Nature—the Divine laws—I have ground for assuming that the true cause of the human trouble must be looked for in human legislation. If this turn out to be the case, then the explanations of the schoolmaster are not only untrue, but are the exact opposite of the truth; the reason why Wealth cannot be distributed equitably as between the community and the individual, and as between individuals of the same community, is to be found in laws deliberately established and maintained by man, and is in no degree the doings of Providence. Along this line, then, must our investigation proceed.

(To be continued.)

AT EASE IN ZION.

(For the Review.)

By W. A. DOUGLASS.

Part of an Unpublished Story.

"I should say he is comfortably fixed. The lines have fallen to him in pleasant places, and he has a goodly heritage," remarked the first speaker.

"Do you mean to tell me that he is very rich," asked the second.

"Well, hardly that. He is not a millionaire or a billionaire; but that makes no difference; for when a man has a few hundred thousands safely invested, so that he can live at his ease and not worry about business, he is just as well off as a man can be; he eats the best of the season, he sleeps on the

softest of down, he can get all the enjoyments that his nature is capable of, so that if he were to multiply his fortune a hundred times he would be no better off."

"Besides that," continued the speaker, "that is a mighty good investment he made across the river. I tell you, George Spaulding is a long-headed fellow, he can see through a stone wall as far as the next man."

"How do you make that out?"

"Did you not hear of that little trade of his? It was well reckoned, and I shall be surprised if he doesn't make a pretty pile on that transaction. It is this way: After he secured a seat in the Council, he got the option on a large frontage of land across the river at a mere trifle, three or four dollars a foot frontage. Then through his influence with the papers he got up the agitation to have that splendid bridge built, for which the city is to pay a pretty fortune. Then he rolled the logs and pulled the wires with Jones, who had some lots to the east. They voted a considerable figure to open up a new road at the cost of the city, but this could be accomplished only by giving similar favors to Smith and Robinson who had lots to the North and the West. I think I may safely bet, that Spaulding will realize five dollars for every dollar he invested. They say he will make two or three hundred thousand dollars out of that deal."

"Well, Sir, but he is a lucky fellow. How is it some people always fall on their feet?" asked the second man.

"Yes," replied the first speaker, "you may say he is lucky, when without making the world richer by a stiver, he can get what some people would regard as a large fortune. But did you ever think, is this honest?"

"Honest!" exclaimed his friend, "you don't mean to insinuate that Spaulding is anything but the pink of honesty. He is a leader in the largest church in the city, one of the most liberal givers; presides at the principal meetings, and received the endorsement of the preachers when he offered himself for a seat in the Council. I never heard the slightest hint as to his being anything but the soul of honesty."

"Oh, there you are quite right," said the first speaker. "In the eyes of the world and according to the law of the land, he is strictly honest. Offer him a bribe, and he would quickly show you the door, without any ceremony. In all his personal dealings, I have no doubt of his genuine honesty; but when I ask if this is an honest transaction, I refer not to the individuals, but the law which allows such transactions. Just look at this: The public have to pay for the bridge and the roads, that is one obligation, called a tax, and then they have to pay an increased price for the land, and that is called a speculation. That is a second obligation, a double burden for the citizens, while Spaulding, Smith, Jones and Robinson, reap fortunes. Do you think that is the honest way of getting wealth?"

"Well, but every one does it who gets the chance. I know a number of the preachers who are up to the lips in just such transactions. You don't mean to say that they would do anything dishonest?" he repeated enquiringly.

"What you say is quite true, but because many sincerely good men do a certain thing, that is no evidence that it is necessarily right. The watch-maker takes some raw material and by his labor adds to the utilities in the world. That workman increased that value by his labor. Who made the increase of value in that land? Did Mr. Spaulding do it, or was it the public did it, when they built the bridge to make it more accessible to the city? When the farmer puts in one bushel and then reaps twenty bushels, he multiplies wealth, and therefore, he has honestly acquired a title to increased wealth; but what increase did Mr. Spaulding make to the wealth of the world in this transaction? Did he build that bridge more than any other citizen? Was not that value made by the community as a whole and does not honesty demand that the community should take that value to pay for the bridge and other public improvements?"

The Mr. Spaulding of whom these gentlemen had been speaking, was a man in the prime of life, and of fine personal appearance. As the speaker had remarked Mr. Spaulding was a member of the largest church in the city. As he was a speaker of some influence and gave largely to the funds of the church, he was frequently asked to preside at important meetings. The attention and consideration thus bestowed on this gentleman, proved very acceptable and gave him the comfortable feeling that the lines had really fallen to him in pleasant places.

In a sense and in a measure he was sincerely religious, and the failings he had were due more to his unfortunate surroundings than to any intended perversity.

That old Mr. Hodge, who was a member of the same church, should occupy a back seat, that he should never be called on to preside, that he should receive no particular attention, all this was regarded as perfectly proper; for Hodge was poor. That he was honest as the Sun, that he toiled bravely, long and well to maintain himself and his family, that he showed noble self-sacrifice, that his contributions of money were a much larger percentage of his possible savings than those of Mr. Spaulding, all these were little thought of. Balanced in the scales of true worth, Mr. Hodge was the peer of Mr. Spaulding any day. In beneficence and self-sacrifice he was much the superior. But, who can tell? Reverse the conditions; place Mr. Hodge in the circumstances of Mr. Spaulding, and the development might have been also reversed. We are all so wonderfully and unconsciously influenced by environment.

"Oh, my brethern," said the Reverend Charles Dibbs, D. D., the pastor of Mr. Spaulding's church, "it is woe to us, if we do not defend our nation from the curse of bad and corrupt government. Too much, far too much have the good people of our cities left the government of the people in the hands of the worst elements of society, till the stories of wrong and fraud often make a man hang his head in shame at the disgrace to which our municipal governments have sunk. With the immense resources and the privileges of this nation, born in the cradle of freedom, uncursed with the relics of feudal-

ism and monarchical despotisms, why is it that we are often so indifferent about the highest interests of the city, as to allow its control to fall into the hands of grafters and schemers whose rapacity and self-seeking often turn the halls of justice into dens of looting and plunder? What we want above every other consideration is good men at the helm of government. I beseech you, therefore, be at the polls as a sacred trust, as a religious duty. Cast aside all the prejudices of party, and let it be the men of truth and integrity, whom you will choose for your representatives."

Thus did the Reverend gentleman exhort his people as to their civic duty, and there was great rejoicing when they managed to return George Spaulding at the head of the pole.

"Now we have a straight man," remarked many of the electors, when congratulating themselves after the returns had come in. And so they believed. Forthwith did Mr. Spaulding elaborate his schemes and form his combination to secure the building of the bridge at the cost of the public to add largely to his fortune.

Mr. Spaulding was a good man according to his knowledge. In thus utilizing his opportunities, he was not conscious of any wrong doing. He looked only at one end of the transaction. He expected to gain fortune; but he did not ask the question, whence that fortune was ultimately to come, and what must be the consequence of allowing one part of humanity to grow rich without producing riches.

It is true that some parties had written to the Rev'd Dr. Lasheer, the editor of the Christian Alliance and denounced the method which allowed individuals to appropriate the value of the land just as if they had raised it after the manner of a crop.

"If the crowd increases in a certain locality, is that any reason why the farmer, the mechanic, the merchant and every other industrious man should have to hand over their products to the so-called owner of that land? The man who honestly cultivates an acre of land raising wheat or oats, may earn therefrom ten dollars yearly; while the owner of an acre in the center of commerce may claim every year the product of a hundred farms. The man who sacrifices his skill, his energy and his life in the production of abundance, obtains only scarcity, while the man who sows not neither does he reap, can demand year by year an overwhelming fortune. Is this the fulfilment of the command, Render to every man his due?"

To this enquiry, the doughty editor answered in short meter.

"There was a time," he replied, "when it was regarded as a virtue for a man to persevere in his business and to achieve a fortune; but now-a-days, a number of grumbling socialistic writers, influenced, we doubt not, by an envious spirit because of their ill success, are proclaiming against those who have excelled themselves. If these men would exercise more their muscles and less their tongues, they might succeed a great deal better. If instead of looking to the legislature to improve their fortunes, they would stick to the cardinal virtues of thrift, economy, industry and temperance, they would

have no reason to complain of want. Abolishing want and poverty by act of parliament, that is the latest outcome of these feather-headed brains. If these agitators only keep on they will soon reach the crock of gold at the foot of the rainbow."

"Yes," said Mr. Spaulding, when he read this article, "That is so. My father commenced with his axe in the bush. Let these agitators do the same thing; let them rise before the Sun and let them work till after dark as the early settlers did, and they may become rich just as easily as any one else."

He thanked the editor the next time he met him. "These agitators are dangerous. I am glad that you do not give them any countenance. It is amazing how some people talk so glibly about confiscating other peoples property." If Mr. Spaulding had any qualms of conscience, the editor had lulled them to sleep.

Mr. Spaulding worked his combinations with admirable success. His fortune increased rapidly. In his vault, the mortgages on the hard earned homes of a number of his fellow citizens kept growing apace. The fortune grew at the one home, the obligation grew at the other home. But blind to this social cleavage, the growing claim at the one end and the growing obligation at the other end, he rested in peace and tranquility.

It was Christmas eve. He had sat up later than usual. As the midnight bells tolled the hour, out broke the peals of the chimes announcing the anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Peace. These ceased, then he listened and listened. Soft and sweet as the songs of angels, he heard voices in the distance. What harmony, what melody!

"For lo the days are hastening on,
By prophet bards foretold,
When in the ever circling years
Comes round the age of gold.

"Peace on earth, good will to men,
Their glorious splendors fling,
Let the whole world join in the song,
Which now the angels sing."

Four blocks away there was another scene. A mother held her babe to her breast. She was struggling to hold back the tears. Her husband had bought from George Spaulding a lot across the river, hoping to build a home thereon. Then came the unexpected. Slack work and sickness had exhausted their little treasures. Their payments on the lot had fallen behind. Interest and costs had swallowed everything they had invested. The mother clasped her arms around her babe. "Oh, my God," said she, "to think we are face to face with beggary."

RECENT SOCIALISM.

(For the Review.)

By JOHN SMITH.

In the last Socialist convention Victor Berger (Milwaukee) said:
(*Daily Socialist*, May 20, 1910) debating "How to Reach the Farmer:"

"The greatest Socialist minds have spent years on this question. Kautsky wrote a book of 500 pages, and it is the poorest book he has written. He came to no conclusion. The greatest trouble is that Marx fell down on the question of agriculture. We have to admit it."

A. H. Simons said:

"I thought I knew all about it. But after a while I studied the question. I read nearly everything printed in French, German, or English on this question, and at the end of that time I produced 'The American Farmer.' Yet after I studied more and more I got less certain and made a good many more positive statements than I would make today. The German Socialists began to take up this thing. They were just as cock-sure and just as ignorant as many of those who have spoken here today. It is time we got a little knowledge of this subject."

After many years of misrepresentation and ridicule of Henry George's land economics by socialist leaders, they come to the above wise conclusion.

Says Berger:

"We cannot have socialism if we don't get the farmers."

Says Simons:

"It is not for the socialist party to guarantee the private ownership of any productive property."

Here is a deadlock. The farmer clings to his capital, and there is no getting on without him. Perhaps the cause of the frequent decline of the socialist vote lies here. When socialists learn about land, they will also learn that machine owners can exploit only landless men.

A writer in the *Daily Socialist* proposes the following plank:

"That all lands shall be the property of the Government, and that it shall be worked in the benefit of all the people. Provided, that any citizen who is married shall have option to lease from the Government not to exceed five acres for a private dwelling, the rental to be fixed by the government. But shall at expiration of lease and his wife's death again be government property."

The unmarried soldier-farmers would live in barracks. Officials would be elected to watch when wives die, so as to oust the widower and send him back to the barracks. This official would not be popular.

Henry George solves the problem of unemployment on democratic lines:

"If workmen would accomplish anything real and permanent for themselves, it is necessary, not merely that each trade should seek the common interest of all trades, but that skilled workmen should address themselves to the general measures which will improve the conditions of unskilled workmen. Those who are most to be considered, if labor is to be enfranchised, and social justice won, are those least able to help themselves, those who have no advantage of property or skill or intelligence. In securing the equal rights of these we shall secure the equal rights of all."

His remedy is not sentimental, but economic; the pressure of those outside of the unions should be met by opportunity for employment. Land offers this. Some socialists deny it, yet it can be readily proved by quoting socialists. In "Struggle for Existence," page 431, Mr. Walter Thomas Mills says:

"Karl Marx has spoken nowhere with greater clearness than in the 33rd chapter of Capital. He not only illustrates but clinches his argument with the famous Swan River experiment in Australia, where a quarter of a million dollars worth of supplies, cattle, seeds and implements were sent to a new country, accompanied by 3,000 emigrants, and where, BECAUSE OF UNTAKEN LAND, each man could work for himself and have the WHOLE OF HIS PRODUCTS. All refused to work as 'hired hands' and the whole of the property was lost for lack of laborers."

Marx' comment on this incident is incompetent, silly and untrue:

"Unhappy Mr. Peel, who provided for everything except the export of English modes of production to Swan River."

Modes, (methods) could be freely used. Mr. Peel overlooked nothing but the helplessness of laborers in England where no land was available. He should have exported a shipload of helplessness. But he soon found it was a new condition, not methods, that ruined him.

THE GEORGE LEWIS DEBATE.

(Garrick Theatre, Chicago.)

The British lords were needlessly disturbed by the budget agitation. The land-tax theory has been destroyed. Just previous to the debate the *Daily Socialist* said:

"When interviewed, Lewis said he intended his first speech to be a complete annihilation of the entire Georgian philosophy, and when George replies, he will find himself biting on a granite block."

After the debate Mr. Lewis announced in the *Daily Socialist*:

"The debate will appear in the May *Evolutionist*. It will be the most up-to-date and authoritative document on the Henry George Philosophy in existence."

The latest development of the Single Tax theory, therefore, is its destruction. It is an ordinary task for an "intellectual" socialist to go out of a morning and demolish a philosophy, but we may imagine that such useful iconoclast may not enjoy the spectacle of despairing devotees who, in their chagrin, chew granite; but that is incidental to the work; and such mastication is sincere though helpless approval of it.

Before Henry George began to write, according to Mr. Lewis:

"The complaint of the capitalists was that they had to pay rent to landlords—a lot of loafers."

Were these oppressed capitalists organized? Was the capitalistic press of that time full of agitation of those land reformers? No one remembers it. There was quite a movement, for Mr. Lewis tells us how in the nick of time, when everything looked dark, Henry George appeared as the "champion" of these capitalists in their "effort to cut off the landlord's share of the plunder."

Though history be strangely silent, Prof. Lewis has powerful support in the famous letter of the Great Karl Karx, in 1881, in which he says of the demand to turn land rent over to the state, that it is:

"The frank expression of hatred which the industrial capitalist entertains for the land owner who SEEMS TO HIM a useless and superfluous entity in the scheme of capitalist production."

The disappearance of those capitalistic Single Taxers is amazing. The swallowing up of Pharoah's host is by comparison a trivial incident; and there must have been wreckage of accoutrements, bodies, horses, etc., visible for some days. But since 1881 a group of men, a ruling class, have disappeared utterly, leaving not even a history. At present the people called capitalists show no evidence of hatred for landlords; land is considered a good investment and rent a just return, by all except Single Taxers. To be sure we have such men as Tom. L. Johnson and Joseph Fels, but their aversion to land monopoly has developed since George began to write.

But those wealthy haters of landlords surely existed, for the ambitious Henry George, says Mr. Lewis, in looking about for a rich and liberal class to serve, concluded to become the Champion of those land-reform capitalists, by endeavoring to justify their unearned incomes. Of course at that time Henry George rolled in wealth, having wealthy employers, notwithstanding a misleading biography states that while writing he pawned his watch for a little ready money.

Dr. Lewis says:

"By interest George means the part of the capitalist's income that he does not earn. All the unearned revenue of capital is brought under the head of interest."

What George says:

"Now, taking the great fortunes that are so often referred to as exemplifying the accumulative power of Capital, it is readily seen that they have been built up in greater or less part, NOT BY INTEREST, but by elements such as we have been reviewing." (Progress and Poverty, Book III, Chap. IV.)

These elements were land titles, franchises, watered stock, bonds and robbery. He classes all unearned wealth under rent, and the fruits of privilege based on land monopoly.

By capital, Savant Lewis means "anything used to exploit," including all those elements which George EXCLUDED from capital. This difference of definition gives Philosopher Lewis no trouble, as he is oblivious to them. In replying, Mr. Henry George, Jr. explained the difference between capital and monopolistic claims on products, but this availed nothing.

Lewis thought "the main trouble" with the Single Tax would be that:

"It would at most only divert the plunder now going to the landlord into the pocket of the capitalist, who would then have a double share of surplus value."

How could this be, after the voters decide to turn rent over to the state? Mr. Mills says the voice of the workers is the "supreme authority at the ballot box."

Let another socialist, Mr. E. Unterman, describe these workers:

"The modern working people rise up against the idea that work is an inferior and degrading activity, that another thing, called capital, is the superior of labor. They demand that work shall be shared by all, and that the thing called capital shall cease to exist." (Marxian Economics, page 28.)

These marvelous working people must have gone the way of those Single Tax capitalists. According to Mr. Simons, their wisdom is shown in this way:

"They continually vote into power their own oppressors. They are led to this through a process of deception." (Single Tax vs. Socialism, p. 28.)

And now Lewis says they will prorate the land rent out of the public treasury to Capital, which Unterman says should not exist.

Let us examine Scientist Lewis' fitness for research. His "Evolutionist" No. 1, begins with a debate on Scientific Socialism:

"In defining Science I shall follow Herbert Spencer who speaks of it as 'knowledge of a high order of generality' i. e., a knowledge of those great generalizations which constitute the highest achievements of modern science."

Next page:

"Neither the facts themselves NOR OUR KNOWLEDGE of them constitute science. A man might be a walking encyclopedia and carry in his brain a tabulation of all the facts ever discovered without possessing the

scientific spirit. Science consists of all those great generalizations OR LAWS THAT UNDERLIE THE FACTS, which co-ordinate and co-relate them and give us their real significance."

This sounds well but shows three defects: First, The two definitions of science are contradictory; in the first science is knowledge, and in the second it is not knowledge, but natural law itself. Second, Neither definition is true in any particular. Third, Spencer never said it. His position is exactly the reverse of the above. Spencer expressly excludes "generalizations" from science, but says they belong to Philosophy. Philosophy he defines (First Principles, p. 131):

"Knowledge of the highest degree of generality."

This was distorted by Lewis and made to stand for Science.

Spencer also says, page 132:

"Science means merely the family of sciences—stands for nothing more than the sum of knowledge formed of their contributions; and IGNORES THE KNOWLEDGE CONSTITUTED BY THE FUSION OF ALL THESE CONTRIBUTIONS INTO A WHOLE."

Page 18:

"Science is simply a higher development of common knowledge."

Page 20:

"Men of science subject each others' results to the most searching examination, and error is mercilessly exposed and rejected."

Then "scientific socialism" can be only a social philosophy, for its results are in the future and cannot be subjected to merciless criticism, and its errors cast out.

Various occasions require different expedients. Perhaps any of us, desiring to give tone and verisimilitude to ideal future society, finding Spencer's definition for Philosophy lying around, no one using it, and apparently no one looking, might assume it to have the certainty of Science, and borrow it. In the fire of temptation few of us are asbestos. Still, as Mr. Lewis accepts Spencer's definitions, and makes use of his idea of Philosophy, it will be amusing to quote Mr. Lewis' opinion of Philosophy, which he gives in beginning a lecture on Kant:—"Blind Leaders," p. 47.)

"The history of philosophy records a series of defeats, resulting in final and complete disaster. Twenty centuries of Herculean labors, and philosophy ends where philosophy began—the will o' the wisp it pursues is as far beyond the reach of Kant as it was of Plato. She despises Science which grovels among sordid facts, content to investigate that which has been gathered from experience, and which can be verified by observation and experiment."

This last definition of science is correct—knowledge of facts that can be verified; and it seems a sin to compare different lectures containing such conflicting definitions. This one suited the lecture on Kant, for in that

lecture there was no need to verify the future. The other definitions are utterly false. A man may have a "scientific spirit" which can mean only the impulse to investigate, but if he searches continually and adds nothing to knowledge of natural law he would not be a scientist, according to Spencer; while a man possessed of all the facts ever discovered would be the greatest of scientists. Neither generalizations nor laws are science; knowledge of natural law, alone, is science.

The "Marxian Theory of Value" is stated, and indorsed, as follows:

"The value of all commodities is determined by the AVERAGE amount of socially necessary labor-time required to produce those commodities." (Evolutionist, p. 237.)

A suppositional redwood tree grows near a sawmill in Chicago, only ten dollars' worth of labor to move it. Is it worth, then, ten dollars?

"If California redwoods cost on an average forty dollars each because of labor transportation, this tree, if an average tree, would also possess a value of forty dollars, although only ten dollars worth of labor was expended in this instance. The AVERAGE amount of socially necessary labor being equal to forty dollars, all exceptions would bend to the Marxian law, whether a ten dollar expenditure from the next lot or a hundred dollar cost from South Africa."

The AVERAGE would be, \$10. plus \$40., plus \$100.—\$150 divided by three equals \$50. The South African magnate would cheerfully pay \$100. to market his log, and receive \$50. for it, if he is a zealous Marxian. But any business man would tell him he could not wisely market his log until the price rose to \$100. for all redwoods.

The Marxian system is tottering. For Economist Lewis says, (p. 240):

"Take the labor theory of value out of the Marxian system, and the rest of it will collapse like a house of cards."

"George is the true lackey of capital," says Prof. Lewis.

What Henry George says:

"Unless injustice is natural, all that the laborer produces should be held as his natural wages." (Progress and Poverty, Bk. III, chap. I.)

Chap. V:

"It is not capital which employs labor, but labor which employs capital."

The power of applying itself in advantageous forms is a power of labor which capital, as capital, cannot share.

Capital is but a form of labor.

Lewis says, (Evolutionist, p. 11):

"Marx denied the existence of any such thing as 'value of labor' just as he denied the 'productivity of capital.' "

Maybe he did, and disputed himself, as usual. The "labor theory of value" is a fundamental of Marxian. The quibble that only "labor power" has value, is a weak device. Labor power is the nerve, brain and muscle of the laborer—the laborer himself, which is said to have value only under chattel slavery. Lewis himself uses the words "the laborer, or labor power," on the same page, and explains that it is labor, measured in time, that has value, for which the capitalist pays a portion of the product, keeping the remainder as "surplus value."

"Capital" abounds in such allusions as these, (Vol. III):

"The rate of productivity of the additional capital decreases." Page 819.

"That capital could yield interest without performing any productive function," is called nonsense; page 444.

"This ground rent does not arise from the absolute increase of the productivity of the employed capital."

Lewis continues, (page 11):

"This surplus (surplus value) is appropriated by the owners of capital; it constitutes the source, and the only source of unearned wealth. Out of this surplus value bankers receive their interest and landlords derive their rent."

But Marx says of "rent in kind," (Vol. III, p. 743), that it is:

"Always a surplus over and above profit," and profit is surplus value.

According to Ricardo, rent could not be labor's surplus value, because it is created by the extra productivity of certain sites.

Marx indorses Ricardo on page 760:

"Ricardo is quite right when he says: 'Rent is ALWAYS the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of two equal quantities of capital and labor.'"

On page 12 we learn from Mr. Lewis that "the only reason why the capitalist class is able to appropriate surplus value at all, is that they own the process of production itself." The landlord is lost sight of, or is classed with capitalists. But capitalists do not own the "process of production," nor the "mode of production." They own only capital, and this ownership does not enable them to claim more than current interest. This was proved by Marx in the Swan River case, where the capital decayed, getting not even interest, because land was free. Socialists think that, because landless men, driven by necessity, will accept a bare subsistence, therefore, ownership of tools always carries with it this monopoly power. As well assert that ague will persist in a marshy country after the cause of ague is destroyed.

Page 72:

"The civil war was only secondarily a struggle of liberty lovers for the abolition of property in human beings. Primarily it was a conflict between

two economic systems in which the younger and more progressive was naturally the victor."

Where is such history to be found? Prof. Lewis does not know that Congress did not prohibit slavery until after the war; that Lincoln's proclamation applied only to the slaves of the seceding states; in other slave states it was not disturbed; slaves were returned to their masters, even in the seceding states, up to 1863.

In what manner were two systems in conflict? Marx said in 1865 that capital was powerless over labor, on account of land-plenty. The wage system, therefore, was too young to struggle. Slave owners did not struggle, for slavery was not threatened by the North at the outset.

Why should northern laborers struggle? Did they envy the slaves their security of subsistence, and demand they be thrown on the labor market? Did cotton cloth cost too much, and did the North demand child labor, to cheapen it? Possibly northern "wage slaves" realized that they gave more "surplus value" to the capitalist than did the slaves, so gave their lives to force the cheaper system (for the capitalist) on their neighbors. If so, why should the South resist? The South must have fought for the right to give slaves more than northern laborers received. When they foresaw their negroes reduced to the standard of wage slavery, they shuddered, and fought to prevent that terrible fate. In a fight there must be a motive. If northern laborers fought for an economic condition, they fought FOR wage slavery. Now after a season of evolution, they are expected to fight AGAINST wage slavery, to prove "Scientific Socialism."

The platform should be the definition of Socialism; but the platform makers of the party should take note of the follies and contradictions disseminated as socialism; and which may be the cause of the slow growth of the party. The truth can injure no worthy cause or party, and those who look up in awe to the self-appointed savants who know all about the Evolution of the Horse from the Eohippus, and can write fine treatises on the Ornithorinkus and Anthropoid Apes (claiming these subjects can help to abolish poverty), should be told that Land is the only requisite. "Oslerized" men and women, all with uncertain future, some having children still dependent; young people, compelled to start on wages which they would reject except for the hope of better; all should learn this simple lesson of the effect of free land on wages, as seen dimly by Marx and others, but faultlessly elaborated by Henry George. Their wages may be doubled, and without change of occupation; not all would need to work land. Those controlling productive power in the form of machines (capital) are just as eager for more opportunity as are those controlling labor power. And owners of machines cannot claim the product of capital which they now retain. "Supply and demand must equilibrate," says Marx; that is, any machine producing a commodity that commands more than the usual returns from labor, will be at once duplicated, the product increased, and the price reduced. Interest will be checked by the higher

cost of labor; higher because of multiplied opportunities. It will be seen that natural economic laws are sufficient, without legislation other than that tending to secure equal rights.

HENRY GEORGE.

A Memorial Address delivered to the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, by the President, Alexander Mackendrick.

I have no hesitation in ranking Henry George as among the greatest men of the Nineteenth Century, and what follows will be an attempt to substantiate this placing of him.

The much debated question whether the times produce the great men or the great men the times, like the conundrum of the hen and the egg, it would be futile to waste time discussing. The point to note with satisfaction is that the great man always seems to come when he is wanted. Interpret it how we may it is the fact that when the fulness of time has come, when men's minds are prepared, it may be by much pain and suffering, to receive a new truth, a great teacher appears and nothing is ever again the same in the old world as it was before. A new force has been introduced into the complex scheme of life, and the vibrations which are set up, go on extending in concentric circles outward toward Infinity.

It may be useful to review shortly the speculative position as it seems to have stood for average men, up to the time of the coming of Henry George. For a few generations previous to thirty years ago, the social outlook for thoughtful lovers of the human race must have been of the most gloomy and hopeless kind. The so-called science of political economy which professes to teach the laws governing the production and distribution of wealth had amply earned for itself the name by which Carlyle had christened it, that of "the dismal science." For it had failed to provide any light to governors and legislators that was better than darkness. In its efforts to make its conclusions square with facts, it set up theories only to recant them again. Under its guidance or no guidance, there had arisen that strangest of spectacles, an unprecedented increase in the wealth of the country, accompanied by Manchester Insurrections, Chartist rebellions, Bread riots, and wide-spread pauperism. Its favorite and loudly proclaimed doctrine of liberty or laissez-faire, had turned out in practice to mean for the mass of men the liberty to die of starvation. These facts ought to and probably would have served to raise doubts as to the soundness of the orthodox economy had not the teachings of Malthus buttressed and supported it by the theory, that there is a constant tendency for population to outrun the means of subsistence; thus laying the poverty and suffering of mankind upon the broad back of natural causes which could not by any possibility be evaded.

Thus the conclusion was forced upon the minds of our fathers that poverty and starvation were natural and inevitable; that that was just how the laws of the universe worked out and there was no use in grumbling at it. In addition to this, remember that we had for many generations been living under the shadow of the dismal doctrines of Calvinism, which taught us the total depravity of human nature. We were all hopelessly corrupt and doomed to Eternal damnation for sins we could not help committing, except, of course, an elect few who couldn't go astray if they wanted to. It was thundered and pounded into our consciousness that human nature was deceitful above all things and desperately wicked. And just as we were beginning to move and make the first effort to waken ourselves out of this dreadful nightmare, there came Thos. Carlyle, who told us that the British Empire contained so many million people "mostly fools," and that the only chance for society was to lay hold of the few exceptional wise men granted to each generation, to put its affairs in the wise man's hands, and go its way rejoicing and thanking God. This was the only Morrison's pill that the greatest moral teacher of the 19th Century could prescribe for the healing of the nations.

Consider then, the predicament in which we were placed. Not only were we, according to Calvin and Carlyle, rogues and fools by nature, bound by natural law to suffer all the consequences of our roguery and folly, but we found ourselves also, according to Malthus and the Economists, caught in a kind of patent rat-trap from which there was no escape, which condemned about two-thirds of our number to perpetual grinding poverty; a predicament for which we could not blame either our lack of righteousness or our lack of wisdom. Is it possible to conceive a gloomier Golgotha than that of the human outlook to men who really believed the teachings of Theology and Political Economy? I suppose that with sound digestion and stupidity one might subscribe to any creed, however horrible, and it seems as though our ancestors must have been fairly well protected by these two conditions. In any case, that men and women continued to live and love and laugh and beget children proves, I think, that the doctrines of Theology and Political Philosophy were not really believed in at all. Men only thought they believed them, or believed they believed. It can only have been an unconscious undercurrent of scepticism, or, call it, if you will, an unconscious faith in God which saved the race from death by despair or a universal suicide of some kind. Men must have felt somewhere in the subconscious regions of their minds, that somehow and at some time justice would be discovered at the heart of things, and that the laws of nature would ultimately be found to work out toward moral ends.

Meantime, the revolt of the minds of men under intellectual concepts which could not be honestly or sincerely believed in, had some curious reactionary effects. On the purely intellectual side it became necessary that the God who was supposed to preside over this welter of rogues and fools struggling as in the Egyptian jar of tamed vipers, each to get his head above the others; it became necessary, I say, that the God who presided over this chaos should

be deposed and ruled out of the cosmos altogether. There arose in consequence the rationalistic materialism of the middle of the century, which, building upon the rapidly accumulating scientific discoveries of Darwin and Wallace and other nature searchers, constructed what is now known as the mechanical theory of the universe, a theory which interpreted all life in terms of the redistribution of matter and motion, with mind as an incidental or accidental by-product. The solar system was figured as some huge cathedral clock which had been set in motion by some mysterious agency of a main-spring, the power of which was slowly working itself out through the millions of wheels and pinions and ratchets on toward its escapement in human life with the tick-tick of its feeble efforts at thinking and doing. The obvious functions of a clock were to tick and run itself down and that, it was held, is just what the Universe is doing; and the emotions and passions of humanity were to be regarded simply as the undertones in the ticking of that huge cosmic clockwork.

On the emotional and moral side again, the revolt from the old Theological and Political dogmas produced the various theories of political collectivism which found perhaps their highest expression in the scientific socialism of Karl Marx. It would take too long even to mention the many society reconstructors and Fabian waiters-upon-providence who have during the last century built up the substantial body of opinion which we now know as socialism, and still more impossible is it to trace the stages and phases in the evolution of the idea with the contributions made by each thinker. But one thing seems pretty clear, that however much the various socialist writers have differed in method and detail, they have all been agreed in accepting the conclusions of the orthodox Economists, supported by the science of the period, that the laws of nature are immoral, or, at all events, non-moral; that there is a tendency for things in human society to go askew; that injustice and suffering are the natural outcome of the forces at the back of things. It became then obvious that in obedience to the moral sense which, it was argued, is only to be found in the human mind it was absolutely necessary to suspend the laws of nature and to set up instead a system of artificial laws which would work out results more in conformity with the human standard of ethics than natural law seemed capable of producing. Logical consistency seemed also to compel the socialist philosophy to abandon all conception of a god as ruler of the Universe. If the laws of nature when left to themselves worked out toward injustice and cruelty, it was of course impossible to postulate a beneficent force at the back of things; and a god who was not beneficent was of course no god at all.

So matters seem to have stood in the world of speculation for a considerable number of weary, dreary years, and, as I have said, the outlook for any really thoughtful and humane soul must have been such as to make life a burden. One can figure the collective human race saying in bitterness of soul to itself in the words of Hamlet, "The world is out of joint, Oh, cursed spite, That ever we were born to set it right." The thing seemed wellnigh hopeless

unless men collectively should evolve sufficient wisdom to take firm hold of the great economic forces and compel them along lines of justice and equity. And if we grant the original postulate that natural law contains no element of justice and that the relationship between men has a natural tendency to get into a fangle, that is the only thing left for us to do; that is what we have been trying for years to do by Poor-law acts, by Factory acts, Old-age pensions, and such legal enactments. But the darkest hour often precedes the dawn. The stygian darkness in the speculative horizon had gone down to its deepest shade of blackness. A few stray scintillations of diffused luminosity perhaps still remained to remind observant star-gazers that there once had been a sun above the horizon, but otherwise all was dark and gloomy. We lived in a fatherless world. The great companion was dead, and we poor orphans must band ourselves together to combat the merciless natural laws which threatened to crush us!

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I hope you will not think I am deliberately straining my metaphors or striving after merely theatrical effect when I figure this night of starless gloom as being suddenly penetrated by a ray of light, at first a feeble and flickering ray struggling with difficulty to overcome the circumambient darkness, but a ray destined ultimately to broaden out to the light of day, bringing hope and gladness in its train.

That ray of light was the message of Henry George, and I know that to many here present, myself included, it came as a message of hope and good cheer, altering the entire aspect of the world for ever after.

And what then was the message of Henry George? It was nothing less than a complete vindication both of the laws of God and of human nature. It proved beyond dispute that poverty and destitution are not the result of natural law, but are entirely caused by artificial or human laws which permit certain men to call the earth their own. It proved with irrefragable logic, that poverty is only the inevitable corollary to special privilege; that struggle and destitution are just the other side of monopoly. It showed clearly that in the absence of monopoly in the sources of labor, men's natural desire to satisfy their own wants would be a quite sufficient force to dispel poverty and ensure plenty to all. Moreover, the message of Henry George showed us exactly where the dismal science of the orthodox economists had gone wrong. They professed to explain the natural laws according to which wealth was produced and distributed, and they had omitted to notice that they had begun their observations at a point where natural law had already been interfered with and violated. That is to say, they took a state of things where certain men had taken hold of nature's storehouses and were in a position to dictate to others whether they should starve or work under conditions dictated by them, and assumed that to be natural. They then, upon that false assumption, built up the superstructure of deductions which led inevitably and logically to the melancholy conclusions which caused Ruskin to say bad words of Stuart Mill and roused Carlyle's righteous soul to a white heat of indignation against the whole tribe of logic-choppers and theory-

grinders. And yet the logic-chopping economists were perfectly right in their logic; it was only their primary or fundamental assumption that was wrong, and the wrongness of which vitiated all the conclusions built upon it. They did not see the blunder with which they started, so difficult is it for men to think themselves out of the toils of a conventional traditional idea if only it be of sufficient antiquity, and consecrated by approval of the dominant religion. Even Carlyle and Ruskin, those thundering denunciators, did not see the false assumption which underlays that long chain of deductions which ended in this quagmire of hopeless pessimism. The clear seeing of that initial blunder was reserved for him whose life and work have inspired this society. Henry George was the first to give us a clear sight of the knot that was threatening to strangle us and show us how it might be untied. He was the first to vindicate the laws of God or the laws of nature as one may choose to call them, and to prove that destitution and poverty are due to artificial laws which men had made, and which men can unmake.

Again the message of Henry George like the bold plea of Abraham when he argued with the Almighty for the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, was a chivalrous defence of poor maligned human nature. Men and women he said are not corrupt, and neither are they fools, despite all the Calvins and Carlyles that ever vilified the race. George's strong and simple faith was at bottom a faith in humanity. To him faith in God whom we have not seen is impossible without faith in man whom we have seen. To him Christianity revealed an undeveloped saint inside of every sinner, as democracy postulated a wise man inside of every fool. He rediscovered the fact which has been forgotten and trampled out of sight for centuries, that the spirit of man tendeth ever upward; that original sin has more than its counterpoise in original goodness; that love and sympathy are among the original cosmic forces and are facts as solid and substantial as selfishness and egotism. His faith in human nature was infinite.

It may be difficult for young men to understand the feelings of middle-aged ones whose memories go back to the times of which I have spoken. I occasionally yet recall with horror the pains and sickness of heart on discovering that the beautiful world I had been born in was honeycombed and worm-eaten with misery, and on receiving no explanation of it all from my seniors and teachers and preachers, but the old story of its being the will of God. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the horror of the outlook at that time to any young person who was keenly alive emotionally and intellectually. The heart was torn, and the cup of pleasure poisoned by the miseries one saw around him, and the reason was affronted by the utterly inadequate explanations offered by clergy and political philosophers, who had been stationed at the outposts of thought for the express purpose of telling us the time of day.

I may have dwelt on this point unduly, but it seems to me necessary to realize the utter blackness of the speculative outlook at this particular time, before one can understand the good cheer contained in the message

of Henry George. To those who understood it, it was like the sight of a sail to shipwrecked sailors. It was like news of water springs to parched and thirsty travelers. It was like the first coming of Spring to dwellers in a frost bound country. It not only showed the cause of the dead-lock in human affairs which had issued in the primary economic evils of poverty and the innumerable secondary and derivative evils of deteriorated character, moral and physical, but it showed the way out of the cul-de-sac or blind alley in which humanity had been rolling and tumbling in so wicked and wasteful a manner. Henry George showed us that poverty is not to be removed either by extending markets or protecting industries or abolishing kings, but only by removing those unjust privileges which permit certain men to fence in the earth and deny to others the right to live.

That George's political economy is the true one, the world is gradually though slowly coming to realize, but one wonders much that the process should have been a slow one at all. If truth has the compelling power that we like to think is its chief attribute, why should its teachers be constantly treated with contumely and the truth itself scoffed at and rejected? Why should the economic truth expounded by George that there is but one cause of poverty and one cure, have met with slow acceptance? The knowledge of this truth promised to make men free in no mere metaphorical or mystic sense, but in the very tangible sense of emancipating men from the slavery of circumstances, poverty, and struggle. It was surely just the Gospel we were all waiting for and should have grasped with avidity. Why then should it have required 25 years of arduous toil on the part of the few who first saw and realized the meaning of it, to bring this truth into the arena of public life? There are probably many reasons, and it may be useful to examine a few of them.

First of all it ran full tilt against vested interests and tended to that upsetting of settled opinions which men have an instinctive tendency to resist. Like the Copernican theory of Astronomy which was resisted to persecution by the church because it contradicted the churches teaching as to the constitution of the Universe and tended to undermine the church's authority, so the Political philosophy of George was either resisted or ignored by the church because it cut the foundations from below the old doctrine of original sin upon which the superstructure of dogma had been built. It also ran counter to the selfish interests of law makers who were for the most part landowners. It is not so easy, however, to understand the indifference and opposition of the oppressed middle and lower classes to whom it should have come as a gospel of hope. One can only explain it by the supposition that in the mysterious chemistry of the human mind there are psychological moments when, and when only, a new truth can combine with the old stock of ideas already in possession and produce that electric spark we call intuition—insight or vision. This is the only hypothesis by which I can explain to myself the utter failure of mere argument or logical demonstration to convince reasonable and thoughtful men, most of whom are not lacking in the sentiment of

justice which ought to predispose them to see the truth. For, after all, it is by vision or insight we live and understand things and not by logic or ratiocination and the weighing of reasons; and the balancing of considerations are but the unconscious effort of the mind to focus the mental vision to that delicate point where the lines of life fall into their proper perspective. Reason and argument are of course the means by which intuition or vision comes, and the unthinking mind remains for ever without them. But reason and argument are valuable only in so far as they increase the chances of these psychical combinations of ideas which produce the flashes of intuition which carry us one step further in our knowledge of the Eternal verities. The explanation I here offer of this strange inability on the part of reasonable men to assimilate the teaching of Henry George has bred in me a forbearing patience that was not mine earlier in life, but it has also produced a confidence that now the collective mind is really astir, now that the human intelligence is more and more being directed to social problems, the chances of vision are infinitely greater than when men's reasoning faculties lay paralysed under the hypnotising tyranny of Theological and Politico-Economic theories.

Again Henry George's central doctrine has suffered heavily from its extreme simplicity. The genus homo has a curious aversion to simple explanations of its difficulties, or simple remedies for its social ills. Like Naaman the leper, when commanded by the prophet to wash in the river Jordan and be cleansed of his leprosy, they are offended by the obviousness and by the absurd simplicity of the cure offered. It seemed to rob the disease of the mysterious distinction with which it had been invested. It is a curious fact that in religion, in philosophy, in science, art, and politics, the very last things to be learned are the great simplicities.

The chief obstacle however to the acceptance and understanding of Henry George's Politico-Economic doctrines has arisen through a cause which I should like to explain at some length. It is my opinion that we have never yet realized how completely our conception of human life has been dominated, or, I might say, magnetized by the mechanical theory of things to which I referred a little while ago. We have been thinking of human life both individual and collective as a balancing of forces, an interaction of causes with effects which can be measured and stated in quantitative terms, arithmetical or mathematical—so many foot pounds of energy exerted here, reappearing in the same definite measurable results there, minus the amount also measurable, which has escaped in friction. Unconsciously to ourselves, we have been applying mechanical principles to our interpretation of the relation between cause and effect in society. We have unthinkingly been expecting to find quantitative relations between causes and effects, and, not finding these, we fail to understand a true diagnosis when it is offered. All the catch-phrases of science and philosophy have tended to confirm us in this mistaken application of mechanical principles to life. We are told that "every result must have adequate cause"—that "nothing can act but where it is." We hear of the conservation of energy—the convertibility of heat into motion—the equi-

valence of forces—and so on—and we thus fail to observe that this mechanical equivalence of forces does not apply when our field of enquiry is among the mysterious phenomena of life. The moment we rise out of the physico-chemical world where forces can be measured and checked with their results into the biological and sociological strata, then the relation between causes and effects eludes all our methods of measurement. And this is the fact we are so apt to forget just because of the dominating influence which unconsciously to ourselves the mechanical theory has had upon our minds. When men are told that all the distressful facts of pauperism, destitution, and unemployment, are due to the pressure of land monopoly, they look round and say, "why the pressure is very slight, land can be got in Canada for nothing, land can be got at home for very little, landlords everywhere are eager to sell, to lease, or feu." They admit perhaps here and there a little hurtful pressure is to be found, but, on the whole, it seems so utterly inadequate to account for the enormous multiplex results that the hypothesis is discarded as quite incredible, and the causes of social distress are looked for in various other directions, original sin being usually the final scapegoat. The difficulty in understanding the relation of cause and effect between landlordism and pauperism is due, I believe, to our having carried the "equivalence of forces" idea out of the physico-chemical field into the biological and sociological where it does not hold good. If any gentleman present could get his thumb under my skull and exert a little pressure upon my brain (assuming that he was so fortunate as to find some gray matter there) the effect would be prodigious. It would convert me either into a raving lunatic or a brilliant genius. In either case the effect would be out of all thinkable relation to the cause; it would neither be predictable in quality nor measurable in quantity. Here as elsewhere we must believe there is a law in the relationship between the apparently trivial cause and the enormous effect, but it is a law which we do not understand, and which we have no mental machinery for comprehending. Spencer says somewhere "matter in its last analysis is inscrutable, but we understand its laws. Mind is inscrutable, and we understand a very little of its laws, but the relation between mind and matter is altogether inscrutable."

Pardon me if I seem to dwell on this point, but I wish to emphasize my belief that in all things connected with life there is no merely mechanical relation between cause and effect—that apparently small causes may produce great results, and vice versa. I once spent a whole day in a pair of boots one size too small for me and I need not tell any one who has had a similar experience that the pains I suffered were not confined to my feet. My head ached and my back ached, every muscle in my body seemed to join in protest against a slight pressure with which, theoretically, they had nothing to do. The whole corporate body suffered in sympathy with a slight restriction upon the liberty of those two humble members. When in the evening I got myself into another pair of boots, it seemed incredible that a quarter of an inch difference in girth of two pieces of leather could make all the difference between Heaven and Hell. The reason of all this is obvious. My body is not a

machine, it is not a congerie of unrelated parts put together by a skillful artificer and wound up to go. It is an organism that has grown and evolved. It is a great community of living cells, each one dependent for its well being upon the well being of every other one. It is interrelated in all its parts. The thinking cells and the working cells all live a common life and none can say to the other, I have no need of you. An injury done to one cell, a restriction of the liberty and health of one part, sets up sympathetic vibrations in every other part, and so effects are multiplied and magnified in a ratio which, as I have said, eludes all our means of computation.

Now we ought to have known by this time that society is not a machine, but an organism which has grown and evolved after the same manner and according to the same laws as those by which animal life has evolved from lower to higher forms, for Herbert Spencer has familiarized us with the idea. But somehow this fact has never yet deeply permeated into our consciousness. We still continue to think of social relations in terms of the mechanical equivalent of forces. For example, I have found many intellectual men who will admit at once the anomalies and injustices of land monopoly, but their method of reasoning is this: they sum up the total amount pocketed annually by receivers of land rent, divide it by the number of noses, and discover that it means £3. or £4. annually to each when equally distributed. Then they naturally exclaim, what a beggarly reform! Is this the panacea that is to bring about the economic Millennium? They cannot see that it is not the miserable £3. per annum we are after, it is life, health, liberty, free and full circulation of the communal life blood.

Now it may seem a small thing that I am insisting upon, this realizing of the difference between the mechanical theory of society and the organic one, but I am convinced it makes all the difference between our chances of correctly grasping Henry George's central idea or missing it altogether. We think in images. We must visualize in some way an intellectual concept and hold it up to our imagination in some definite form before we can understand it, and I am convinced that the image that rises to most men's imagination when they think of society, is that of an intricate machine put together by human ingenuity and regulated by mechanical laws. Not long ago I had a conversation with a gentleman who has distinguished himself as a professor of Economics. After an interesting discussion, he closed it by maintaining that, after all, a kind of rough justice prevails even at present in the distribution of income, and that unemployment was but the inevitable friction which can never be abolished, and can only be reduced or modified by employment-bureaus and other means of mobilizing labor. Here again, I thought, is that paralyzing mechanical theory. Society is a machine and its joints must be oiled and its bearings kept in order, and its valves and escape-ments and regulators must be seen to, but, in spite of all, friction and heat can never be entirely got rid of.

Such conclusions to the thoughtful and humane man would be depressing to the last degree but for the conviction which is borne in upon one by a

broad induction from observation and experience; a conviction that frequently delivers one from the despair engendered by the terrible problems which beset society; a conviction which will serve to lay the foundations of what will perhaps be proved to be a more satisfying religion than any we have heretofore leaned upon. This conviction which lies inarticulate in the sub-consciousness of every healthy mind, may be expressed in the following words: "Depressing and melancholy theories as to the ultimate laws of things are always untrue." This is a generalization or hypothesis which I believe may be trusted as we trust the law of gravitation, and may be confidently applied as the best answer to all theories that reflect discredit upon the laws of nature. All the same, I warn you that this mechanical theory with its idea of the balancing of forces according to arithmetical and mathematical laws, is a very insidious one, and forms a trap which careful thinkers should beware of. Some years ago at a meeting of the Ruskin Society in course of a discussion on some question of social reform, I made the unfortunate remark that the aim of all social regulations should be to make justice automatic; to make rewards and penalties self-adjusting. Of course, I brought down upon my unfortunate head the ridicule of a humorist who raised a picture of a slot for pennies and a piece of machinery that will not always work as it was intended to do, and which sometimes robs you both of your penny and the thing you desired to possess. Then I saw my blunder. The word I should have used was not automatic, but organic. What I really meant was, that, as in the healthy human body right action of the liver or lungs becomes organic and proceeds spontaneously without help or artificial stimulus, thus producing a sense of well-being, so in the social body the aim should be to produce those conditions of health under which all useful activities would become organic or spontaneous and require no artificial stimuli. The right understanding of Henry George's teaching requires, I believe, a thorough grasp of this truth, that society is an organism and requires for its health and well-being the same conditions of health as are required for an individual life, i. e., perfect freedom for exercise of all its functions.

And now let me begin to close with a few words of consolation and, if I may venture upon it, of exhortation. The progress our movement has made and is making, is slow, but we know it is sure and steady. Not an inch of the foothold we have ever made has ever been lost. Year by year the principle of shifting the burden of the public income on to publicly created values and so freeing personal effort and industry, is being recognized as a just principle, even by men who have not yet caught sight of all the bearings of the question, or realized that the whole distressing problem of poverty is bound up in it.

Another ground of gratification is the consideration of the kind of men who are one by one coming over to us. For many years we resigned ourselves to the fact that we and the other followers of Henry George, were for the most part an obscure body, but we can feel that no longer when we think of the late Sir H. Campbell Bannerman, Mr. Asquith, the two chief law officers

of the Crown, and a host of influential noblemen and commoners both in and out of Parliament.

Our principles are being recognized as not only the first law of theoretic justice, but as the first law of practical liberalism. It is rapidly being acknowledged as the basic of fundamental reform, the reform without which it were vain to give our goods to feed the poor or our bodies to be burned, without which all our talk of love for humanity is but sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

Of all men who take life and its problems seriously we have least reason to despair, for we know the root-cause of the poverty which distresses us and we know the cure; and we observe that in proportion as the intelligence of men is beginning to play seriously around the problem, the truth as we know it is being acknowledged.

In pressing forward to our goal there are one or two considerations which I think we ought carefully to keep in mind. The central truth in the message of Henry George is that there is but one cause of involuntary poverty and of the strenuousness of life from which even the well-to-do suffer, and that cause is monopoly of natural resources. The practical lesson flowing from this truth is, that the removal of this cause must precede, in order of importance, all other reforms whatever. That, it seems to me, is the beginning and end of the Gospel we are called upon to preach. Whether the final form of a perfected society made out of free men and women will be individualistic or socialistic, or a compound of both, is a question on which we are not in a position to judge. All we do know for certain is, that if men are not free at the base, all social relationships must suffer distortion. If an injustice prevails at the foundation of society and men are denied equal right to the use of the earth, that injustice (like a restriction in the blood circulation of a man) will manifest itself all through the social organism, in effects which multiply and magnify themselves in a ratio which no mechanical or mathematical theory can follow.

Our function then is to show the world the beauty of justice and to prove that all the economic evils we suffer are due to our having violated her first principle, that of equal right to the earth which God has given to the children of men. By concentrating on this thought we shall avoid much futile controversy with those whose methods of realizing the ideal would be different from ours, and we shall at the same time escape doing damage to the beauty and simplicity of our central principle. Edward Caird says: "Whenever a truth is used as a weapon of controversy, it loses its universality, and is on the way to become a half truth." I have frequently felt the force of this. Whenever I have used a truth to bang heads with, it has seemed to go all out of shape in my hands and to become quite unrecognizable as the thing of beauty which had straightened out my other thoughts and conceptions and given unity and coherence to the cosmic scheme of things.

We must realize that at present we see through a glass, darkly; we know in part and we see in part, and we can only prophesy in part as to what may

be when old things are passed away; when the dead hand of landlordism and monopoly relaxes its cold grip upon the life of humanity. It is not for us to argue as to what may follow the abolition of monopoly in land and natural things. It matters not to us whether it is followed by a restriction or an extension of municipal or governmental or collective co-operative activity; because we know that whichever way it is there will be an increase in life, in the joy of life, in the freedom from poverty and anxiety. There will be a chance for greed and avarice to become in reality the stupid things they ought to be. What we need to cultivate therefore is the broad open-mindedness of Henry George himself. In one of his later writings he says: "Let me not be misunderstood. I do not say that in recognizing the equal right of each human being to the use of the earth, lies the solution of all social problems. I recognize the fact that after we do this, much will remain to be done. We might recognize equal right to land and yet tyranny and spoliation be continued. But whatever else we do, so long as we fail to recognize equal right to the earth, nothing will avail to remedy that unnatural inequality in the distribution of wealth which is the parent of so much evil. Until we make this fundamental reform all material progress will but tend to differentiate our people into the monstrously rich and frightfully poor."

Some of us have almost reached the age at which George passed away. Those of us who are conscious that we have not yet stopped growing and that our horizon is still widening, must feel an unwillingness to assume that his opinions were closed and final and might not, had he lived, have undergone some modification or alteration. In any case, our only safe course is to hold tenaciously to that fundamental truth which it is his glory to have established, i. e., that there is one cause sufficient to account for all the poverty we see, and that that cause is removable.

This is the truth the teaching of which evoked from that most unfortunate and most illustrious of his accusers, the late Duke of Argyle, that contemptuous and derisive epithet which we now accept in all seriousness as his rightful title, "the Prophet of San Francisco."

LANDHOLDING or landlordism is at present a monopoly in the hands of a small proportion of the population. To create freer opportunities for working land, this monopoly must be destroyed. The only way to do so is by placing a tax on the value of all land, used or unused, urban or agricultural. This will compel owners of idle land to throw it open to capital and labor, and owners of improperly developed land to raise the standard of development. Further, the revenue derived from a land values tax would enable the repeal of oppressive taxes on industry and further stimulate production.

SIDNEY J. PHILLIPS.



FRANK STEPHENS' HOUSE AT ARDEN
(TYPE OF ARDEN HOUSE)



MEDIAEVAL PAGEANT AT ARDEN
(See page 46)

SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An Illustrated Bi-Monthly Magazine
of Single Tax Progress.

Edited and Published by
JOSEPH DANA MILLER, at 150 Nassau St.
New York

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:—In the United
States Canada and Mexico, \$1.00 per
year. Payable in advance.

Entered at the Post-office, New York, as Second
Class Matter.

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1910

EDITORIALS.

A LOT of public men are making political capital now-a-days by talking Single Tax—and calling it by other names. Wherefor it behooves Single Taxers to preach the unadulterated truth and call it by its name, and cease preaching anything else to the end that all others may take courage.

LET the politicians do the politicians' work. Let us create public sentiment. On this the politicians grow. We do not need to supply the politicians from our own ranks, but we can furnish the ammunition.

THE Single Tax is only a method. The goal is equal rights to land, the aim, to make men free. Raise the banner now of the Land for the People, and keep it flying.

PERHAPS nine tenths of our Single Taxers make poor politicians. And the reason is clear. In contemplating the failure of much of our political activity, this truth should be carefully borne in mind. When a conviction of the Single Tax takes possession of one, that instant a politician is usually spoiled for all time. But if by some perverse inclination he is then forced into lines of political activity, a propagandist is lost and a poor politician is found.

SINGLE Taxers should be the Garrisons and Phillips of this new and greater emancipation movement—not the Lincolns and Searsons. The latter will arise in their own good time and in their own way. Leave political work to the politicians.

IN this there is no criticism intended of those of our friends who have started the Land Value Tax Party. If this party should develop strength, it will attract to its ranks the politicians that are called forth by great occasions. And the critics of the new movement for independent political action should remember the motive that inspires most of those who have taken up this line of activity. This motive is to prevent that kind of political activity which has so often diverted us from the true aim, sweeping us aside in advocacy of questionable measures—questionable in so far as they relate to the more fundamental appeal. In other words, the party idea attracts these men as a most valuable and effective means of propaganda, as furnishing the line of demarcation for those who wish to confine their political activities to work for the land value tax, without compromise of any sort. It is a long campaign that lies ahead of our friends and the difficulties are appalling,—but they have already secured a lot of advertising for the movement that must be gratifying to the members, and is certain to result in making other converts to the cause—and after all what we need are converts.

MR. JOSEPH FELS ON THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TWO GREAT PUBLIC ISSUES.

I agree that direct nominations, the initiative and referendum and the power of recall are desirable, but the clear agitation throughout the country for the taxation of land values will bring these things into being more quickly than in any other way. Just you help to educate the people on the land question and something will break loose. Before the people can understand how to cure, they must first know what the disease is.—From a private letter from Joseph Fels.

SINGLE TAX AND DIRECT LEGISLATION.

While we believe in legislation by the people, in that means to the attainment of democracy known as direct legislation by the initiative and referendum, there are certain considerations respecting the demands for these reforms to which it may be of importance for Single Taxers to direct their attention.

Most important of all is the truth that political democracy cannot exist without a true economic basis. This ought to be clearly apprehended by every disciple of Henry George. If representative government has failed—as is the too broad contention of those who stand for direct legislation as the first and most needed reform—it is largely because of unjust and unstable economic conditions. It is also due in almost equal measure to the apathy and want of intelligent conviction among the people themselves.

For it cannot be contended with entire truth that representative government is wholly unresponsive to popular demands. If this were true we should have made no progress under it, yet under this system great reforms have been fought and won. And though it is not true that the people at all times and everywhere get the best government they deserve, nor that their representatives always truly represent them, there is nevertheless enough truth in such generalization to arrest the somewhat hasty conclusions to which our friends of the direct legislation leagues too lightly leap.

The consideration that should most seriously concern us, however, as Single Taxers, is the order of precedence of these two reforms. Political and economic reform are both important. But political reform, even of the kind which would apparently enable us sooner to secure permanent economic reform, must be based, as we have indicated, upon two conditions; a more intelligent apprehension respecting the laws of production and distribution and greater equality of possession among the people. It is even conceivable that the body of voters, untrained in economic thought, ignorant or unconscious of their

basic rights, called upon to decide on questions of legislation affecting the reform to which Single Taxers are pledged, would yield less readily than representative bodies to the influence of active minorities preaching insistently a great truth.

We may be accused of a lack of faith in the people, of a distrust of real democracy. On the contrary, our belief is in democracy. But democracy is not political merely—it is economic. Disinherited men cannot be political freemen—such men cannot freely exercise political rights. And the House of Democracy built upon the unsafe sands of economic slavery must sooner or later totter to its foundations. But men conscious of their economic rights will build wisely and securely. They will readily overcome such imperfections as may exist in the machinery of government for the free expression of their will, overturning them where they exist and substituting better forms of democracy where imperfect forms survive.

Today many business men and merchants are conscious of the burdens imposed by present methods of taxation. They would, were it left to them, reorganize the system on a basis nearer the ideal which we of the George faith cherish. Certainly they are prepared to take the initial steps that are involved in the adoption of the Single Tax system—that are necessary for its beginning. Is it quite so certain that a plebecite would support them in this demand? We know how utterly ill-informed and careless the average man is on matters of taxation. Because he does not feel the burdens, he assumes he does not bear them. It is precisely the class who feel these burdens who have, under our representative system of government, the influence that counts most with our legislators. It is for this reason—and not because of wide popular comprehension of our demands—that we are making the progress that is everywhere visible. Before we can safely depend upon the masses to support us, much remains to be done along the lines of effective education. And yet it seems to be assumed that the triumph of the Single Tax cause awaits only the verdict of a plebecite. Let us not so delude ourselves.

This may not be a conclusive argument

against direct legislation, and it is not so intended. But it is an argument for education in the principles we hold before attempting to perfect the machinery of government. And let us reflect that six states, or one eighth of the union, now have direct legislation. If a working example of the Single Tax is desired as sufficient to convert the rest of the United States, and it is held that such example may be most speedily secured where this system is in operation, it would seem that the field is already broad enough for experiment, and that labors for further extension of the system may well be left to other hands, while Single Taxers devote themselves to the more important work of teaching men their economic rights.)

The important question is as to the duty of the hour. Should Single Taxers stop even for a short time on the road as preachers of economic righteousness to perfect governmental machinery? We believe it is no part of our work—that the goal of democracy will be sooner won by teaching men their economic rights. "Then something will break loose," as Mr. Fels says elsewhere in these columns. Men will break their political bonds along with their economic bonds. The whole unjust and defective political framework of society will yield to economic assault—for it is built on economic injustice and the ignorance and apathy of men as to their basic rights.

Perhaps there might be some excuse for Single Taxers engaging actively in the fight for direct legislation if this cause were being neglected. But as a matter of fact it is in good hands. It has won splendid victories in Oregon, Oklahoma and Maine, and is finding lodgement elsewhere. It has secured leaders of exceptional power and ability, such as Senator Bourne, of Oregon, and George H. Shibley, of Washington, D. C., whose services to the cause merit more than this passing recognition. Perhaps it is an evolution of democracy; certainly, its triumph seems inevitable. And it is perhaps just as well for the cause of direct legislation that it has not found its chief apostles in Single Taxers, or rather that the body of Single Taxers has not bent its energies to securing it. And this for reasons that will appear obvious enough

to the thoughtful. It is at all events better for the Single Tax movement, for there would be present the temptation to disavow its importance to the Single Tax while advancing the delusive plea that it was in the interest of all true reforms—a plea none the less delusive because true. We do not imagine that those who compose the bodies actively engaged in the work for direct legislation will be especially grateful for Single Tax agitation in its favor.

There is another temptation, too. The movement for the initiative and referendum is popular—ever so much more popular than the Single Tax. It brings the brilliant men of our movement in association with brilliant men elsewhere—and intellectual comradeship of this order has its fascinations—and its dangers. But at all events, to the extent it diverts our leaders from their real work as preachers of economic righteousness, it is distinctly unfortunate.—J. D. M.

ALEXANDER MACKENDRICK.

(See frontispiece.)

Mr. Alexander MacKendrick, (President for the year of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values) is an enthusiast in all that concerns the well being and advancement of the League over which he for the time being presides. Outside this sphere he is widely recognized as a careful student of public affairs. In his earlier years, he devoted much time to the study of the writings of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and other 19th Century philosophers. In this connection Mr. MacKendrick enjoys the society of many of the Professors who have held Chairs in the Glasgow University, and of many able journalists and authors.

He became identified with the Henry George movement in Scotland some ten years ago, when he commenced valiantly to argue himself into a belief in the teachings of Henry George. He studied "Progress and Poverty" diligently, and discussed the subject matter of the book with an open mind in all its moods and tenses. In due course he became firmly convinced

that Henry George's position was sound and impregnable. This meant to him the breaking away of old ties, and entering into new outlets for his energy and enthusiasm. But true to his own sweet reasonableness he glided into the new movement, more or less unconsciously, and without breaking one single friendship.

Although not enjoying the best of health, Mr. MacKendrick is ever active, and never fails to take advantage of any opportunity to state the case for the Taxation of Land Values; when no opportunity comes his way he sets out to find one. He believes that the remedy proposed by Henry George for the solution of the poverty problem, is the only remedy available, and is firmly persuaded that the Taxation of Land Values with the abolition of the existing system of taxation, would not only solve the poverty problem, but put an end to the many problems arising out of poverty, which have vexed and tormented philosophers and politicians in all ages and in all countries throughout the civilized world.

Mr. MacKendrick is an uncompromising advocate of the policy the Scottish League exists to promote, and is ever ready to join heartily in all the plans of the League for promoting a wider knowledge of the Gospel. For this he has the goodwill and affection of his colleagues, and on his part this feeling is entirely reciprocated.

He has a wide circle of friends outside the League, where he is recognized as a good fellow. He has ready access to ever so many different circles open to the discussion of social problems, and much of the good work he does for the movement is carried on in quiet and unassuming ways. Wherever he finds a sympathetic or likely man or woman, or any group of them, he is untiring in his efforts to bring them within the fold, and when this more congenial work is wanting he will read a paper to some outside body, join in a debate, or take the Chair at an open air meeting, at a moment's notice.

A principal feature of Mr. MacKendrick's efforts are frequent letters and articles on Land Values to the *Glasgow Herald*. These are always welcome for their marked ability no less than for the sweet and persuasive style of the writer.

Than Mr. MacKendrick our movement does not contain within all its wide range, a more sincere and indefatigable servant. On another page will be found a notable address on Henry George before the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB CELEBRATES HENRY GEORGE'S BIRTHDAY.

At last! The Manhattan Single Tax Club has distinguished itself by holding a dinner in commemoration of the anniversary of George's birth where the speakers' remarks were distinctly audible, uninterrupted either by the rattle of dishes or the music of carousal. And it was a very enjoyable and entertaining affair, and the menu was all that could be desired for the very moderate price per plate. Eighty-eight persons participated.

President Leubuscher presided, handsome as ever and bronzed by his summer stay at the seaside. He spoke briefly as follows:

"We are here to celebrate the anniversary of George's birth. Certainly we have abundant cause to congratulate ourselves on the progress that is being made. The George idea has taken root even in the president's mind. Taft has shown by his great speech before the Conservation Congress that the doctrines taught by the man whom we honor, have borne fruit in unexpected places. It is most significant, coming from the source it did." President Leubuscher here referred to the recent report of the Congestion Congress held in this city, and said: "All these things show that the doctrines of human rights preached by the man whose anniversary we are celebrating, are advancing with rapid strides."

President Leubuscher read the following letter from Poultney Bigelow:

"Impossible, my dear Mr. Fink. I shall pour a libation to the truth as seen and taught by Henry George on Sept. 10th, but it will be at my father's home—he is nearly ninety-three, and among the many things I owe to him is a conviction that between nations, as between individuals,

a selfish policy is unmanly and unwise. We must attack trusts and the privileged classes by removing the source of their fatness, that is, the so-called Protective tariff. After that we shall breathe more freely and in a purer moral atmosphere, imbibe the courage to place taxes singly on the soil—our prime necessity. I speak as a landowner and farmer, a free trader and a disciple of Henry George, whom I have known and loved, in the flesh and in the spirit now thirty years. Success to your gathering—and rest assured that I never miss an opportunity of spreading our truth in the press whenever possible."

Pres. Leubuscher introduced Byron W. Holt, who has returned from the Antwerp Free Trade Congress. Mr. Holt said in part:

"This August the Free Trade Congress met at Antwerp. Incidentally there was a Single Tax Congress. There were sixty delegates from Great Britain, about half of whom were Single Taxers, and there were ten delegates from New York, seven of whom were Single Taxers.

"The Congress listened to Prof. Brentano, of Munich, tell how the cost of living had arisen in Germany, so that it was probably higher than in Great Britain, and though one would expect that in view of the high prices of farm products the condition of the farmers would be improved, increased land values had more than absorbed the gain to the farmers.

"In the Antwerp Congress the Single Tax kept constantly coming up, and when it did not come up in any other way, Mr. Fels butted in with it. The officers of the conference were from the first antagonistic to the Single Taxers, and it soon became evident that they would try to prevent the discussion of Mr. Verinder's paper showing the connection between free trade and the Single Tax. A conference of Single Taxers was therefore held with a view of adopting measures to insure its discussion. At this meeting about forty attended. Yves Guyot, of France, had threatened to leave the conference with his French delegation, if the Single Tax were discussed. Mr. Fels said if it were not discussed, the Single Taxers would march out.

"The future of England seems to belong

to the Single Taxers. They have offices next to the Parliamentary Buildings. It is the headquarters of information for the members of Parliament."

Mr. Leubuscher introduced Mr. John Moody as the man who wanted "facts." Mr. Moody said in part:

"It is awful to pull a man out of Wall street and ask him to speak to a lot of innocent Single Taxers who know nothing about Wall street. It has always seemed to me that the average Single Taxer has not analyzed Wall street sufficiently, and when he has not done so he lacks the knowledge which would enable him to present the Single Tax in a most forcible manner. For no other section of the country has done so much to make the Single Tax inevitable as Wall street.

Newspapers, legislative halls, the pulpits, are antagonistic to Wall street. Bankers and captains of industry are attacked because they are doing something in Wall street. Yet Wall street is helping the Single Tax by every move that it makes. For during the last twenty years, Wall street has done little else than capitalize land values."

Mr. Moody recalled a paragraph from Frank Parson's work, "The City For the People," in which the author said that if we were to tax land values alone, "all Wall street with its bonds and stocks would escape. This is the typical error of the honest student. The reform might perhaps be useful as keeping down the value of corner lots in cities, but that was as far as it went. If Single Taxers would concentrate their attention on what is being done in Wall street in the capitalizing of land values, they would be in a better position to meet arguments of this kind.—For example, easily one-half of the capitalization of the railroads of this country represents the capitalization of land values.—When we ask why railroad rates are high, we are not given the correct answer. Democrats and Republicans cannot tell us. Single Taxers are alone competent to tell us. When a stated sum like \$10,000,000. is spent for equipment on a railroad, that sum is capitalized by the issue of stocks or bonds; the equipment wears out in ten or fifteen years and goes to the scrap heap;

but the obligation created originally to pay for the equipment is still outstanding. The depreciated value of the equipment is offset by appreciating land value. It is partly in this way that it has come to be a fact that of a total capitalization for the railroads of about \$16,000,000,000., probably one half or more now simply represents the capitalization of unearned increment, or land value.

"When we get a physical valuation of railroads, we will know how far this right of way has been capitalized. We can then separate the value of equipment and so forth, from site value and terminal value. We will then be able to show how it happens that railroad capitalization increases so much more rapidly than railroad mileage."

Mr. Moody then urged upon Single Taxers the caution to make no common cause with men who want to pursue the "gum shoe" method, or who are ready to enter upon campaigns of compromise, and told of his own unsatisfactory experience in the attempt to rejuvenate the Democratic party of New Jersey. He also warned the Single Taxers to place no reliance on the Tariff Commission, and related an account of his interview with one of the gentlemen appointed on that commission. Mr. Moody closed with a feeling tribute to the memory of Henry George.

Dan Beard was introduced as the man who illustrated "A Yankee in King Arthur's Court," and, said President Leubuscher, "it seemed to me that the illustrations were stronger than the text." Mr. Beard is an example of that rare specimen of humanity that grow old gracefully, for at the beginning he declared that he belonged to another age. In allusion to the remarks of Mr. Moody, he said that he did not know about the advice of the speaker to concentrate his mind on Wall street. He had a friend who concentrated his mind on Wall street and it cost him eighty thousand dollars. He said that in making a speech before Single Taxers, he felt like the man on his way to Danbury, who being questioned as to his destination said that he was "going to Danbury to get drunk, and, by Gosh! how he dreaded it!"

"We no longer have a border land. Once when a man failed in business, he went out west. In those days we grew a vigorous, healthy type of men, like Simon Kenton, Dan Boone, Kit Carson, and Peter Cartwright." These men he described with some amusing experiences from their lives. "Today the frontier is gone and with it the buckskin knight. A free land produces that kind of men. It was free land that made George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. If Lincoln had been born on Fifth Avenue, and had been toddled around with a trained nurse, with ribbons on her hat, he would not have been the man he was. It is hard to be a man in a big city. Lincoln was a big man, and it was the moral force that made him great. It was the moral force that made Henry George great. That was the power that gave the impetus to the Single Tax, and is destined to carry it forward through the ages."

THE GEORGE ANNIVERSARY AT LOS ANGELES.

The Los Angeles Single Tax Club celebrated George's Birthday on Sept. 2nd, 1910, and a large number of the followers of the Prophet of San Francisco were in attendance.

The "feast of reason and flow of soul," was presided over by Edmund Norton, who acted as toast master, speaking of the wonderful advance and ultimate success of the Single Tax movement throughout the world, and introducing the speakers.

Dr. Adah S. H. Patterson talked on the ethics and justice of the Single Tax. Hon. Richmond Plant told of the pernicious constitutional amendment which the big grafters are trying to pass, taxing property according to its income, thus exempting idle land.

Prof. Lorin Handley, democratic candidate for congress in the 8th California district, lauded the philosophy of Henry George, which places taxation on a normal basis.

H. H. Mobius, of San Diego, spoke eloquently on the moral and spiritual aspects of the Georgian philosophy, and was

followed by Ed. L. Hutchinson, with very interesting remarks.

Judge James G. Maguire, of San Francisco, the speaker of the evening, a life long friend and co-worker with Henry George, spoke at length on the life and great work of Mr. George, and the powerful influence for good it is having on the thought and action of the present time.

George W. Patterson, trained in New York and Chicago, in the Single Tax, took a flash light picture of the guests and arranged for a basket picnic of Single Taxers at Sycamore Grove, Sept. 18th.

Among those present were: Mr. and Mrs. Robert G. Loucks, Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Fachman, George P. Keeney, James A. Ford, H. Cass Caldwell, Prof. George Starr, Winfred C. Stevens, J. W. Means, Waldo J. Wernicke, Will. Orth, G. W. Slocomb, Mrs. L. J. Anderson, Mrs. E. J. Howe, Miss Emilie P. Briggs.

THE GEORGE ANNIVERSARY IN VICTORIA, B. C.

A banquet was held at the Driad Hotel by the faithful, on the evening of Sept. 3rd. The speakers were Rev. Herbert Bigelow, Rev. William Stevenson, Mrs. C. Spofford and Alexander Raich. Dr. Ernest Hall was toastmaster. Mr. Bigelow said in part:

"When Henry George died people said that would be the end of Single Tax. Every truth, however, has been born in a manger, reared in poverty, despised and rejected of men and then crucified, but when God's truth was resurrected it was written into the laws of men.

"Christians do not sing war songs and I do not like to hear them. Already, however, I hear the tread of marching feet as the mighty host gathers for the next great struggle. I see them led by a little Welsh solicitor. It was the San Francisco printer, however, and his philosophy that made the British budget possible. I am glad we all belong to this one great race. I believe in making it the greatest in the world, not by might of arms, but by justice of its laws."

Rev. William Stevenson's topic was

"Single Tax and Social Reconstruction." Mrs. Spofford spoke on "The Other Half," in which she complimented those who arranged the programme on having introduced the innovation of a woman speaker at a mixed gathering. She showed how it was necessary to enlist women in any reform movement, as it was by this means they secured the education of children along those lines. Woman was the same woman that she was fifty years ago, but the conditions today demanded a homemaker of a different type.

Alex. Raich spoke of George as the greatest of all Americans because he stood for free trade, free land and free men.

John Jardine, member of the provincial legislature for Esquimalt district, moved, seconded by John Meston, the following resolution which is being forwarded to David Lloyd George, British chancellor of the exchequer:

"A meeting of the Single Tax Association assembled in honor of the birthday of Henry George, sends you and your co-workers assurance of our great esteem. We see in the progressive application of land value taxation the first effective and sincere attempt to remove the basic cause of poverty. We rejoice in the success of your budget as marking the beginning of a new era in the progress of mankind. We look forward with great interest to the courageous prosecution of the work which you have begun, and which has already earned for you the foremost place among the statesmen of the world.

"In this province of British Columbia, one-half the improvements of all municipalities are exempt from taxation and agricultural improvements in three of the provinces of Canada are altogether exempt. A number of our Canadian cities, including Vancouver, rely exclusively upon the land value tax in raising local revenues. The budget success has been an inspiration to all of us in Canada and we cannot believe that the day is far distant when the land value tax shall have been advanced far enough to permit of the abolition of all other provincial and Dominion taxes, and thus lead to the establishment of free trade and free land, the only hope of free men."

NEWS—DOMESTIC.

RHODE ISLAND.

NONE OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE
JOINT SPECIAL COMMITTEE ADOPTED—
THE REDISTRICTING AMENDMENT IN THE
INTERESTS OF PRIVILEGE—ADDRESS TO
LABOR.

None of the recommendations contained in the report of the "Joint Special Committee on the Taxation Laws of the State of Rhode Island," which was appointed by the legislature of 1909 and whose report was presented to the General Assembly at its January session, 1910, has as yet been enacted into law. As the report was printed it contained two valuable recommendations, and only two. These were as already printed in the REVIEW: First, "The separate listing of realty and personalty liable to the general property tax, under the headings of land, improvements, tangible personalty, and intangible personalty;" and Second: "Complete assessors' plats as a part of the public records in cities and towns." These two recommendations would furnish data from which an intelligent analysis of the situation could be made, but when the taxation bill which the committee reported to the legislature appeared, these two features were absent; they had been "lost in the shuffle."

The committee's bill passed the lower house at the January session, but failed in the senate; that is, it was laid over until the special session in August, when the committee was continued and the whole matter referred to the next legislature.

What the next legislature will do with the bill is problematical. The legislature has heretofore consisted of a house of 72 representatives, and a senate consisting of one member from each city and town, 38 in all. At the election in November, 1909, the people adopted an amendment to the constitution dividing the state into 100 districts for representation in the lower house, and one member is to be elected by the people in each district, no town or city to have more than one-fourth of the whole number of representatives, and each town

to have at least one. This gives Providence 25 of the 100 representatives, but where before when it had one-sixth or 12 of the 72 representatives they were elected on a general ticket, and each elector voted for all of the twelve, they are now to be elected by districts and each elector will vote for one. The senate remains unchanged, consisting as before of one member for each city and town.

This redistricting amendment is something that the "interests" have been trying to get through for years. It simply adds to the number of rotten boroughs that they can control or that they think it will be possible to control. Under the old system it was always possible that the opposition might gain the upper hand, in the lower house at least, but the adoption of this amendment has made such a contingency very, very remote. The "interests" have always had the senate; twenty small towns with less than 8 per centum of the people electing a majority of that body, so that it has never been possible to enact any legislation to which the "interests" were opposed, but a recalcitrant lower house might some time prevent legislation that they desired.

This is the danger that the "interests" are confident has been removed by the adoption of this amendment. And as long as the electorate permits itself to be hypnotised by a party name, this confidence of the "interests" will be justified.

The following communication is being sent to every labor organization in the state by the Rhode Island Tax Reform Association: "To organized labor in Rhode Island: An important election is approaching. On the complexion of the new Congress and of the new Legislature, much depends for those who produce the wealth upon which society subsists. Whether or no Labor shall receive a more equitable share of its production rests finally with those to whom is entrusted the law-making power, but to whom the law-making power shall be entrusted rests with Labor itself. It behooves Labor, then, to see to it that those candidates for seats in the law-making bodies who are friendly to labor are supported, and those who are inimical are opposed. And the

time to act is now. Partisanship should be forgotten. Pledge the candidates of all parties in writing. Support those who pledge themselves to support the measures which Labor demands, and oppose those who refuse to make such pledges, regardless of their party label. Form clubs in every District for the purpose of questioning candidates. Labor has the strength, if rightly used, to absolutely control the governments, both State and National. Why, then, does not Labor wisely use its strength?

"The Rhode Island Tax Reform Association will send a speaker or speakers on this subject to any organization that will communicate with this office. Let us get together and use the privileges that we have to secure the rights of which we are deprived."

What response the communication will elicit will develop later. Meetings are being held nightly, addressed by local speakers. The audiences are large and seemingly interested. There have also been held every Sunday, during the summer, meetings at the two leading shore resorts—Crescent Park and Rocky Point. These meetings have also been large and the auditors have listened attentively, and there have been many manifestations of approval of the doctrine set forth, which of course has been the equal right of all men to the use of the earth.

The Peoples' Forum—the Sunday name of the Rhode Island Tax Reform Association—is growing to be an institution. Time was when the Monday papers used to carry an item something like this: "The audience at the meeting of the Peoples' Forum, last night, in Tax Reform Hall, comprised eleven men and two women. Mr. So-and-So, told what he knew about this-or-that," but the papers don't carry that kind of an item any more. The capacity of our room is about 100, and it is filled at every meeting, and often overflows into the corridor. I am enclosing for such use as the editor of the *REVIEW* may see fit to make of it the *Tribune* report of the meeting of Sunday, August 11th.

But what's the use? If one were to sit down and try to contemplate the wall of ignorance, indifference and prejudice that

must be demolished before the right can prevail, one would surely go insane. It isn't to be supposed that human nature differs much, but it sometimes seems that if there is anywhere under the sun a more sodden, sordid, soulless community than Rhode Island, it has yet to be discovered. Compared with it the "Man with the Hoe" is an intelligent giant. It can be described in a very few words, so that its condition will be plain to all men, and here is the description:

If United States senators were elected by the people and Nelson Aldrich were the candidate to succeed himself, he would be triumphantly returned. And Why should he not? He has faithfully represented this constituency in that body for nearly 30 years. He is a typical Rhode Islander. Need more be said?—GEORGE D. LIDDELL, Providence, R. I.

FROM EX-GOV. L. F. C. GARVIN.

In my last communication to the *SINGLE TAX REVIEW* I stated that we were anticipating the coming to Rhode Island of John Z. White. Duty, however, called him West instead of East, and his time has been spent, seemingly to excellent purpose, in the embryonic states of New Mexico and Arizona.

In spite of our disappointment as to Mr. White, we have not been idle here. As was the case two years ago we were enabled to take advantage of the shore resorts during the summer outing season. So Sunday after Sunday during July and August, Col. Liddell, Mr. Chase, myself and others, spoke to the crowds at the two most popular resorts on Narragansett Bay. The meetings were better attended and the interest shown much greater than was the case in 1908.

Our evening meetings in the best location in the city of Providence, have continued every night and have proved the most successful ever held.

The Peoples' Forum, held every Sunday evening in Tax Reform Hall, to our surprise have been well attended all summer, as they were in the winter. From these meetings has sprung a movement for ques-

tioning candidates for the legislature. The State Federation of Labor, the Prohibitionists and the Tax Reform Association, have taken steps toward the putting of such questions by a committee delegated for the purpose. It is hoped that one or two influential women's organizations and possibly the State Grange, may also appoint each a delegate. We are satisfied that here, as in Missouri, one or two fundamental questions, such as direct legislation for the State and home rule for municipalities, will be answered by candidates, provided they are satisfied that there is a strong vote behind the questions.

We regard the labor organizations as the most effective force for securing reforms in this state, and with scarcely an exception when appealed to, as quite generally they have been, they indorse most willingly our petitions for local option in taxation. At the present time, however, we are making especial efforts in another direction. While many thinking men in the state accept the theory that public revenue should be derived from monopoly, rather than from production, the number of aggressive leaders in the cause is limited. We are trying, therefore, by personal interviews to awaken a deeper interest among college graduates in the economic and moral issue involved in local taxation. The field certainly needs cultivating. It is surprising how many men out of college only a few years, are at sea covering fundamental facts of political economy. It is not unusual for instance, for a lawyer or other alumnus to say that the effect of exempting personalty and improvements from taxation and increasing the rate upon land values, will merely cause the landlords to put up the rent paid by their tenants and thus recoup themselves.

It was expected that the special session of our State legislature, held in August, would enact the tax law which had passed the lower House at the regular January session. The whole matter, however, was referred to the next legislature, which is to be elected in November and to meet in January. As the House is to be composed of 100 members chosen from separate districts, instead of 72 members elected from the thirty-eight municipalities on

general tickets, a very different kind of body will deal with tax legislation in the future than in the past. It is not improbable that there may be a few representatives chosen well qualified to deal with the question of deriving public revenue in a broad and modern spirit. Indeed we are told here that the members of the Special Commission, to which the tax bills were re-committed, became convinced at the International Conference recently held in Milwaukee, that our general property tax, so far as it relates to personal property, is a blunder. We are led to hope that after further consideration, they will see that every objection which applies to tangible personalty holds against the taxation of improvements, the only difference being that the one can run away and the other can stay away.—LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN, Providence, R. I.

OREGON.

THE INTERESTS AT WORK—SOME OF THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.—THE TAX PAMPHLET PREPARED BY W. G. EGGLESTON.—THE PEOPLE OF OREGON STILL IN THE SADDLE.

The campaign for better things has been much strengthened by the victories of the progressive republicans in other states.

In Oregon the "machine" element, with all its standpats, has been, and is, struggling to come back in the ring. Every Big Business has been full of business. A legislative ticket for the city, of 15 men, was carefully selected in the offices of the Portland Railway Light and Power company, and nominated by a convention of old line politicians and lawyers of the Big Interest Beast from all over the county of Multnomah, of which Portland is the chief part. Other conventions did the same in other parts of the state.

The question is, can the machine come back in Oregon? It can if its opponents, the People, are "doped" and not otherwise. The Big Interest Beast is reaching out for the supreme court of the state, four out of five of its members retiring. It is reaching out for the governor, the legis-

lature, and especially the upper house. Its lawyers have gathered together and condemned the proposed tax amendments and the proposed provision for the election of the legislature by proportional representation. Portland elects 13 members of the lower house at large. A democrat has never been known to be elected. To give proportional representation would be to break the back of the machine, for if it could not keep out the minority party, it could not have a big block of votes to trade. Out of the 60 members of the lower house a block of 13 to start with, together with blocks of three to six from other counties made the Beast master unless it went to sleep, or the people were aroused and concentrated their energies on one thing, as they did when direct legislation by the people went through.

Therefore, the Beast is trying to come back. However, some of its old servants have turned on it, and are telling of its habits and methods of capturing game.

One of these men is U. S. Senator Jonathan Bourne, who is fighting the Beast after having fed it for years. He is a man who knows its tracks. Another is Henry E. McGinn. The latter exposed the present plans of campaign in vigorous speeches, that makes the Beast and all its henchmen squirm and rave.

A big mass meeting was called to tell of all the misdeeds of Henry in times gone by. The writer asked him what he was going to do about it.

"If that bunch undertakes to tell of all my misdeeds when I ran with them and the machine," said the big jurist, "it will take them all night, and we will all go to the penitentiary in the morning!"

Needless to say the "bunch" neglected to say anything that would take them to the pen. And therefore, their fulminations against the progressives fell flat.

The republican party is divided into assembly and anti-assembly factions, the latter being the progressives and in line with the insurgent wing. The assembly is the new name for the old political convention. The primary law of Oregon is the real thing, there being no convention necessary, nominations being made direct by the people of each party.

The Machine Beast has tried to come back with a convention, just the same. So much for politics.

The official pamphlet of Oregon, with 32 measures in it and arguments pro and con concerning many of them, is now going out to the voters. It cost all told in round numbers about \$25,000. to reach 120,000 citizens.

In it are three tax amendments. Two proposed by the legislature at the request of the Grange. One proposed by organized labor. The three together will sweep away the constitutional restrictions now preventing local option in taxation. They will not provide for the Single Tax, nor for land value taxation. They will simply clear the ground.

The third tax amendment cinches the others, and would prevent some abuses that the Grange amendments do not provide for. It would give county rule in local taxation and make it impossible for the legislature to pass a tax law without the consent of the people. It is suspected that a scheme is being incubated to have the next legislature pass a bill exempting from taxation logged off lands, and possibly all timber lands, pass it under the emergency clause (which latter prevents the application of the referendum) and thereby establish a landed aristocracy of corporations that would not die easy. The tax measure proposed by organized labor would stop that.

The campaign for these measures is being carried on quietly. W. S. U'Ren, W. G. Eggleston and the undersigned are on the list as placing before the people a pamphlet on "Peoples Power and Public Taxation." The first edition of 20,000 has been exhausted. The second of 70,000 at this writing is running through the presses. The able pen and thoroughly trained mind of W. G. Eggleston is to be credited for its writing and compilation. The last edition is replete with facts and figures of a most sweeping and fundamental nature. Several cartoons and a number of illustrations of vacant tracts, lots, factories, office buildings, etc., with appropriate data as to value, taxation and utility, assist the reader to form conclusions.

Portland has a municipal water system.

It has spent millions, derived from water users to extend mains past speculative tracts, and thereby made millions for a few land owners, for without city water, lots do not sell well. Three years ago the people by a small majority, stopped this graft. Now it is proposed to come back with it, and the people are asked to endorse the old system. In this pamphlet is shown the picture of a vacant tract of 445 acres within the city limits, which it will cost \$106,800. to provide with water mains, and thereby increase its value \$267,000. Inside and outside the city limits are thousands of acres of speculative tracts needing water. The people using water will pay for extending mains to these tracts if this measure now before the people of Portland so decrees.

The people of Oregon have always been hard to get out to meetings. Progressive steps in the past have not been accompanied by great gatherings. The Peoples' Power League has passed its measures with widely circulated literature. Its four measures on the ballot now are along the line of more power for the people and less power for privilege.

Of the 32 measures on the ballot, nine pertain to the formation of new counties, one of which will take that matter out of the general elections in the future and place it with the local sections interested.

Six measures are proposed by the legislature, two of which pertain to taxation, and are called the Grange Amendments. The other measures were not wanted on the ballot by any body of citizens. One of them is the infamous constitutional convention bill, which if the people endorse it will, in all probability, force on the state a retroactive constitution without the people having anything to say about it, as was done in Delaware in 1896.

There are not more than 12 of the entire 32 measures requiring any careful consideration. An average legislature would vote on the remaining 20 in a very few hours. The citizen has from a month to a year to consider them all. Some were filed as late as July 5th. The state pamphlet will be in every man's hands five weeks before the election. He can easily come to an intelligent conclusion. The

careless and ignorant fall both ways about evenly on important questions, leaving the intelligent to decide. The backward looking papers are urging that the citizens vote No on everthing. They will be balanced by the citizens voting Yes on everything.

Throughout the state the Granges are considering the most important. At a recent meeting of one local Grange, four were discussed in two hours. Four more will be considered at its next meeting. The people may make some mistakes. Many farmers are dreadfully afraid of the Single Tax, but also very much dissatisfied with the present tax laws. This much must be borne in mind, however, that if the people do "bark their own shins," they have a right to do so, and by doing so will stumble into the right path. If led astray they can return "on the back track" at pleasure, and every lick for economic progress struck in any part of the world, is a help to Oregon.

Recently, F. E. Coulter, the intrepid and able leader of economic agitation in Canada, has returned to Oregon for a few months, and if given a little encouragement, will start fires along the trail that will beat any forest conflagration on record.

The people of Oregon are in the saddle and they have only to stay in it to ride to victory and liberty.—A. D. CRIDGE, Portland, Oregon.

WINNIPEG.

REV. HERBERT S. BIGELOW SPEAKING TO CROWDED HOUSES—A DEPUTATION OF FREE TRADERS TO WAIT UPON SIR WILFRED LAURIER—INCREASING PUBLIC INTEREST.

Herbert S. Bigelow has been here. At a time of year when a large number of city folk are away for their holidays, when indoor meetings pass into the limbo of neglect, when churches are but half full, when theatre managements admit their attendance to be "hardly at flood tide," Herbert S. Bigelow has been speaking to crowded houses; preaching the gospel of democracy. He has been so appreciated by some of his hearers—among them some of

Winnipeg's notables—that they have followed him around from one meeting to another. This is truly a healthy sign. And it was so characterized by the Rev. Dr. Sinclair of St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, where Mr. Bigelow preached on Sunday evening, the 14th inst. Dr. Sinclair in introducing Mr. Bigelow said: "It is a healthy sign that a man with a message such as Mr. Bigelow has, receives such a hearty welcome as he has received in Winnipeg."

Bigelow gave his first lecture in this city before the Royal Templars of Temperance. His subject was: "Les Miserables; The Book and its People," Mr. C. C. Hamilton in the chair. Vocal solos were a part of the evening's programme. As described the following day in *The Winnipeg Tribune*—one of Winnipeg's three dailies. "A man of rare power and boundless breadth of human sympathy, born of a deep understanding of primary human nature and gifted, besides, with a wealth of expression, both of tone and phrase—such was the impression of the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow carried away by a large assembly of people who heard him speak at the new Odd-fellows Temple." In moving the vote of thanks, the Rev. S. B. Roberts said that the underlying thought had stirred their hearts and lifted them up. Mr. R. L. Richardson, the managing director of *The Tribune*, in seconding the motion, thought it fitting that Mr. Bigelow should open his lecture course in the city with this lecture, as he had revealed a great soul behind his subject. He still hoped to see the Javes after the big thieves in Canada as well as after the little thieves, and thus speed the triumph of democracy. There were about 150 at the meeting; solos were sung by Mrs. Gus Pringle, Miss May Taylor and J. B. Swinton, M. D.

A luncheon was given in Mr. Bigelow's honor, the following day, Friday the 12th, at "The Angelus" cafe. There were about eighty present. Mr. Bigelow's subject was "Direct Legislation." Mr. W. W. Buchanan occupied the chair. Praise was heard on all hands over this lecture, which is Mr. Bigelow's principal theme.

In the evening he addressed the Canadian Free Trade League. Mr. Roderick

McKenzie, secretary of the Grain Growers' Association of Manitoba, presided at the meeting and introduced the speaker.

A notable action was taken by the Association at this meeting on a motion by Mr. J. A. Stevenson, the secretary, who moved that a deputation of local free traders wait upon Sir Wilfred Laurier upon his return from the Western Provinces, Sept. 5th, to express the views of the league on the government's fiscal policy. The following Committee were appointed to prepare a memorial which it is designed to place before the premier—Rev. A. G. Sinclair, A. M. McDonald, T. D. Robinson, F. A. Crerar, J. A. Stevenson, A. W. Puttee, F. J. Dixon, Rev. Dr. Bland, G. F. Chipman, R. L. Richardson, W. W. Buchanan, Donald Forrester, and Dr. W. E. Burnham. "Although most of the pastors are now absent from the City," remarks the *Free Press*, "the ministerial element was well represented. Among those present were, Rev. C. H. Stewart, Rev. D. S. Hamilton, Rev. J. S. Wordsworth, Rev. W. A. Vrooman, Rev. J. W. Melvin and Rev. Stanley R. Robert, D. D. Mr. Bigelow was listened to with lively interest and repeated demonstrations of applause, and his humorous illustrations were much appreciated."

On Saturday evening, the 13th, Mr. Bigelow lectured under the auspices of the Manitoba League for the taxation of Land Values on "Henry George and his Philosophy." There were over a hundred persons present, and although the evening was unfavorable, the interest displayed in the theme and the questions which followed, was all that any lecturer could wish.

On Sunday, the 14th, Mr. Bigelow addressed two church audiences of about seven or eight hundred each; in the morning at Young Methodist Church, in the evening at St. Andrews Presbyterian Church. His morning text was, "I have come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." A highly gratifying expression of appreciation of the radical sentiments of Mr. Bigelow, was that of the venerable pastor of Young church, who announced after the sermon that the truths, which the speaker had expressed with such strength were the

same truths that he was trying to teach, and for which he hoped Young Church would always stand.

Such expressions of encouragement and approval as Bigelow has received here in word and in deed, in public and in private, from the pulpit and the press, are big with the promise of the better day being nearer than one is sometimes bold enough to hope.

In the arousing of public interest for the causes which he advocates he has fulfilled my most sanguine expectations.—PAUL M. CLEMENS, Winnipeg, Canada.

CELEBRATION AT ARDEN.

Arden celebrated the seventy-second birthday of Henry George. Whether or not this unique settlement, tucked away in the northernmost corner of Delaware, is a working demonstration of the Single Tax, it is known to the world as such. For, let it be known, Arden has flourished and prospered.

The festivities were scheduled to commence Saturday, September 3rd, with a fair at the Arden Club, an historical pageant late in the afternoon, and the usual Shakespearian play in the quaint open air theatre in the evening. Due perhaps to an unfortunate misunderstanding with the weather man, intermittent showers compelled the abandonment of part of this interesting programme.

The fair, the proceeds of which will be devoted to making the Arden Club rain-proof, was very successful. Cakes, ice cream, antiques, carvings, fruits and flowers, and in fact everything essential to a well regulated fair, lined the walls of the soon-to-be rejuvenated barn—the home of the Arden Club—in bewildering profusion. In the evening the fair gave way to a dance.

Sunday afternoon an audience of more than three hundred listened to addresses by well known Single Taxers. C. F. Shandrew presided and introduced as the first speaker Dr. Montague R. Levenson, the old friend and companion of Henry George, who spoke of George as a teacher and intimate friend. He was followed by James MacGregor, who gave a characteris-

tically clear and forceful presentation of our basic philosophy. Rev. R. L. Jackson, of Wilmington, spoke of "The Religion of Henry George," and paid eloquent tribute to the lofty ideals of the departed leader. A short speech by Will Price was illuminated by constant flashes of wit and humor. Following him, Haynes D. Albright, of Philadelphia, pointed out the trend toward the recognition of the truths of the Single Tax doctrine, everywhere so apparent. The last speaker was Frank Stephens, the "little father" of Arden. In a stirring appeal he urged those who had maintained an attitude of indifferent neutrality to "choose sides" in the inevitable struggle between privilege and democracy.

In the struggle for supremacy between the rain and the fair, the fair finally emerged triumphant, and attracted swarms of visitors all day Monday. However, the big event of the day was the historical pageant. This was witnessed by more than a thousand visitors, mostly from Wilmington, Philadelphia and the surrounding district. Before four o'clock a score or more of automobiles were parked on the common. The pageant was a representation of "Merrie England" in the days of Robin Hood. The lord of the Manor, followed by knights, ladies, retainers, villagers, students and representatives of the various guilds in mediæval costumes, constituted a most interesting spectacle.

Perhaps the most interesting figure of all was that of George Brown, as a mendicant at the roadside. So realistic was this characterization, rags, barefooted, plastered with mud, piteously begging alms from some "noble gentleman" or "fair lady," that many of the onlookers needed assurance that it was only "part of the show."

In the evening, fancy dances, one act scenes from "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "Robin Hood" and "Julius Caesar," concluded a day crowded with enjoyment. Needless to say, Arden supplied all the talent. And Arden is quite capable of performances which would make some of the more pretentious metropolitan artists put their laurels in safe deposit vaults.

BOYS DEBATE.

On Wednesday evening, Sept. 7th, in Terrace Lyceum Hall of this city, a debate on Socialism vs. Single Tax was held before an audience of about four hundred, of whom quite fifty per cent were young people of both sexes. The new tenement house commissioner, John J. Murphy, presided.

Appearing for Socialism were Edward James Ross and Bertrand Wells, and for the Single Tax Wm. James Blech and I. E. Solow. The four debaters were all under twenty, and those who spoke for the Single Tax were aged sixteen and fourteen respectively. Mr. Blech has already become known as an active propagandist for the cause. The showing of all four young men was very creditable. The profits were equally divided between the *Daily Call* (Socialist) of this city and the SINGLE TAX REVIEW.

In the latter part of August the Fairhope Hotel at Fairhope, the Single Tax colony in Alabama, was destroyed by fire. By the active work of volunteers much of the contents and all the surrounding cottages were saved. The building was owned by W. L. and E. L. Ross, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Daniel Kiefer having sent a copy of George's Condition of Labor to Colonel Roosevelt received from that gentleman's secretary the following acknowledgment: "Mr. Roosevelt desires me to tender you his warm thanks for your courtesy in sending the pamphlet."

It is hoped that in the forthcoming issue of the REVIEW a full report of the activities of the Fels Commission will be made to date. It is contemplated that in November a meeting will be held at which not only the members of the Commission, but many of the members of the Advisory Committee will be present. At this meeting, future work will be outlined, and the work already accomplished will be reviewed. Mr. Fels will be present.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DISTINCTIONS AS TO PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

EDITOR SINGLE TAX REVIEW:

In the last number of the REVIEW Mr. Lewis H. Clark based his opposition to a land value tax party on the alleged failure of the national Prohibition party; his "reasons" might also have referred to some other parties. But the writer either overlooks or fails to comprehend the philosophic distinction between a party based on opposition to a popular habit, or on a demand for certain changes in government policy, and such an organization as the Land Value Tax party, whose controlling purpose is to attack fundamental evil.

Assume, if you please, that the Prohibition party had succeeded in its avowed purpose: that it had abolished the traffic in liquors and established universal sobriety, also assume that owing to this sobriety the earning power of the workingmen would be increased to the full extent claimed; yet all must see that enforced poverty would still afflict the people. The value of land might be greatly increased by abolition of the liquor traffic, but that condition would not add to the sum of human happiness. Sober and industrious workingmen could not live without access to the land, the land monopolist would increase the selling price to the limit, landlords would raise rents to the highest figure which would be paid from the increased earnings of the workers, (just as railroads have been known to fix freight rates at their estimate of all that the traffic would bear,) there would still be the unemployed for want of free or easy access to the land, immense fortunes based on land values would increase in number and multiply in amount, the gap between rich and poor would continue to widen, undeserved poverty would inevitably be the lot of the landless, enforced want and starvation would still exist and widespread pauperism continue to afflict the land. Prohibition is merely a policy.

The old Populist party had throughout its platform a propaganda of policy only; thus it could not survive. The Hearst-Hisgen Independence party of 1908 had a

readable platform demanding really good policies, but if every plank of the platform were enacted into law the reign of injustice and the spread of poverty would still continue. Neither of these parties attacked evil at its base; certain of their demands if granted would have strengthened monopoly's grip upon the common people. They did not succeed; they should not, for their programme flouted essential features of natural justice.

Even at that, these parties did not wholly fail. There has been a great increase in prohibition territory, largely owing to the existence of the national party. The Anti-Saloon League was organized in many places to keep votes away from the party, which thus can honestly claim success for results obtained in this roundabout way. Many Populist policies have been adopted by the two leading parties in order to destroy Populism. Even in New York some of the demands of the Independence League of 1905 were put on the statute books, because they were backed by a large vote.

The present day Socialist party, quite different from the others, does attack fundamental evil, and for that reason it is growing. It might eventually succeed but for the fact that in offering a cure it proposes two basic principles directly opposed to each other in their nature and effect. This party demands collective ownership of land, the basis of individualism, and also collective ownership of the means of production, which is the basis of socialism and would result in the complete triumph of monopoly. The party must abandon the attempt to ride two horses going in opposite directions, or it will follow other parties into oblivion.

The purpose of the old Free Soil party was to abolish chattel slavery. Thus it made a determined fight against fundamental evil, and success crowned its efforts. All the propaganda of the previous years had value, but when the Free Soil vote turned an election here and there it did more to arouse public interest in the cause than all the preaching and pleading of the earnest men who long had demanded liberty. After stirring up the people the party name was dropped, the membership

merged with the Republican party, and in due time human slavery ceased.

Possibly Mr. Clark does not regard private land monopoly as the fundamental evil. But to those who so regard it, his conclusion as to party organization is a non sequitor. The failure of a party organized on questions of public policy affords no proof that an organization whose controlling purpose is to lay the axe at the root of the evil tree will fail. If the attack on land monopoly is a mere matter of policy your correspondent may be right, but not otherwise. Let it not be forgotten that no fundamental evil has ever been uprooted in this country by bushwhacking methods; such a result has only been achieved through party organization. Had the Single Taxers organized a party a quarter century ago, and had kept up a brave fight for free land, at the same time sending all other good "isms" to the rear as of secondary importance, who can doubt that we would today be far ahead of the Socialists in numbers and in vigor of propaganda? I verily believe that taxation of land values alone would now be the commanding issue before the American people; that many of the states would ere this have uprooted land monopoly; that the redemption of humanity from poverty and want and starvation would now be well nigh accomplished.

Of course no one can safely predict the future of the Land Value Tax party. Its platform reveals one controlling purpose—a fight against the basic source of all social evils. It is the only party in existence organized to make real war on land monopoly, the foundation of all monopolies that afflict the people; its purpose is to establish personal liberty—to secure equal opportunity to all. The reasons for the failure of ephemeral parties based on policy do not apply in such a case. As soon as the party gets strong enough to nominate candidates for office and secure enough votes to be counted, the propaganda will begin to go with a rush. If the election law of New York permitted us to put a ticket in the field this year—in the present condition of social unrest and partial breakup of old parties—it would be comparatively easy to secure 100,000 votes for

the cause. Then the dawn of day would clearly appear.—GEORGE WALLACE.

A. C. PLEYDELL CRITICISES THE FELS COMMISSION.

EDITOR SINGLE TAX REVIEW:

The Chicago *Public* of August 12, 1910, printed, under the heading "The Joseph Fels Fund of America, an explanatory statement of the work in Oregon, by the Fels Fund Commission," extracts from "an Oregon campaign pamphlet." The general tenor of this statement is that the Joseph Fels Fund is to be devoted primarily to the establishment and maintenance of the initiative and referendum, as the following extracts will show:

"Joseph Fels has agreed to give to this Commission \$25,000. a year for five years, to get the people of the United States to study and apply the science of just taxation in support of their government."

"His object in establishing the Joseph Fels Fund of America is to help to provide an educational fund so that the people may learn to use their power to abolish the 'game of politics,' and apply the science of government to their public business."

"This purpose by Mr. Fels is probably the first attempt by a rich man to establish an educational fund for protection and increase of People's Power in government."

The further statement is made:

"The Fels Commission pays for this pamphlet because the Commissioners endorse its purposes, which is not only to defend the rights and powers already won by the people of Oregon, but to give good reasons for their taking additional powers, and especially the direct power to regulate taxation and exemptions."

The primary object of this pamphlet is to attack the supposed opponents of the initiative and referendum in Oregon. While its one hundred pages contain a number of tables and pictures designed to show the beneficial changes to certain classes of property owners of a change from the present system to the "land value tax," the most striking picture is the cartoon on the back, with a knife dripping blood, endorsing an assertion that the

Republicans intend to repudiate some initiative and referendum proposition; and a number of persons are attacked by name, not because of their opposition to a change in the tax system, but because of some alleged enmity to the initiative and referendum. Nor is this pamphlet the only indication that the Joseph Fels Fund is primarily concerned with direct legislation. It has been spending money in other States for that purpose, and its agents have been dabbling in partisan politics and stirring up strife on behalf of municipal ownership, or at least against corporations operating public utilities.

Letters to members of the Commission have proven of no avail. As they continue to justify their course, I submit this statement of the situation through the columns of the REVIEW.

When the Joseph Fels Fund was started, quite another purpose was announced than the encouragement of direct legislation, or "the increase of the People's Power in government." It was understood that this fund was to be used to bring more forcibly to public attention the great principles which Henry George labored so long to advance, and which, for want of a better name, have been called "The Single Tax."

In fact, the Joseph Fels Fund has attempted to push aside other efforts and to make itself the sole collector and disbursing of funds for "Single Tax" work. In the very first circular sent out by that Commission, and addressed "To the Friends of a Great Cause," the following statement was made:

"The Commission believes that those who contribute to this central fund may feel warranted in referring to us all other requests for contributions for any Single Tax work, confident that if the work for which aid is requested is one that the movement needs, the Commission will appropriate to its support whatever amount seems wise. At the same time, all should feel at full liberty to contribute to as many forms of work as they choose."

Many of those whose lives and work have been influenced by Henry George differ, in details, as to what may properly be embraced within the term "Single Tax." There are some who take it to be limited

merely to a fiscal reform; there are others who do not believe that it is a scientific or sufficient tax system in itself, though admitting much of the fiscal argument in its favor; there are others to whom the main feature is the reform in land tenure that they believe such a system would bring about; but whatever these minor differences, they are in substantial agreement that the "Single Tax" means a philosophy of economic justice and not a little change in the machinery of government.

For Mr. Joseph Fels or others to give their money for the initiative and referendum, individually or collectively, is entirely their own business. But to call this "Single Tax" work, which implies the doctrine for which Henry George worked so long, conveys an erroneous impression to the public, and is calculated to once more sidetrack the Single Tax movement into the wilderness of political expediency.

So long as the Joseph Fels Fund Commission is permitted to retain unchallenged its self-appointed leadership of the Henry George movement, and to distract attention of his followers to political reforms, just so long the great and necessary propaganda work will be neglected. And this work is vital.

There never was a time when there was more demand for a sane, and clear and non-partisan presentation to the public of the fundamental truths contained in the works of Henry George. Yet, after twenty months, and the expenditure of many thousand dollars, the Commission has done nothing to make Henry George's writings more available than if the Commission had not existed.

Nor has the Commission made any attempt, with all its advocacy of democracy in government, to make such an enrollment or organization of the followers of Henry George, as would enable them to have some say in determining the policy of the movement. That policy is still being determined by the five members of the Commission.

Let me repeat so that the point will be clear. I am not asking that any who have seen the great truth proclaimed by Henry George shall stand aloof from other movements towards human betterment, but I hold that an organized movement to promote the principles of the Single Tax

should not be sidetracked into municipal ownership, popular election of senators, initiative and referendum, playgrounds or municipal art, or any of the other movements to increase human happiness.

I have no complaint of the choice which Mr. Fels or anyone else makes as to the purposes for which they wish to spend their money. That decidedly is their business so long as the results do not raise a positive obstacle in the way of progress. But when the dazzling bait of \$25,000. a year is held up before the followers of Henry George and proclaimed throughout the United States in flaming headlines, and the fund thereby established and holding itself out to be the centre of the Henry George movement, is diverted into a side issue, the matter is one that concerns all of those who have at heart the ultimate establishment of the philosophy of Henry George as a rule of social conduct.—A. C. PLYDELL, N. Y. City.

(Mr. Daniel Kiefer, Chairman of the Fels Commission, will reply to this communication in next issue.—Editor SINGLE TAX REVIEW.)

STRONG WORDS FROM JOHN PAUL.

(From a recent letter.)

(Mr. John Paul is editor of *Land Values*, the organ of the land value or Single Tax movement in Great Britain, and one of the foremost leaders there. Our readers are asked to read carefully these words of John Paul in connection with the editorial that appears on page 34 of this issue of the REVIEW.—Editor SINGLE TAX REVIEW.)

We have often been invited, beseeched, and implored, to turn into political fights, on the ground that we could not get Taxation of Land Values until this or that piece of political machinery was effected; or until some obstruction was removed, e. g., the House of Lords. But we just kept on all the same digging away at the ground, and evoking the public sentiment for the Taxation of Land Values, just as if the House of Lords was contained in a page of "Alice in Wonderland." I dare say in this attitude we were likened to the "mad hatter," and that ignoring "the facts of the case," we were asking the question, "Why is a Raven like a writing desk?" We were certainly called some very bad names, and often threatened with some kind of "boil-

ing oil," to be followed by political annihilation if we "did not act sensibly," and shape up like sane men to the work as it actually did exist in the political world. But we just smiled the more, and went on with our propaganda.

Whether the trouble was Home Rule for Ireland, or Home Rule all round, Temperance, Disestablishment, House of Lords, Municipal expansion, Payment of Members, Old Age Pensions, or more efficient voting power, we simply said: All right. You go ahead with these affairs, we are here to educate the public mind on the land question, and the need for taxing land values, and we mean to do it.

But I must say again, that I have a great deal of sympathy with the difficulties with which our American friends are faced. What they say is quite true, "that we here do not understand the American situation;" and therefore, you will have to discount a lot of our reflections on the conduct of their campaign at any point.

May I say in passing, that my experience of the Single Taxers who come here from the United States is, that they are all good men—every man of them. They come with good credentials, and they are straight, uncompromising believers, and I am always glad to meet them. They just have one general weakness; they are devoting themselves more or less to the Money Question; to the Referendum; to home rule in taxation; the Trust question, etc.; and they tell you with confidence that something is going to happen in the United States soon. They don't just know what is going to happen, but they are going to get right there. At this point I can never quite see where our ideas come in. But, of course, I say again, I am in dense ignorance of the American hang of things.

It may be that there you have to hit the Trusts a blow politically, help the Democrats to reduce the Tariff; settle up or modify the currency; effect the Referendum; and all the rest before you get an inning for our proposals. But these aspirations have a familiar sound in my ears, for have we not been told, over and over and over again, that until certain (similar) obstacles have been swept out of the way, it was useless and a lamentable

waste of time to talk about Taxing Land Values? What our "good-natured friends" forget or failed to recognize, was, that we were not wanting the Taxation of Land Values; what we were wanting was, that the people should understand all about the Taxation of Land Values; and in this I am happy to think that we have been more than successful. At least the politicians seem to think we have been successful, and in my enthusiastic moments, I am inclined to agree with them.

I notice in one of the typewritten letters you send me, that Mr. John Z. White says "The English chaps seem to know nothing of our Judicial (so-called) system. When we get the people here into the same mental attitude toward the Supreme Court that the English have toward the House of Lords, we will follow our friends' ideas, though of course it won't be necessary, for long before that day our battle will be won."

This is a very enticing looking statement. I wonder if Mr. White knows, or can reflect for a moment on how the people here were brought into "their present mental attitude" on the House of Lords question? I can assure him that it was not by concentrating on Home Rule for Ireland, nor Temperance nor Disestablishment of the Church, nor any of the other problems that formerly made up the political outfit of the progressive politicians here. The change was effected simply and solely by concentrating on the land question.

The Liberals tried during the past twenty years to make an issue with the House of Lords on Home Rule; on Temperance; on Disestablishment; and on Education; and their failure to do so is now part of the history of the country. And but for our concentrating on the land question, and creating the sentiment for the taxation of land values from end to end of the country, the Lloyd George proposals on our lines contained in last year's budget would have been ignominiously set aside; indeed they would never have seen the light of day. The public sentiment for the Taxation of Land Values saved the situation, and this we can regard as our reward for all the strong effort and purpose we patiently and impatiently exercised all the time the

Liberals would stay lost in the political wilderness. They (the Liberals) wanted to come out other ways than ours, but they had to come our way, or get lost again for another spell.

In an eloquent moment Mr. Gladstone once said, "Ireland blocks the way." These words rang through the Liberal ranks like a call to winter quarters, but we had no listening ear for that sort of "call." We couldn't just understand what we had done to Ireland that she should "block our way," so we just kept pegging away quite confident that what "blocked the way" to the Taxation of Land Values, was the ignorance of the mass of the people.

In due course when the Municipal Bills for the Taxation of Land Values came before Parliament from 1902 to 1906, the Irish Members of Parliament voted for them to a man. The Irish M. P.'s like other M. P.'s, waited till the question came to them; that is a way M. P.'s as a rule have; they always act when they are sure how their supporters wish them to act.

I could only smile when I read Mr. Eggleston's comment that "Neither Paul nor Orr are able to make sound judgments with reference to facts with which they are not familiar."

As I have already stated, this is all very true, but the words and their import recall old memories to me; they come like an echo of the past. How often have I not had it said to me, by the politicians here, of all shades of opinion, and by the Municipal Reformers, who wanted "to do something now" for housing, unemployment, and all the rest, that my enthusiasm for land values and my wilful ignoring of the "facts" constantly interfered with my "sound judgment."

I was once a candidate for the Town Council of Glasgow, and the general verdict after my first speech was that I knew all about the land question, and very little about other questions! That was very true, (I mean my ignorance of the other questions) but I consoled myself with the reflection that the fellows who pronounced this verdict were laboring under the common delusion that motion meant progress!

These were the halcyon days of my life. I came along daily through a perfect cres-

cendo of amazement at my own ignorance!

I have written these views as a Single Taxer, interested in our efficiency at every point, and as your friend and colleague. After all, we each of us have only a limited amount of time, energy, and money, to make for the "promised land;" and it is in this spirit, in the spirit of a deep abiding interest in all our mutual affairs as Single Taxers, that I have written.

When the politicians of the United States get that "move" on, it will be a bad day for us unless the "move" is in our direction. As it appears to me, this can only happen if the public sentiment for us is deep and wide enough to edge them our way; and I am convinced that unless the Single Taxers make this public sentiment, no one else will, for no one else can.—
JOHN PAUL.

ACTIVITIES OF THE LAND VALUE TAX PARTY.

The Executive Committee and members of the Land Value Tax party have not been idle for the past two months. Wednesday night meetings have been regularly held at the corner of 125th Street and Seventh Ave., this city, and Messrs. Darling, Mitchell, Wallace and Kelly have made many speeches. On Labor Day a specially prepared circular letter addressed to the labor paraders was circulated to the number of five thousand. A special letter addressed to the diners was placed at the plate of every one present at the George Anniversaary dinner of the Manhattan Single Tax Club at Coney Island.

The constitution of the party is now ready for distribution to the party members. Those not affiliated can secure copies of this constitution by enclosing ten cents to the Treasurer, W. J. Wallace, 233 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N. J.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee has received the following letter from Washington State and it is printed as an interesting contribution from a believer in the independent party idea:

"I have noticed the formation of a Single Tax party. This meets with my ideas exactly, and I fervently hope it will meet with the success which the principle merits.

I cannot agree with those who believe in the League and interparty methods of propaganda. I fancy if evidence is needed as to the superiority of the party principle, one needs but to look at the astonishing growth of 'Collectivist' socialism. I cannot attribute it to the merit of their economic principles, for I have found too many enthusiasts of their number who are ignorant of them, and have but imperfect ideas of their bearing. It is due, in my opinion, to organization of the sentiment against existing abuses, and the providing of a method whereby that sentiment can find active expression, or at least satisfaction from, a ballot-box protest. And since balloting is the nearest we can come to fighting for what we want—and ballots nearest bullets—it gives an outlet to the militant energies of men whose power would otherwise atrophy and enthusiasm wane.

I asked a Single Taxer (?) who is working in the Republican party in this state what was to be done to prevent the defection of Democrats and Republicans who have lost faith in the old parties to the Socialist party. His answer was 'I expect we'll have to let those who want to become Socialists do so, don't you?' I think this a very weak answer, however, for people generally choose that which appears to them to be the best. If they know of anything better than collectivism—if they do not know of the Single Tax—how can they choose it? It was by mere accident that 'Progress and Poverty' came into my hands, and also that splendid little weekly, *The Public*. It was by no accident that I got the *Appeal to Reason*, *Wilshire's*, Milwaukee's *Social Democratic Herald*, and Marx's *Capital*.

By all means let us have a National party, if there are but forty-nine in it. When the split in the Socialist party between the 'impossibilists' and the 'opportunists' comes, as I believe it will in the course of the next half-dozen years or so, we'll have a place for the reasonable progressives to go, and a place for all Democrats and Republicans who believe in the principles of justice to labor held by Jefferson and Lincoln. I wish we might have them for our patron saints.—G. W. CHENEY.

Mr. W. P. Byles, Member of the British Parliament, acknowledging receipt from a friend of leaflets containing the permanent chairman's address at the Land Value Tax party convention and the argument of Hon. George Wallace before the committee on Taxation at Albany, writes:

"Many thanks for envelope of land value literature. I read them last thing last night, and went to bed rejoicing that I had found another prophet of the true economic faith."

From England comes also the following letter addressed to the organizer, Hon. Joseph Darling, from Mr. John Bagot, editor of the *Middleton Guardian*, of whom Mr. George Wallace writes in another column:

"Your kind letter of the 29th ultimate to hand, for which many thanks. Also the literature of the party movement, which I value and shall keep by me, using as occasion occurs. I am thoroughly with you in your idea of a separate party. We shall do nothing effective until we take our coats off, roll up our shirt sleeves, and strike for our great principle. Political parties have a great knack of making those who lean on them general maid servants. Such will happen here with our people until they go on their own platform, which I am always urging them to do.

I had a most agreeable time with Mr. Wallace. I am glad to find that your movement is running as far as possible on voluntary lines.

I wish your party great and abiding success. It will be the measure of your earnestness, disinterestedness and self-abnegation. You are doing well to ignore altogether the tariff question. Our great reform will hang on to any fiscal system, and ultimately, if given a chance, will absorb any fiscal system.—JOHN BAGOT."

Hereafter meetings of the Executive Committee will be held on Saturday evenings in place of Mondays.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held Monday, September 19th, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, that owing to the present iniquitous and tyrannical election law of the state of New York, it is impossible for

the Land Value Tax party to get nominations on the official ballot for the next election."

It was therefore suggested that adherents of the Land Value Tax Party vote for some member of the party in the blank columns. The Executive Committee has authority to make nominations for any state office, but they may suggest that some member of the committee or any member of the party be voted for in the blank column. Similar suggestions may be adopted in other states where embryonic Land Value Tax Party groups are in process of formation. It may be possible in some districts to place legislative candidates in the field.

ACTIVITY IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Pennsylvania Single Tax League has been holding successful meetings on Monday and other evenings at the City Hall plaza and other places. In July meetings were held every night for nearly three weeks. During the last few months over five hundred pieces of literature were sold at the open air meetings. Our Philadelphia friends have received and filled orders to the number of about two hundred for literature from Canada and the United States, and have sold thirteen hundred books in all.

Among the speakers at the open air meetings during the summer were Chas. D. Ryan, Thomas Kavangh, Joseph Winslow, Peter J. Winslow, Alexander Stirlith, John Dix, Jerome C. Reis, Alfred Guerero, and James Robinson.

The admirable articles from the pen of Frederick J. Haskin on the British Crisis which appeared in the columns of the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* of this city during the month of July were highly intelligent studies of the various phases of British Politics. Mr. Haskin understands what is at the bottom of the struggle, and seldom have we read in the columns of any metropolitan newspaper articles of equal clearness and penetration.

NEWS—FOREIGN.

GREAT BRITAIN.

PARLIAMENT TO CONVENE NOVEMBER 15TH
—THE MEMORIAL TO PARLIAMENT SIGNED
BY 134 MEMBERS—PERTINENT CARTOONS
—WORK OF THE PROPERTY OWNERS' ASSOCIATIONS—CONFERENCE OF SINGLE TAXERS AT MANCHESTER.

Parliament was prorogued on September 3rd, and will meet again on November 15th. Then we hope to hear the result of the deliberations of those party leaders who have been conferring with a view to arriving at a settlement of the vexed question as to whether the people or the Peers are to govern this country. Whatever may be the recommendations of the eight gentlemen who form the Conference the final word rests with the people, and it is safe to say that they are in no mood to pander to a reactionary out-of-date institution such as the House of Lords. That any vital concession to the Lords will utterly wreck the Liberal Party and the character of its leaders is no doubt well known to Mr. Asquith, Lord Crewe, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Birrell. The temper of the people will stand no concessions to their ancient foe—a temper which is well and forcibly expressed in the words of the poet, Swinburne:

"Clear the way, my Lords and lackeys;
You have had your day.
Here you have your answer—England's
yea against your nay—
Long enough your house has held you;
up and clear the way!"

Here the struggle over the Land question is going on in a manner that compels attention. The temporary lull of a couple of months ago came to an end with the publication of the Valuation Forms, and now, whether men wish it or not, they are being compelled to range themselves on one side or the other, for or against the principles of the Budget of last year, and for or against the Government which passed the Bill.

Looking calmly at the political situation one feels with Louis F. Post, that herein the British Isles "the warfare of Demo-

cracy against privilege in the most subtle forms it has yet disclosed has just begun. Yet we may confidently believe with the optimism of the true democrat, that the modern battle for the ethics of democracy will end, as all those that have preceded it in the history of the race have ended, in a victory for rights over privileges."

Yes, the fight has surely begun, and our hope lies in the fact that the conflict is being waged, not so much as to the question whether it would be expedient to tax land values, but as to whether it would be just to do so.

"Is it right?" This is the vital question men are asking themselves. To those of us who believe with Henry George that "Justice means liberty, and liberty is the natural law," and that "the Single Tax is the tap-root of liberty," the answer is clearly in the affirmative. So it is with an ever increasing number of the electors.

At no period in the history of our movement has there been more valid reasons for genuine optimism than now. In and out of Parliament the forces making for the taxation of land values were never so united, or their powers so well directed.

The last act of the Land Values group in the House of Commons prior to the prorogation, is the strongest possible evidence in support of the view here expressed. This was the Presentation on August 3rd, of a Memorial to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other Members of the Cabinet. Below is the title and text of the Memorial.

LAND AND TAXATION REFORM.

"We, the following Members of Parliament, desire to place on record our grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other Members of the Cabinet, in placing upon the Statute Book of the Country the Budget of 1909-1910, which for the first time recognizes the principle of the separate valuation of land, and thus provides the foundation necessary for such further reforms as will result in securing for the people of this Country a more equitable distribution of the burdens of the State, in securing to each the results of his own

labor, and in opening up the land to those who can make the best use of it.

We therefore respectfully urge the Government to continue and develop the policy inaugurated by the Budget by:

(1) Making Land Values available for public needs;

(2) Freeing industry from monopoly and undue burdens of taxation;

(3) Completing the policy of Free Trade by—(a) Securing greater opportunities to produce in our own Country by affording greater opportunities to use the land; and (b) Abolishing the duties that remain on the food of the people.

We ask that this policy may be carried into effect by—

(1) Hastening the completion of the Valuation of all land, apart from improvements, provided for in the Budget of 1909-1910;

(2) Making that Valuation accessible to the public;

(3) Empowering Local Authorities to levy rates on the basis of that Valuation;

(4) Levying a Budget Tax on all Land Values, to be applied—(a) In providing a national fund to be allocated toward the cost of such services as Education, Poor Relief, Main Roads, Asylums, and Police, thereby reducing the local rates; and (b) In substitution of the duties on Tea, Sugar, Cocoa, and other articles of food."

This memorial bearing the signatures of 134 Members of Parliament indicates a line of policy which is well calculated to secure the largest possible amount of support, whilst disarming the largest amount of opposition. In my judgment it is the embodiment of the wisest and strongest policy which could possibly be devised.

The enemy is not asleep. He is wide awake and very active. Like our own party, (I mean the men standing for the Taxation of Land Values) our enemy is well organized. Practically unlimited funds are at his disposal. He sees the drift of things and will spare no effort to frustrate our policy and dish the Government which has initiated it.

The Valuation and Taxation of Land Values overshadows all other questions. The publication of the Valuation forms has

had a "moving" effect upon the forces of reaction throughout the whole length of the land. Now that the Government is calling upon the owners of land to fill in Returns, giving description, area, gross value, etc., of their holdings, it is being denounced for setting up a tyrannical inquisition. Property Owners (really land owners) Associations are being set up all over the Country to undermine the effort of those responsible for carrying out the scheme of Valuation.

Opposition is varied in character, but for every move by the landed interest, there is a counter move by our Organizations. In this interesting and exciting game the United Committee and the various Leagues are playing an important part. In fact, one feels that were it not for the activities of the Committee and its auxiliaries, the land policy of the Government would lack that adequate defence which is necessary.

The Tory press is full of leaders, notes, reports of speeches and correspondence, the chief features of which are mis-representation and abuse.

A recent issue of a leading Tory paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, contained forty letters, a leader and a special article on Valuation. Other opposition papers are also devoting a large amount of space to the discussion of the subject. *Punch* recently had a good cartoon, and upon that the *Daily Telegraph* commented as follows:

PUNCH'S PICTURE.

Under the title of "The Holiday Task," Mr. Bernard Partridge presents in this week's *Punch* cartoon a "study of a Free-born Briton," who, within the period usually allotted to his holidays, is required, under threat of a penalty of £50, to answer a mass of obscure conundrums relating to Land Values, in order to facilitate his future taxation. The picture is a moving one. Through the open door the country landscape may be seen, but the Free-born Briton, seated in his shirt sleeves at a table, has eyes for nothing but a paper headed "Duties on Land Values," of which he has got as far as the middle of the first line. With one hand clutching his head, and a finger of the other pressed hard down on the text, he sits with staring eyes,

surrounded by documents on "Tithes," "Minerals," "Easements," "Assignments," "Fee Simple," "Title Deeds," "Imaginary site Value," and every other conceivable phase of the land laws. Even the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not withhold his pity from the sufferer."

Naturally the *Telegraph* omits to inform its reader that the Valuation forms would have been issued in the early part of the year, but for the fact that the Lords had delayed the passing of the Budget by some six months or more.

The *Punch* Cartoon has been reproduced in *Land Values*. I would also like to see it reproduced in the REVIEW.

Under the title of "Philosophy," an excellent cartoon by F. C. Gould has appeared in the *Westminster Gazette*. It represents a Meeting and a conversation between a Squire and an Agricultural laborer—both typical characters—and runs as follows:

(Squire)—No, Hodge, I'm not at all well! How the deuce can any landowner be well under this wretched Radical Government! It's taken me a whole week to fill up those beastly Land-tax papers.

Hodge, (the Village Philosopher): Well now, Squire, us 'ave all got our troubles: Yew've got more land than you can rackon in a week, and I've never been able to get any land to rackon with at all."

Amongst the papers which support the Valuation Scheme must be mentioned, The *Westminster Gazette*, The *Daily Chronicle*, *Daily News*, *Yorkshire Observer*. As one of our friends remarked, at times these papers read almost like a daily edition of *Land Values*. The fact is that friend and foe are putting forth efforts unequalled at any previous time, and out of all this conflict it is reasonable to assume that truth will out and justice will finally be done to the people who have too long been oppressed.

The Land Union, at the head of which is Mr. E. G. Prettyman, M. P., is reported to be promoting a scheme for securing 250,000 appeals against the Valuations. This it is hoped will bring about the downfall of the whole scheme and those responsible for it. In other words, landowners are not only anxious to change the law, but are

openly advocating the violation of what is now the law of the land. This kind of thing is just being overdone and will likely produce unexpected results. In a prospectus just issued by the Land Union, it is stated "The responsible Government has made a direct attack upon the private ownership of land in this country. It has done so under pressure of a well organized and insidious campaign, financed by a foreign millionaire." In their appeal for subscriptions they give the name of the Honorary Treasurer as Mr. Sidney Hoffnung-Goldsmid.

To give a detailed account of all that is being done by the United Committee and its helpers would require more space than you can afford, but I think I am safe in saying that they represent the most enthusiastic as well as the most effective support of the Valuation Scheme, which, whatever may be its weaknesses and its faults, has brought the enemy out into the open. It has raised discussion. It has compelled the Landlords to defend their privileges. It has wakened up the people and has dispelled the apathy which has always been the greatest obstacle to progress. It is the Henry George men of Great Britain through their Single Tax or Land Value Leagues who have brought about the present encouraging state of affairs.

As M. E. G. Price, M. P., (Chairman of our Parliamentary Group) recently said in a letter to Mr. John Paul:

"The work of the group is the most important and abiding of any in the House of Commons. I look back upon the efforts of 1906-7-8 as the real beginning of the Budget. But your work in the country for years has been the real ground work. If the cause only continues to grow as it has done it will revolutionize our country."

A country solicitor writes to the *Times* of August 22nd: "For once the ideas and forces of revolution have got law and order on their side. Landlordism is to be undermined and destroyed in Great Britain, and instead of being able to invoke the powers of the law, or of the army, it finds them in other hands. This Revolution is unlike a great many of its predecessors; it has a sobering, steadying effect upon the Nation.

The landlords and the lawyers may struggle and kick, but there is an overwhelming force opposed to them."

In years gone by the arduous work of breaking up the ground and sowing of the seed had been done here and there in the country. We had just reached a point where the organization of the scattered forces was essential for the harvesting of the crops. The one thing needed to bring about this organization was funds.

For years great sacrifices had to be made by a number of our fairly well-to-do friends, but in spite of all they could do our efforts were badly crippled for the want of money. Just at the right moment along came a man who had not only money which he wanted to use in the movement, but a splendid enthusiasm which had an inspiring effect. Mr. Joseph Fels (the man to whom I refer) and his devoted wife came to the support of the movement at this critical time, and today there is no end to the activities of the United Committee and the Leagues it represents. The demand for our speakers and literature is greater than ever. Many well known supporters of the movement occupy high positions in the Liberal Party and the Government. Labor M. P.'s are also giving more and more earnest support.

The Secretary for Scotland has recently appointed M. J. Dundas White, M. P., private Parliamentary Secretary (unpaid). A three weeks speaking campaign is now being arranged for Mr. White in the Highlands (October 20th to November 10th), and our Highland friends are delighted at the prospect of hearing a gentleman who has long been known to them as a careful thinker and exponent of our views. The campaign is likely to finish with a Conference at Inverness, to be organized by a Highland Land Values League now being inaugurated by our Scottish League of which Mr. James Busby is Secretary.

The United Committee is publishing an excellent pamphlet from the pen of Mr. White, in which he opens with a statement of the fundamental right to the use of land as stated by Henry George. The pamphlet contains a preface by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George.

Another very useful pamphlet now being

published is a reply to "The Land Union Guide," signed by Crompton L. Davies and John Paul. The pamphlet has been widely commented on by the press. The *Daily Chronicle* of August 12th says:

"The booklet contains a crushing exposure of the Land Union agitation, and sets out in a brief and admirable manner the case for the Taxation of Land Values."

The officials of the United Committee and Leagues are kept busy giving interviews to newspaper men, politicians and others, and are reaching out to various kinds of new work as the demand of the hour requires.

The annual meeting of the English League, of which Mr. Frederick Verinder has been the Secretary from the beginning (27 years), was held on July 20th, in the Essex Hall. Mr. E. G. Hemmerde, K. C. M. P., was succeeded as President by Mr. Henry George, Chancellor M. P. Amongst others attending the meeting were, Alderman P. Wilson Raffan, M. P., James O'Grady, M. P., Francis Neilson, M. P., and Mr. Lewis H. Berens the energetic Treasurer. Mr. Berens reported that he could not remember a year of such continuous progress, not only in Great Britain, but all over the world. Our Treasurer is always happy when sales of literature are good, for this he takes to be a reliable guide as to public interest and progress being made in our movement. This year Mr. Berens was specially happy in giving his Financial Statement, for he was able to report a record sale of literature. Mr. Berens suitably referred to the activities of the United Committee and to the generosity of Mr. Fels, which had enabled so much to be accomplished.

The first Conference of British Single Taxers is to be held at Manchester from Friday the 30th inst., to Monday, October 3rd. The Manchester Town Hall has been booked for the Conference and the Lord Advocate is to open the discussion on the Friday evening. The Henry George Dinner will be held on the following day, and is expected to be a great success.—F. SKIRROW, London, Eng.

Is every Single Taxer in your locality a subscriber to the *REVIEW*? If not, what will you do?

OUR BRITISH COMRADES AND THE BRITISH SITUATION.

(For the Review.)

BY GEORGE WALLACE.

Spending a few weeks in Old England, I naturally look about to see what is doing in the land value tax movement, by making calls on old friends and workers; however, this is the worst season of the year for such a visit. August is the great month for an Englishman to "go on his holiday," and many of our working brethren are over on the Continent or elsewhere, taking vacation.

One man on whom I have called for many years past, is J. B. Hamilton, a member of the London Stock Exchange. The old gentleman is now 83 years of age, and still vigorous. With much satisfaction, and even with pride, Mr. Hamilton mentions the fact that he entertained Henry George at his house a quarter of a century ago. He is still a thorough believer in the land value tax philosophy, and also a believer in the final triumph of the cause. He mourns over the fact that it cannot be accomplished in his time, but he took a red-hot interest in the recent fight for the Lloyd George budget, which he regards as an entering wedge for the introduction of justice and humanity into the management of human affairs.

The first evening after reaching London, it was my privilege to attend by invitation a meeting of the Executive Committee of the English League for Taxation of Land Values. Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M. P., is president of the League, and also acts as chairman of the Committee.

After routine business was attended to, I was asked to address the Committee on the work in America. Gladly I presented the letter of greeting from the Land Value Tax party, which was published in the last number of the *REVIEW*. It was received in the most fraternal spirit, and the members were glad to learn that it is our hope to start a vigorous propaganda in America. Our English brethren have never been able to understand why the Single Tax cause has made so little progress in the native land of Henry George, and why we allow

Canada and other countries to get so far ahead of us. I have told them that a new impetus had been given to the movement by the budget fight in England; that we are trying to take advantage of the awakened sentiment, and get it organized to accomplish good results. Further I told them that we hoped to see much better progress made in the near future than in the somewhat discouraging past.

It was a great pleasure to spend a couple of hours with the determined band of men who are on this Committee, both when addressing them and also in social intercourse afterwards. They are live men, earnest and determined in their work, and they were much pleased with the greetings which I brought to them. By a very hearty vote Mr. Frederick Verinder, the Secretary, was instructed to prepare a suitable response, sending the greetings of the League to the brethren in America.

It has been encouraging to me to spend a few days in Manchester, where the League is constantly engaged in vigorous work. As John Bagot wrote me, the Manchester League is "always on the job." The first evening after reaching the city it was my privilege to address the Economic Class at a largely attended meeting. Knowing I was to be present, they had reserved the whole evening for their American brother. After the address was concluded, a number of very interesting questions were propounded as to the Single Tax work and philosophy. The answers were well received.

On Friday evening the weather was fine, and it was my privilege to speak at a large open-air meeting at the gate of Alexandra Park. On Sunday afternoon I addressed a meeting in an enclosure in Birchfield Park. The crowd was so large as to tax my voice, but they manifested great interest in the cause, not only during the delivery of the address but in asking pertinent and proper questions when I got through. The man who asks intelligent questions at the proper time is a useful member of any audience. Moved by the eager interest of the multitude in the land value proposition to benefit all the people, and to lift the present day load from suffering humanity, I was led to remark to the chairman of

this meeting, in language from the highest authority, that "The fields are white unto the harvest, but the laborers are few." There is no doubt that mankind is eager for the Single Tax doctrine—by which is meant the abolition of land monopoly—but there are very few to carry this blessed message to the hungry and thirsting multitude.

In London the P. S. A. Brotherhood hold Sunday afternoon meetings in many of the churches. I have had several invitations to address these meetings, and gladly accepted when possible, being compelled to decline more than half that came to me. It was my privilege to address a large congregation in the old Abney Church on Sunday last. Here it seemed indeed to be "sacred ground" in the church where Isaac Watts, the poet, John Howard, prison philanthropist, and other old-time worthies worshipped when on earth. My discourse was on fatherhood and brotherhood as revealed in the Sermon on the Mount, and the manifest interest of the audience was very gratifying when it was made clear to them that Christ's teachings applied to earth would make land monopoly impossible—that with the existence of such monopoly here God's will could not be done on earth as it is in heaven. It had never before been made plain to them from the pulpit that the foundation of the Single Tax philosophy was found in the Lord's Prayer. A very hearty vote of thanks showed that this view of Christ's teachings was acceptable to the common people, if not to their regularly ordained teachers.

Mr. Chancellor also urged me to address several meetings in his Parliamentary district. Was able to attend only one of these; to accept all invitations would turn a vacation trip into a season of work rather than of holiday recreation. Mr. Chancellor is one of those faithful ones who do not hide their land value tax light under a bushel after getting office from a political party. He represents Haggerston, an east end London district, which has always been regarded as a Tory constituency. It would be so yet if Mr. Chancellor hadn't waked the people up with the gospel of anti-land monopoly, with its cheer for the

poor and needy. The example of this Member in Parliament is commended to some of our Single Tax politicians in America.

Here in London I miss from their accustomed places the tireless workers John Paul and Frederick Verinder. Both of them are over at the Free Trade Congress at Antwerp. But John Orr, the clear thinker and pungent writer, is filling Paul's place in his absence.

This Free Trade Congress has attracted considerable attention in English and European newspapers, but it will not cut much of a figure in the law-making bodies on this side of the Atlantic. Almost everybody over here admits that free trade is the correct system in theory; but when a European nation wants more money with which to carry on its business, especially its hideous preparations for war, its legislative body promptly resorts to import duties as well as internal revenue taxes for raising the immense expenses. The management of this Congress had invited Mr. Verinder to prepare a paper on the relation of the Single Tax on land values to the free trade cause. Many Single Taxers from England and elsewhere attended the Congress, but Mr. Verinder and his associates were treated with scant courtesy, although he had been asked to prepare the paper. The topic was put off till the last day of the session and then only five minutes allowed for discussion.

The Free Traders of Europe are quite willing to have the Single Taxers assist them at their meetings; but, like the tariff reformers of our own country, they are not willing to assist in the land value tax movement. They still cling to land monopoly, by means of which many of them are very wealthy. As most of these Free Traders are of the house of Have, rather than the house of Want, their treatment of the subject is perhaps naturally to be expected. The time will soon come when the scales will be removed from the eyes of Land Taxers over here, as they are being removed from Land Taxers' visual organs in the United States. When that occurs they will see that both Protectionists and Free Traders, although quite content to receive their votes, will do nothing in

return to further the great scheme intended to lessen and finally abolish poverty.

When Single Taxers unite to fight their own battle—the battle of humanity—and treat all other good propositions as secondary or subservient, the battle will be won. There is no doubt that our English brethren will be strengthened in this idea by the cavalier treatment they received at the Congress. It is a universally admitted fact that in the last Parliamentary elections the Liberal party of England was saved from a crushing defeat by the land taxers, who also supported the Liberals' free trade platform. But the Free Traders are not ready to reciprocate, not believing in, or at least not accepting, the land tax philosophy. It may be they will have to submit to another Tory triumph before they get around to the right position in politics as well as statesmanship.

A memorial to the Liberal Ministry has been signed by 134 Members of Parliament, demanding advanced legislation on the land tax question and that the land valuation now being made shall be hastened. To an outsider it seems doubtful if anything could be hastened in England; here the people move very slowly and deliberately. It is predicted that the work of land valuation provided for in the budget may run over a number of years. However, there is some satisfaction in knowing that it will not have to be done again very soon. Land values here do not change so rapidly as they do in America, and annual assessments or appraisals of values are not necessary. The changes are to be noted when sales take place, and then the Government is to take 20% of the increased value. The Land Taxers declare that in the course of time they will change this 20% levy to 100%, thus taking for the people all the unearned increment in land values, which of right belongs to them.

This work of making a valuation is very tedious, and very annoying to the small owners, as well as to those who have large holdings. Papers are presented to each owner of land, containing a great many questions to be answered. These are annoying and vexatious to many, and create some dissatisfaction among the Liberals, many of whom are land owners. It is

feared that a considerable number of Liberals will become so annoyed as to vote against their party at the next election, and thus turn the Parliament over to the Conservatives.

A very interesting pamphlet by Lewis H. Berens and another, entitled "The Story of my Dictatorship," has been put on the market at the price of one penny. It is published by the English League, and 50,000 copies are already printed. To my view it is the best pamphlet issued since the days of Henry George, and if widely circulated cannot fail to make many converts. Mr. Berens is the League Treasurer. I regret to know that he is in somewhat failing health, and am sorry not to be able to meet him on this visit. A year ago I had two very pleasant interviews with him.

One of the most earnest Single Taxers of this country, and also one of the clearest thinkers, is John Bagot, of the Manchester League. He is editor of the *Middleton Guardian*, which has a weekly circulation of nearly 10,000. His editorials always ring true for the cause. Although turned three score, Mr. Bagot is developing great capacity as a public speaker. He says any one can speak to his fellows if he has a knowledge of language and a good cause; that he had done very little public speaking since he was a young man until recently; that the uplift of humanity by abolition of land monopoly being now uppermost in human thought, and the people anxious to hear, he cannot remain quiet. In clear voice and simple language he expounds the truths of this gospel and the common people hear him gladly.

The active and irrepressible Joseph Fels of Philadelphia and London, is always at it, not only in spending money but in doing active work for the cause. He has recently visited Denmark and succeeded in putting the organization started in that country into working condition, with the main office across the street from the Parliament buildings. Instead of spending money after the manner of Andrew Carnegie in setting up libraries and the like, Joseph Fels is spending his large fortune in trying to teach the people how to get back the inheritance they have lost.

There are other workers here of whom I

would be glad to write, but this letter is already as long as you will wish.

GEORGE WALLACE.

London, Eng.

SPAIN.

Senor Antonio Abendin has an article in the *Madrid Herald*, of July 15th, in which he compares the condition of the province of Galicia with that of Denmark to the disadvantage of the former. But he points out that the system of peasant proprietorship in Denmark has resulted in the mortgaging of the properties of the Danish peasants to the German capitalists. He points out that the Galician peasant is the most heavily taxed of all the peasantry of Europe and in consequence the most miserable. Results are indicated in lack of culture—great numbers being unable to read and write—and routine agriculture of backward development.

As a remedy for these conditions the reformers of Galicia look to the peasantry proprietorship of Denmark. But Senor Abendin shows that the peasants of Denmark see no real remedy in this peasant proprietorship, but ask for the abolition of taxes and tariffs of all kinds on commodities, and in place of these a tax on the value of land, which value is not due to any individual exertion, but to the industry and progress of the community.

Senor Abendin concludes: "Yesterday England, to-day Denmark, very soon Germany (and in a short time Sweden) are showing to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear the road by which political and economic emancipation cometh. No better programme could the active redemptionists of Galicia select."

IN FURTHER EXPLANATION OF THE DANISH SITUATION.

EDITOR SINGLE TAX REVIEW:

Mr. Berthelsen, the author of the article which I translated for the *REVIEW*, on the Danish Peasants' Programme, is concerned lest any wrong conception should arise from my rendering of the Danish word "Husmandstand" by the term "peasantry."

The Danish "husmand" is the occupier of the smallest class of holding in Danish agriculture, and is to be distinguished from the "bonde" who rejoices in the intermediate size of farm between the "husmand" and the "herremand" (for gentleman). In round numbers there are in Denmark:

2,000 large farms, of over 200 acres, owned by Herremaend; 80,000 medium sized farms, (20 to 200 acres) owned by the "Bonder"; 130,000 small holdings, occupied by the "Husmaend."

To the "bonder" I should myself apply the term "yeomanry," to distinguish them from the "husmaend" or peasantry. The 130,000 peasants are not as yet all organized—only some 50,000 are up to the present enrolled as members of the Unions mentioned in the article in question, but these 50,000 include the ablest and most influential of their class. Political power at present lies with the 80,000 yeomen of Denmark, who are far from being Single

Taxers, although they may have adopted the taxation of land values as a plank in their political programme.—C. W. SORENSSEN, York, Eng.

Henry George's Birthday was celebrated at Adelaide, West Australia, by a meeting at Cooperative Hall. The commemorative address was made by Mr. W. A. Wickham, and a string band was engaged for the occasion.

P. Larsen, of Olstyke, Denmark, is busy translating Henry George's Protection or Free Trade into Danish. The work is nearly finished.

Hon. Joseph Darling, organizer of the Land Value Tax Party, makes a suggestion for a world's international Single Tax Conference. Acting upon this proposal, Mr. Joseph Fels has addressed a letter to Count Leo Tolstoy.

EXTRAORDINARY OFFER!

TO ALL THOSE WHO ORDER THROUGH THE
SINGLE TAX REVIEW

The A. B. C. of Taxation

BY C. B. FILLEBROWN

WE WILL GIVE A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THIS PUBLICATION

The A. B. C. of Taxation is in many important respects one of the most persuasive books in advocacy of our doctrines. It is cloth bound, contains 229 pages and a large number of illustrations. (For a fuller description of its contents see review of books in May-June issue.) The work is published at \$1.20 net.

There is but one condition attaching to this offer, and that is each subscription to the REVIEW presented to the purchaser of Mr. Fillebrown's book must be that of a new name not now on our books. But any one already a subscriber to the REVIEW may by ordering this book of us place the name of some one on our subscription list or one year.

Order at once, and tell your friends of the offer.

THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

150 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK CITY