

meetings, besides assisting in the promotion of many meetings to discuss the land question and the remedy, organized by other bodies. Our speakers are busy now with many similar indoor events, and the office keeps busy distributing as much explanatory literature as we can provide. Along with the Edinburgh League for the Taxation of Land Values, we are promoting a conference on the question to be held in Edinburgh in April. This gathering will be comprised of delegates from rating bodies, co-operative societies, trades unions, etc., etc. I will send news of this for the summer number of the REVIEW.

JOHN PAUL.

WEST AUSTRALIA, PERTH.

I notice your great election is over, and that the strenuous Imperialist still retains the occupancy of the White House. Which of the two main aspirants won was not of much consequence to you, I suppose, from a practical point of view, for with you the Single Tax is not yet in the political arena. Parker did not appear to be too anxious to go straight at the trusts by means of the tariff. Apparently your great field of usefulness lies in education, and the evidence seems satisfactory that the leaven is slowly but surely spreading in all directions. With us matters are not so cheerful. Our ministry (Labor Socialist) sent a bill to the Legislative council providing that it should be optional with municipalities whether they raise their local rates on Land Values or according to the ancient system. The house of landlords, seeing the labor people were lacking in backbone, and were not likely to insist on the clause, promptly hacked it out, and when the bill was returned to the lower chamber it was quietly dropped in toto. But throughout the country here is a growing note of dissatisfaction with the Ministry for the way they have trifled with the most important plank of their platform, and within another year they will either have to mend their ways or make way for Democrats. That plank is: "The taxation of land values without exemption." The granting of the power to municipal bodies was a golden opportunity for them to substitute a just and beneficial tax for an unjust and injurious one. Now, the position is that customs duties are in the hands of the Federal Parliament, which consists of about equally Labor-Socialists on one hand and Free Trade and Protectionists on the other, who have dropped the fiscal issue to become solid anti-Socialists. The Labor party proposes to ignore the fiscal issue as immaterial, but has strong leanings towards that popular offspring of Socialism and ignorance, "Protection," so there is no hope in this quarter for years to come. In the States municipal bill just murdered, roads boards (country districts), are using the system, and we are advocating

a general tax without exemptions to replace a portion of the ruinously heavy railway rates, and let me assure you there are warm times ahead.

JOS. G. GRIFFITHS.

FAIRHOPE'S TROUBLES.*

Editor SINGLE TAX REVIEW:

I have been requested by so many Single Taxers to write them regarding Fairhope, that it will be impossible for me to reply to any of them personally and will do so through your valuable journal, with your permission, in your next issue. It is impossible to do so in time for this issue, owing to an overwhelming load of work already on hand. In the proposed article I will seek to give information and bring out points that should have been developed at the late conference at Fairhope. It seemed to the writer at the time, as it doubtless must have to others, that it was the one thing for which a conference was called. Single Taxers all over the world waited for further details as to the colony; its actual operation and methods; just to what extent it could approach the Single Tax principle and as to whether or not the plan could be in any way applied elsewhere; or if it justified the claims made for it by some of its promoters. I shall give the facts in any article I may write, and leave your readers to draw their own conclusions. The Conference, instead of enlightening the world on these points, was led into a series of meetings, from which the outside world got little or no information as to the workings of Fairhope. I hope to be able to give you a number of specific cases of renters; their tax assessments, values of property, amount of land rents paid, both town and suburban, personal property assessments, comparative values of the different locations, outgo and income of representative persons, in relation to the colony, how assessments are made and how fixed, who are benefitted by the colony plan and why, what are the comparative values of land in the colony and lands adjoining, also the advantages to one renting colony land, as compared with renting lands outside—in fact will seek to show things as they are, from which it will be possible for your readers to form their own opinions as to whether or not "good theories are being made to work." In closing let me say, Fairhope will be a success, but only after it adopts democratic principles.

E. Q. NORTON.

*In printing these communications and newspaper clippings regarding Fairhope it is necessary to say that however much the colony on the shore of Mobile Bay has been advertised as a Single Tax experiment, its success would not furnish a demonstration of the Single Tax, nor its failure disprove it. The colony has many admirable features,

but the fact that its affairs are administered as a close corporation, that such corporation exercises all the functions of a landlord, even to the extent of refunding the State and County taxes to the richest of the community, which involves in some instances the payment of a bonus to certain individuals for residence within the colony limits—all these considerations, and some others, take it out of the domain of Single Tax, and make it a co-operative experiment of some interest as a semi-socialistic, semi-Single Tax colony governed along autocratic lines.—*Editor SINGLE TAX REVIEW.*

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT FAIRHOPE CONFERENCE.

We, a Committee on Resolutions of those present at the Single Tax Conference at Fairhope, Ala., report that in our judgment the Fairhope Colony has already demonstrated that to pay all public expenses from rental value of the land alone is a practical business proposition, and results, in so far as it can be put in practice under existing laws, in stopping speculation in land, where applied, and in increasing business prosperity. Nevertheless we recognize that without changes in Legislation which should be made, the only application of Single Tax principles that can be had, is the payment by the community from rental value of the land, of all direct taxes, and the expenditure of the balance for public improvement.

RESOLVED SECOND: That we believe that Direct Legislation is a valuable adjunct to Fairhope policy.

RESOLVED THIRD: That we suggest that Single Taxers every where should introduce the Single Tax into politics by asking candidates for office to pledge themselves to support Single Tax measures.

(This committee was in no sense a committee of investigation. But it reported nevertheless and consisted of Bolton Hall, D. M. R. Levenson, Thos. Hunt, Wm. Ryan, Arch. Crosbie, J. Bellangee, F. L. Brown and E. B. Gaston).

Objection was made by Mayor Lockwood (resident) to having any Fairhoppers on the committee, thinking it preferable that it be chosen wholly from among the visitors, but Dr. Levenson and others thought it would be a "very lame committee indeed, which did not include a representation of those who were doing so great a practical work at Fairhope."

A CRISIS IN FAIRHOPE.

(Editorial from Baldwin, Ala., *Times*.)

It would appear that Fairhope has reached a crisis in its career as the only Single Tax Colony on the globe, and it behooves the corporation, through its executive officers, to make such changes in the method of government as will be satisfactory to the

majority of people interested therein, in order to best conserve the interest of all concerned.

We would like to see this done if for no other reason than the good of the county in general. The people of Fairhope are, in the main, intelligent and public-spirited, and we can ill afford to spare any of them as residents of Baldwin county.

THE MOBILE DAILY HERALD UP-HOLDS GASTON.

(Editorial.)

In another column may be found a letter from Mr. E. B. Gaston, editor of the Fairhope *Courier* and Secretary of the Single Tax Association, which founded the Fairhope colony and still controls it. Mr. Gaston points out what he regards as injustice done his association by statements in a recent number of *The Herald* and presents the association's side of the matter in a characteristically simple but direct and convincing style. With the differences between the individual members of the Fairhope association and between the association and its lessees, *The Herald* has nothing to do. There have been differences from the beginning and will be to the end—but they should be settled within the ranks of the colony and an outside paper has no interest in them beyond what value they possess as news. But upon one point *The Herald* feels constrained to speak. No plan for assessment of rents devised or approved by E. B. Gaston is apt to prove unreasonable, unjust or burdensome. If ever a man worked faithfully for what he believed to be the best interest of his fellow man, worked without pay and without hope of pay—he is that man. The rents may have been increased from '50 to 400 per cent.' as claimed, but if Gaston approved the increase there must have been good reason for it. An increase of 400 per cent. sounds very large. A few years ago the writer rented a town lot containing half an acre in the center of Fairhope for \$1.50 per annum. An increase of 400 per cent. would not have hurt him.

MEMORIAL OF PROTESTING FAIRHOPE TENANTS.

ADOPTED AT MASS MEETING JANUARY 14, 1905.

We, the tenants of your corporation, also your neighbors and friends, respectfully present the following for your consideration: We understand that the Fairhope Colony was established that the rental value of its lands might be used in lieu of moneys raised annually by taxation.

We believe—

"That the intention of the parties is the marrow of the contract."

That taxes should only be collected to provide for the necessities, welfare and prosperity of a community.

When collected and expended for any other purpose the community becomes a landlord in the most objectionable sense of the word.

That the community that raises most liberally and to a much greater extent, the one that expends the most judiciously, is (other things equal) the most desirable place to live in.

That when these needs and desires have been determined the assessment of taxes becomes a matter of simple arithmetic.

That the needs and desires of a community can best be determined by the whole people.

That no satisfactory method of separating the wise and virtuous from the unwise and unscrupulous has ever been discovered.

That the rental value of land depends, to some extent, upon its natural location, but to a much greater extent in towns and cities, to its location in a community.

That if a community becomes desirable to live in, its values will go up and adjoining values will go down; reverse conditions produce reverse results; the values in either case must be inverse to each other.

That the experience of those places where government by the people has been tried, prove that the people's desires keep pace with the rental value of land, if indeed they are not the cause of it.

That any system of taxation that cannot be safely trusted to the whole people is not worthy of consideration.

If the people who have made their homes in a community and put their all into it are not fit to be trusted with its management, who is?

We believe that citizenship is a duty and not a privilege, and conveys responsibility, and we believe it unsafe to make further improvements in a community that is governed by any less than ALL its people.

We ask you to consider these matters and take such action at an early date as will definitely determine the future policy of the Fairhope Single Tax Association.

"The grand principle of the Single Tax does not depend upon the collection of the full rental value of the land, any landlord can do that, but it does depend upon the abolition of all other taxes and the judicious use of all rentals collected. The benefits of the Single Tax can never be secured under a profligate government."

(Statement accompanying pamphlet containing Renters Protest. See editorial on another page, in which this statement is qualified in accordance with the orthodox Single Tax philosophy.)

See special offer on back page of cover.

THE MOBILE DAILY ITEM TAKES THE SIDE OF THE RENTERS.

(From the *Item's* Special Correspondent.)

Lancing a boil is hard at the time, but the recovery is much quicker than from any other treatment. Peace and harmony are coming fast to the little colony by the sea.

The people of Fairhope have located here because it is known as a Single Tax colony; they believe in the principle, and they are patriots. If all had a vote, they would vote for the good of all. There are a few that fear that if all were given a voice that it would end the Single Tax. It certainly would end the aristocratic power, but not the principle, which is as dear to the heart of every patriot as to the heart of the royalist. Any cause is weak that depends upon the support of one person. No one wants to become a member of this colony to break it up, and yet there are others who honestly believe this, and feel that they must fight against democracy for fear there will be no colony to fight for. Let us try to believe others as honest as ourselves, care more for the happiness of others than for our own; thus only will harmony come.

THE CHANGES NEEDED TO MAKE FAIRHOPE A SUCCESS.

Editorial from Daphne (Ala.) *Standard*,
E. Q. Norton, Editor.

That an erroneous impression regarding Fairhope prevails very largely among those at a distance, who are interested in Fairhope, is apparent by the many comments made upon the situation; almost all of them understanding the question under debate to be between the limited and unlimited Single Taxers, i. e., "Shall Fairhope take, in taxation, a part of the rental value of its lands, or shall it take the full rental value?" It should be understood by everyone that the above issue is not involved, in the differences of opinion at Fairhope. As near as *The Standard* can ascertain, there are not a dozen residents of Fairhope who do not favor the plan of raising local or direct taxes from the land values alone, and that it would be perfectly safe to-day or any day to submit such a question to a popular vote there and abide by the results. *The Standard* states this in most unequivocal language, and more than this, it states in its opinion, such a proposition, if submitted to the citizens of the city of Mobile would be adopted by a large majority. *The Standard* therefore is of the opinion that there is not the slightest fear that Fairhope's policy of taxing land values would not be sustained if left to a popular vote there. If the people of Fairhope, knowing most about its efforts to approximate Single Tax principles, can not be trusted to have a voice in determining

its policy, then they are not satisfied either with the Single Tax, or with Fairhope's application of those principles; in either case it is pertinent to ask, why a form of government should be forced upon any people? To secure the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." This being as true now as it was when enunciated by the thirteen States of America, in Congress, July 4th, 1776, it follows that those who, by their presence, create land values, should be the ones and the only ones to determine as to the amount of such values and as to the expenditure of monies raised from all assessments made by them upon such values. With these preliminary considerations we will state what, in our opinion, are the changes needed in Fairhope that its success may be assured.

First, with the constitutional clause that all who become renters and voters, pledge and bind themselves to maintain in the colony, the principle of paying the local or direct taxes, out of the land values, then to such renters give an equal voice in the determination of the land values, as they have lately been given a voice in determining as to the expenditures of monies so raised.

Second, since it can not now be satisfactorily determined as to just what are the real rental value of Fairhope lands, some renters thinking them too high, the most practical and democratic method would be to determine at a meeting of all renters, how much revenue the colony would require for the coming year. This should include all proper municipal expenses of schools, roads, and all other public services which can be better done by the municipality, for the citizens, than can be done by individuals, as well as those things which are in their nature public necessities, or require a franchise for their operation. Such of these municipal advantages as the renters judge they can afford and are willing to be taxed for, should be included in the budget and their probable cost estimated. To this total sum may be added such amount as would equal the total amount of taxes assessed by the state and county against the personal property and improvements of the renters, the year last passed, and this grand total to determine the amount of revenue required to run the municipality through the current year and be raised by an assessment against the corporation lands, and in equitable proportion to the varying advantages of the different lots. The comparative value of the lots could be readily agreed upon, though it might still be impossible to agree as to just what the full annual rental might be. Then as "other taxes were abolished," "the taxation of land values or rent must necessarily be increased," and thus the way be opened to take by taxation the annual rental value of the land, "as near as may be" and to such a method of gradually arriving at what such value might be, there could be no valid objection made

on the part of any renters.

Fairhope Corporation is a land-lord and under its charter it obligates itself to pay out of such rents as it may charge for the use of the lands, whatever taxes the state and county assess on the personal property and improvements of its renters and in thus returning to its renters, the money an ordinary landlord would retain, it is taking its own land values, but until all renters have a voice in determining what that value may be, the plan is undemocratic and unjust.

EDITORIAL FROM THE DAPHNE, ALA., STANDARD,

March 24th, 1905.

If Henry George was correct in saying that the way to establish the Single Tax "was to abolish other taxes," then Fairhope can not rightly claim to have the Single Tax in operation, since Fairhope has all the taxes in common with the rest of the State, and in addition to these has some not common to the rest of the State.

In seeking to put the Single Tax in operation in Fairhope, its founders and friends have begun at the wrong end. The former secretary stated at the conference that "the essential feature of the Single Tax was the taking of the land values," and it is the attempt to take all of the land values that has brought on its present difficulty. Their method of securing the Single Tax is directly contrary to that of Mr. George in "Progress and Poverty," book VIII, chapter 11, in which he shows "How equal rights to the land may be asserted and secured" by increasing the tax upon land values, "just as we abolish other taxes," and he says, "We may put the proposition into practical form by proposing— to abolish all taxation save that upon land values." Herein is given a statement not only as to what should be done, but how it may be done; that is, "the taxation of rent or land values must be increased as we abolish other taxes." The Fairhope plan has not abolished any other taxes whatsoever, Federal, State, County or local. The plan of Fairhope Corporation crediting or paying back to renters of its lands whatever money the renters are, under our present State law, compelled to pay to the tax collector on their personal property and improvements, is an evasion which leaves the renter out just as much money, since the Corporation must raise from its land rents a more than sufficient sum of money from which it can pay to the State and County the taxes assessed (by the State and County) upon its land values and improvements, together with those assessed upon the improvements and personal property of its renters, which leaves the renters hardly where they were, financially, before the Fairhope system was adopted, because this system takes from its renters more than enough to pay the State and County taxes, the surplus being used for "public purposes."

THE STEAMER FAIRHOPE.

MR. PARKER RETURNS TO THE CHARGE.

Editor SINGLE TAX REVIEW :

"Those who do not approve of the policy have all the rest of the world to choose from," says Mr. Gaston in his reply to my letter in *January REVIEW*. This expression is probably more commonly quoted in Fairhope than any other, but I never saw it before when it had its best clothes on; in its every day clothes it looks like this: "If you don't like it, get out."

Four years ago we built a boat; the dimensions of the boat were determined by Mr. Gaston who sent to Chicago for a builder, although we had in Fairhope one of the best boat builders in the South. When the frame was up the builder was discharged by Mr. Gaston, and our townsman was hired to complete the job, which he did in a workmanlike manner, but the model was not of the best in the beginning, and the building committee made a change which nearly ruined the boat. Her hull is so narrow that the upper deck could never be used, the boat being top heavy. This, of course, makes the boat but one-half the capacity that was intended. To cap the climax, a pipe boiler was installed, tons of ballast was dumped in her hold and rolling chocks put on to keep her keel down. The boiler was burnt out three times in the first seven weeks and then we anchored her out in the bay and stopped to think it over. Up to this time I had been a member of the building committee and have no recollection of ever having voted with either of the other two, but at this stage I resigned, and have had no trouble since; at least, when I look back upon those times I feel as though I dropped the burdens of this life right there. The committee sent to Delaware for a new engineer who rebuilt the boiler at an expense of several hundred dollars, and she was again started; the boiler still gave trouble, and it was decided to have a new one. A new one was purchased, and of course it was the same kind as the other, which proved conclusively that pipe boilers are just the thing. This boiler has been burnt out periodically, and had a bad spell four weeks ago, when the boiler was again rebuilt at an expense of about \$600.00, it is claimed, and the boat was tied or towed by a tug for four weeks. The last *Courier* states that the boat had resumed her trips, etc. She made just one trip and came home under tow, her boiler having collapsed entirely. We have been able to get the totals, they are receipts, \$9,260.18; expenditures, \$8,032.18; owed \$561.86; surplus, \$664.14. These figures are for one year. The monthly expense of operation is not over \$400.00, which leaves \$316.00 per month with which to repair the boiler. "Eighteen months ago the loyal people of Fairhope were contributing monthly to a fund" to

support a pipe boiler, but last year the boat was able to support it.

As I sit at my window I can see the boat that cost us so much, riding at anchor, abandoned and disgraced, an example of the most stupid stupidity and of the most stubborn obstinacy that can be imagined. But if you don't like it, get out!

It must not be inferred because of what I have written that I am in any way opposed to Single Tax colonies. I could write much that would be to its (Fairhope's) credit, but as is quite common in beginnings it is unnecessarily complicated, and its promoters have tried to anticipate many troubles that have failed to materialize.

This is February 8th. It is blowing a gale and raining heavily, and as I look out on the bay at the tossing boat, that in three and one half years has had two boilers, and I don't know how many wheels and thirteen engineers and which might have paid for itself, but hasn't paid a dollar, I wonder how any one can ever trust us again. But these things have been a lesson to some of us, and we are much better able to manage to-day because of them. We know the people and the country and its possibilities, and events have proved conclusively that our estimate of the business that could be done by the Steamer Fairhope was conservative. I hope matters will be settled amicably, for we are in a position to do much good.

P. A. PARKER.

IN DEFENSE OF FAIRHOPE'S MANAGERS.

(Letter from R. F. Powell to a Friend in Philadelphia.)

I draw the conclusion that you object to Fairhope being called a Single Tax Colony because all the people on the land are not allowed to vote and take part in its management. Permit me to say that if this is your idea you ought, in justice to yourself as a good Single Taxer, to thoroughly investigate the question on the ground either in person or through some thoroughly reliable Single Taxer before you come to such a conclusion. I have been carefully studying the plan and personally observing the Colony work for four years, much of the time on the ground, and I am thoroughly convinced that there is not another group of Single Taxers of equal number and financial resources in America that is doing such yeomen service for the great cause as is this little band of workers on the Eastern Shore of Mobile Bay. This conclusion is not one that has been hastily formed nor was I in the least biased at the beginning in the Colony's favor. In fact, when I paid them the first visit it was on a purely business matter, and I must confess I was considerably prejudiced against their plan.

In the first place they are not "prevent-

ing the fullest and freest exercise of popular suffrage," nor are they "conducting a benevolent despotism." I fully agree with you that there is no such thing as a benevolent despotism, but under present social conditions we must all, whether we will it or not, be either a slave or a slave owner, or a free man who has purchased his freedom. We are all born into either the estate of that of slave owner or a slave, and to rid ourselves of this condition at once, through legislation, is impossible. It may come that way in time, but for the present we must purchase our way out either by buying land and making it free or by freeing the land we own already, thereby freeing ourselves or the men we own through owning the land.

The people at Fairhope who are freeing land as fast as it is in their power to do so, are freeing it in the only way that it is possible to free it under present laws. They are not a municipality, County or State. The elected officers of the Colony are not municipal officers in any sense of that term nor are they in any sense forcing their views or policy upon any one except in the same sense that you force your views upon others when you publish them to the world. And to say that "we are walking on very thin ice in reposing on Fairhope's reputation or in permitting it to be used so extensively as a demonstration of the Single Tax," is no stronger criticism of the Colony's plan and work than it would be for one to say that Mr. George, being a human being liable to mistakes, has made no stronger call to righteousness than other good-intentioned men have made.

No one who knows the men who conceived the Fairhope idea and put it into operation can doubt their honest, sincere belief in the Single Tax philosophy, nor can he surpass their zeal in the great cause. To criticise their plan of work is to criticise every Single Taxer's work from one end of the world to the other, for we must all work in this cause along the lines which to us individually or collectively seem best. If we do not we are mere imitators, camp followers, not workers. I don't suppose that you or any one else ever hoped to attain the heights to which we so ardently aspire at one leap. We can reach that summit only after a laborious climb.

CALLING FOR FINANCIAL STATEMENTS.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT RENTERS MASS MEETING AND WHICH FIFTY-THREE OF THE TENANTS SIGNED.

We also believe that exact detailed financial statements should be made of all moneys received and expended from all sources and for whatever purpose by this corporation, also that we are entitled to know the exact status of all transactions

relating to or with individuals that affect this corporation or association and which may have caused the expenditure of moneys or may have or is liable to create an indebtedness or obligation in the future.

We therefore protest to you against paying the assessments as made by you for the year 1905, and before taking further steps to protect our interests against what we believe to be the unjust and unwarranted raise in rentals you have made, we respectfully ask that these rentals be reduced to a more equitable basis that would represent the actual value of these lands, without any speculative value attached thereto.

THE REAL CRIMINAL.

(For the REVIEW.)

In a letter to a friend commenting on a newspaper article of his entitled "Impressions of a Jurymen," the present writer expressed her Single Tax principles as follows:

I like your standing up for the doing of a juror's duty. The laws are too easy in letting people off from it. It should not be possible for any able-bodied man to get out of it, except in the case of fatal illness of his family, or something absolutely hazardous to his fortunes.

I cannot agree so well with your view of "the blackened soul" of the convict. I think the principal difference between society out of prison and in is simply and mostly that of respectability and disrespectability. There is an immense amount of respectable crime in the world, and our "happy homes" at Christmas festivals are not overhappy. They are burdened with many cares and sorrows, which are largely an effect of respectable criminality. Our economic conditions and our prisons are breeders of disreputable crimes, and it is we, ourselves, who are the real criminals, in letting such conditions last. The economic system of to-day murders men's characters, steals the fruit of their labors, drives them to immorality and drunkenness, and then our penal system takes up the matter and still further deadens the soul of the victim, not of the aggressor, which would be bad enough. If there is any "blackened soul" and "seared conscience" it is ours, that we calmly take what little comfort can be got out of the disorder, and call ourselves innocent.

But the real fact is, in my mind, that there is no "blackened soul." The race has been growing from savage toward enlightened, and has not yet reached much more than a half-civilized state. We are all more ignorant than guilty, just as the disreputable criminal is; and we and he will get rid of our ignorance at the same time. When we, the respectable sinners, learn the way out of our sins, we shall find the disreputable following close upon our heels.

JANE DEARBORN MILLS.