

Singing by the choir of the Christian Church of Fairhope, the reading of a poem, an adaptation of the "Old Oaken Bucket" by Mr. J. M. Pilcher, singing by E. B. Gaston, and the music of harp and guitar and vocal exercises, were part of the entertainment interspersed among the more serious discussion. Among the speakers were Hon. H. F. Ring, the novelist Upton Sinclair, who is spending the winter in Fairhope, C. A. Brothers, of Saskatchewan, Canada, Mrs. J. L. Comings, E. B. Gaston and others.

Letters were read from Jos. Fels, Daniel Kiefer, and others. Letters were received from large numbers of Single Taxers, among whom were Hon. Tom. L. Johnson, Lawson Purdy, J. J. Pastoriza, Dr. M. R. Levenson, and many of the friends of Fairhope throughout the Union.

REVIEWS OF MR. FILLEBROWN'S BOOK STILL COMING.

One of the most gratifying evidences of the progress of the movement is a review of Mr. Fillebrown's *A B C of Taxation* from the *Liverpool Catholic Times and Catholic Opinion*, the representative Catholic organ of Great Britain. It is called forth by the article from the pen of Dr. Ryan in a recent number of the *Ecclesiastical Review*, of which mention has been made in a previous issue. It quotes approvingly the statement of Father Ryan that the Single Tax has never been condemned by the Catholic Church. It also indicates the inevitable progress of the movement to relieve industry by concentrating taxes on land values.

Another lengthy and favorable review is one in the *Nebraska Journal*, of Lincoln, Neb. Its tenor may be gathered from a single quotation: "Mr. Fillebrown's illustrations are so conclusive that the only wonder is that his contentions were not generally recognized before."

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THE BUDGET DINNER IN NEW YORK.

The Budget Dinner given under the auspices of the Women's Henry George League at Kalil's Restaurant on Park Place, New York City, on Saturday, January 8th, was one of the greatest successes ever scored by a Single Tax organization in New York. One hundred and sixty-five persons, all interested in the struggle now on in England, sat down to table, and later in the evening the number was augmented by many who could not come earlier. There was one short period when the entrance to the restaurant looked like a subway opening in rush hour, but the dinner committee and the cafe staff united in handling the crowd efficiently. The very atmosphere was full of expectancy and a spirit of perfect good fellowship prevailed.

The Women's League had perfected plans for a Budget dinner during December, but owing to some arrangements the Manhattan Single Tax Club had in hand, it was thought best to postpone it until early in the New Year. By this change, the League was able to secure Mr. Joseph Fels for chief speaker, although the rest of the programme was carried out as originally planned before Mr. Fels had left London.

It is certain that no Single Tax, or other dinner in this country, ever had such decorations as were upon the walls of Kalil's cafe on Saturday night. They were one of the chief features of the occasion, and consisted of posters of all sizes and colors, duplicates of those used to decorate public walls in England during the Budget discussion in Parliament. They depicted in words and pictures the fundamental wrongs that England suffered in common with the rest of the world, and pointed to the only solution. Just as they woke unbounded enthusiasm there, so they stirred afresh the fires of enthusiasm on Saturday night. Besides these, there were the two banners of the Single Tax movement in New York, both designed and executed by Miss Amy Mali Hicks, president of the Women's Henry George League. The big banner contained a large repro-

duction of the Single Tax emblem, the winged earth, and underneath it the motto "The Earth for All." On the smaller banner was the same emblem but the words were:—

THE SINGLE TAX

Free Land
Free Trade
Free People

and the intertwined letters "S. T."

The meeting was called to order by the chairman, Miss Amy Mali Hicks, after the tables had been removed.

Music was provided by the Misses Goodwin, piano and violin, and the singing was led by Messrs. Jeffery and Shaffer. As the first bars were played, the audience rose and sang the song that thousands have sung in the streets of London during the past year, and sang it with a will, repeating the chorus in an ever-swelling note:

"The Land, the land! 'Twas God who
gave the land;
The land, the land, the ground on
which we stand;
Why should we be beggars with the
ballot in our hand
God gave the land for the people."

The enthusiasm evoked by the song, found further vent in ringing cheers when Mr. Joseph Fels was announced as the first speaker of the evening. Mr. Fels was visibly affected by the welcome he received, and expressed both his pleasure and surprise.

He said in part that the history of the movement in England was the history of the United League for the Taxation of Land Values. When he first went to England, three years ago, and became interested in the work of the League, the papers knew no more than to speak of the proposition as an American fad, and refused to take any notice of the work. Now, every paper in England says something about it at some time, and more than half of them say something all the time. There had been an awakening in England, the like of which had not been seen since the days of the Cobden campaign against the Corn Laws—not exactly a mere awakening, either, but something almost akin to the

march of the saints in ancient times. When one came to think of the marvellous change that had come over the common people, one recognized that the leaders were inspired men. Lloyd-George might well be compared with the belted knights of old—he was the knight of this new crusade and deserved the name of George. In the past eighteen months such a knowledge of the land question had been diffused in England, that Old England—Little England—had awakened never to go to sleep again in our generation or any other.

The land question is almost ablaze in Europe, with England as the beacon light of the world. The continental countries copy her, and this country, too, imitates England, although the imitation is a mild and guiltless one. "England is the freest country in the world," said the speaker. "I can go out in Hyde Park, in London, and begin in the morning to talk. I can begin with religion and go right through the day with socialism, anarchism, land values and get back to Hebraic dogmas, and the policemen will be there to protect me. At the end of the day, when I am tired I can go home, and the next day I can go back and do the same thing, and the same policemen will be there to protect me, and this because England is the country of free speech. Out in Philadelphia because a woman wants to speak she is locked up and must stay locked up, because the men will not learn that women will speak their pieces.

One thing that was done in this Budget campaign, was to get the business men of England to sign a statement that the proposed taxation of land values would not hurt their business. This is the thin edge of the little wedge that will split England open. It is very significant that 300 names were willingly signed to their own destruction, "but it is only fair to say that many do not know what they have signed," added Mr. Fels.

Mr. Fels then told the story of the wonderful posters that have adorned the walls of London. Two weeks before the great demonstration in London, the United League for the Taxation of Land Values got a telephone message from a man with "the Christian name of Isaacs," to the

effect that the Liberal party had fallen down, and what should they do. Translated, that meant that the Liberal party was out of funds and could do nothing more. Back went the answer, "Let us furnish the posters and we'll pay the bills." The offer was accepted, and so the posters took the form they did. They were in reality the posters of the League and not of the Liberal party, and they cost \$4500, and "were cheap at the price."

The English common people, said Mr. Fels, like the common people of this country, read pictures, not words, so they gave the English color printers a chance to do some work, and they showed their preference for vivid colors. The man in the street knew that if he saw a crown and a trailing robe that it meant a "duke," and he could be trusted to throw a "mudball" at it wherever he spotted it. They might not stop to read small print, but if you put the picture of a castle and tailorshop side by side they could see for themselves, and when under these two you put the story of the taxes each paid, you had done some real work, and opened the eyes of the voter.

The League had set people to work to get particulars about different localities to be used in those districts. For instance, in Manchester along the line of the ship canal, they had gathered and published statistics of the increase in land values that went to the landowners, and the increase in taxes and rent that had fallen upon the workers. And people were beginning to believe all they told them, because they knew the truth of their own conditions.

Edward McHugh, said Mr. Fels—and at the mention of his name there was a round of applause—still hale and hearty at sixty, was conducting classes for teaching young Single Taxers how to speak in public, and it was largely due to this that they had been able to hold 92 meetings in one week in England, to discuss the land values clauses of the Budget.

Valuable statistics had been published showing the workings of royalties on coal. They had taken for example a big ocean liner, the *Lusitania*, and found that taking stokers, firemen, engineers and all the corps of workers aboard her, that 333 men earn-

ed \$265 per day, while the landlord, who did nothing, was drawing royalties on the coal used by the *Lusitania*, of \$525 per day. Those were facts that all could understand.

If things like this can win in England, why not in the United States? Three years ago in England the League for the Taxation of Land Values had no press bureau, and only one little paper, *Land Values*. They set to work, not to publish many papers, but to secure a press bureau. *Land Values* had grown, but the greatest growth had been in the press bureau which had managed to so permeate the press of England with notes, that now there were 165 papers in Great Britain which published accounts of their work.

The publication department of the bureau had issued the campaign songs, such as the one they had just sung in sheet music, and good sheet music, too, for a penny each, and more than a thousand had been sold the first week. Since then they had gone like wildfire.

Mr. Fels then made a plea for the support of the Fels Fund here. He had given no more in England than he had given here, yet this great progress had been made there, and it was due chiefly to the fact that the Taxation of Land Values League had been going on with this work steadily ever since Henry George had gone over there in 1883. More concerted action was needed here. Out in Cincinnati a man with a Hebrew name well known to us all was at that moment driven half distracted with anxiety. He did not know where to turn to raise the \$12,000 still needed to complete the fund it was proposed to raise to carry on this work. Who would help? It was an opportunity; who would respond?

At the close of Mr. Fels' address it was announced that twenty minutes were allowed for questions which Mr. Fels would answer.

Somebody asked if it was true that any bargain existed between the Liberals and the Laborites to the effect that a Labor candidate would not be run where there was a chance of electing a conservative in case of a three-cornered fight?

On the authority of the best loved man in England, Keir Hardie, said Mr. Fels,

I may state positively that there is no bargain, nor would he make such a bargain. They have been caught that way too often for it to happen again. But it is true that where there is no chance to elect a Laborite, no candidate will be put in the field. But the Liberals will not withdraw for a Laborite. In the eastern part of London, Stopford Brooke is the Liberal candidate. He has been a member of the House and has done nothing. The Labor candidate in that district is George Lansbury, a man of the Hardie type. Will Brooke retire to ensure Lansbury's election? Not he, and so Fels and other land values men would vote for Lansbury.

Other points brought out by different questions were:—that so much could not have been done in this campaign had it not been that the Laborites had kept their promises to the people; that the socialists had done a good work in stirring up discontent; in this country they were beginning to think in terms of Karl Marx, in England they were further along and were working for freeing the land first; that although the Fabian Society had done good work in the past it was today composed of 1600 dilettante gentlemen—that even Shaw, when asked to return from Algiers to preside at a meeting in support of the Land Values Taxation clauses of the Budget, had replied "that he did not know any more about growing potatoes than the average man knew about heaven and did not want to grow potatoes," etc.; that the Fabian Society's chief function now was to give teas "innocuous to themselves, but enervating to others"; that the psychological moment had arrived in England and had been seized; that it had apparently not yet come in this country, but that they should be ready for it; that the campaigns in Oregon and Rhode Island had offered splendid opportunities for work, but that the response had not yet been general.

The Chairman in introducing the next speaker said that before the League knew that Mr. Fels was coming to America, it had planned a "Budget Dinner" and arranged its programme. The coming of Mr. Fels had been recognized as an op-

portunity to get direct and valuable information concerning the present situation, therefore, he had been given first place on the programme, but from this point on, the original plan would be followed. During the Monday afternoon readings, which the League was conducting this winter, reference to the English situation had been numerous, and it had come about that one of the League members had been able to give some important information as to British methods of conducting public affairs. It had been decided that these same points might prove of interest to other workers, who had not had the same opportunity to acquire this information, and the Chair would therefore call upon Mrs. Ella M. Murray, who might be able to tell even Mr. Fels some things that he did not know.

Mrs. Murray outlined the growth of the Constitution, which she declared consisted not only in numerous statutes enacted from time to time as necessity dictated, but still more in customs, conventions and even traditions that had come to have as binding effect as recorded laws. The British Constitution had not been created but evolved out of the experiences of the people, and had thus kept alive a spirit of vigilance in defending rights that, according to Lowell, had made Great Britain "one of the most highly individualistic countries in the world." The three branches of government—the Crown, the House of Lords, and the Houses of Commons—were next dealt with, and their composition and development set forth. The evolution of the franchise, the varieties of franchise now in vogue, the Constituencies and their representation, the Parliamentary parties, the methods of elections, the privileges and liberties as well as the restrictions of a "responsible ministry" were all described before the development of the powers of the House of Commons and the nature of the Budget were taken up.

After describing the political duel in the House of Lords on the 23rd of November, when the Budget was rejected, Mrs. Murray said:—"Though we in this country sometimes fear we are expecting too much of the English people in this crisis, yet if we remember that they are the same people who won the Magna Charta from an unwill-

ing king; who deposed a monarch and erected a Commonwealth; who carried the Great Rebellion of 1688 to a successful conclusion; who secured the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 and its successors of 1867 and 1885, our hopes rise higher. It is *England* which is battling for the rights of its people—Little England, of whom one of your poets has said:

"England!—the name has bulwarks in the sound,

And bids her people own the State again;
Bids them to dispossess their native ground

From out the hands of titled noblemen,
Then shall the scholar freely wield his pen
And shepherds dwell where lords keep castle now,

And peasants cut the overhanging bough."

The reports of the campaign bring encouraging stories. When the Lords essay to defend their action, they are met with the cry "We want the Budget," and thousands in the streets of London sing the song we sang to-night. In view of all this, is it too much, that I, a daughter of that mighty race, should say of England, though power and privilege press her hard—what Shakespeare said many years ago:—

"We yet shall make them rue,
If England to herself do but stand true!"

Mr Bolton Hall, the next speaker, was greeted with a hearty round of applause and said in part: It used to irritate me when people would say, "What are you Single Taxers doing? I don't hear much about Single Tax now," but it doesn't irritate me any more, for I know that all impatience, irritation and unkindness is only a lack of understanding.

To the doubter who thinks no progress is being made we may reply: You do not read the English papers? They will tell you what the Single Taxers are doing through the Budget. The land values clauses of the Budget are awakening interest. The people of England are learning that it is not merely a theory but a fact, a condition, and it is a fact that not only agitates England but is beginning to disturb all

Europe and must shortly agitate us. I don't know what we ought to do. When I asked that question of Mr. Fels earlier this evening, I was in hopes that he out of his concrete, business experience could give us some practical advice. We are working in the Rhode Island campaign, just as a dozen years ago a noble band of men conducted a magnificent campaign in Delaware. We have tried every means of successful advertising, and yet the moment has not come.

People often ask "What do you think is going to be the outcome of this thing in England?" Fels thinks it is going to win. I do not know, for I am not well enough acquainted with the conditions there, and I don't care. The great thing is that the question has been raised and the people aroused. Lincoln said "no question is ever settled until it is settled right," and if this question of the land is not settled now, it will result in an increased agitation that will lead to its settlement. Long ago the torch was lighted and still burns. When Latimer and Ridley were bound to the stake Latimer cried "Master Ridley, by God's grace, we shall light a candle in England to-day that shall never be put out." Henry George lighted a torch that would never be extinguished and its light must enlighten the world."

Mr. George L. Record, the well-known "insurgent" or "new-idea" Republican leader in New Jersey, said he had not come to speak, but to listen to Mr. Fels. For thirty years he had been possessed of the longing to learn what was the practical thing to do. He had found that nothing could be done in a hurry. What could be done must be done slowly. There was no progress to be made except along the lines followed since Henry George put out his book. Fundamental work was done along two broad lines. The first was by the diffusion of information, the line followed by propagandist, the Wendell Phillips and the William Lloyd Garrisons, and with this work well performed the psychological moment we looked for would come, and with it the great leader. But the great leader of a great party was not yet born. In the mean time, we neglected the other broad line, that of practical politics. This was the only line along which progress could be made by in-

serting the thin edge of the wedge as in England. The mass of the people did not know what to do to relieve their conditions, but the practical politicians were doing the work for them. All over this country there was agitation, a growing agitation for more effective municipal government. People were awakening to the importance of home rule in municipal affairs. They had introduced into the Jersey legislature a bill providing that any municipality might exempt personal property, or any kind of property from local taxation. Working in this way, opposition was minimized, and the end more surely obtained. If the Single Tax proposition was even to take its place in politics it must be secured through the domain of practical politics. No new party was needed for this. If a tithe of the energy now expended were put into getting somebody nominated, it would count for something. The natural way was to follow the line of least resistance, and it was not necessary even to mention the Single Tax, and yet if Single Taxers were in the legislature they would be in a position to take advantage of the little psychological moments as they arose. One field was as fruitful to work in as another. There was no easy spot, and the man in New York could find work to his hand here without going either to Oregon or Rhode Island. They could but go on as they had done before, each doing his little bit in the best way he could. They must simplify the machinery, get the ground cleared, so that they would be ready for the leader when he appeared. "No great idea," said Mr. Record, "has ever triumphed at once, certainly none of such magnitude as this. Lincoln Steffens recently told me that during his investigation he had found that wherever men were fighting graft and endeavoring to bring about a better condition in public affairs, every last one of them was a Single Taxer but saying nothing about it. Whether this great dream comes true in our day or some other, it must come, for as Emerson has so beautifully put it, what "today is the dream of the philosopher, tomorrow is the creed of the persecuted minority, and soon becomes the accepted faith of the nation."

By special request, at this point Mr. Fels

explained the land clauses of the Budget. The audience now demanded again and again that Frank Stephens be heard. The Chairman explained that Mr. Stephens had asked not to be called upon, but the audience would not take "No" for an answer, so Mr. Stephens was prevailed upon to respond. Mr. Stephens' theme was personal responsibility; the responsibility of one man and one woman for all the conditions existing, responsibility for doing each his own part at all times and under all circumstances. When we considered the problems pressing upon us for solution today and realized that we Single Taxers were the only ones who really knew what would solve them, we must feel the responsibility of that knowledge. For some that responsibility was increased by the privilege they had had of growing up side by side with—for so I must confess he seems to me, said Mr. Stephens—"the greatest man that ever lived, Henry George. I, at least, know none greater. We have known the other great leaders, McGlynn, Croasdale, Garrison and Arthur Stevenson, and today we have the privilege of working side by side with the leader of the movement on two continents at the same time. When I think of the present condition in England I am almost ready to say with the High Priest of old "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." But these privileges increase our responsibility to bring about better conditions. We must fight to the death if need be. Mr. Stephens recited an incident of suffering and death that stirred the hearts of his hearers: It was a bitter cold on Tuesday night, he began, and I, who had a meeting to attend in Brooklyn, felt it keenly though warmly wrapped. On that night an old man of sixty found wandering in a desolate waste a young man of twenty-eight. The young man had on only trousers, vest, coat and hat; although the weather was so biting there were no underclothes or overcoat to shield him from the sting. The young man was almost exhausted, and the old man took him in charge to guide him through this desolate waste. And where was this desolate waste? Why, here, in your great city of New York, and the old man took the young one to the bread line at 19th street

and East River. There he found many others standing waiting for their loaf and mug of coffee. The young man was nearly gone, and the old man pushed him forward ahead of those already waiting as he cried "Give him food; he is starved, he smells the coffee and cannot wait; give him food at once," and as he pushed the young man forward, urging his claim, the old man himself fell. They stooped to raise him, but he was dead—dead of starvation. And while these things can happen in New York there is work for each of us to do, and the responsibility is laid upon each of us personally so to do his share that these things shall become impossible."

Mr. Stephens then referred to the old Delaware campaign, memories of which were freshly stirred by the campaign hymn that was to be sung tonight. He hoped that the desire of the Women's Henry George League might be fulfilled, and that hymn become the battle song of the present army of workers.

It was not known to many present, that the song to the tune of *Marching Through Georgia* which was so lustily sung at the close of Mr. Stephens' remarks, was composed by him during the campaign in Delaware a dozen years ago, and sung with great effect at public meetings by that brave band of workers. It had been adopted for the present and all future occasions by the change in the refrain from "Delaware, my Delaware" to "America, America!"

As the first notes of the orchestra were sounded, everybody rose and joined in the inspiring words of the song.

So in a burst of enthusiasm the "Budget Dinner under the auspices of the Women's Henry George League" was brought to a close.

E. M. M.

CABLEGRAM FROM JOHN PAUL.

From Churchill's speech last night: land reform and free trade stood together, they stood together with Henry George, with Richard Cobden and they stood together in the liberal policy.

PAUL.

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS.

(See *Frontispiece*.)

H. Martin Williams, whose name is familiar to Single Taxers and reformers throughout the country, by reason of his activity and prominence as a propagandist on the subjects of land and tax reform, and whose story of "Land Monopoly" is now running in the *REVIEW*, was born in Knox County, Ohio, August 7, 1840; was educated in the common schools of his native country, and the Johnstown High School in Licking county. He taught school for a number of years; began taking an active interest in politics during the Buchanan-Fremont campaign of 1856, and four years later took the stump for Stephen A. Douglas, making 65 speeches during the campaign. He was admitted to the bar in 1867, and practiced law in Crestline until his removal to Missouri in October, 1869.

On his removal to Missouri he settled at Holden, and continued the practice of law until 1874, when he gave his entire attention to the newspaper business, and the delivery of lectures and speeches on political and economic questions.

Mr. Williams has been an active participant in every political campaign since 1856. He has spoken in half the states in the Union. He has always been identified with the Democratic party except from 1878 to 1888, during which period he was an active and prominent member of the Greenback-Labor party.

His attention was first called to the importance of the land question and the evils of land monopoly in 1867, when he became connected with the revolutionary movement of the Irish in America, to liberate their native country from English misrule and oppression, but it was not until 1880, when he read "Progress and Poverty," that he began to comprehend the true relation of man to the land, and the evils resulting from private ownership of land.

But the story of his conversion to the grand philosophy and teachings of Henry George is best told by Mr. Williams in his own words:

"In the spring and summer of 1880, I