

zealous champion of industrial emancipation.

The process by which he arrived at the conclusions that made him a Single Taxer is interestingly told. These convictions came to him through his efforts to establish farm colonies and vacant land cultivation centers, and we do not feel that Mrs. Fels has devoted too much space to this phase of her husband's activities, since in the telling she is enabled to present a very forcible lesson for the Single Tax. For it was through acquaintance with the difficulties that beset him in his plans for social improvement, after careful inquiry and manifold experiment, after his failure to discover anything permanently availing in charitable agencies, that he was driven to seek the fundamental. He saw that wages were higher in new countries, and that this was only because men could get at the land. He saw with that directness of perception characteristic of him the failure of ameliorative measures such as the Small Holdings Act. He was close, very close, to the real Social Problem at every angle in his effort to help the unemployed, and when he came face to face with the truth he acknowledged it with rare courage, and thenceforth devoted his life and fortune to its service.

There are many interesting chapters in the work. That on Mr. Fels' Political Interests is notable for its intelligent discrimination. The following shrewd comment is arresting: "It is a curious fact that reformers in so many cases keep their ideas in a closed system of principles, thus preventing cooperation in practical political activity."

Should we venture to quote we would not know where to end. Mrs. Fels has done more than write a biography. She has produced an effective volume for propaganda. If the doubter could be induced to read it, though he might be disposed to qualify, he could surely doubt no longer. For if the Single Tax is an error then the life of Joseph Fels has no meaning. More even than that. For then, too, Henry George was a foolish dreamer or a contemptible charlatan, and 'Progress and Poverty' the most curious

example of self-delusion, or the most successful hoax in all the range of speculative thought from the world's beginning.

—J. D. M.

THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES*

As stated in his preface, the author "Has undertaken to give a complete historical account of the Single Tax Movement in the United States, together with a discussion of the tactics of the Single Taxers, their programme and the present state of the movement, and its influence upon economic thought and upon fiscal and social reform."

The introductory chapter is a survey of some of the more notable anticipations of "Progress and Poverty." Practically, all of these are already quite familiar to most students of the land question. Among the writers briefly mentioned are Spence, Paine, Ogilvie, Dove and Burgess. Copious notes and numerous references, rather than new material or the addition of any important names of the forerunners of Henry George will, I think, constitute the chief value of this chapter.

The succeeding seven chapters cover the history of the movement during the lifetime of Henry George. They are very largely of a biographical character, and perhaps properly so, for, as the author states; "Few movements of any sort bear such a striking relation to the life and work of a single individual, as the Single Tax movement bears to the life and work of Henry George."

In his treatment of the economic life and development of California since 1848, and the economic environment in which George spent his early life, the author gives evidence of much careful research and investigation. Early government reports, local histories, old newspaper files are all grist for his mill, and he has made admirable use of them. There are numerous quota-

*The Single Tax Movement in the United States. By Arthur Nichols Young. Large 12 mo. cloth, 340 pp. Price \$1.58 by mail. Princeton University Press. See adv. in this issue.

tions from California newspapers of the period, giving the history of land speculation in California, and indicating that even in those early days the land question was attracting considerable attention. After showing (page 39), the notable increase in the population of California from 1848 to 1880, he says; "With the coming of these immigrants real estate values mounted with leaps and bounds. The San Francisco directory for 1852 (page 9) describes in a striking manner the arrival of the Brig Belfast from New York, laden with a valuable cargo of goods. She hauled up to the Broadway wharf, the only wharf accessible to such a vessel, and there discharged. No sooner was she known to be landing her cargo than goods of all kinds fell twenty-five per cent and real estate rose fifty per cent. A vacant lot on the corner of Washington and Montgomery Streets, at that time bordering on the water, which had been offered for \$5,000.00 and refused, sold readily the very next day for \$10,000.00."

The story of George's early newspaper experience during this period is one of the most interesting features of this portion of the book.

Then comes the story of the publication of "Progress and Poverty" and its reception at the hands of the political economists, the book reviewers and the public generally. The comment of some of the contemporary critics not heretofore made public is here included. The Mayoralty campaign of '86 is treated in a separate chapter. Then follows the history of the McGlynn controversy, the Anti-Poverty Society and the subsequent Single Tax activities throughout the country down to the Mayoralty campaign of 1897, and the death of Henry George.

The subsequent history of the movement, including the organization of the Fels Fund and its campaigns in Oregon, Missouri and other Western States is fully treated, and indeed comprises a fairly good part of the second half of the book. In concluding his summary of the history of the Oregon campaign, the author says, (page 183), "The result of six years of Single Tax

campaigning in Oregon has been to close the minds of the people to tax reform of that or any other brand. The rejection at the 1914 election of several diverse tax proposals by about the same majority is evidence that the voters have become suspicious of all tax measures alike." On page 205 in discussing some of the recent tax reform campaigns he says, "In the more recent Single Tax propaganda the idea is occasionally met that a modified application of the Single Tax would be to the interest of land owners, because the stimulus it would give to growth (vide Vancouver and Houston) would add to the value of their land * * * * In the Denver campaign, for the first time, we meet the bald statement in the propaganda literature of Single Taxers that the adoption of the Single Tax amendment would make land worth more than it is now. * * * * Surely the authors of such arguments have departed far from Henry George's ideas. If they favor the introduction of the full measure of the Henry George Single Tax, they are trying to tempt owners of land to take the first step toward destroying themselves."

The activities and programmes of the advocates of the Single Tax, limited, are discussed and contrasted with those of the Henry George Single Taxers. In a subsequent chapter on "Taxation of Land Values," on this point the author says: (page 258) "Popularly, a miscellaneous lot of schemes, varying all the way from Henry George's plan for the State appropriation of land incomes to proposals for the taxation of the future 'unearned increment' of land values have been dubbed Single Tax. We often hear it stated that Western Canada, New Zealand or England, under the Lloyd George budget of 1909, or Houston, Texas, or some other place, enjoys the Single Tax. Had there been an adjective, "single taxic," it might have been possible to have obviated, in part, such unprecise usage. It is difficult to justify applying the title Single Taxer to one not sharing George's views on the general exploitative nature of private receipt of income from land."

Then follows a fairly comprehensive treatment of practically all of the tax reform movements now under way in the United States within the last few years, which are more or less associated with the Single Tax. In the concluding survey the author discusses the influence of the Single Tax movement on economic thought and on legislation.

This work is thoroughly annotated, and indicates much study and careful research on the part of the author. There is an appendix in which is set forth the Single Tax platform of 1890, and there is also a bibliography of well selected references.

Dr. Young has contributed to the preparation of this work not only careful study and research, but he has presented the result in a highly interesting and readable form, and in a most unbiased and impartial manner. His work is of the greatest value to all students of the history and development of economic thought in America—A. W.

THE WORDS OF A GREAT THINKER*

Does one desire a sane view of the conflict raging in Europe? Or does he prefer that mad intoxication of pride which governs most men in their preference for or predisposition toward one or other of the belligerents, "convictions" which few are sufficiently free mentally even to endeavor to trace to their origins.

In this work Bertrand Russell, our Plato of the twentieth century, calmly, almost impassively, with powers of reasoning inexorably logical, yet with warm human sympathy discusses the problems of the Great War.

One must read it to know what a really great thinker, detached from the passions of his time by sheer force of an intellectuality probably greater than that of any of his contemporaries, is able to teach us: Truly, our civilization has to congratulate itself, amid the discordant, horrid contro-

versies and bitter hatreds of the time, for at least one great sane voice.

And what special message has Bertrand Russell for us, teachers of economic emancipation, he who would break the thralldom of all illusions. He is considering (page 51) what would actually happen in the case of the successful invasion of England by Germany, and he says:

"The greatest sum that foreigners could theoretically exact would be the total economic rent of the land and natural resources of England. In fact, economic rent may be defined as what can be, and historically has been, extorted by such means. The rent now paid to landowners in England is the outcome of the exactions made by William the Conqueror and his barons. The law-courts are the outcome of those set up at that time, and the law which they administer, so far as land is concerned, represents the power of the sword. From inertia and lack of imagination the English at the present day continue to pay to the landowners a vast sum to which they have no right but that of conquest. The working classes, the shopkeepers, manufacturers, merchants, the literary men, and the men of science—all the people who make England of any account in the world—have at most an infinitesimal and accidental share in the rental of England. The men who have a share use their rents in luxury, political corruption, taking the lives of birds and depopulating and enslaving the rural districts. This way of life is that which almost all English men and women consider the most admirable; those who are anywhere near achieving it struggle to attain it completely, and those who are more remote read serial stories about it as their ancestors would have read of the joys of Paradise."—J. D. M.

REGISTER No. 425, Inmate Librarian of the Connecticut Reformatory at Cheshire, Conn., sent out a request for pamphlets and magazines, and the Cleveland Single Tax Club sent a copy of Henry George, Jr.'s congressional speech, "The Road to Freedom."

*Justice in War Time. By Bertrand Russell. 12 mo. cloth, 243 pp. Price \$1.00. Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill. See advertisement.