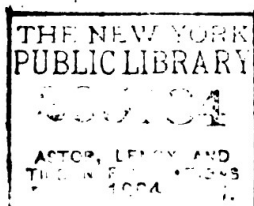


*As in "Shore Acres":
Ring down the curtain - he has played his part,
And while the audience sitteth unawares,
He takes his candle, looks not back, but mounts
With slow, unflinching step the shining stairs.*
J. S. M.



JAMES A. HERNE.



Single Tax Review

(Expressly for the Review.)

James A. Herne.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

And now it is James A. Herne who has been called. At his home in Convent avenue, New York, he breathed his last on Sunday afternoon, June 2, after long weeks of struggle with pneumonia and a complication of diseases, any one of which would have killed other men long before. Utterly worn out at last, he sank into the long sleep that can know no mortal waking.

It seems but yesterday, so brightly painted is it in my mind, that James A. Herne came climbing up the three flights of creaking stairs to *The Standard* office in Union Square. That was in 1888, I believe; thirteen years ago. He came to see my father. He had become an ardent Single Taxer, largely through the intelligent propaganda work of a struggling young writer in Boston, who at that time sent frequent little gems of verse and prose to *The Standard* and who was pushing his way into the recognition of the magazines. This young man was Hamlin Garland. The poet and novelist found ready listeners in Mr. and Mrs. Herne and he was a constant visitor and a constant expounder of his single tax religion, until the great tender-hearted actor felt the conviction of the new faith, and its hope and enthusiasm.

Mr. Herne was in the happiest mood when he came to the *Standard* office that day to meet my father. That sweet kindness was in his smile and shining light in his eyes which beamed from the face of his *Uncle Dan'l* in "Shore Acres" soon afterwards. He said that this philosophy explained what before was to him inexplicable, and that he would hereafter do all in his power to preach it.

To that vow he was true to the last. He gave much time and effort and was liberal with his purse for the new anti-slavery cause, and there are probably few large cities in the United States where on some Sunday afternoon or evening, in church or theatre, he has not discoursed on the great theme with that exquisite blending of actor's art and propagandist's intensity which gave a singular fascination to his eloquence.

As a young man in California he had ranked high in his profession as a portrayer of character. Years brought the broader, deeper art and philosophy, and he dreamed of the time when the stage should present not mere glimpses of human life and affairs, but great periods divided among successive performances. Great artist and poet-actor that he was, he kept going to the foundation and predicating the development of the stage on the development, the general advancement, of the people; for he knew that true art is based on freedom—freedom not for some, but for all, and that stage art cannot come to its full flower where privilege exists.

I never knew a man who, displaying so much genius in his profession, at the same time gave so much thought to the great social problems. The secret was that in his mind they were inextricable. And once I had a curious illustration of the way one melted into the other.

It was in the Academy of Music, where on Sunday evenings the tumultuous Anti-Poverty Society meetings had for so long been held. Mr. Herne had been

engaged to stage a spectacular play called "The Country Circus," and to superintend the first weeks or more of the New York performances. The central idea of the play was a circus in a country town; the climax features, a street parade and an interior tent scene. There were a great many people in these two features, representing not only the circus performers, but the street audience and the tent audience. The people in these audiences particularly interested me, for, on invitation of Mr. Herne, I went on the stage at one performance and became one of them, as I believe my father did at another time. In the tent scene we sat around on what seemed to be the conventional circus plank seats. The glare of the footlights and the roar of laughter that frequently went up from the real audience in the darkened theater beyond disconcerted me at first. But this was soon forgotten in the matters that were occurring on the stage itself. The circus programme presented several features, one of which was a clown and a mule. There were several circus attendants who wore caps and a kind of uniform. Mr. Herne was dressed as one of these attendants, and he moved about watching and giving stage directions in an undertone. Another man who wore one of these uniforms cried out frequently, "Peanuts and red lemonade." This man soon interested me more than anybody else, for I found that he was punching tickets presented by the people in the stage audience.

In this audience were men, women and children—out of New York's slums I afterwards learned. They were anxious to have their tickets punched, because upon the number of these little holes depended the amount of their pay from the theatrical managers, fifty cents to each man and each woman for each performance, and twenty-five cents to children. One little tot had forgotten or lost her ticket, and was in sore grief about it. She tried to stifle her sobs, but they reached me through all the other hum and noise of the stage.

I motioned to Mr. Herne and drew his attention to the matter. "That's a tragedy to those people," he murmured; "they come from the tenement regions. We cannot get away from the social problem. Actors ought to think. They see these things everywhere."

This great actor, with his big, melting heart, did think, and he made others think, both when he expounded his single tax faith and when he portrayed his stage art. That stage art was probably to a great many what it was to my father, who wrote to Mr. Herne a letter just after seeing "Shore Acres" for the first time—a letter that the actor greatly prized. The letter ran in part:

"I left Boston with the spell of your genius upon me, wishing very much to see you and sorry when I found I could not.

"I cannot too much congratulate you upon your success. You have done what you have sought to do—made a play pure and noble that people will come to hear. You have taken the strength of realism and added to it the strength that comes from the wider truth that realism fails to see; and in the simple portrayal of homely life, touched a universal chord. * * * In the solemnity of the wonderfully suggestive close, the veil that separates us from heaven seems to grow thin; and things not seen, to be felt.

"But who save you can bring out the character you have created—a character, which to others, as to me, must have recalled the tender memory of some sweet saint of God—for such loving and unselfish souls there have been and are. I never before saw acting that impressed me so much as yours last night. I did not feel like talking when I left the theater; but I wanted to grasp your hand. I did not want to see you in the wonderful piece of acting of which they told me, where you reduced man to the mere animal. I was glad to have seen you in this, where the angel gleams forth."

As I write the notes of a bugle ring out, as if giving the farewell salute of "taps" to the mortal remains of James A. Herne. It brings consciousness of the scene about me. I write on the shores of the Susquehanna, at Harrisburg. The afternoon sun sends a golden warmth down on the sliding, mirror-like river and the clumps of trees and irregular hills beyond. Behind me lies Harrisburg, the

capital seat of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Before me to the south, the Cumberland hills. Beyond those hills, forty miles away, lies historic Gettysburg. Again the bugle sounds, then comes the beat of a drum and along the shaded road of the river embankment marches a company of sedate, silver-haired Grand Army veterans. Two silk flags swish in the soft breeze and nothing is heard but the throb of the drum and the tramp of feet. Soon they are past and gone; and again I turn to the contemplation of the river and the Cumberland hills beyond—and Gettysburg behind those hills. To-morrow these old men in fatigue uniform will take train and go to the Grand Army encampment where perhaps some of them thirty-eight years ago took part in the supreme struggle there for three successive days. On the 3^d of July Lee's army retreated. The Northern invasion was prevented and the Southern cause was lost—the Southern cause in defence of chattel slavery.

The afternoon sun wanes and sinks in the western river waters. Twilight deepens to night and then the silvery moon and gemmy stars come forth. Only the occasional clatter from the city behind or the clang and roar of an occasional railroad train break the tranquil night-music of the crickets. But again in imagination I hear the notes of a bugle giving its solemn salute to the dead—to those who have died in the wars; in the wars against every kind of slavery; in the wars for mankind. Then again all is peace.

Harrisburg, Pa., June 4, 1901.

Posthumous Poem by Edward McGlynn.

“I fain would be a poet, and sing songs
 So full of hope and love and grace to men,
 That they should have the charm and potency
 To lure them from ignoble thoughts and cares
 To love of the Ideal, Infinite,
 Truth, Goodness, Beauty, Light, Life, Holiness,
 Which men call God, but Whom the Man of men
 Taught us, as man had never taught before,
 To call by more endearing, human name
 “Our Father,” and by this sweet parable
 Taught that the law of God is simply love,
 And that who best would show his love for God
 Must give best loving service unto men.
 This, Father, would I sing with trumpet tongue,
 In notes so sweet and clear and strong, that men
 Touched, softened, ravished by the strain should turn
 From selfish thoughts to love of all in Thee.
 Father, if Thou give not the gift of song,
 One boon I crave Thou wilt not, sure, deny:
 Let me my life a poem make, compact,
 In sweet accord, of harmony divine
 Of thought and will and deed with Thy sweet will.
 Then may my life some light and leading be
 To way-worn brothers while I tarry here,
 And, when I go, some word or deed of mine
 May still lure erring brothers back to Thee.”

These lines, by Rev. Dr. McGlynn, were read by Sylvester Malone at the Memorial Services in Calvary Cemetery, May 30th, 1901. They will be printed with a picture of the Doctor in an ornamental souvenir and sold for the monu-

ment fund. This poem is an epitome of the good father's creed, and will be read by our readers for the first time with renewed love for and appreciation of the Doctor's pure and lofty character and deep religious spirit.

*(Especially for the Review.)***President Schwab's Testimony.**

IT SUPPLIES VALUABLE MATERIAL FOR FREE TRADERS AND SINGLE TAXERS.

BY BYRON W. HOLT.*

Nothing like the full import, it seems to me, of the testimony of Mr. Charles M. Schwab before the Industrial Commission has as yet been grasped by Single Taxers. I heard his testimony and was astonished at both the recklessness and truthfulness of his statements. Not only did he "give away" the case for protection, but he gratuitously supplied excellent material for Single Taxers and Socialists. Throughout he showed a lack of tact, or of coaching, when dealing with the tariff question, which must have mortified his protectionist friends, some of whom are members of this strongly protectionist commission. Coming up as he has through the factory, instead of the college, he is a good business man but a poor economic reasoner, when he attempts to disguise the fallacies of protection.

EXPORT PRICES.

Thus, knowing only that iron and steel goods have, during his business experience, been sold at greatly reduced prices for export, and not realizing that these facts were not common knowledge and to be treated as "free-trade lies," he unhesitatingly said that "export prices are made at a very much lower rate than those for domestic consumption." Then he gratuitously stated a truth known to but comparatively few, when he added:

"I think you can safely say this, that where a large export business is done nearly all the people from whom supplies are bought for that purpose give you a good price for the materials that go into the exports; the railroads will carry them a little cheaper and so on down the line, but labor, within my knowledge at least, has never been asked to work for a lower price for export material, so that labor benefits more by it than almost any other factor in the transaction."

When the questions asked by his protectionist friends suggested that he had mildly shocked them he made some disingenuous attempts to square business conditions with protection theories. He asserted that the export business was conducted at a loss to enable works to "run full and steady," to "gain the foreign market," etc. "When we have as much as we can do at home," he said, "as we have to-day, we are not anxious to sell at low foreign prices, but when our mills are not running steadily we will take anything at any price, even if there is some loss in so doing, in order to keep running."

Regardless of the fact that exports of iron and steel goods have, during the last two busy years, increased more rapidly than ever before, and not denying that goods are sold for delivery six months or a year hence, at very low export prices, he continued to assert that the export business was conducted at a loss and was merely selling a surplus abroad mainly for the benefit of our highly paid labor.

In blissful ignorance, or brazen defiance, of facts he declared that "the large exportations have been in those lines in which labor has not played an important part, like rails, billets and things of that sort." He said "we are not exporting tin plate to-day. Why? Because we have not the advantages of manufacture. Our labor is too highly paid."

The facts are that the goods most largely exported by the billion-dollar trust of which he is the president are those containing the most labor. John W. Gates, manager of the Steel and Wire trust, before it became a part of the greater steel trust, testified before this same Industrial Commission that his com-

*Byron W. Holt, the writer of this article, who appeared before the Senate Industrial Commission at Washington, and confronted Charles M. Schwab at the hearings, is recognized as one of the best equipped tariff experts in the country. His services in the cause of free trade have given him a high place in the war for industrial freedom.

pany supplied 60 per cent. of the wire nails consumed in England and that their products went to all parts of the world. It is also a fact that tin plate is being sold extensively (when made into cans, boxes, etc.), by Mr. Schwab's company, at prices about \$1 per box below those charged to domestic consumers. It is also reported that agents abroad are soliciting orders and bidding on contracts.

Mr. Schwab's memory was very bad when he was trying to recall the exact prices at which steel rails were being exported. The best he could do was to state that the export prices would perhaps average about \$23 per ton when the domestic price was \$26 or \$28. Apparently he had entirely forgotten that his own company—the Carnegie—had sold rails extensively for export for less than \$21 just before it was absorbed by the great trust. He stated that the Carnegie company exported about 70 per cent. of all the steel exported, and he undoubtedly knew, what others acquainted with the facts assert, that during the last two years the export price of rails has averaged about \$7 per ton less than the domestic price. He also undoubtedly knows that wire nails and barbed wire are sold for export at about half the prices charged at home, and that structural steel is sold for export at about two-thirds of the home price.

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Mr. Schwab showed a remarkable lack of interest in the tariff question and admitted that "we have reached a point where we do not need the tariff" on some lines of steel, but, he said, "you take the lines of steel manufactured in which labor forms the largest part of cost and you have got to have a protective tariff or reduce your labor." Evidently he had not read the newspapers and did not know that the manufacturers of all Europe are in terror before the "American Peril" and contemplate the "Yellow Peril" with comparative serenity. He had not observed that now, as always, the products of highly paid labor are generally the cheapest and that manufactured goods go from high to low wage countries.

THE FORGOTTEN CONSUMER.

Mr. Schwab apparently thought it necessary and proper to evince a great interest in the employees of the protected mills, but he took no interest in the consumers of this country, except to treat them as a necessary factor in distribution. It never occurred to him that they had any rights. He treated them as the legitimate prey of the protected interests, to be charged the highest possible prices regardless of the cost of production or of prices charged to foreigners. And why shouldn't he do so? They continue to vote for "Protection" and high prices, and it is presumed that they want what they get for their money-protected and rich manufacturers.

Asked about free iron ore he thought it would make no difference to any one, partly "for the reason that a drawback of duty is allowed whenever goods are exported manufactured from imported ores"—forgetting that American consumers might be interested in the matter. Asked about the Babcock bill to put certain iron and steel products, made by trusts, on the free list, he replied:

"I do not see that it would do anybody any good. It would not hurt anybody in those lines where we need no tariff, and in those lines where protection is necessary the only persons it would hurt would be the working people. . . . I should like to see it (the tariff) left alone. That is my personal opinion. I think it is unwise to disturb these things when there is no necessity for doing it. The tariff on rails and billets is not enough to hurt if you are not bringing them in. It may be inconsistent, but that is a point of view I am not prepared to discuss."

In concluding his testimony, he said:

"I firmly believe that the results of these great consolidations will be of benefit both to the investor and the laborer. Labor has already been greatly benefited, and I think that as the result of this development of industrial methods we

can sell our products at fair prices and pay good wages. I can see nothing in the future but good results."

NATURE, EXTENT AND VALUE OF THE STEEL TRUST'S MONOPOLY.

But it is Mr. Schwab's evidence as to the nature, extent and value of the Steel Trust's monopoly that most directly concerns Single Taxers. On these points he was unusually frank—probably having in mind the enhancement of the corporation's securities in Wall street rather than the fear of supplying material to Single Taxers.

He said that the constituent companies, producing 75 per cent. of the product of the United States, had been able to dictate prices to the European manufacturers, and he assumed that the United States Steel Corporation would probably be able to do it hereafter. "I think," he said, "the export business will probably be greater in the future than in the past."

He repeatedly referred to "the advantages of a controlled ore supply," as the *Iron Age* put it.

"The great advantages," he said, "which the new company enjoy start with the ore, embracing the well-known ranges in the Northwest, from which all the constituent companies derived their supply, and 80 per cent. of which the United States Steel Corporation own or control."

He said that "we buy some coal, but as a broad principle we supply ourselves in all lines of our raw material."

Asked if he would, in his bookkeeping, "assume higher prices for ore when there is a strong demand for the finished product," he replied:

"As to ore this is fair: There is a known quantity of ores in the United States, and as far as the best geologists can determine this ore region is not likely to be extended. Now, I think it is perfectly fair for the United States Steel Corporation, in view of this fact and knowing that they own a given tonnage of ore which can be very closely estimated, to fix a liberal price upon that ore, because in years to come it is going to be very valuable, exceedingly valuable."

"Would you vary the price of ore with the demand for your finished products?"

"No, we would not. We might charge it in for the purpose of reducing our profits. We ought to fix the price that we think the ore is worth. That is the basis of it all. If we fix a price for ores it ought to be maintained under all conditions, and then, whether we take our profit on the ore and lose it on the steel, it would not make any difference. But the value of these plants has been much under estimated by people who cannot appreciate the limited quantity of raw material that is available in the United States, or the world for that matter, for the manufacture of steel. For example, England thought years ago that she had an unlimited supply of raw material, and her manufacturers went ahead using it. To-day the manufacture of steel in England is largely a question of procuring raw material. They did not place nearly a high enough estimate on the value of materials which they had in England, and now they are going to Spain and Sweden and even taking some ores from America. That ought to show the value of the ore deposit which we have in America; and I am constantly talking to our people about putting a sufficiently high valuation upon them, because at the rate they are now being used they will not last many years."

Again, when discussing the question of capitalization and whether or not the stocks of the great trust were not all water—the tangible assets being entirely covered by the \$304,000,000 of bonds, he replied:

"That is entirely a question as to the valuation you put upon your raw material resources. If I were putting the raw materials into this capitalization it would not be big enough. I claim that our ore and coking coals, limestone, etc., are of much more value than people, as a rule, have ever given to them. For example, this company have over 500,000,000 tons of ore in sight in the North-

west. Now, it does not take many dollars per ton on that ore alone to equal the capitalization of these concerns. We own something like 60,000 acres of Connellsville coal. You could not buy it for \$60,000 an acre, for there is no more Connellsville coal. If the consumption of steel increases in the future as it has in the past, I believe the Connellsville coal will be exhausted in thirty years. If the consumption of iron ore in the Northwest goes on as it has in the past it will not last very long, perhaps sixty years. Of course there are other coals, but it is a well-known fact that the Connellsville coking coal is an ideal coal for manufacturing purposes. Now, this coal field is very clearly defined, and every acre of it is highly prized, and it is owned by these constituent companies in toto. There may be developments of coal in other directions, but nothing like this coal; therefore I say the matter of capitalization depends very largely on the value you put on the raw material."

He said that "these companies * * * have created values by coming together, and the owning of these stocks by one corporation will enhance the value of them all." He said that while iron and coal mines were usually put in at the outset at cost, and were carried on their books at low valuations, yet "if they appreciated in value by reason of the fact that a limit could be placed upon the possible sources of supply they certainly would possess a higher value if considered at only subsequent periods."

CONCLUSION.

Such evidence from such a high source makes it clear that the present-day monopolizers are considering carefully the limits of the supply of raw materials, and are beginning more fully than ever before to appreciate the fact that too high a value cannot be placed upon the natural sources of production when well under control. It indicates a scramble, in the near future, to gather in the odds and ends of iron, copper, coal, borax, petroleum, etc., mines, in order to secure a more perfect control of the greater and more valuable mines now owned by great corporations. The great monopolizers are playing to get control of the sources of production and of the highways of exchange, realizing that the ownership of these, and these only, can constitute a well-developed monopoly with full power to dictate prices and wages.

Even now it is almost true that one set of men, headed by John D. Rockefeller, own our iron, coal, copper, petroleum and salt mines, as well as many of our most important railroads, street railways, gas and electric lighting plants, etc. The Rockefeller group is, in fact, the only one which occupies an impregnable position, and Rockefeller is about the only one whom it would be impossible to break, by any combination of unfriendly interests, while our "vested-rights" laws are undisturbed.

Sixty thousand acres of coal land worth \$60,000 an acre give a value of \$3,600,000. Does the United States Steel Corporation pay taxes on one-hundredth of this amount? Will not some Single Taxer tell us what these Connellsville lands are assessed at?

(*News Press*, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.)

In the carnival of recklessness which has recently been witnessed at Albany not only all the indirect tax, but ten million dollars more was spent, and the taxpayer soothed with the statement that the tax rate had been reduced forty-three one-hundredths of a mill. *Marvelous achievement!* Not satisfied with what they have accomplished they are now reaching out for the savings banks, for the life insurance policies, and for every source from which a dollar might be squeezed to be squandered among the favored elect.

(*Cleveland Recorder*.)

Talk about the inequalities of taxation. The days of the Roman Emperors were nothing as compared with what is going on in Ohio to-day.

(Expressly for the Review.)

The Buffalo Tax Conference Called by the National Civic Federation.

BY LAWSON PURDY.

A Conference on Taxation was held at Buffalo on May 23d and 24th. The conference was composed of delegates from about thirty-five States appointed by the Governors of the States. A few of the delegates were sent by national organizations, which were entitled to three delegates each. About one hundred and fifty delegates were in attendance.

The Committee on Arrangements had appointed a committee on Programme, of which Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman was chairman, and the other members were: F. W. Taussig, Boston; Henry Boyer, Philadelphia; Richard T. Ely, Wisconsin; Lawson Purdy, New York; Henry C. Adams, Michigan; Frederick N. Judson, St. Louis; P. I. Bonebrake, Topeka. Mr. Ralph M. Easley was the Secretary of the Committee on Programme, and the credit for the success of the conference is due to him. Mr. Easley is the Secretary of the Federation, and was busy for months in preparatory work, which resulted in the large attendance at the conference.

The work of the Program Committee chiefly fell upon Prof. Seligman, and was performed with discretion and knowledge which did much to make the conference interesting, instructive and useful, and to make its deliberations and conclusions respectfully considered by the public.

Mr. Frederick N. Judson, of St. Louis, was elected Chairman, and he introduced Mr. Seligman to make an introductory address. Prof. Seligman gave an historical sketch of the tax system of the United States, and the conditions which gave it birth. Conditions have changed and the tax laws have not kept pace. They were comparatively well suited to a primitive society, but are totally unfit for the social life of to-day.

It was evident that Mr. Seligman felt that the important work of the conference was to break down the superstitious reverence for the general property tax.

James R. Garfield followed Prof. Seligman, and delivered an address on the Listing System in Ohio. He attacked it vigorously, and showed by facts and figures how unjust and impracticable is the attempt to tax intangible personal property. He advocated a more thorough taxation of the real property of public-service corporations, in which the chief element of value is the franchise. He also advocated the separation of the sources of State and local revenues.

Frederick C. Howe, Mr. Garfield's partner and former Secretary of the Pennsylvania Tax Commission, and at present a member of the Cleveland Common Council, and known as a "Johnson Republican," read a paper on the taxation of public-service corporations, particularly those doing an interstate business. He believed that they should be taxed as a unit, and the value ascertained by the rule upheld by the Supreme Court in the State R. R. Tax Cases, reported in 92 U. S. Under this rule the entire property value of the corporation is ascertained by adding together the market value of the stock and bonds and then apportioning this value according to the mileage within the State.

A paper on the taxation of banks and trust companies by Mr. Charles S. Fairchild, former Secretary of the Treasury, was read by his secretary, Mr. L. Carroll Root. Mr. Fairchild argued that the tax upon banks and trust companies should be equal and should not be heavy. He showed that they performed functions of great value to the community, and that their prosperity was no excuse for imposing burdensome taxes, as they possess no monopoly.

Mr. Allen Ripley Foote, editor of "Public Policy," read a paper on the taxation of municipal public-service corporations. Mr. Foote's contention was that public-service corporations are monopolies, and that they must be treated as such; that the attempt to introduce competition is always a failure and always

a mistake; that the charges of a public-service corporation should be limited so as to produce only sufficient revenue to pay interest on the actual capital invested; that their accounts should be public and audited by public authority. When this is done every tax will be an element of cost and will increase the charge for service. He, therefore, advocated their entire exemption from taxation so that the users of the service should reap the entire benefit of reduced expenses.

Mr. Foote's paper was the last of the day, and was read so late that there was unfortunately no opportunity for its discussion. The earlier papers, especially that of Mr. Garfield, drew out a great deal of discussion. A greater number of the delegates appeared convinced that the attempt to tax intangible personal property resulted in such injustice that it ought to be abandoned.

The delegates from Indiana, who were nearly all members of the State Tax Board, contended that their system of taxation reached all property and taxed it equally. They spoke as though they were very proud of it, and as if they thought it was unique. No one at the time was in a position to deny their statements, but later in the day Mr. Garfield looked up the last census reports and put questions to them, which they were utterly unable to answer, and it was clearly shown that their system failed to reach even all tangible personal property, to say nothing of the intangible.

There was quite a lively discussion between those who contended that it is impossible to tax a *chose* in action on the ground that a tax must be paid by the owner of the property by reason of the laws of shifting, and those who were entirely ignorant of the laws of incidence and shifting might contend that a *chose* in action could be taxed, and that it was only a question of reaching it.

At this session the following Committee on Resolutions was appointed: Edwin R. A. Seligman, Chairman; Frederick N. Judson, Missouri; James R. Garfield, Ohio; N. S. Gilson, Wisconsin; Lawson Purdy, New York.

The committee had several conferences before the next day's session, and agreed to report the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that a permanent organization be effected for the promotion of inter-State comity in taxation and of tax reform in general; and to that end that a committee of fifteen be appointed by the chair to act as an executive committee until another meeting of this conference; and that the executive committee be authorized to select a general committee of 100, with at least one member from each State.

"Resolved, That the executive committee be authorized to take proper steps for the collection and dissemination of information in regard to State and local taxation, and for the attainment of the other objects of the conference.

"Whereas, Modern industry has overstepped the boundaries of any one State and commercial interests are no longer confined to merely local limits; and,

"Whereas, The problem of just taxation cannot be solved without considering the mutual relations of contiguous States; be it

"Resolved, That this conference recommends to the States the recognition and enforcement of the principles of interstate comity in taxation. These principles require that the same property should not be taxed at the same time by two State jurisdictions, and to this end that, if the title deeds or other paper evidences of the ownership of property or of an interest in property are taxed, they shall be taxed at the situs of the property and not elsewhere. These principles should also be applied to any tax upon the transfer of property in expectation of death or by will, or under the laws regulating the distribution of property in case of intestacy.

"Resolved, That the State and local revenue should be so separated as to methods and subjects of taxation as to give to the counties and municipalities the largest powers of local option in taxation."

The committee decided that it would be unwise to press the resolutions to a vote if any opposition should develop.

SECOND DAY.

At the morning session of the second day, Prof. Seligman presented the report of the committee, and in answer to a question explained the meaning and object of the last resolution. Consideration of the resolution was postponed until the end of the day that the delegates might have time to consider them.

Frederick N. Judson, of St. Louis, author of "The System of Taxation in Missouri," read an able and interesting paper on the taxation of mortgages. He described the many attempts that have been made in California, Michigan and elsewhere to force the mortgagee to pay his supposed share of taxation. He showed carefully and clearly that the only possible way to reach the mortgagee is to exempt mortgages and then interest rates will fall so that the mortgagee will receive the lowest return for the use of his money commensurate with the security offered.

The second paper at the morning session was read by Judge Howard, of Indiana, on the system of taxation of that State, and the Indiana men again contended that it was unique and perfect. Professor Tooke, of Illinois, read a paper on tax conditions in Illinois, in which he said that the Illinois system was almost identical with the Indiana system, and they found it extremely unsatisfactory. He advocated the abolition of taxes on intangible personal property and the separation of the sources of State and local revenues, and local option in taxation.

E. C. Westerhaven, of West Virginia, said that the laws of that State were almost identical with those of Indiana, but that they were an absolute wreck. He urged the separation of the sources of State and local revenues.

The afternoon session was almost entirely devoted to the question of separating State and local revenue and local option. A paper, by Mr. George F. Seward, Chairman of the Committee on Taxation, of the New York Chamber of Commerce, was read by Mr. Wiley, of Philadelphia. Mr. Seward contended against the imposition of specific taxes for State purposes, and in favor of the apportionment of State taxes on the basis of local revenue.

The next paper was read by Senator James W. Bucklin, of Colorado, Chairman of the Commission charged with the revision of the tax laws of that State, and author of the amendment to the Colorado constitution adopted by the last legislature. He described his visit to the Australasian colonies and the character and effect of the Australasian land tax, and the effect of the local option enjoyed in New Zealand and some other colonies to exempt all property other than land values from taxation for local purposes.

Mr. Bucklin made a very able argument, and made a good impression on the conference. His paper led to many questions and to much discussion, which was interrupted for the reading of a paper on local option by Lawson Purdy, of New York. Mr. Purdy endeavored to prove that the most effective assault upon the general property tax could be made through local option; that no law not in harmony with the moral sense of a community can be enforced, and that a large degree of local option is exercised although unsanctioned by law; that so long as different communities have different ideas in regard to taxation, the best way and the just way is to leave them alone to work out their own salvation. That experience would thus be gained which would ultimately lead to great improvement. In order to make local option practicable it is desirable to separate the sources of State and local revenues, and that this can best be done by apportioning State taxes to the several counties of the State in proportion to local revenue. Further discussion of Senator Bucklin's paper and local option followed, and then papers were read by Assemblyman Rodenbeck on the desirability of a codification of the tax laws of the various States, and by Robert H. Whitten, of Albany, on the taxation of inheritances.

During the day the different State delegates had been consulted in regard to the resolutions read in the morning. No opposition to the first resolution developed, but a delegate from Michigan felt that the political conditions in his

State were such that the local option resolution would be inadvisable. This delegate was connected with the State government, and probably had in mind the so-called Ripper bills, recently adopted by the Michigan legislature. These bills had nothing to do with taxation, but as they violate all principles of home rule, the delegate's fear of a local option resolution is easily understood. It was arranged, therefore, that the Michigan delegate should move the adoption of the resolutions with the exception of the last, and that the last resolution should be referred to the committee for further consideration, to report at the next conference. This motion was adopted unanimously.

An examination of the resolution on taxation which was adopted will disclose the fact that it is eminently fair, and that it renders all taxation of intangible personal property practically impossible. Probably some of the delegates hardly appreciated the far-reaching effect of the resolution, at the same time its adoption in view of the character of the delegates is eminently gratifying.

The conference was useful in bringing together men working for common ends in many States, and in spreading information where it is most needed. Many of the delegates were members of tax commissions or tax officials. In the main they were broad-minded and ready to accept suggestions. The single delegate from the State of Florida went home enthusiastic for local option.

(St. Paul (Minn.) *Dispatch*, April 27th.)

Certainly one of the great thinkers of whom Emerson said beware for "all things are at risk" was let loose upon this planet when the spirit of Henry George became incarnated. The value of that spirit to the world is hardly yet to be measured, for Henry George placed in motion certain great forces that will not have become expended until man sees the end of the travail of his soul and becomes satisfied. It has now become generally acknowledged that he was one of the great thinkers of the century. You meet no man who, consciously or unconsciously, does not owe to Henry George many of the beliefs which he cherishes as his own, as his most precious. Doubtless if all those in the United States who believe in "single tax," for instance, were to form themselves into a party it would sweep the country. It would not be necessary now to do as Tom Johnson once did, talk the single tax chapters of "Progress and Poverty" into the *Congressional Record* and use it as campaign material. It is a doctrine pretty well understood to-day, and while every man may not indorse it, every man must acknowledge it one of the wedges to force better conditions.

There was never a life lived with such singleness of purpose as was that of Henry George. Every incident in it contributed to the building up of his system of economics, which it looks more and more each day as though the world would have to try.

(Clinton (Mass.) *Item*.)

The single-taxers will be justified in feeling that they have gained a distinguished recruit in Hon. Charles Francis Adams, who believes that the system will come into vogue within the next generation.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring the tax on export bills of lading unconstitutional contains this significant passage: "Indeed, it is only of late years, when the burdens of taxation are increasing by reason of the great expenses of government, that the objects become a matter (matters) of special scrutiny."

(Expressly for the Review.)

Serial Economics.

BY JAMES LOVE, AUTHOR OF "JAPANESE NOTIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY."

While in the literary magazines with their wealth of illustration and attractive themes—"Telephoning Across the Ocean," "The Argive Heraum," "Bismarck's Love Letters," "My First Colony of Bees"—we find great content and float along month by month in lucid calm, there are times, nevertheless, when, in the effort to steer through a shallow of "Civics" some professor of economics brings us to grief on a shoal of words. For after laying down the *principle* that twice two makes four he very commonly proceeds to argue that the result is sometimes three, sometimes five, and quite often ten. After announcing "general principles" he is prompt to deny that there are any "universal theories," and to assert that "every proposition must be examined in the light of its place and time."

Thus we find ourselves stranded in the March *North American*, where Professor Ely, writing upon "Municipal Ownership of Natural Monopolies," says: "What must be desired by anyone who has an appreciation of the nature of modern science is the establishment of *general principles* whereby mistakes may be avoided and loss prevented." But he immediately adds, "The practical man will naturally take into account the actual concrete conditions in his application of general principles. The social engineer must in this particular follow the practice of the mechanical engineer." * * * By "the establishment of general principles" he probably means, if he means anything, the *ascertainment of natural laws*. And the intimation is that the mechanical engineer sometimes, owing to "concrete conditions," must tamper with or disregard them. But natural laws by the engineer are never in the slightest intentionally disregarded. On the contrary, he must ever have them in mind and under the certain penalty of disaster construct his works to conform therewith. No sane engineer ever erected a tower whose center of gravity fell outside of its base, or who attempted to increase the force upon the long arm of a lever without providing for a greater increase of force on the short arm. The practical man takes the conditions into account not by attempting the impossible (the modification of a natural law), but in strictest accordance with law to adapt the resistance to the pull. And he must do so at any and all times.

Yet after this illustration of the engineer Professor Ely's arguments seem to indicate that he doesn't know what the term "principles" means. He apparently assumes that it is a moral principle that the product belongs to the producer—that robbery is ever harmful, and therefore that each municipality should control its "natural monopolies." But towards the close of his article, as is usual with professors, he first gets astride the fence and then, with phrases seemingly learned and certainly incomprehensible, lets himself down on the other side. So—he don't favor municipal ownership "at any and all times." "It must come deliberately, and it must come with adequate safeguards." He says that we must have the social man before we have the social action. But the "social man is coming rapidly," "and the amount of social action which the socialization of sentiment makes possible and desirable increases in proportion as he makes his appearance. The question of municipal ownership is a question of social psychology. It turns on the nature of the social mind."

But—passing from these occasional irritants of the popular monthlies to the unbroken flow in the scholastic quarterlies—The Yale Reviews, The Journals of Political Economy, Annals of American Academies, Journals of Sociology, Quarterly Journals of Economics—we are not only confused by the boom of brass-band words, but are altogether lost in a maze of economic reasoning that, in obeying no rules, is as much a travesty of logic as Hogarth's famous picture is a travesty of "Perspective."

Taking up the April number of *The International Journal of Ethics*, for instance, we find "The Theory of Value and Its Place in the History of

Ethics," 47 pp., by Professor Charles Gray Shaw, of New York University. Professor Shaw in thus (as I suppose, for his language is beyond me) making private monopoly values accord with eternal laws of justice, has, like Professor Tom, Dick, Harry, and Ely, really reduced "Economics" to two simple principles. I. To the victor belong the spoils. II. The devil takes the hindmost. He opens: "In the larger and historical present no more vital question is broached than that concerning the ultimate nature of ethical ideas; among English and American thinkers is such especially the case. Teutonic thought with all that is meritorious about it, has never in its history produced any such wealth of discussion as that which has grown out of the endeavor among English speakers and thinkers to adjust the respective claims of Hedonist and Intuitionist." * * * The source, the sanction and the practical significance which Intuitionism alleges deserve some examination. A 'faculty psychology' and all the ills which it is heir to has not failed to find shelter in this school. For the sake of identifying a special, isolated moral function, the unity of conscience has been broken up. The sanction which is here offered, couched as it usually is in quasi-logical forms, can hardly escape the difficulties of circular argument." * * * The emancipation of the affectional process in consciousness, by virtue of which psychology passed from the ancient bipartite to the modern tripartite form, has never been seriously taken into account by Hedonism." * * * Words, words! to take the place of thoughts! This argot of the devil and the economists, mind-crippling to those who attempt to comprehend it, is the shame of the schools. * * * "Value is essentially volitional. Difficult as it is for introspective analysis to identify any conative quality in consciousness, enough is known about the will to make possible its connection with the value idea. The independence of valuation over against both pleasure and desire is justified by the independence of the volitional quality, even though such be an indeterminate." * * * These passages, I think, are worthy of the little scholar who, in her composition wrote, "The supercilious girl acted with vicissitude when the perennial time came." * * * "Volition is distinct from desire as the arbitrariness of human nature attests. At the same time pathological cases in volition show how the will may act in opposition to desire. Experience reveals a more or less complete bifurcation of affection and conation." * * * In my assembly of the K. of L. a prosy member was interrupted by a tired listener: "Master Workman, is the brother's remarks bearin' on the motion?" "No," exclaimed the Master Workman waking up, "No—I don't think—Nothing—H—ll, no! Not bearin'."

Some readers will cry: What! have you no reverence at all for learning? Not for this kind, my son. I have a high respect for our schools and for most of the professors, but not for these gents. I feel towards "Economics" as my indignant old friend Purdy said his wife did towards other antiquated rattletaps. "No, Sir! Mrs. Purdy has no reverence for that kind of thing. She would put them down cellar, or over the back fence, or mor'n likely burn them up."

"Some notion of an ethical realm is the indispensable counterpart of the valuation subject. Here, again, the history of ethics in its various stages affords many an example of such a notion. The world of ideas of Plato, the moral world of Fichte and the New Testament Kingdom of God are brilliant examples of the moral realm. Thus is determined a world of value, as the basis of a subject of value. In this valuational Kosmos, value is not abstractly represented but actively conserved, so that the determination of such a realm is to be shown not so much by speculation as rather by evincing the fact that ethical consciousness of the individual soul ever postulates such a conservation of value. Such valuational faith relates the subject and object."

Words, like clothes, are a sort of plumage; and a peacock stripped of its feathers is a lamentable sight, even ghastly when the skeleton beneath its tissues is disclosed by Röntgen rays. Yet most of these writers are probably amiable.

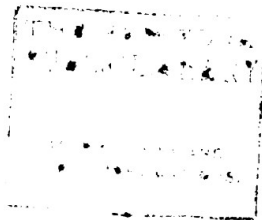
men, with well-developed head-pieces adapted to No. 7 hats; and though thus—as Economists—they utterly belie the theories of Spurzheim (being withered kernels in well-shaped shells) in other walks of life they may be more true to their “bumps.”

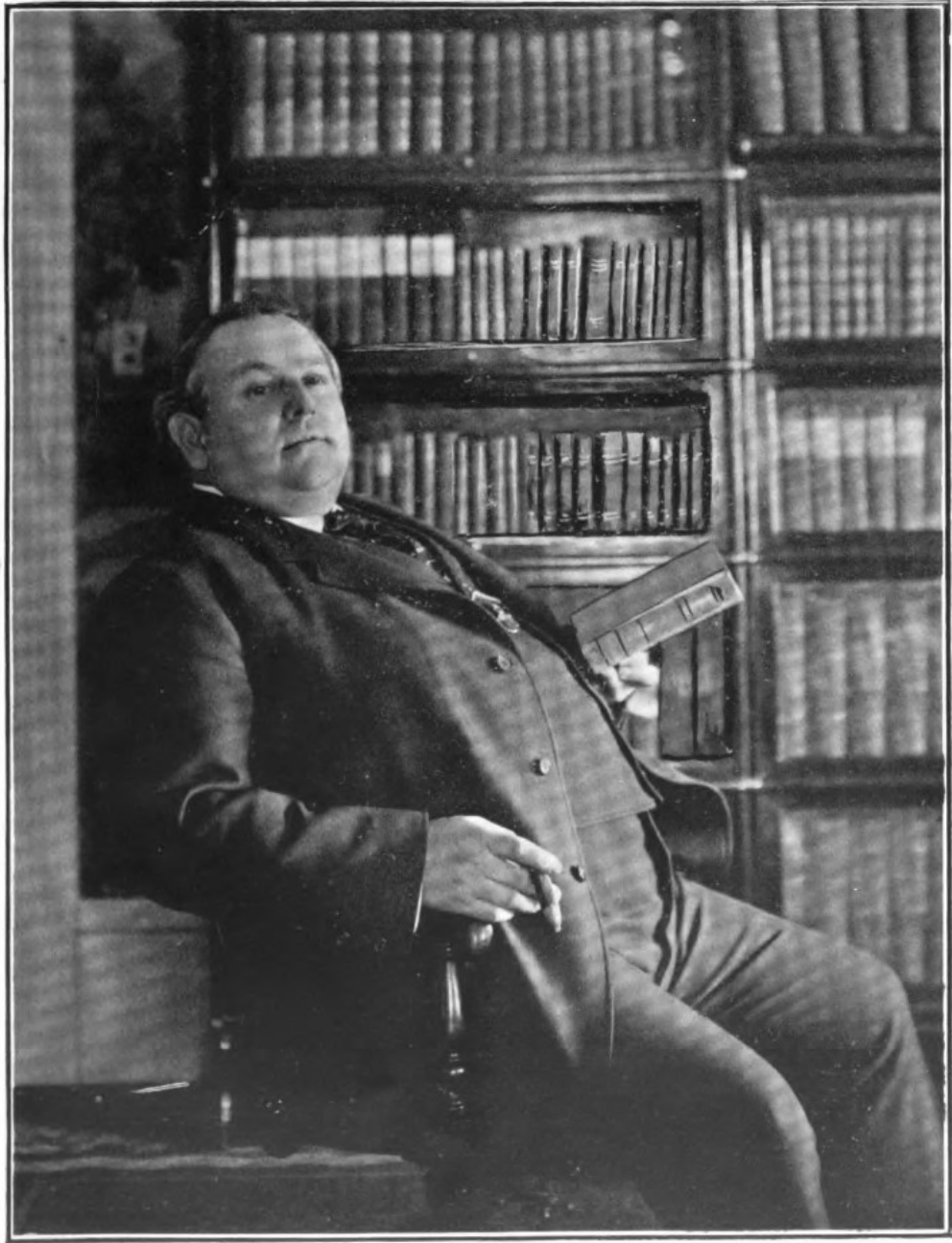
In the March number of “The Journal of Political Economy” Professor Padan, of the University of Chicago, devotes thirty pages to telling us about Professor J. B. Clark’s “Formula of Wages and Interest.” He commences (You tickle me and I’ll tickle you), “The recent volume by Prof. J. B. Clark on the Distribution of Wealth is an important contribution to the literature upon the interest question. * * * But Prof. Clark has not been content to find the basis of interest in productivity. He has industriously sought to establish a formula that will quantitatively identify the *rate* of interest with the specific part of the product due to one unit of capital. He also presents a correlative formula for wages.” * * * After giving Prof. Clark’s own formula in mathematical diagram, he devotes most of his article to a mathematical exposition of the matter, dealing with wages and interest only, and *making no mention of rent as a factor in distribution.* * * * “Let the number of units of labor be measured in the following figure along the line A D. Let them be set working in a series, in connection with a fixed amount of capital,” and so on page after page, ever deeper, with nine more diagrams and continuous algebra. But with it all the rates, bobbing around in a mercurial way and not easily fixed, seem to serve as a mere “fascinating problem,” like perpetual motion. * * * “The rates of wages and interest at any time are the result of the play of dynamic forces. * * * The point here is that the rates of both wages and interest have a dynamic quality. That is, they enjoy no immunity from change. They are in the hands of tireless dynamic masters, the industrious artisans, or agents of change. These agents are: I. Fluctuating population. II. Fluctuating capital. III. Fluctuating methods of industry. IV. Fluctuating organization of capital. V. Fluctuating wants of consumers.” Here Prof. Padan, noting an omission, as he thinks, and anxious to go snacks in the glory of this “important contribution,” adds: “This group should be extended so as to include what may be called ‘circumstances of competition’ an important agent of very dynamic character.” * * * This thirty-page bit of imitation learning, imposed upon unhappy undergraduates as genuine, closes thus: “The determination of rates of interest and wages is a fascinating problem, for the reason that it is a living and changing problem. * * * A determination of the rates of remuneration for to-day is not a determination of them for to-morrow, for the circumstances that control the rates are ever shifting, ever modifying the elements that must be taken account of in the solution. The chess-board of the market of interest and wages proposes no stereotyped problem. The powers of analysis must be addressed to the mastery of each novel combination.”

Now you see it and now you don’t see it! Burlesquing political economy as “Economics,” what ridiculous thimble-rigging is this! Truly might Prof. Denslow (a noted economist) in referring to the whole literature, declare that it is “an incongruous Babel of conflicting oracles.” And Henry Dunning Macleod, while himself adding volume after volume, in the same way writes of *all* the current books on Economics that “they are *utterly valueless* for the great economic problems which are so important at the present day.”

* * * * *

In great grief as she rushed in from the kitchen, my little granddaughter cried out, “Tabitha say that grand-pa got to die some day—that’s what Tabitha say. And you won’t, will you, grand-pa!” And so, though most Economists, like Professor Perry (now happily retired), may with similar simplicity believe “Economics” to be immortal, what a Christian joy it is to know that what Tabitha foretold of me can with equal assurance be foretold of it.





TOM L. JOHNSON.

Tom L. Johnson.

The newspapers of the country have ever since the Cleveland mayoralty election kept their columns hot with Johnson matter. Most of these comments have been friendly, some silly, a great number untrue. But nothing in connection with the unique figure of the mayor of Cleveland has been thought too trivial to chronicle, even to the purchase of an automobile by the indulgent father for his youthful school girl daughter.

The quidnuncs have been busy, too. Everything that Johnson has done has been part of the great plan to land himself in the White House. Those who know Johnson best, however, know that he harbors no such deep-laid scheme. That he is in politics for a great principle, and that if his nomination for the presidency could advance that principle, he would welcome it, is certain; but it by no means follows that this second premise is true. Events alone can determine this. The United States Senatorship, so far as the Johnson programme is concerned, may also be dismissed. Mr. Johnson will not retire the single tax in that way. Cleveland for the next two years is his field, and his triumphant re-election by an increased majority would mean more to the great cause to which he has pledged his life than anything else possibly could. This, we believe, is Mr. Johnson's set purpose, and those who cannot understand such a move (by reason of moral and intellectual incapability) may continue taking his measure by their own narrow yard-sticks of principle and following his every act with plausible or disingenuous conjecture.

Some of the newspaper comments are amusing enough. Here is the *Philadelphia Bulletin*:

"Cleveland's city council refuses to give Mayor Tom Johnson the money he demands for municipal improvements. The taxpayers of that town are apparently not favorably impressed with the idea of paying for the promised civic millennium out of their own pockets."

Who is to pay for the civic millennium if not the citizens out of their own pockets?

The *Dallas (Ore.) Chronicle* calls Johnson "A single tax crank in an advanced state of lunacy;" the *New Britain (Conn.) Herald* says he has "peculiar opinions." The *Pittsburg Dispatch* says that he has been roundly abused as a hypocrite, "and this is weighing down his presidential boom." But let not the *Dispatch* worry; if that is all that is weighing him down he is not heavily handicapped.

Murat Halstead is reported by a Buffalo paper which interviewed him to have said of Tom Johnson:

"I do not think that a man who starts off with the proposition for a single tax upon the real estate in Ohio and a tax upon nothing else exhibits a very brilliant stroke of genius. I am inclined to describe that proposition with another word."

Poor Halstead! It is harder for a new idea to enter his head than it is for a camel to get through the eye of a needle. The *Chicago Record* says that "Johnson is a free trader, and thinks customs tariffs are immoral as well as illogical, but nevertheless demands a heavy duty on iron and steel as long as he manufactures!" The *Record* ought to know that Johnson in Congress and out worked for the removal of the duties upon steel. The *Record* further says:

"He put a little community down on one of his street car lines on Long Island to carry out Henry George's notions. The population was composed entirely of Mr. George and his friends and disciples. Mr. Johnson footed the bills. The rest of them dreamed and talked, and believed that they had a Utopia, but it would have been something else without Mr. Johnson's money."

There are two explanations of this story—either the *Record* editor is willing to tell what is not true or somebody has been fooling him.

The *Plain Dealer* of Cleveland interviewed Johnson a few days ago, and the next day's issue contained the following:

"Mayor Johnson and his millions, according to a special dispatch to the *Plain Dealer* from Denver, are backing a big fight to introduce single tax in Colorado."

"I wouldn't put it that way," laughed the mayor yesterday, when asked what part he was playing in the tax battle in the western State. "But it's true," he continued, "that I have been taking a mighty active part in that affair. We have now got the proposition up to the people of Colorado, and a great campaign of argument and education will soon begin."

"I hope to be able to personally go out there and make a few speeches, but I am not sure that I will be able to do it. The single tax fight is on for keeps, and I look for a great victory."

The Grand Rapids (Mich.) *Democrat*, April 7th, says that Johnson's re-entry into politics means trouble for the Republican machine. Yes, and for the Democratic machine, too. The Bozeman (Mont.) *Chronicle*, having asserted that Tom L. Johnson is "a socialist of the Henry George school," the Helena *Independent* wants to know what kind of a socialist a Henry George socialist is. The *Independent* knows more than the "mixers" of the metropolitan press.

Following are other newspaper comments on Johnson:

The Troy (New York) *Press*: Tom Johnson is not a disciple of dirty politics. His ideas of government may be better ascertained by reading "Progress and Poverty," which is his political Bible.

The Detroit (Mich.) *Tribune*: "Mr. Johnson is a sort of cumulous or unexpended benevolence. That is why he has waxed fat of late. Presently the industrial and political world will hear a mighty rumbling and see flashes of forked lightning in the direction of Cleveland. The superincumbent cumulus will be discharging not cats and dogs, but three-cent fare street railway ordinances and single tax doctrines directly applied."

Tucson (Arizona) *Citizen*, April 18th: Tom Loftin Johnson would make a great President. He is a master of men. He is rich beyond the dreams of avarice. He is a practical reformer. He is an enlightened statesman. He is a man of great executive capacity. He is not a crank in anything. He is a radical reformer in many things. He is a constructive statesman as well fitted to build up as to pull down. He is practical in everything—politics included. He has never wavered in the support of Democratic principles, and his purse as well as his personal efforts, has ever been at the disposal of his party.

It would be a splendid popular triumph if Tom Johnson could be made the Democratic candidate for the presidency; it would be a momentous event in history if he could be made the President of the United States.

It was in accordance with these views, that in a speech at the Jackson Day banquet in Cleveland last January, Mr. Johnson announced his withdrawal from all active business and the formal dedication of the remainder of his life to the cause of equal rights and the destruction of privilege—a spectacle so rare as to be misunderstood by many and to call forth sneers and the charge of sinister motives. Within his breast this faith burns as a living religion, but outwardly he gives small sign to such taunts. He goes straight on warring for his cause with every weapon in his arsenal.—Henry George, Jr., in *Puritan*.

"It is a common saying that we have the services of a hundred thousand dollar mayor for \$6,000 a year."—Charles Orr, Cleveland correspondent Boston *Transcript*, April 27. Mr. Orr is librarian of the Case Library at Cleveland.

What follow are some gems of Johnsonese :

"The cattle tax of Ohio is almost as large as the railroad assessment."

"Didn't you make the fact that you have no use for McLean any stronger than you have stated?"

"Eh? Well," said the mayor, "if I remember correctly I did say that the Democratic State convention might indorse Mr. McLean and kill the ticket if it wanted to."

Mayor Tom asked Wadsworth to bring with him to the next meeting of county auditors data regarding the bonded debt of the road, its earnings and other necessary figures.

"If I can find them, I will. You give me only twenty-four hours' notice."

"You've had twenty-four years," said Mayor Tom.

"Some people call me a reformer. I plead not guilty. I'm for progress, not for reform."

"I like the *New York Sun*. It says so much better the things I don't believe in than other papers say the things I do believe in."

A Hitherto Unpublished Letter of the Great Russian Novelist and Reformer, Leo Tolstoy, to an American Lady.

Translated and communicated by V. Tchertkoff, Christchurch, Hants, England.
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... Please thank Henry George very much for the feelings which have prompted him to send me his books, and for the books themselves. I value very highly both the one and the other. Some of these books were unknown to me, such as "The Perplexed Philosopher" (an excellent book, a translation of which I hope to get passed by the censor), "The Land Question," and "Free Trade."

Reading them, as always when I read the books of Henry George, I experienced admiration of the clearness, brilliancy, masterliness of the rendering, and of his persuasiveness, and a feeling of indignation against those people who try not to understand, and to boycott his teaching. His thoughts are brought to that degree of clearness and persuasiveness that anyone beginning to think about these questions cannot but accept his plan immediately he becomes acquainted with it. And yet, here is a second decade passing since he stepped forward and nowhere yet have these thoughts found a practical application, notwithstanding that seventy papers support his views. I am always touched by the Biblical story about Moses not seeing the Promised Land into which he directed the people. Not that it is inevitable or necessary that one should not see the fruits of one's labors, but that men, the best men, do the most important work in the world, not only without expecting recompense, but even without the hope of seeing the realization of that to which they have dedicated their lives.

Henry George belongs to these men. He was the first to lay a firm foundation to the building of the future economical organization, and mankind will always remember his name with thankfulness and respect. But will he succeed in seeing the fruits of his labors? I never despair. I think one should always so work as to be ready to realize one's idea to-morrow, yet not to be grieved if it is postponed perhaps for centuries.

Henry George composed a multiplication table—clear, universally comprehensible, irrefutable. He has done his work. Let those who can put it in practice do their part. One thing is certain: that those who desire to make calculations cannot avoid the multiplication table; so also those who desire to organize the social life of mankind on juster foundations will not be able to avoid Henry George's plan, and will take it as their basis.

Tell him that I esteem him very highly and love him.

LEO TOLSTOY.

Yasnaia Poliana, Sept. 22, 1894.

The Beautiful Address of Augustus Thomas, the Well-known Playwright, Over the Body of His Friend, James A. Herne.

We are met here to say farewell to all that is mortal of an old friend and to pay our tribute to the part that is enduring.

There is no need now to speak of the work of James A. Herne except as it disclosed the man. It is a legacy distributed while its testator still was here and it rests secure in the hearts of millions.

As a dramatist he won his high place in the esteem of his countrymen as much by the personal quality that showed through his work as he did by his art, which was rare and of fine perfection.

The great seer of Concord wrote "to believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men—that is genius."

James Herne by an undefiled right believed in himself. For useless convention of any kind he had that disregard which is a mark of genius. Whenever a so-called maxim of his art was an unpleasant bond he turned from it and appealed successfully to the heart of his public.

His sincerity was imperative. His fidelity in every work was compelling, and he added a gentle ideality hopeful and uplifting as the breath of morn.

In all he has ever written affection and charity dominate. His men have moral bravery, his women have abiding trust, for he himself had the courage of the truth and an enduring faith in humanity.

Every cradle song we know is of the poor—papa has gone a hunting—or he is a fisherman who will sail home in the dusk, or he is a harvester fetching in the perfumed hay. No singer has ever dedicated a lullaby to the rich. Poetry has always dwelt in the valley of obscurity. James Herne was a poet of the poor. He saw and knew the sublimity of plain living. He was the apostle of simplicity.

He was good because wrong is complex and was hateful to the directness of his way. He was strong because he was attuned to Nature's will and because his efforts were enlisted in not perverting but expressing her.

He had a spiritual magnetism that drew to him souls of his kind, and without robe or scepter he swayed an empire that had sworn no allegiance, yet which gave its unconscious tribute of laughter and of tears wherever he raised the standard of his heart.

He made his character Margaret Fleming take the babe from the arms of a dead girl who had enticed the husband and put its famishing lips to her own maternal breast. No evangel ever framed a higher concept of charity and fraternal love.

James Herne loved his fellow men. Into this world he brought a kindness that it does not teach. He was a medium through which an exalted tenderness found voice. He spoke for the children, for the slave, for the oppressed of toil. To the weary-worn and sick of heart he sang a sustaining patience that was not of Time alone.

He gave his message and is gone.

His simplicity and his love both rejected warring creed and dogma, but when unimpassioned science proclaimed the indestructibility of a single atom of all the matter in the universe, this wise and gentle man must have taken to his heart the corollary that the spirit which informed and animated all was equally immortal.

He sleeps! But in his waking he was too close to Nature's breast to have missed the whispered assurance that smiles through every act and spectacle of hers; the gentle and reiterating allegory of seed and grain, of worm and butterfly, of sleep and consciousness, of dark and dawn, of rising mist and falling dew, the ebb and flow of tide, the ceaseless procession of recurring seasons, the obscuration and alternate splendor of the eternal stars.

*(Expressly for the Review.)***The Outlook in Great Britain.**

The present time is, I think, auspicious for the founding of a high-class periodical devoted to the cause of international social reform. For, why does the reformer exist in the world? Because it is such a bad one. And it is mainly because the world, from the reformer's point of view, is just now as bad as I have in my comparatively limited experience, ever known it, that I think the moment opportune for the appearance of *The Single Tax Review*. Never to my mind was there greater need for preaching sound doctrines of government and social order. Never was there such a profusion of telling examples to point the moral than now. Let us hope that the new *Review* will, by steadfast adherence to those doctrines of human right advocated by Henry George, in their full, logical application throughout the domain of government, contribute in some degree to the reaction in public opinion, which must, sooner or later, succeed the reign of iniquity which we are now witnessing. The problem to be faced is to disenfranchise the individual man from the follies and allurements of aggressive patriotism and from the grievous illusions of a shallow political economy, leading, as they do, to corruption of public and international morality, and to the astonishing paradox of the twentieth century—the civilized enslavement of the human race.

Unfortunately, whoever looks at the surface of English public affairs at the present moment, and indeed for the last few years—ever since the disappearance of Gladstone from the arena of public life—will find little to encourage the belief that England is advancing towards juster ideals of human rights. The evidence will go to show that the bright beginning which was made half a century ago under the inspiration of Cobden's common-sense philosophy, and continued by Gladstone and Bright, has not been maintained; that the cry of "peace, retrenchment and reform" which then found a responsive echo in the hearts of most Englishmen, is now pooh-poohed and discredited in much the same manner as, by all accounts, the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence are discredited by the American expansionists of to-day. Truth to tell, the last few decades have been decades of retrogression in national morality. The contemporaries of Cobden (thanks largely to his teaching), had far sounder conceptions of human rights than the contemporaries of Chamberlain and "Lord" Milner. The individual in those days counted for something. It was felt that if the interest of the individual were conserved, it would follow, as night the day, that the nation's interests would not suffer. On this principle the Corn Laws were repealed and England became, practically, a free trade country. What do we see to-day? We see the earlier conception of individual rights and liberties everywhere condemned as a "selfish" and "false" principle and a diametrically opposite one in the ascendant. Instead of the welfare of the nation being realized through the preservation of the individual's rights, we are now taught that these latter are secondary to the "national interests," and can alone be secured through them. The moral law is thus thrown overboard to lighten the ship. Nations are practically non-moral things, and national domination of individual interests must end in sapping individual morality also. Of this fact we see ample evidence in the leniency with which every kind of sin is regarded that can array itself in a patriotic cloak. Tommy Atkins's weaknesses are admittedly great, but then he is one of the props of an empire that is becoming more and more predatory and less and less industrial, so why judge him by obsolete moral standards?

Of course such a state of things cannot last, and it is not at all universal throughout Great Britain. There is a brave minority who are trying to get a word of common-sense in John Bull's ear in spite of the bedlam of hysterical sounds which monopolise his attention, and they, too, will have their turn. "Famine," said John Bright, "against which we had warred, joined us." It took a real famine as well as torrents of oratory to break the back of the corn laws. So at this critical juncture of England's affairs, it would seem as if national

bankruptcy were about to ally itself with the forces of social reform. The increase of the income tax, which before the war was 8d. to the pound, to 1s. 2d. (an increase of 75 per cent.), ought to wake up the intelligence of the middle-class Britisher, as the protective duty on exported coal has welded the coal owners and coal workers together in opposition to this method of paying for the war. Mr. John Morley, one of the few leading Liberals who remains faithful to the old, simple, honest traditions of the Gladstonian epoch, told the House of Commons recently that he approved of the Government schemes of taxation simply because they were calculated to teach the bellicose British population a lesson on the financial aspect of war, which they sadly needed. Along this line lies the chief source of hope. The prolongation of the war beyond the wildest dreams of all the prophets—the unrivalled exploits of De Wet—and all these indications which show that the Transvaal is still unconquered and that the honors conferred upon Roberts and Milner were premature—all these are eye-openers and blessings in disguise.

“A king can mak’ a belted knight,
A marquis, duke, and a’ that,
A victory’s aboon his might;
Gude faith, he mauna fa’ that.”

Turning from British failure in war to British failure in industry we see that things cannot go on in this way indefinitely. A patient study of the import and export statistics will show that she is becoming less and less the workshop of the world, and that honor—if it be an honor—is likely to be transferred to the other side of the Atlantic. But from the free trade and single tax standpoint the loss of any particular industry does not matter so long as some other industry takes its place. We may therefore ask what industry, if any, is taking the place of the undoubtedly waning manufactures of England? Alas, none that we can discover. Agriculture has decayed much more rapidly than manufactures. It is estimated that in the thirty years from 1869 to 1899 no less than 4,000,000 acres of arable land have gone out of cultivation. How, then (putting the case in its most aggressive form, for the sake of clearness) is a nation to exist whose food supply must come from abroad, but whose manufactures will no longer exchange for that food supply? Nations, like individuals, must, as Carlyle says, either work, beg, or steal, and if England is to become less of a working country, as these indications show, she must, to make things even, become more of a begging or stealing country. Stealing other people’s land was at one time a safe and popular game, and England played it with conspicuous success, but when men defend their own with the inflexible obstinacy of the Boers, it looks as though a policy more in accord with honesty will be followed in future. Bankruptcy and beggary seem to be staring Great Britain in the face just now. A writer in the *Contemporary Review* for May, in an exhaustive analysis of the British commercial situation, comes to the conclusion that England is now living on her capital; not, be it remembered, on the interest of her capital, but on the principal itself. The statement may be exaggerated, but all observers just now are shaking their heads and declaring “that there is something rotten in the State of Denmark”—something which spells anxiety and alarm if nothing worse, and coming at a time when England has assumed obligations on account of the war amounting to £13,000,000 a year, equal (in Mr. Morley’s opinion), to an addition of £470,000,000 to the national debt, the lookout is bluer than it has ever been within the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

Still one has to allow that the resources of England are far from being exhausted. Her land at home has not diminished in quantity, nor has its productive power lessened. The return of corn per acre is still 50 per cent. higher than it is in other parts of Europe. The rent of land in towns continues to go up, with greater population and greater demand. Is it not singular that in the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s recent search for fresh objects of taxation he forgot the one source from which, Single Taxers think, all taxation should be raised, viz.,

land values? He did not see it, I suppose, for the same reason that Dickens's magistrate did not see the ink-pot; because it was right before him. But there are some encouraging influences which, though not at present powerful enough to sway the main current of public opinion, are daily gaining weight. Chief amongst these is the bill called the *Site Values* bill, which the London County Council is having introduced into Parliament and which proposes to tax, for administrative purposes, the land values within its "sphere of influence," to the extent of one-tenth its annual figure. That such a bill should be championed by such a body is a proof that the movement is making many converts—converts who are leaders of opinion and carry crowds of other converts along with them. The City Council of Liverpool, Tory though it is, has lately made a move in the same direction, under the leadership of Glasgow, and these facts at least go to show that Municipal England is waking up to a sense of its rights.

The recent census (which in Great Britain and Ireland is taken every ten years) does not present any very startling features. The continued depopulation of Ireland does not excite surprise; Irishmen cannot be at home and in America at the same time. Scotland is now before Ireland in point of population, whereat she is justly elated. Irish emigration, it need hardly be remarked, does not now result from political causes, to any appreciable extent; the causes are economic, whatever politicians may say to the contrary, and they are largely the same causes which account for the depopulation of rural England. The prices of agricultural produce in Ireland continue to go down, and the Land Commission Court, that unique Gladstonian make-shift tribunal, still fixes landlords' rents without regard to competition. There is also a loud demand just now for the buying out of the landlords and the substitution of a peasant proprietary system. None of the present land agitators, any more than their predecessors of the early eighties, appear to have got at the true conception of land nationalization. They advocate the breaking up of grazing farms on which cattle and sheep are reared, and the division of the land into tillage farms—a good proposal in its way, but obviously incomplete and pettifogging. The Irish race are, indeed, like most races, largely influenced by habit, and in asking for peasant proprietary they are unconsciously seeking to exchange one species of landlordism for another. The scientific basis of land nationalization has no attractions for them, at least in their present stage of enlightenment. The same thing is probably true of farming communities everywhere, and for sufficiently obvious reasons.

Our great hope is in the towns and cities. There public curiosity has been aroused, and once aroused conviction and agitation spread quickly. The big towns may be said to have been already won, so far as the principle of taxing land values is concerned. An act empowering municipalities to tax land values is likely to be passed within the next couple of years. The extent of the taxation will probably not be much at first, but the recognition of the principle will be in itself a great victory, for it will habituate the popular mind to the vital distinction between land and other forms of property; a distinction long obliterated by the labyrinthine treachery of the British fiscal system. This municipal awakening is one of the healthiest signs of an unhealthy time. No wonder we should like to dwell upon it. With England baffled in her ignoble enterprise of annexation, ready to turn her back on free trade, and to adopt conscription like her continental neighbors, one is thankful for some spark of righteous fire—some indication of returning sanity—something to convince us that there is another England besides the England that curses Kruger, applauds robbery and ennobles the robbers—the England that venerates the shades of Peel, Cobden and Gladstone, and believes in self-reform as the first step towards reforming the world.

THOMAS SCANLON.

A Man Without Imagination.

Mr. H. Rider Haggard is a man with imagination—in fiction. In the practical affairs of life he is without imagination, but is just a dull, impervious, and ordinary British mind, which we say without intending any disrespect to things indigenous to the isles. Perhaps what is the matter with Mr. Haggard is not so much lack of imagination as lack of humor. But of that the reader shall judge.

Mr. Haggard is out with an article the title of which is "Back To the Land." We have heard that title before—the late Bishop Nulty, of Meath, Ireland, has used it as the caption of his famous pamphlet. It was the recapitulation of the causes—or rather *the* cause—of the impoverishment of the Irish tenantry. Mr. Haggard, on the other hand, tells of the sad impoverishment of the landlords who cannot help their tenants—a story far more pitiable. The author of "She" can hardly restrain his tears as he recites the sad tale of landlords whose tenantry are so poor that they cannot advance rent enough to maintain their landlords, and whose wages are so high that the landlords are "robbed" in two ways—in low rents and high wages. The case is so desperate that we shall let Mr. Haggard tell it—he does it with true feeling that is honorable to his heart:

"Mr. Blake, a well-known and much-respected farmer, land agent, and county councillor in the Amesbury district, told me that in many places there are practically no houses in which young folk can settle down and marry, while of such as exist those which fall into disrepair are often not rebuilt because it does not pay to do so. Sometimes also the cottages are two miles away from the homestead, and nowadays men and women refuse to live isolated upon the downs.

"As a remedy Mr. Blake suggests that money should be advanced to the landowners at a nominal rate of interest, repayable over long terms of years by means of a sinking fund, to enable them to erect suitable cottage accommodation. But, as I pointed out to him, to expect the State to come to the rescue of the land or any class that has to do with it is somewhat Utopian."

Mr. Haggard held out no false hopes to Mr. Blake; it is unlikely, indeed, that the State will come to his rescue, though Mr. Blake's plea is ingenuous. But let Mr. Blake tell of what he calls the "black cloud." The humor of this is so delicious that one almost hesitates to believe that it is unconscious:

"But if the rent question is ruining the landlord, almost equally destructive to the farmer is that of labor. 'The labor difficulty is the blackest cloud of the lot,' said Mr. Blake. 'Unless something unforeseen occurs, farming must come to an end for lack of labor,' said Mr. Rollence, of the well-known firm of Waters and Rollence. He added that on the day of our interview a farmer who milked thirty cows had told him that his cowman was leaving, and, as he could get no one else, he could see nothing for it but to try and do the milking himself."

It will certainly be a woful day for England when the "farmers" who milk cows are compelled to do the milking. Mr. Blake's grief is real, not assumed. He is a "farmer" who knows if he cannot get men to do his milking he will be forced to become another kind of "farmer"—*i. e.*, a farmer who farms. But a sadder case is that of another of whom Mr. Blake tells:

"Especially does the Wiltshire laborer object to Sunday work. We were told of a farmer with a large herd of cows who is obliged to bring his three sons home every Saturday from their school in a distant town in order that they may milk on Sunday."

Mr. Blake told Mr. Haggard that this dislike for Sunday labor does not spring from religious prejudice, but from a love of recreation. And he concludes with the sad reflection, "If this state of affairs goes on it may make farming impossible."

Nevertheless Mr. Haggard says he was favorably impressed with the Wiltshire laborers. He speaks of them as "specimens," as if he were talking of Alderney cows.

What is the matter with Rider Haggard? Is he a man without imagination, or a man without humor? We know what the irreverent would call him, but he is not really a chucklehead; "She" and "King Solomon's Mines" are clever books.

(Expressly for the Review.)

How Germany Moves.

IS THE EMPEROR A SINGLE TAXER?

By A. Pohlman.

The "Bund Deutscher Bodenreformer" has taken a somewhat different development than the similar organizations in the New World and England. Though based on the principles of Henry George, the German League does not advocate single tax pure and simple, nor does it follow the source of the English Land Nationalization Society. Recognizing that, especially in a country like ours, with ancient, deeply rooted customs, no theory, however perfect, can be carried out in its purity, and that to make headway against the innumerable prejudices and interests opposing any change, we believe the proper course to follow is to show the way of putting our principles into practice on all economic questions turning up in course of time and absorbing the public interest.

Thus, when some scandalous grants were made in our African colonies, the bund raised its voice and soon had public opinion on its side, so much so that the Colonial Secretary, who made these grants, had to retire.

The bund took up the protection of the workmen in the building trades who suffer from fictitious mortgage entries, closely connected with the land question, and it tried to show the suffering farmers that, instead of clamoring for protective duties, they ought to turn their attention to the mortgages which weigh them down, and to the artificially increased valuation of their estates.

When the Prussian Government came forward with its great canal scheme, it was unable to overcome the opposition of the Diet. The bund showed that by taxing the unearned increment created by the construction of the canal, and likewise of the adjoining road and iron mines, the canal might be turned from a doubtful financial undertaking to a very successful one.

Wherever committees are appointed to investigate the fearful calamity of overcrowding in our large cities, the bund steps in to show that there can be no other solution than a thorough reform of the laws regulating the possession of land, and when it is in this way brought home to the people they begin to understand what our principles mean.

A splendid opportunity for propagating our ideas arose when two large Prussian Mortgage Banks stopped payment. Some time back these kind of banks had asked the government permission to grant loans and issue mortgage bonds on building sites, instead of house property only as before, and then our bund raised its voice and pointed out that a new stimulus would be given to the already flourishing speculation in ground values, and that a collapse was sure to follow. This permission was granted by both houses of the Prussian Diet. Our interference was ridiculed by the whole financial press, but only a few years elapsed to prove the correctness of our arguments.

The recent coal crisis, too, offered a splendid field for agitation, showing how the whole country was taxed by a small ring of mine owners. It was wonderful to see how quickly people grasped the idea that these mines ought by right to be the property of the nation, or contribute at least a proper share from their enormous profits to the public exchequer.

Acting thus, *i. e.*, holding meetings on all such questions the moment popular feeling is aroused, or drafting petitions to Parliament, the Bodenreform movement in Germany has, under the most able and untiring leadership of Mr. Adolph Damaschke, taken a great impetus.

Members of all political parties have joined in its great work of reform, and most prominent collegemen like Adolph Wagner, professor of political economy of the University of Berlin, and Rudolf Lohm, professor of law of the University of Leipzig, have joined the ranks.

Besides that, we have the satisfaction that of all governments our own has been the first to give the single tax a fair trial in a newly opened colony; I mean Kiantschou, in China.

Being an untried experiment, the naval authorities, under whose management this special colony is, did not risk taxing the whole unearned increment, but only one-third, besides 69 per cent. on the purchase value; but the land tax is professedly the *only* tax levied, everything else being absolutely free. The Secretary of the Navy openly declared in Parliament that this tax was meant to stop the land grabbers, and to put the colony on a sound foundation.

It must be a great satisfaction to all single tax men to hear such words from such a source. Speculation in ground values has unfortunately by the majority of the governing classes in the whole civilized world up to now been considered quite legitimate and even beneficial, so that it is quite refreshing to hear the opposite view publicly proclaimed by a responsible minister of state.

The retired minister of finance, too, Herr von Miguel, one of the most able men we have had for a long time, was fully alive to the truths of the Bodenreform, but he was too timid to risk his position by stepping forward with radical schemes. He wanted the proposals to come from below, in which case he would certainly have been with us.

There seems to be no doubt that even the Kaiser is well acquainted with Bodenreform principles, or else such a thing as the land act of Kiantschou would not have been possible. Some people even attribute this bold step to his personal initiative. But whether this be so or not, the movement in Germany is advancing. The world-wide triumph of our principles is at hand. Germany may be the first to apply them within the Empire, as she has been the first to apply them in the matter of her dependencies.

Holstein, Germany,
June 5, 1901.

(Kansas City *Star*.)

If Henry George could only have lived to see the time when the great State of Colorado was seriously contemplating the adoption of a tax on land values he would probably have been willing, as was the just and devout Simeon, to depart in peace.

Tom L. Johnson.

FRANCES M. MILNE, in *San Francisco Star*.

The curse of gold has passed thee by,
And left thy being pure and high,
Above the festering plague that drains
Life's generous current from the veins,
And leaves the heart a shriveled thing,
And breaks the spirit's plumed wing.

Peddlers' Licenses.

Mayor Johnson's recent outspoken words in opposition to hucksters' licenses leads us to give the following examination to a somewhat neglected subject. It is true that peddlers' licenses are among the small tyrannies of taxation, but they are tyranny none the less.

Octroi duties—the system of taxes between cities—is a kind of taxation which has almost wholly disappeared from the face of modern Europe, and survives, we believe, in France and Italy alone. The Magna Charta called these taxes “evil tolls.” Our own constitution forbids them. But in the system of peddlers' licenses are the *octroi* duties, masked and hidden in the forms of municipal ordinances.

The object of peddlers' licenses is not revenue; for the revenue derived is inconsiderable, and could, at all events, be raised in a less expensive way, and in larger measure. Such licenses are disguised in the forms of revenue measures, but their scarcely concealed object is to drive out of business the competitors of retail store-keepers, all of whom will admit that competition is the life of trade in every business except their own.

One cannot be blind to the trials and hardships of the retail merchants. Many of them are hard pressed to pay rents, and at the same time keep the wolf from the door. Most, if not all of them, are victims of our stupid and indefensible tax system, more especially of the tax upon personal property and merchandise. But while merchants and small store-keepers are sorely pressed by circumstances and conditions, the special legislation against peddlers does not materially help them; and what is of more importance is against the interests of the poor.

As a matter of fact it is only now and then that the peddler really competes with the store-keeper at all; and then only in certain commodities at periods when the market is falling. The store-keeper's objection that he is being undersold at such time is no valid objection to the people who buy things, and who are also engaged in paying rent and taxes. It is the hawker who gives to the consumer the advantages of a falling market. The tendency, therefore, of restriction by licenses is to the increase of price without really benefiting the retail merchants as a class.

It seems to be assumed that our retail merchants are the exclusive tax-payers. It is the masses of the people who pay the city's taxes. It is the poor in this city, as in all cities, who pay the bulk of the taxes, not only because the masses of men are everywhere poor, but because taxes are so levied as to tax the poor largely in excess of the rich. Then, too, out of the product of the labor of the community, out of their savings from their daily needs and from amounts saved from their daily consumption, taxes are paid. By increasing the savings from such purchases is increased the ease with which taxes may be raised, but by increasing the expenditure necessary for daily needs is diminished the sum total disposable for purposes of revenue.

Think of the poor housewife, whose only thought is to harvest her little fund in her daily purchases for her children's and husband's mouths, and to whom the “good morning” of the peddler, saving so many weary steps, is as welcome as the sunshine. What she saves in this way goes ultimately in avenues which will increase the traffic of the city. Every peddler's license is an attempt to deprive the housewife of this privilege, and should, therefore, be called “a measure designed to rob poor women of their pennies.”

But the conclusive argument against such taxes, whose operation tends to restriction, is this: if street-hawking is not an evil, it should not be visited with penalties of this unusual nature; but if it is an evil, it should be suppressed. This may be done in a much more direct and effective way by simply prohibiting it. To license it is to tolerate it, and not to destroy it, scarcely even to

diminish it; and the entire system is therefore absurd and illogical, like all systems designed to accomplish one object under the pretense of effecting quite another.

Signs of Progress.

The *Post* can be sure of one thing, that when the country gets ready to adopt the tenets of Henry George, his disciples will look to the Republicans and not to the Democrats for help. Henry George himself was a Republican.—*Houston Daily Times*, May 18.

(New Bedford (Mass.) *Mercury*.)

The single tax advocates have a foothold in Colorado, and those who have witnessed their persistence under discouraging conditions may be assured that they will not rest until the theory is in actual practice in the State. The Legislature, which has just adjourned, adopted an amendment to the State constitution permitting the application of single tax on land, with the right to exempt all personal property and land improvements from taxation. The people will vote on the amendment next fall, and the single tax advocates throughout the country will concentrate their efforts upon this field until the time of election, for they expect to make the State a Utopian commonwealth which will demonstrate the adaptability of the single tax idea to a State of affairs which is one of the chief sources of perplexity.

(New York *Journal of Commerce*, May 27.)

The rate of interest is more if the mortgagee pays the tax; less if he gets rid of it. The mortgagor can pay the tax or he can pay more for his loan. In any case the borrower pays the cost of the loan regardless of the effort of the Legislature to determine the terms of the bargain between the two. This is not all; the universal result of legislative efforts to regulate the terms of loans has been experienced in the withdrawal of capital from the State. Let the State fix the rate of interest on loans at less than the market rate, and if any effort is made to enforce the law capital will retire from the State, and what remains will get a scarcity price for itself, together with an insurance on the risk it runs in violating a State law. In spite of the failure of California to attain what it aimed at its device was lately copied by Missouri with the result of preventing the taxation of mortgages as personal property, but the mortgagor pays the tax. The State cannot tax a loan without imposing the burden on the borrower.

(Lake City (Mich.) *Dealer*, May 15th.)

Residents of other States who really seek a just method of taxation will hope Colorado may see her way clear to try the plan. If it does in practice what its advocates claim for it in theory, we would all be glad to know it, but many regard it with suspicion. The ideal plan of taxation which will be just to all has not yet been put in operation anywhere, although it has been long sought.

(Houston (Tex.) *Daily Post*, May 7th.)

In Houston at this time there is less excuse for vacant lots than in possibly any city in Texas. The demand for houses here is steady and growing. Rents are at a figure that pays handsomely on the investment. Hundreds of new houses at fairly remunerative rent would be speedily occupied were they here to occupy. The majority of the owners of the lots are amply able to put improvements on them.

But it is idle in cases of this kind to appeal to the public spirit of the vacant lot owners. Even self-interest, or the possibility of good returns on their money, does not move them. The only recourse in such cases is to the city government. The health authorities under their police powers should see that the lots are kept perfectly clean and sightly, and the taxing authority ought to pursue a policy of assessing the lots at the highest possible figure, with a view to forcing improvement.

Here is a field where for the good of the community at large the city authorities could well afford to make a partial application of the "Henry George idea" of taxation. It is within the city's power to do so and it ought not to hesitate to exercise its latitude of discretion in the premises.

The *Twentieth Century Farmer* says: In Nebraska more than any other State perhaps this question of tax reform is pressing to the front. It is doubtful whether as great discrimination and favoritism are tolerated in any other State, and tax shirking and tax exemptions are as flagrant.

The *New York Sun* of April 16: Mortgage taxation is double taxation, and is essentially unjust.

The *Hornellsville Times*, April 11: The practicable and equitable plan of reaching personal property has not yet been discovered.

The *Brooklyn Eagle* of April 21: When the people finally learn the truth that the consumer pays the tax whether he be the renter of the house or the rider in the street car, the demand that the producer pay a larger share of the cost of government may grow less insistent, and we may come around to the good old (?) notion that direct taxation is better than indirect.

The *Utica (N. Y.) Journal* says: "No worse method of raising revenue can be devised than the present one. It would be much wiser to abandon all attempts to tax personal property, as has been done in Great Britain and some other European countries."

The *Brooklyn Eagle* (April 20th) says: "In any form double taxation is outrageous."

That the land of this country rapidly is falling into the hands of men who propose to use it as a basis for dividends rather than for the development of homes for themselves long has been apparent to the casual observer. The student of sociology might find in conditions in Chicago at this moment some data of startling import along these lines; for here hundreds of small business men who have grown gray in Chicago's industrial and commercial life have been forced, during the past few weeks, to go out of business because of the exorbitant rents charged by the landlords. Another sign of the times is the tendency of the rich speculators to buy up farm lands everywhere. And now comes the announcement that Cornelius Vanderbilt has been elected a director in the New York Realty Corporation, which has a capital of \$3,000,000, and is engaged in the buying, improving and renting of real estate. Among Mr. Vanderbilt's associates are W. H. Havemeyer, Henry Seligman, Charles Steele, of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., and others of the same character, who know the full cash value of special privilege. The man fortunate enough to have been born and bred an American knows little of the meaning of the landlordism that has driven millions of Europeans to seek an asylum and a home in our broad land. But the gradual concentration into the hands of a few of all the monopolies promises to reveal to the coming generation its full and fearful import. To our farmer friends we say, stick to the land you own, no matter how alluring the prices offered.—*Farmers' Voice*.

The Elsberg Bill, and the New Method of Apportionment.

The Elsberg Bill was allowed to die in committee at the last session of the New York Legislature. It involved, besides its local option feature, a principle that we think is vital, and which it would be well for single taxers everywhere to intelligently apprehend.

We refer to the apportionment of State taxes based upon local revenues which is designed to replace the present system of assessment and equalization. It will be noted that Oregon is first in line with a law recognizing the practicability of the new method.

The plan which is pursued to-day has its manifold evils; these are conceded. To instance a few: New York City pays to the State \$8.20 in every hundred dollars raised, but Chenango County pays in the proportion of \$12.82, and the town of Norwich, in Chenango, \$8.35. The town of Freedom, in Cattaraugus, pays in the proportion of \$17.96, more than three times as much as New York City. Here is a clear injustice so apparent to the rural mind that it serves to account for much of the ill-advised legislation favored by rural senators and assemblymen when it seems to strike at the moneyed interests of the Empire City.

Other cities and towns suffer in another way where some of the supervisors of a county combine to increase the assessment of property in the well-to-do centres. Here in the system proposed is a self-acting method which does away with most or all of these evils and vastly simplifies the working principle of local option.

The objections that arise are more apparent than real. Will it not tend to further burden a community that is in the hands of a spendthrift government, and reduce below the present system the contribution from the city or town the affairs of which are being economically administered? We reply that such is the reward of virtue; that cities will not greatly suffer from an additional deterrent (in the increase of responsibility) to reckless extravagance from corrupt officials, that the principle of home rule is thereby greatly strengthened, and that as the proportion of State taxes to local taxes is small, this system will not act as an obstacle in the way of any really desirable public improvements.

The conflict is not really between the present system and the one proposed, for the present system is being discarded, and States are resorting more and more to specific taxes, as the evils of the method now in vogue become more apparent. But it is "out of the frying pan into the fire." The question is really between the comparative merits of the proposed new method of apportionment and the system of specific taxes for State purposes.

These latter are an unmixed abomination, because the objects for specific taxation are usually selected from those kinds of property or evidences of ownership to be found in the large cities and double taxation, increase of interest, and the burdening of legitimate business interests are the result.

To single taxers the new method of apportionment must appeal more and more as it is considered and studied. Most of us are familiar with the very great difficulties which have been encountered in the present methods of apportioning State taxes on the basis of assessed valuations of property made by local officials. The complaint is universal that the local assessor undervalues property in order that his town may escape paying its due proportion. Consider how enormously this tendency would be increased if the Federal Government derived its revenue by apportioning the Federal taxes to the States in proportion to the value of property as assessed by local officials in each State.

We all look forward with confidence to the day when all revenue for Federal, State, county, and local purposes shall be derived from land values. It behooves us to be ready to advance a practical method of apportioning the Fed-

eral revenue among the States, State revenue among the counties, and county revenue among the towns.

If all taxes were laid on ground values, there seems to be no reason to believe that local assessors would not endeavor to retain for their local purposes an unfair share of their local ground values. The temptation to do so would be much greater than it is now, for the proportion which each town would be obliged to contribute for expenses outside of its own boundaries would be nearer fifty per cent. than the ten per cent., which is the common proportion to-day.

Were all taxes derived from ground values, the time would soon come when every locality in the United States would take for public purposes as nearly as was found practicable all the annual ground value. Now we cannot tell precisely what proportion of annual ground value it will be practicable to take; some say 100 per cent., some say 80 per cent.; but whatever the amount may be, it is certain there will be a strong tendency for every local community to derive all that it may be practicable to get, which will be about the same proportion everywhere.

If every local community takes by taxation practically the same proportion of ground values, then the apportionment for county, State, and Federal purposes, based on annual revenue, will be identical with an apportionment based on the absolutely accurate assessment of annual ground value. It is a mere matter of arithmetic to make an apportionment based on local revenue, whereas it is an impossibility to accurately apportion on the basis of assessed value.

As a mere matter of apportionment the proposed system is an ideal one for our ultimate ends. It will also act as a check on Federal and State extravagance, for every community will retain for its local purposes all that it can of its own ground values.

Any apportionment based on the assessed value of all property imposes an undue burden on rural communities. The apportionment based on revenue will approximate even under existing methods of taxation an apportionment based on the absolutely accurate assessment of ground values. The percentage of local taxes, for example, in New York, which is paid over to the State is invariably much greater, as we have shown, in small towns than in large cities. Laying special stress on this fact, we can then enlist the support of all rural communities in advocating the reform for the advancement of which we are enlisted, and at the same time bring about a fair apportionment of State taxes as between the rural community and the large city. The fact that the new method might have a slight tendency to reduce local expenditures temporarily is a matter of small importance, yet to the average man at the present time it is an argument in its favor.

Now, do single taxers see the cat? If they will study the outlines in the somewhat blurred picture the feline will soon loom up large and imposing.

Romance in Real Estate.

Peter Minnits came over from Holland in 1626 and bought the island of Manhattan for \$24. The price of the property has stiffened a good deal since then. For instance, in the real estate columns of the *World* yesterday it was recorded that twenty-five acres of vacant land which Mr. Minnits never knew much about had been sold for \$1,000,000.

On the same day with the million-dollar transaction at Fort George a tract of land in the Bronx which sold for \$155 in 1853 was bought for \$110,000. The processes of growth and multiplication of values which in years gone by turned small farmers and some of Mr. Harrigan's lucky Shantytown dwellers into millionaires are still active in the expanding city.

(Expressly for the Review.)

What a Single Tax Mayor May Do.

BY E. Z BUTCHER, MAYOR OF SOLOMON, KANSAS.

A single taxer, a Croasdale single taxer, is one who never lets slip the opportunity to show the justice of the great principle, whether he holds a public office or not.

What do I hope to do as mayor? I shall always and at every opportunity point out the injustice of the methods of taxation now in vogue, the injustice of the poll tax, license tax, tax on improvements, all personal taxes—and all other indirect methods of raising public revenue. As mayor I cannot alter or evade any of these laws, neither can I inaugurate a just system, but I can help to show the impolicy and immorality of present methods.

The poll tax, for instance. I showed the injustice to the council at the last meeting, of demanding two days' work on the roads of men who have not an iota of interest in any real estate, and whose work increases the value of other people's property, as all public improvements add to the value of land, the owner reaping the benefit.

Another object I had in view in attending the State Tax Commission, as mayor of Solomon, by request of the council, was to lay before the State Commission a request for local option in taxation, and at their next meeting I intend to be present and make an argument for that desirable change in our constitution, that will allow cities and counties to levy their tax burdens in whatever way they may choose. It is along the line of local option, the line of least resistance, that we shall make greatest progress.

As mayor I intend to meet the Board of County Commissioners, and request them to use their influence on the State Tax Commission for local option.

The absurdity and injustice of taxing personal property are so apparent if one only gives it his attention, and there are at all times cases arising from which lessons can be drawn. One or two instances as assessor: Some four years ago a man gave in \$150 in moneys in bank, and had it assessed as personal property. Before taxes were due this \$150 was used to buy a small house and lot, and taxes had to be paid on *both* money and house. Mrs. A. received a legacy of \$1,000, and having two children by her first husband, through whose family the inheritance was bequeathed; and the present husband, willing that it should be kept for his step-children, gave his wife a note for the \$1,000 and invested it in cattle, for they were farmers. After a time the assessor came around and assessed their cattle, and the question being asked if they owned any notes, this note was given in (for they were honest people). So when tax paying time came around they found out they were paying *double taxes*.

A single taxer, whether in a public office or a humble citizen, has taken upon himself a task, the very highest man is called upon to do—to *teach justice*. So should he let his light shine before men that others, seeing his good works, may take heart, and learn the sublimest yet simple truth, "Do unto others what you would have others do unto you."

Our Tom.

No one has ever questioned Tom Johnson's courage and ability, and those who know him say no more sincere man lives. The experiment that he has in hand in Cleveland will interest every city in the country.—*Munsey's Magazine* for June.

The La Crosse (Wis.) *Press*, April 22: "The Cleveland crusade for equal taxation will be worth watching."

Praise for Fairhope.

(From the Birmingham (Ala.) *Advocate*.)

Comparatively few persons know that there exists a community in this country where the single tax ideas of the late Henry George are put to a practical test.

Nevertheless, Fairhope, in Baldwin county, Ala., a flourishing town of 200 inhabitants, is now in its sixth year, and still boasts of being the only single tax town on earth, says the Philadelphia *North American*.

Founded in 1895 by a group of adventurous adherents of Henry George's philosophy, numbering half a dozen families, the town to-day is a thriving agricultural and manufacturing community, where poverty is unknown and prosperity and material comfort are within reach of all.

There was a single tax club in Des Moines, Ia., half a dozen years ago, whose members were willing to back their faith with work. Ernest B. Gaston, editor and publisher of a single tax journal called the *Fairhope Courier*, was at the head of the movement. Associated with him were J. Bollanger, Alfred Wooster and others. They mapped out a scheme of colonization, sold shares at \$200 each, and after making inquiries departed for Alabama, where they had bought 200 acres of land and secured options upon 1,200 acres more.

They chose the abandoned site of Alabama City, in Baldwin county, on Mobile Bay, about fourteen miles distant by water from the city of Mobile. Under the laws of the State of Alabama persons securing a tract of land may administer the finances of the inhabitants thereon, under agreement with them, permitting them, in other words, to administer the land.

Taking advantage of this liberal law the Fairhope Industrial Association proceeded to erect a small State within a State. Having no power to tax its inhabitants, it agreed with them to pay to the State all taxes assessed upon all property, real and personal, save alone money and credits, and to pay the same out of certain adjusted rentals for the land occupied by the inhabitants.

No man was allowed to own a foot of the land within the jurisdiction of the settlement. But he could lease for twenty years, with privilege of renewal, as much town or agricultural land as he chose, paying for it such an annual rental as the members of the association might fix.

He might then proceed to erect upon the land a dwelling, store, factory or mill, as he chose. If his mill, store or factory became profitable, he must pay proportionate increase in rental.

In exchange the association bound itself to make roads and maintain them, furnish water and guarantee him from all taxation.

The town thrived. To-day two hundred people live there. There is a good schoolhouse, employing two teachers, and attended by twenty-five pupils; there are three stores—a drug store, dry goods store and millinery establishment. There is a rice mill and a sawmill and a shipyard, employing those who labor. Peace and happiness reign in this little colony of practical single taxers.

Speaking of Tom Johnson's plan, Julian Hawthorne says: "The possibility of the spread of the doctrine of equal justice, so that it shall include in its grasp men of the Tom L. Johnson order, is one of the most appalling signs of the times for the moneyed minority of this country. Equal justice is death to all their hopes and devices. Revolutions used to begin from below. If now they are to begin from above, what is to be done about it? The holders of the plutocrat fort feel the same kind of dismay that would visit the garrison of a military stronghold were a flying machine loaded with dynamite to appear in midair over their heads. Their bastions do not protect them in that direction, and their guns were not constructed to fire upward."

Testimony from New Zealand.

Frank G. Carpenter, a special correspondent, was sent to New Zealand to investigate the land system of that country. The idea was to write down the single tax or the theories of Henry George as there applied. He went prejudiced against the whole system, and with a determination to write it down, but when he came to investigate it he found that in its workings it is gradually making New Zealand a land of small farms. By the present laws no man who has more than 640 acres of land can obtain any of the public lands. The land officials will not grant more than this amount, and they will not give an applicant more than they think he can develop and care for. The government land agents examine all the applicants, and those who pass their examinations are allowed to ballot for the amount distributed. The government in fact divides the land more as a father among his children than as a land speculator. Everything is done to encourage small farmers. The man whose income is less than \$1,500 a year goes scot free, paying no taxes. He whose farm is worth \$2,500 likewise escapes, and if his estate is worth \$7,500 he pays taxes on only \$5,000 of its valuation. The rich man pays increased taxes on his land, on his income—on everything. For instance, a man with \$5,000 income would pay 2½ per cent. on \$5,000, less \$1,500, \$87 income tax. If he has an income of \$10,000 he would have to pay 5 per cent. on the extra \$5,000, or \$337. But a big trust magnate or a railroad king with the \$1,000,000 would have to pay \$50,000 a year, while John D. Rockefeller or Andrew Carnegie would be obliged under the law to pay half of their income into the state, or anywhere from \$6,000,000 to \$15,000,000. In short, the laws of New Zealand, as now administered, are framed for the poor man as against the rich. The theory is that the land must be preserved for the small farmer. The man with a few acres is not crushed by the burden of taxation. He is exempt. The temptation for the capitalist is not to buy out the small farmer nor to create vast holdings. His accumulations are treated as belonging in part to the state, and the state steps in and insists that he shall pay in proportion to his possessions. The attention of the world is called to this theory of legislation. Every civilization that has heretofore gone down in the night of history has done so on account of the greed of organized wealth. The rich men begin by crushing out the middle class, by ruining the small dealers, by converting the small farms into great plantations and then reducing the working man to virtual slavery. One of the beneficial results of the French revolution was giving the soil back into the hands of peasant proprietors. Henry George proposed to do this peacefully by the virtual confiscation of rents. New Zealand is the first country where his ideas have been put into operation. Even here they have not been carried out to the full limit, but Mr. Carpenter's letter indicates that the experiment thus far is eminently satisfactory.—The Peoria (Ill.) *Star*, of March 13th.

We do not wish to decry the beneficial influences which will undoubtedly follow a course of wholesome and suitable technical education, which will be equally concordant with the requirements of the country, the people and the times. But we do deny most emphatically that it will alleviate want, misery, and suffering in the manner its supporters claim. The true explanation of the phenomena to be seen in Ireland at present is to be found in that most inequitable of all monopolies, *private property in land*, and to the fact that Ireland suffered most was due to the harshness and greed of many of its landlords, which became so severe that protective laws, such as they are, had to be enforced. Until private ownership of the soil is abolished, there will always be found riches and affluence on the one side, and poverty and distress on the other.—*Cork County* (Ireland) *Eagle*.