

THE
**SINGLE TAX
REVIEW**

A Record of the Progress of Single
Tax and Tax Reform Through-
out the World



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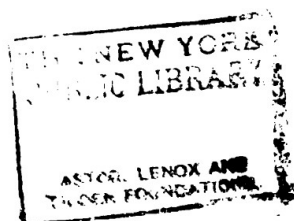
SINGLE TAX REVIEW,
JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor and Publisher.



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SPEAKERS AT THE MASSACHUSETTS LEAGUE'S DINNER

THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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

SIXTEENTH BANQUET OF THE MASSACHUSETTS SINGLE TAX LEAGUE

BOSTON, MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 8th, 1902

PROFESSIONAL ECONOMISTS

IN THE DISCUSSION OF

**GROUND RENT; WHAT IS ITS NATURE, OPERATION AND OFFICE?
WHAT CAUSES IT? WHAT MAINTAINS IT?
HOW MUCH IS THERE OF IT?**

TO WHICH IS ADDED

EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

PRESIDENT FILLEBROWN'S INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The Massachusetts Single Tax League is to-night happier than ever in welcoming you as guests at its sixteenth frugal banquet. One year ago, this League sought, from the six hundred and sixty-eight members of the American Economic Association, expressions of opinion upon eight points of Possible Agreement in Political Economy.

The one hundred and thirty-five respondents all practically and substantially agreed to the statement, that "Ground rent is what land is worth for use."

Among those who responded, there were in all thirty-five regular professors of political economy, and twenty-five of these appeared to be in substantial agreement upon five of the eight points, as follows:

1. "Ground rent" is what land is worth for use.
2. "Public franchises" are privileges granted to one or several persons incorporated, and from which the mass of citizens are excluded. These franchises usually pertain to land, including, as they do (to use the language of the New York Legislative Ford Bill,) all "rights, authority or permission to construct, maintain or operate, in, under above, upon or through, any streets, highways, or public places, any mains, pipes, tanks, conduits, or wires, with their appurtenances, for conducting water, heat, light, power, gas, oil,

These pages are sent to the 295 professors of Political Economy in all the Colleges and Universities of the United States who were invited to the dinner, with the hope that the bread thus cast upon the waters may be returned in the form of practical and profitable suggestion.

or other substance, or electricity for telegraphic, telephonic or other purposes." Hence their classification, by the above Act, as "land values" may be confirmed as correct, and their annual values properly classed as ground rent.

3. A tax upon ground rent is a direct tax and cannot be shifted.

4. The selling value of land is, under present conditions in most of the American States, reduced by the capitalized tax that is laid upon it.

5. Hence the selling value of land is, to the same extent, an untaxed value, so far as any purchaser, subsequent to the imposition of the tax, is concerned.

In a continued effort to dispel differences by the magnifying of agreements, the suggestion has been availed of to forge ahead one step farther, if possible, along this line of greatest agreement and to seek the right answers to some of the perplexing questions which beset the subject from our peculiar point of view;—such questions for instance, as:

1. To what extent does ground rent express the value of public, and quasi public, service? Is it, or is it not, clear that the continuous cost of this service is what maintains the value of land?

2. Inasmuch as Ricardo's law of rent was specifically expressed and illustrated in agricultural terms, has not agricultural rent, as a somewhat natural result, received undue attention from the schools, to the neglect of urban or city rent in its more acute forms?

THE MAJOR TREATMENT OF AGRICULTURAL RENTS.

Out of a curiosity to ascertain the actual preponderance accorded to agricultural over urban rent in standard economic treatises, careful comparisons have been made of the space devoted by the authorities to agricultural land, and to urban land in treating questions bearing on land values and land rent. The result shows that in thirty-nine leading works of thirty-four authors, forty-two thousand and ninety-four lines were given to agricultural rents, and three thousand and thirty-nine lines to urban rent, or in the ratio of fourteen to one.

Following is the list complete:

AUTHOR AND WORK.	AGRICULTURAL.			URBAN.		
	Text lines	Notes lines	Total lines	Text lines	Notes lines	Total lines
ADAMS, H. C., The Science of Finance, 1887.....	803	6	809	36	...	36
ANDREWS, E. B., Institutes of Economics, 1889.....	30	26	56	15	24	39
BULLOCK, C. J., Introduction to Study of Economics, 1897	570	3	573	81	7	88
CAIRNES, J. E., Some Leading Principles of Political Economy, 1874	135	26	161	...	...	...
CAREY, H. C., Principles of Political Economy, 1840..	542	64	606	118	...	118
CHALMERS, Thos., Political Economy, 1882.....	3312	205	3517	...	...	...
CLARK, J. B., The Distribution of Wealth, 1899.....	1148	69	1217	12	...	12
ELY, R. T., Socialism, 1894.....	84	...	84	84	...	84
ELY, R. T., Introduction to Political Economy, 1889..	110	...	110	48	...	48
Land, Labor & Taxation, 1882.....	288	...	288	192	...	192
FAWCETT, H., Manual of Political Economy, 1874...	1835	5	1840	274	...	274
GIDE, Chas., Principles of Political Economy, 1896....	907	16	923	117	...	117
HADLEY, A. T., Economics, 1896.....	240	5	245	70	...	70
JEVONS, W. S., The Theory of Political Economy, 1871	301	...	301	...	...	...
JEVONS, W. S., Money and Mechanism of Exchange, 1882 .....	...	...	...	...	...	...
LAUGHLIN, J. L., Elements of Political Economy, 1896	579	...	579	19	...	19

AUTHOR AND WORK.	AGRICULTURAL.			URBAN.		
	Text lines	Notes lines	Total lines	Text lines	Notes lines	Total lines
MALTHUS, Nature and Progress of Rent, 1815.....	1705	45	1750	...	...	...
MACCULLOCH, Principles of Political Economy, 1849.	1378	60	1438	...	...	...
MACLEOD, H. D., The Elements of Economics, 1886..	1257	...	1257	109	...	109
MACVANE, S. M., The Working Principles of Political Economy, 1890.....	492	5	497	78	17	95
MARSHALL, Alfred, First Principles of Economics, 1898	3557	343	3900	40	180	220
MILL, J. S., Principles of Political Economy, 1864....	782	...	782	...	20	20
NICHOLSON, J. S., Principles of Political Economy, 1901	2622	203	2825	355	9	364
RAE, John, Contemporary Socialism, 1884.....	920	...	920	2	...	2
RICARDO, Principles of Political Economy, 1819.....	2859	112	2971	...	...	...
ROGERS, Thorold, A Manual of Political Economy, 1868	1010	...	1010	20	...	20
ROGERS, Thorold, Six Centuries of Work & Wages, 1884	562	...	562	207	...	207
SAY, J. B., Political Economy. 1821.....	442	11	453	114	...	114
SELIGMAN, E. R. A., The Shifting & Incidence of Taxation, 1892	1365	...	1365	500	6	506
SENIOR, N. W., Political Economy, 1863.....	451	...	451	...	...	...
SIDGWICK, H. I., Principles of Political Economy, 1883	371	35	406	3	...	3
SMITH, Adam, Wealth of Nations, 1818.....	2755	...	2755	22	...	22
TAUSSIG, F. W., Wages and Capital, 1895.....	...	...	...	...	...	...
WALKER, F. A. Land and Rent, 1888.....	4648	254	4902	19	12	31
WALKER, F. A., Political Economy, 1888.....	2228	85	2313	58	13	71
WALKER, Amasa, The Science of Wealth, 1872.....	228	...	228	38	...	38
Total.....	40,516	1,578	42,094	2,611	288	2,919

NOTE: Where agriculture has been considered for other purposes than value and rent of land, it has been omitted from the comparison. The line of distinction is sometimes drawn with difficulty, and in one or two cases where the argument has seemed to bear equally on agricultural and urban land, it has been included under both heads. In view of the liability to error in such a comparison, this list is circulated in the hope that interested parties may supply any authorities which ought not to be omitted, and note any corrections in the readings for future publication and reference.

THE MINOR IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURAL RENT.

In contrast with the foregoing theoretical treatment, Massachusetts valuations for 1901 offer a marked illustration of the inverse proportions which obtain in actual conditions.

ASSESSED VALUATIONS.	BUILDINGS.	LAND.	TOTAL.
33 Cities	\$871,348,922	\$932,479,395	\$1,803,828,317
37 Large Towns	\$142,803,258	115,529,728	258,332,986
70 Cities and Towns.....	\$1,014,152,180	\$1,048,009,123	\$2,062,161,303
283 Small Towns	185,782,899	115,605,594	301,388,493
353 Cities and Towns	\$1,199,935,079	\$1,163,614,717	\$2,363,549,796

The land valuations of 283 small towns, \$115,605,594, and of the 70 cities and large towns, \$1,048,009,123, are about in the ratio of one to ten, and the state census, which gives farm land values by themselves, corroborates the estimate that the Massachusetts farm land value left for the agricultural illustration of Ricardo's law of rent does not exceed one-tenth of the land value of the whole state.

Putting the foregoing statements together, that is, considering at once the relative weight of the authorities and the relative importance of the sub-

jects, we are confronted with the spectacle of fourteen times too much attention given for a hundred years to ten times too small a matter. Proceeding now to the multiplication of fourteen by ten, we are brought face to face with the mathematical conclusion that in order to restore a lost equilibrium, the schools might reasonably from now on give one hundred and forty times more study to the subject of urban or city rent than they have been in the habit of doing in the past.

This extravagant conclusion is set forth in the hope that it may prove a magnet which shall draw present attention away from agricultural ground rent which may almost be ignored, and fix it upon the forty-five million ground rent of Boston, which the people pay yearly for the use of its land; upon the one hundred and fifty or two hundred million ground rent of Greater New York; upon the two or three thousand million ground rent of the United States, and upon so much of ground rent as exists in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, and in the billions of franchise values that are springing up all around us like gourds in the night.

Confronted, as we are to-day, by such acute conditions, we ask you to pardon whatever may seem like impatience with a theory which has dealt so laboriously with the cuticle, the margin of production, instead of with the heart of production.

We seek a proper understanding and economic treatment of this vast river of rent, which, like a great Mississippi, drains every field of industry, labor and capital, wages and interest, in the whole country around. Our earnest contention is that to such wise treatment we are to look for the correction of most that is now wrong in the distribution of wealth. Out of this vast current of ground rent, we would provide for all public need.

By way of help to a better every-day understanding, not of any theory, but of this great fundamental fact of ground rent, college professors from Maine to California have royally lent themselves to a voluminous correspondence, and a select number, representatives of leading institutions, have generously consented to participate in a public consideration of the topic.

GROUND RENT: WHAT IS ITS NATURE, OPERATION AND OFFICE? WHAT CAUSES IT? WHAT MAINTAINS IT? HOW MUCH IS THERE OF IT?

It gives us pleasure to present to you these gentlemen, beginning with Professor Charles J. Bullock, of Williams College, who has kindly consented to open the discussion.

PROFESSOR BULLOCK'S ADDRESS.

THE NATURE OF GROUND RENT.

Ground rent, or the income received by the owner of land, is a concept that is sufficiently broad to include all income that is derived from the control of natural agents of production. He who would utilize a water power or draw from beneath the surface of the earth the mineral treasures deposited there in bygone ages, must, no less than the farmer, the manufacturer, or the merchant, enjoy access to some particular tract of land. For this reason, I suppose, the definition formulated as the outcome of the correspondence conducted by the Single Tax League during the past year, declares that land value is "The value of situation, with its natural gifts, and with all the rights and privileges pertaining to the occupancy thereof." With this brief statement of the connotation of the term, I venture to present my

views concerning the nature of the income that flows from the ownership of land; and at the outset will expressly warn you that I shall pay no attention to any theories of taxation and social reform that may or may not follow from the conclusions that I shall reach.

In the tangle of conflicting theories that enmesh the student of this problem, two opposing tendencies of thought are clearly discernible. According to one view of the matter, land is a simple agent of production that resembles, at least, in those respects which are of most importance to the economist, all other instruments of production. Land, like tools and machines and buildings, is supposed to contribute its share to the production of wealth; and it is held that the income derived from land differs in no important particular from the income that accrues to the owner of any other instrument of production. In the opposing view of the problem, a vital distinction exists between land and the other agents of production; and it is declared that rent is a form of income that differs very widely from the interest received by the owner of the improvements which man places upon the land. According to the first theory, land is merely one form of productive capital; and there is no vital difference between rent and interest; according to the second, capital is something distinct from land, and interest is something of a different genus from rent. The first view is often held by that economic Philistine known as "the practical man," but is not without its advocates among professional economists; the second has become a classical theory in economic science.

In the time at my disposal it will be impossible to consider many of the questions at issue between the parties to this interesting controversy. I shall, therefore, content myself with presenting what I believe to be a satisfactory method of approaching the problem, and stating the chief considerations that have led me to accept the classical theory of rent.

The income which a land-owner receives in any year may be called the annual value of his property, and he may begin by inquiring what the circumstances are upon which that value depends. The solution of our problem would seem to involve merely a particular application of a general theory of value, upon the essential of which it would seem that an agreement can be secured. Into the metaphysics of the question of value we shall find it unnecessary to enter, and it will suffice for present purposes to appeal to familiar principles that are well established, both by reason and common experience. If the supply of any commodity, such as a Cremona violin is a fixed quantity, then its value will depend simply upon the conditions of demand. If, however, articles can be multiplied by the expenditure of human labor their value will be influenced by the fact that the supply can be increased just as long as the price remains high enough to induce people to furnish additional amounts. If a commodity is controlled by a single body of producers, the supply will be limited at the point that will secure the largest net return upon the investment of labor and capital; but if it is produced under competitive conditions, the output will generally increase until a progressive fall in the market price makes further production unprofitable. In the actual world of business, mistakes constantly occur, and economic friction at various points frequently produces results that are not contemplated by this imperfect statement of the theory; but in the long run, things are subjected to a process of valuation that roughly corresponds to that which has been described.

Now I shall endeavor to explain the nature of ground rent by reference to the conditions that govern the demand for land and the supply of that agent of production. And we may first examine the conditions that determine the demand. The demand for land comes from persons who desire

to use it in production, and the annual rental offered for any tract will depend upon the advantages which that particular situation offers for the purposes to which it is to be devoted. If a location on Summer Street enables a merchant to do a very large retail trade, and to realize large aggregate returns from this enterprise, a large demand price will be offered for that location. If a farm of superior fertility enables a producer to raise wheat at a small cost per bushel, the demand price for that farm will be the annual saving in the cost of raising the number of bushels produced. In general, an increase of population, by increasing the need for the things produced from the land, will tend to raise the demand price; while a decline in numbers will have the contrary effect.

Turning now to the conditions governing the supply of land, we find that here we have to deal with an object that is not the product of human labor, and of which the value is not influenced by the cost of production. At this point controversy sometimes arises, and it is asked whether a portion of the land upon which Boston stands is not "made land," and whether a large part of Holland was not reclaimed from the sea. And the further suggestion is made that the discovery of new continents has increased the supply of land in past ages; that the development of regions now practically uninhabited will furnish additional land as fast as there is a demand for it; and, that improvements in transportation are constantly bringing more land into the market. For all practical intents and purposes, it is argued, the supply of land can be increased by the appropriate sort of human effort; so that it may be said that land does not differ from tools and machines and buildings in the respect that has just been mentioned.

In reply, however, it may be safely contended that the additions which man can make to the land surface of the globe, are so small, as to be a negligible quantity when we compare land with the things that human labor places upon it. As Professor Cairnes has reminded us, outside of the mathematical sciences, few definitions and distinctions can be formulated that are not founded upon differences of degree; so that the fact that at the boundary lines some slight exceptions can be discovered, is not necessarily a valid objection to any scheme of classification. Would any one seriously contend that there is any similarity between the annual rate of increase of this country's stock of capital and the annual additions that human labor makes to the land surface of North America?

And what shall be said of the contention that the occupation of uninhabited regions, and the improvement of means of transportation enable us to increase the supply of available land as fast as occasion may demand? I believe that the essential facts which are emphasized in this contention, can be conceded without removing the basis for our distinction between land and capital. When we say that capital is the product of human effort, and that land is not, we do not mean that the supply of land now available for man's use is an absolutely fixed quantity; or that it is impossible, by developing means of transportation, to bring more land into the market. Obviously, the quantity of land in the market is not fixed; but it is true that when an addition is made to the supply of available land, that addition is in the market to stay as long as there is a demand for it, because it does not need to be renewed by the continuous expenditure of human labor, as is the case with a country's supply of capital. The cost of supplying capital exerts an influence upon the interest which capital can command, not merely or chiefly because the capital now in the market represents some sacrifice on the part of the capitalist, but because the existing supply of tools, or machines, or buildings, will not be kept up unless the sacrifices incurred in production are suitably rewarded. In this fact we find sufficient justification for

discriminating between land and capital, and for differentiating rent from interest.

Permit me, by way of conclusion, to present a brief summary of the results of the preceding discussion. The annual value of land depends upon the conditions of demand and supply. The demand price varies according to the advantages which land offers for production, and will tend to increase with every increase of population. The supply of land is not produced by man and does not need to be renewed by a constant expenditure of human labor. The quantity of land in the market is not, however, always a fixed quantity; since, if the prospective demand warrants it, regions now unoccupied can, for some time to come, be made available for human uses. But land once brought into the market will command such prices as its natural resources or situation will induce producers to pay. Unlike capital, its value will not be influenced by the cost of keeping up the existing stock. For this reason I contend that rent is widely different from interest, and that the ground of difference is to be found in the peculiar conditions that govern the supply of land.

COMMENTARY BY PROFESSOR G. S. CALLENDER, BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

THE NATURE OF GROUND RENT.

There are two questions involved in the subject we are considering to-night. The first is whether or no an income derived from the ownership of the natural agents of production is the same kind of income as that derived from the ownership of capital. In other words, is ground rent the same thing as interest? The second question is whether an income derived from the ownership of the natural agents of production is an earned or an unearned income? That is to say, does the person who derives an income from such a source perform any service in production, such as is performed, for instance, by those who supply by means of saving the capital of the community? It is this second question which alone gives practical interest and importance to our subject. The first is important only so far as it helps to answer the second. To show that rent and interest are the same is to prove that the income derived from the one is no more unearned than that derived from the other.

To my mind, Professor Bullock has answered the first question satisfactorily. Barring the inevitable exceptions, it seems to me impossible to deny these propositions: first, that the supply of the natural agents is limited, and cannot be increased by man's efforts; second, that the demand for the natural agents increases along with the increase of population. It follows from this that the value of the natural agents of production is determined in a different way from that of capital, and the income derived from their ownership is a different kind of income from that derived from the possession of capital. Accepting this conclusion, however, does not help us very much in answering the second, and more important question, of whether the landlord's income is an earned or unearned one. It proves that the rent receivers as a class do not perform the same kind of service in production on that is performed by the savers of capital; but it does not prove that they perform no service whatever. To those of us, therefore, who believe with Professor Bullock that land is not capital, and that rent and interest are distinct and different kinds of income, the important thing to find out about ground rent is not so much its origin or the forces which give rise

to it, as the nature of the services to production, if there are any, which are rendered by those who receive it as income.

Looking at the matter from this point of view, there is one remark which I wish to make concerning rent in relation to taxation. It is practically impossible to make any general statements concerning the justice of expediency of public appropriation of ground rent, which shall be applicable to the rent of all kinds of natural agents in all situations. Whether or no an income based upon ground rent be an earned or unearned income, that is, whether the person receiving it performs any service in production in return for it, depends entirely upon the nature of the natural resource or agent from which the rent is drawn. Each separate case has to be considered on its own merits, and the conclusion reached regarding one case is not necessarily applicable to any other. Thus it may not be difficult to show that certain kinds of natural agents in certain situations can be made to yield the largest return to the community, when private individuals are allowed to possess them and to appropriate their value. It is easy to see, that in case of the mines of the precious metals which a country may possess, the best way of securing their discovery and exploitation is to allow private individuals to appropriate their value. Only by allowing the great prizes, when discovered, to be appropriated can men be induced to incur the risks necessary to discover and develop them. There is good ground also for thinking that the agricultural lands of a country will be made to yield their largest returns to the community if individuals are allowed to appropriate the rent of them. President Hadley pointed out that the private ownership of the oyster beds of Chesapeake Bay caused them to be much more productive to the community than they were before private ownership was introduced. In all these cases and in many more it may doubtless be shown that private appropriation of ground rent is not an unearned income. When, however, we turn to such cases as the water front of a great city like New York, or Chicago, or Boston, or to the building sites along the principal business streets of those cities, or to the right of running street cars through their principal streets, it is not obvious, to say the least, that the utility of these particular natural resources to the community is rendered greater by allowing private individuals to appropriate the value which continually increases with the growth of population; and the fact that such a policy has proven beneficial in the case of mines and agricultural lands and certain kinds of fisheries, furnishes no ground for concluding that it is beneficial in these cases. The payments made for the use of a mine or a farm or of a piece of water front or a building lot on Tremont St. are all rent; they may all arise in the same way, and be determined by the same law; but the question of whether or not they are earned by those who received them must be determined from the conditions existing in each industry and these may vary in every case. What we need, therefore, as a guide in taxing incomes derived from ground rent is, not so much a study of the nature of rent in general, as a study of particular kinds of rent with a view of showing the effect of its private appropriation upon production in each industry. It is not in my opinion the fact that the value of land and other natural agents is determined in a somewhat different way from most other commodities, that is to justify the public appropriation, though taxation, of ground rent. If such appropriation is to be made its expediency will have to be determined separately for each different kind of natural agent in the way I have indicated. Already the public has come to recognize that certain rights, such as those granted to street-car, gas and electric light companies, acquire additional value simply by the increase of population in the cities where they are situated, and it is beginning to be a wise policy to

secure for the public a part at least of this increase of value. If this policy proves to have no bad effects upon the industries concerned, it may be extended to others and the same test applied. It is not easy to see why the right to occupy the space along the streets of a city, which must inevitably become more valuable as the population of the city increases, may not wisely be dealt with in the same way as the right to run cars through the streets or to lay gas mains along them. At any rate, the nature of the rent of agricultural lands, or of mines of the precious metals, affords us no aid whatever in determining whether it should be so dealt with or not.

COMMENTARY BY PROFESSOR WILLARD C. FISHER OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

For the most part, I should accept Mr. Bullock's statements as to the nature of ground rent. Indeed, it is probably true that we differ in no important particular. Only at some few points should I be inclined to modify or develop what he has said.

It might, perhaps, even be worth while to make formal note of the truth that rent comes not alone from "natural agents of production," but from any unproduced or nature-given good, whether it be used productively or in unproductive consumption. But with this much once expressly understood, it may be more convenient to discuss the rents as if they arose only from agents of production.

If there is one part of the topic in which Mr. Bullock's exposition really needs a closer statement than he has had time to give, I should say that it is, after all, in the direct, formal definition of rent. Rent is not exactly the income from nature-given agents of production, or payment for the use of such agents, for it does not arise from all such agents. Rent is, rather, income from natural agents superior to the poorest which are actually forced into use in order to meet the demand of the market; or, more briefly, it is income from superiority of indestructible natural agents.

And in this alternative form of statement it appears more clearly why the adverse criticisms of the classical theory of rent are, after all, of only minor importance. It is, no doubt, true that "land" can be produced." It is true that by filling and blasting building sites may be prepared; as it is true that by clearing and draining farm lands may be made ready for tillage. But it is also true, as Mr. Bullock has pointed out, that such additions to the supply of land are, comparatively, very small indeed. And, in my view, far more pertinent for the defense of the Ricardian theory is the obvious truth that superior land is not so produced; indeed, I think we may say that, in the nature of the case, it cannot be produced thus, at least in amounts large enough to affect the classical theory. When land is thus "produced," we must start either with or without an original, unproduced value in the area under treatment. If we assume an original, nature-given value, to which the capital used in the "production" of the land merely adds more value, the case of the Ricardians is won, or rather it is conceded at the start. And, on the other hand, if there be no original value in the area, capital will, under competition at once free and intelligent, work itself into the area just as rapidly and just as far as the yield from the new land can be made to equal the yield from the poorest of the lands already in use. In the technical phraseology of our discussion, produced lands regularly appear first upon the margin of cultivation, and only as the margin moves out, do they yield a true rent. They may, to be sure, after they are once successfully produced, yield a return greater than the amount of normal interest upon the capital used in producing them, but not, as I think, a return greater than is

properly to be accounted for by a reference to the capital and the labors, hardships, and risks of the production.

No reference, therefore, to the phenomena of "produced" land can affect the truth that there are differences in the productivity of the lands of various sorts upon which society depends. And it is upon this great and simple truth—obvious enough, too, in the facts of every-day life—that the whole Ricardian theory depends.

The narrow limits which have been so properly set upon our time by the Single Tax League, and which I have already transgressed, has made it necessary for me to take for granted a great deal in my statements. I assume, what we always assume in economic discussion, the possibility of mis-calculations, the occasional, perhaps the frequent operation of other than the narrowest economic motives, the possibility of temporary reactions from the normal tendency of forces, and the possibility of a great many other things. Moreover, I have expressed myself very briefly, even elliptically. But all that will be understood here; and here a speaker is as certain as anywhere to be interpreted reasonably, even charitably.

COMMENTARY BY DR. C. W. MIXTER, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

GROUND RENT—HOW MUCH IS THERE OF IT?

Men form instruments from materials with which they control the forces of nature to the end of supplying their wants. For example, agricultural land is one of the materials necessary for the formation of a farm, and, through that, the attainment of food. In other words, all production is instrumental, and land being a material doesn't produce anything. Man and the instrument (capital) produce all wealth. Under the existing high development of successive division of employments, moreover, each individual producer is commonly under the necessity of marketing his product. Those who produce and market in any industry, (the marketing being a continuation of the process of production), are again divided into economic classes receiving profits proper, interest, and wages, according to the nature of the part they play. But this does not exhaust the list of classes of participants and sorts of income. There are those who own the means of access to materials for the purpose of forming instruments, and those who own means of access to society—to the general concourse of people—for the purpose of marketing products; and both these sorts of owners receive, according to the classic theory, when their "means of access" is superior to the marginal means in competition, an income called the rent of land (or ground rent) for simply allowing others to enter into possession and use of their property. The typical bonus paid to landlords for access to materials is agricultural rent; and the typical bonus paid for access to society, is situation rent in the trade centre of a city. In short, according to the received concept, the rent of land is a matter of distribution on the basis of legal institutions, not a matter of production on the basis of the economic nature of things. The landlord, as such, whether simply owner, or owner and occupier, it is held, participates in the sharing of wealth, but not in the creation of it. Therefore, though expressing myself differently, I am at one with Professor Bullock in his statement of the nature of rent.

Now let us pass to the discussion of its quantity.

If we had what may be called a "static" world, that is, a state of society in which population increased and capital increased, but there was no advance of the arts, no new ways of doing business, and consequently, the economic corpus grew simply, as a pile of brick grows through the addi-

tion of more bricks of the same sort as were in the pile before, then, indeed, there would be a steady pushing forward of the margin of labor and waiting in every branch of industry and commerce, and back of this margin would rise a regular series of differential gains (rents) like the steps of a flight of stairs, each corresponding to the natural advantage which that grade of land had over the no-rent, marginal land. Such was Ricardo's world—agricultural England during the Napoleonic wars—which furnished the basis of his one-sided theory of rent. But we have, in fact, a "dynamic" world, a world in which there are epoch making inventions and new ways of doing business; a world where, in consequence, some men and trades, and some of the different localities of a given trade, are rising and others falling; in short, we live in a world of change and progress, and this immensely complicates the task of ascertaining how much there is of ground rent. There are differential losses to be taken account of as well as differential gains; the margin of an industry is here to-day, and there to-morrow. It is impossible to calculate rent—impossible for the landlords themselves to do so—without reference to the margin; and if the margin is variable, the rent accordingly becomes highly indeterminate, and in practice under a landlord and tenant system land is "over" or under-rented."

Not only is it difficult, because of progress, to determine the quantity of rent in any particular instance when, apparently beyond doubt, we are dealing with pure rent; but also, when we take account of the causes of progress, it is difficult to know, in respect to apparent rents in general, whether or not they are really rents, according to the classic definition, which sharply distinguishes them from profits and those who receive them from capitalists (entrepreneurs). If progress made itself—if society in general simply secreted the things which constitute progress—this difficulty would not arise. And again it would not present itself if the comparatively few individuals who make progress were sufficiently rewarded in their own estimation by a diploma and a blue ribbon. But those who make progress are not content with a diploma and blue ribbon; they demand the winning of large pecuniary prizes, or, at least, the chance of winning them. And this is not the whole. All their operations are bound up with and inseparable from the institution of private property; they demand that their efforts shall be embodied in and guaranteed by property, "real" as well as "personal," with its full speculative rights, for at least a long term of years. To a very considerable extent, therefore, ownership of land is an economic category, not a mere legal category, and landlords are merged with capitalists. So far forth the detached form of income we have been in the habit of discussing under the name of ground rent does not exist; it is coalesced with profits; it is one and the same thing as the price we must pay for getting things done—especially for getting important speculative things done.

Now a few words on that special aspect of the rent theory which is, that the surplus earnings of a public service corporation, conceived of as attaching to the land (or rights in land) used under its franchise, is, therefore, in the nature of ground rent. An economist, well acquainted with England, recently said to me that he doubted if they would ever have first-class rapid transit in London: the masses of the people, imbued with modern socialistic notions, were "so desperately afraid of somebody's making something." How much, in fact, would it be worth to the people of London and vicinity to save from half an hour to an hour going and coming from work each day? I am tempted to reply all that anybody who would bring the thing to pass could possibly make out of it. At present, the only persons who can bring it to pass are not offered terms which they are willing to accept, and so it is not brought to pass. Neither is efficient rapid transit nor elec-

tric lighting, generally speaking, anywhere in England brought to pass. The whole electrical industry in England is in consequence far behind that of the United States, Germany, and even Italy. How does one know that there are any "surplus earnings" of a public service corporation:—that is, earnings above what is payment for work done and risks run—payment above the necessary cost-price of progress?

But supposing that it is determined, in the case of a street railway company, for example, that there is a surplus gain above any necessary profit, even then I do not admit that it is ground rent or an analogue of ground rent, as that term has been commonly understood. It is no differential gain fixed competitively and independently by the conditions of marginal production, on the one side, and free offerings of buyers on the other side, as the pure economic rent of wheat lands, used as the basis of the contractual rent of a tenant, is fixed by supply and demand for marginal wheat. The supply in the case of the street railway is a monopolized supply, the demand is largely created by the company itself through the ways and means it employs to serve the public, and the price is a matter of custom or legislative control. There is no surplus gain of any sort in connection with a public service franchise irrespective of the service rendered for the price charged. By extending its service into the suburbs, and by increasing the number of transfers, our own Elevated Company is virtually reducing its fares materially year by year. Its object is to increase its business; but the increase of its business means a larger and a better Boston. Whatever this company makes (if anything) above bank interest, reward for business management, and compensation for the risks it has taken, is not ground rent, but a pure monopoly gain.

In conclusion, I desire to state that I do not wish to be understood as agreeing in the least with those who are opposed to Professor Bullock's statement of the nature of pure rent. Land is not a thing whose supply costs efforts and sacrifices, and, therefore, the income derived from its ownership, socially considered, is not of the same sort as the interest of capital. My position is that in many instances, those who own land and apparently obtain a pure economic rent, are in fact, merely taking with one hand what they have made with the other; they are getting in connection with a piece of land the profits of their business management. Especially does this idea hold true, when we take into account that often when one entrepreneur—landlord, obtains what is undoubtedly rent, to him—a windfall coming out of the wealth created by another entrepreneur—landlord—the same happens to that other, and so, for the class as a whole, it is a set-off. In short, in the case of any specific income obtained in connection with land (the land itself makes nothing), it is desirable that we examine closely, to see if any part of it corresponds, in view of the whole industrial situation, with Professor Bullock's concept of rent, which is the true one. And this is of special importance to Single Taxers. Before catching your hare—to say nothing of the cooking—first see that it is a hare.

COMMENTARY BY PROFESSOR WM. M. BURKE, ALBION COLLEGE, ALBION, MICH.

In the few comments I shall make on the very able paper presented by Professor Bullock, I want first to insist on the great importance of urban land values as compared with that of rural lands and to lay more stress on the part played by society in the production of this value. I agree with Professor Bullock as he agrees with the classical economists in making the income from land different in nature from the income from capital.

I believe, however, that he, together with the classical economists, emphasizes the rent of agricultural land until the more important facts of urban land rents are well nigh lost sight of.

Rent of land is a price paid for something, and like every other price, is controlled by the demand for, and the supply of the commodity or service. This something which commands a price called rent is really "access to opportunity." Any piece of land which commands no rent has this attribute in such small measure that it does not compete with land already in use, and the lands which command the highest rents have this attribute in largest measure.

The supply of this access to opportunity is coextensive with the supply of land, and this supply can be increased in such small quantity as to cut little figure in the discussion. If the supply cannot be increased indefinitely any increase in demand will make the present stock more valuable, that is, a higher rent will accrue to the owners.

All lands collectively cannot be considered monopolized, for in a sense all tracts compete with each other, but each tract of land is monopolized inasmuch as no other piece of land is equally fitted for just the uses that make this particular piece valuable.

The value of agricultural land is governed in very much the same way as value of urban lands. Improved facilities for transportation allow poorer lands to compete more easily with better grades and thus lower the rent all along the line. There is moreover to a certain extent, in these days of rapid transit, some competition between so-called rural land and city land.

Certainly almost all land is increasing in value, the exceptions are comparatively trifling as worked out mines and changes as to desirable parts of a city. When a commodity rises in value we can almost always trace the cause to the labor of an individual or group of individuals who have added to its utility. Can we do in the case of land? In some cases, yes, but the value of most commodities is created by a conscious effort on the part of him who hopes to profit by it. The value of land increases without this conscious effort except in a comparatively few cases. The man who takes up new agricultural land and counts as part of his profit its rise in value, or the manufacturer who establishes a plant where he can control the surrounding property, if the plant would not be established without the prospect of the added land value are examples of conscious effort to increase land values and to obtain an economic rent.

Something also is due to the foresight of the individual who buys land in a city and simply holds it for a rise, without improving it because of the slight risk he runs that land values will decrease instead of increasing. A moderate percentage of the investment would be allowed for his ability in this direction. Beyond this we must look to outside influences for the immense difference in productivity of different tracts of land. It is due to the intense demand for favored situations which is caused by the growth of a civilized population. For a large population of this kind makes a city a desirable place to live in both for pleasure and profit. A lot on lower Broadway is very valuable, not because any owner has made a sacrifice nor indeed that society has sacrificed anything, but that lower New York is a favored spot in which many desire to do business, and it was made so partly by nature and in large measure by the great number of intelligent people who desire to live in New York City and vicinity. In other words a very large part of the ground rent is a product of society and nothing else. So far as this is true, then, no individual should be allowed to claim such product, but it should go to the community which created it.

COMMENTARY BY PROFESSOR CARL C. PLEHN, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

THE NATURE OF GROUND RENT.

As the space allotted to each of the six critics of Dr. Bullock's paper is necessarily small, I feel that I must resist the temptation to give full expression to my admiration of the clearness and force, as well as the subtlety, with which he has presented his argument. Dr. Bullock correctly recognizes two opposing tendencies of thought in regard to the nature of ground rent. He has espoused the cause of one set of views, which he well calls the classical, and has defended it with all his customary vigor and ability.

Nevertheless that view, so frankly and clearly set forth, seems to me not only classical, but antiquated and I wish to speak for the opposing theory. Briefly stated, I hold that, to-day, in the United States, land when appropriated, and in use, is simply one form of capital; and ground rent, the regular and customary income from such land, is in every essential particular a form of interest, the general income from capital.

There is one misunderstanding against which we must be particularly on our guard, and that arises from the paucity of the English language which compels us to use "rent" in many distinct senses. What is sometimes called economic rent, pure and simple, sometimes "profits," "differential gains," "unearned increment," etc., *i.e.*, the increment in the value of a given piece of property during any interval of time, or what is correlative therewith, the increase, during such interval, in the revenue which such property may afford, is very different from the "ground rent" which we are discussing. These two conceptions are as distinct from one another as the increase in the speed of a falling body during a given interval of time is distinct from its speed at any instant during that interval. An "unimproved" or unused piece of land, even if appropriated and held for speculative purposes, will, so long as it remains unused and unimproved, yield no ground rent, although it may be gradually increasing in value, or accumulating economic rent.

There have been times and places,—there are still such places—where the laws and customs in relation to property in land were different from those in regard to property in other things and for these times and places a distinction might properly be drawn between ground rent and house rent or any other form of interest. But, in the United States, to-day, an owner's title to his land is as good, and is in every respect of the same character, as his title to anything else. He is as free to sell or lend his land as he is to sell or lend anything else. He does so in the same manner. Hence the classical distinction between ground rent and other forms of interest, which rested on the old laws and customs is antiquated and should be allowed to become obsolete.

Dr. Bullock correctly states that the best method of approach is to regard the problem as one in value. We take no exception to his statement of the demand side of the problem. There is, of course, nothing in the nature of the demand for land that differs in kind from the demand for any other sort of wealth.

We find, however, serious difficulties in his statement of the elements of the supply. In the first place his presentation of our position is inadequate. When we say that the supply of land is not limited in the economic sense, any more than the supply of other forms of capital may be, and of some forms is, limited, we do not refer merely to such things as "made land," not to acreage reclaimed from the sea or from swamps; nor to artificial terraces on the rocks as in Japan; nor to the multiplication of surfaces, one above the other;

nor to multiple cropping as practiced in China. Nor do we refer to the obvious fact that with every advance in the methods of utilizing land (improved cultivation, improved building) each unit of area serves more people or serves the same people better. These forms of actual or possible surface increase are more important than Dr. Bullock would have us believe; but it is not necessary to consider them in our analysis of the supply.

What we mean is this, that "land capital" is produced or fashioned by human labor out of land surface (and other things which nature affords) just in the same manner as other forms of capital are produced by human labor out of other materials nature affords. Land surface as such never enters the economic realm at all, never becomes wealth, nor yields an income, until appropriated and usually not until still further transformed by labor, drained, graded, fenced, artificially fertilized, etc.; and when the labor of maintaining possession ceases—or, in other words, when a farm, a building lot or a mine, is "abandoned"—it ceases to be wealth or capital and becomes once more mere land surface. The same thing is equally true of a lump of iron ore made into a tool. To paraphrase Dr. Bullock's statement concerning capital, if the sacrifices incurred in keeping land in the market are not suitably rewarded it will be withdrawn.

Dr. Bullock seems to us to identify, in this connection, a geographical conception with an economic one, land surface with land supply. Let us admit that the land surface of the earth may be but slightly increased; what then? The supply of land in the market is not thereby limited, at least not yet, nor will it be, so far as we can foresee, for some years to come. Is the time honored distinction between stock or store on hand and economic supply to be ignored for land and enforced for all other forms of capital? When has the fact that ten generations, or even one, hence, the stock of something now on earth may be exhausted, or entirely appropriated (whalebone, certain woods, coal, etc.) ever affected the value of any such commodity, or restrained men of any generation from using their present stock as freely as the cost of getting it in the market would permit? When the entire stock becomes supply, then, if ever, and not until then, will the geographical limitation of land have an economic significance.

Possibly the labor cost of keeping up the supply of land, once it is in the market, is slight as compared with that of keeping up some other forms of capital, but the difference is one of degree, not of kind. Possibly the extent to which the original qualities of the materials enter into the utility of a piece of appropriated, improved and used land is great, and the extent to which labor adds to those utilities is small by comparison, and possibly the reverse is true of other capital in certain forms. This, too, is all a question of degree and not of kind, and certainly does not permit us to say that "land is not a product of human labor," while capital is.

"Cost of production" rules here as elsewhere. Some pieces of land have qualities which can be duplicated in other pieces out of the present stock as readily as any tool; others, again, like some tools, have qualities that cannot be duplicated. Lucky is the owner of such a piece of land, and so is the owner of such a tool; both are the recipients of economic rent as well as of interest, and they should, perhaps, be willing to pay taxes in proportion to their exceptional good fortune.

COMMENTARY BY PROFESSOR F. S. BALDWIN, BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

The main purpose of this discussion, I take it, is to secure from the participants expressions of agreement or disagreement with the statement of the value of economic rent formulated in Professor Bullock's introductory paper.

Indeed, the time at the disposal of each critic is hardly sufficient to permit much more than a mere word of assent or dissent. Personally I find that Professor Bullock has made my task an easy one. I am prepared to file a simple "me, too." I might voice my approval of his position in the words of the comment made by the late Henry Dunning McLeod in his "History of Economics," upon the work of a certain American economist: "Professor ——— is in agreement with me on all points with the exception of a few trifling dissidences. His work is an excellent outline of economics." Although I should wish to amend and qualify Professor Bullock's exposition in some points of minor detail, I agree with his main proposition that there is a vital distinction between land and capital, and a wide difference between rent and interest.

So far as the function of land and of capital in production is concerned, the two instruments seem to me to play essentially the same role. They are both passive elements, employed by man in creating utilities. They contribute to the total product in identical fashion. There is nothing magical and unusual about the share of land in the productive process, as compared with that of capital. But in the distributive process the return accruing to the landholder is governed by a law radically different from that which determines the earnings of the capitalist. The fact that land is limited in supply confers upon its owner the power to command a differential return in the form of ground rent. There is nothing analogous to this in the case of capital. The law of rent holds not only of land employed in agriculture, but also of land used for manufacturing and mercantile purposes; it applies universally throughout the industrial world.

The attempt of certain writers to refine away this traditional distinction between land and capital, rent and interest, impresses me as a subtle obscuration of plain facts. Professor Plehn's defense of the new theory is ingenious, but not convincing. He admits that for times and places where the laws and customs in relation to property in land were different from those in regard to property in other things, a distinction might properly be drawn between ground rent and other forms of interest, but beholds that in a country like the United States, where property in land is on the same legal footing as property in other forms of wealth, this distinction no longer holds. But the distinction in question does not rest, as Professor Plehn represents, upon laws and customs in relation to property. Land and other forms of wealth held the same position in respect to property laws and customs in England when Ricardo first formulated the economic law of rent which they hold to-day in this country. The distinction rests in fact upon the manifest difference in conditions of supply between land and capital; and that difference is as real to-day as it has ever been. Again, Professor Plehn argues that the fact that land surface is geographically limited has nothing to do with the economic supply of land in the market. The economic supply of land, he contends, is not on this account limited, any more than the supply of other forms of capital may be; land capital is produced or fashioned by human labor out of land surface, and other things which nature affords, just in the same manner as other forms of capital are produced out of other materials nature affords. In this specious argument Professor Plehn jumps lightly over the inconvenient fact that the economic supply of "land capital"—to use his terminology—is at all times and in all places inseparably bound up with the geographical supply of land surface, which is unalterably fixed in quantity. It is this concrete condition and not any speculative theory resting on temporal and local circumstances of law and custom which confronts Professor Plehn and his fellow critics of the classical doctrine of rent. And until the plain fact of the limited supply of land can be conjured away, that doctrine, as set forth to-night in Professor Bullock's paper, will still hold possession of the field.

SUMMARY BY PROFESSOR T. N. CARVER, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The discussion seems to have centred about three questions:

1. How does ground rent differ, if at all, from the income derived from other agents of production? (Bullock, Plehn, Callender, Fisher, Mixter).
2. How does urban rent compare in importance with agricultural rent? (Burke).
3. How does ground rent differ, if at all, from the annual value of franchises? (Mixter).

In the limited space allotted to me I cannot make as full an analysis of each man's paper as I should like to, but must proceed directly to a statement of the general results of the discussion as they appear to me. However, I should like to pay general tribute to the ability and fairness thus far shown in the discussion.

Upon the first question I find substantial agreement, among all but one of the participants, that ground rent differs materially from the income from other agents of production, Mr. Plehn alone maintaining the contrary. My own opinion is that there are many strong points of resemblance, but that these points are of minor importance when looked at from the standpoint of taxation, while the points of difference are of major importance from the same standpoint. Following Mills' rule of classification, therefore, we should be compelled to place ground rent in a class apart from other forms of income.

As to the resemblances: Accepting the definition of ground rent as "what land is worth for use," I should claim that an exact paraphrase would define equally well the income from the use of any other agent of production. It is what the agent is worth for use, and it amounts practically to what the community would lose if the particular agent in question were withheld from use, or what the community would gain if it were put back into use.

Rent, according to the classical doctrine, is a differential gain. What a particular piece of land is worth for use is equal to the difference between what can be produced upon it and what an equal amount of labor and capital could produce upon land which may be had free, but this will apply equally well to other agents of production. What any instrument is worth for use is the difference between what can be produced with it and what could be produced with other instruments so poor that they could be had for nothing. For, let it be remembered, there are no-rent houses, no-rent machines, no-rent horses, etc. The most that the owner of any instrument, whether land or not, can collect is that difference. It is the superiority of a good instrument over a no-rent instrument which determines its value as truly as it is the superiority of a good piece of land over no-rent land which determines its value. If this value is enough to induce men to try to reproduce the good instrument, they will do so, otherwise not. That is the way that cost of production figures in the price of things.

To the oft repeated assertion that land is a free gift of nature while other agents are the products of industry, I must, in agreement with Mr. Plehn, reply that other agents, in their original form, are as much free gifts of nature as land is. The only basis of a man's claim to them is that he appropriated a free gift of nature and changed its form to suit his own purpose. The same is true of land, and it is this aspect of the case which would naturally appeal, and did appeal, to the first settlers in a new community. If one settler saw a tree which seemed to contain possibilities and chopped it down and worked it up into a wagon, it would be universally agreed that the wagon

was his. If another settler saw a piece of land which seemed to contain possibilities and cleared it and plowed it and reduced it to cultivation, it would be agreed on the same reasoning that the land was his. Each man had found a natural product, each had appropriated it, each had worked upon it and each had changed its form from the raw state in which he found it to a form which would serve his purpose better. The fact that one was a farm and the other a wagon would not appear to be a real difference. I venture to say that, under those conditions, not one of you would have thought of making a difference. If any one had come to you and told you that you had less right to the farm, with all the advantages belonging to it, including a possible rise in value, than he had to the wagon which he had made, including all the advantages which come with it, you would have thought him somewhat unreasonable to say the least, and in my opinion, you would have been right. This is the aspect of the case which I would like to commend to the consideration of those who believe that the private ownership of land is forbidden by a moral law ordained from the foundation of the world.

If, however, the above community should continue to grow, it would gradually dawn upon certain minds that there was a difference, and that difference is precisely where Mr. Bullock and several others have located it. The supply of land being relatively fixed, those who are so fortunate as to possess it begin to reap a kind of monopoly gain, whereas the owners of other instruments are not only without any such monopoly gains but compelled to pay the landowners for permission to renew their worn out instruments. This aspect of the case comes so slowly that, to the average individual, the time never seems just right for making a legal difference. It is especially slow in appealing to the legal mind which is of necessity very largely bound by the traditional ways of looking at things. That is inherent in the nature of law and a necessary condition of social stability. If one of the conditions of social stability and order is that customary ways of looking at things should have great weight, and if this customary way of looking at things makes the legal mind slow to see what scientific minds have seen, why it is simply one of the prices which we have to pay for social order, and we must pay it, though, of course, we can grumble about the price if we want to.

Is rent, then, as Mr. Plehn implies, merely another name for interest? Rent is used in three distinct senses. In the world at large it means that which is received for the use of any kind of property except, perhaps, money. Economists have narrowed it down to that which is received for the use of land, placing this form of income in a class by itself because it is a surplus or "net income." Some have taken this idea of a surplus or "net income" as the characteristic of rent, and have extended the use of the term so as to cover any form of surplus or "net income" whether derived from the use of land or not. This use of the term is involved in the question of the relation of rent to the annual value of franchises and will be discussed under that head.

What is the real distinction between rent and interest?

If you will notice closely you will find that whenever a person has in mind the income from a definite piece of property, he invariably speaks of it as rent: but when he thinks of the same income as the income from a *quantity of wealth*, he invariably speaks of it as interest. This will be true whether the property in question be land or not. The very idea of interest involves the idea of a rate, or a ratio. There can be no ratio between dollars and houses or dollars and land, unless both are reduced to a common basis for measurement and quantitative expression. Reduce dollars and houses to ounces or cubic inches and you can get a ratio. The number of dollars which the house earns in a year would then be a rate. Reduce both dollars and land to superficial area, and one will be a ratio of the other.

How is wealth measured and quantitatively expressed? Not, as the foregoing illustration rather whimsically supposes, on the basis of weight, or cubic contents, or superficial area, but on the basis of value. In order to measure anything you must abstract some quality or property of that thing, and compare it with something else on the basis of that property. Its quantity can then be expressed in terms of that property, whether that property be weight, cubic contents, potential energy, or what not, provided only it be sufficiently definite and well known to permit of comparison. Our quantitative notion will vary considerably according to the property taken as the basis of measurement. If, for example, we take a piece of cork weighing one pound, and a piece of lead weighing two, and if we measure and express quantity in terms of weight, we will have twice as much lead as cork; but if we measure and express quantity in terms of cubic contents, we would have several times as much cork as lead.

When wealth consisted mainly of flocks and herds it was customary for the primitive herdsman to reckon the quantity of his wealth numerically as so many head, from which we get our words capital and cattle. But as the forms of wealth increased it was no longer possible to express their quantity in terms of mere number. The property holder then tried to reduce other forms of property to cattle, by saying that each other article was equal to so many head of cattle. Then he could say that his wealth was so many cattle, not meaning that he had that many real animals, but that he had as much wealth as that many animals would amount to. Now just what did that mean. Not that his other wealth weighed as much, or contained as many cubic feet as that number of cattle, but that they were *worth* as much. In other words, he had adopted *value* as his basis of measurement and quantitative expression. And this is the basis which is still universally used, though the *unit* of measurement has undergone various changes, being now in this country a piece of gold nine-tenths fine, and weighing 25.8 grains.

Now let us apply this to the concept of capital. When the primitive herdsman thought of his individual animals, he had not the concept of capital, but when he thought of the number of his animals, he had the concept of capital. When, a little later the man of property thought of the individual animals and the particular parcel of land, the particular plows, wagons, etc., he had not the concept of capital; but when he reduced them all to value and expressed their amount in cattle, he had the concept of capital. When the man of wealth of to-day thinks of the particular things which he owns, he has not the concept of a capital, but when he reduces them all to value and expresses their amount in dollars, he has the concept of capital.

My own conclusion, therefore, is that between rent, as that term is commonly used, and interest, there is no objective difference, the difference being a subjective one due to our different ways of looking at the same thing. From this standpoint, rent is the income derived from the use of any individual piece of property, interest is the same income compared in amount with its source and expressed as a ratio, value being the common basis of measurement and quantitative expression. And this is true whether the piece of property in question be land or not.

So much for rent in general and interest. The next question is, how does the rent of land differ from that derived from other agents of production? I am in full agreement with Mr. Bullock, and most of the others, who maintain that the difference is wholly in the factors which determine the supply. Other agents of production seldom have a value greatly in excess of their cost of production because any excess value of this kind is a special inducement to increase their production, and the consequent increase in the supply brings down their value. But in the case of land, there is scarcely

any limit to this excess of value, because, however great this excess might be, and however much it might excite other men's cupidity, it cannot lead to a material increase in the amount of land. On the other hand, I must agree with Mr. Mixter in the position that the value of land sometimes figures as profits. For example, I know of more than one factory which was located away from a business center because land could be had at a low figure and would inevitably rise in value when a laboring population gathered about the factory. The profits on the sale of lots were a part of the profits of the undertaking, and one of the inducements which led to its establishment. Again the expected rise in the value of the land was one of the chief inducements to the settlement of new lands. The settlers usually worked for several years for less than they could have made by remaining in settled communities, the expected rise in the value of the land balancing this loss. (While land is not created, its value sometimes is.)

What then is the bearing of these facts on the problem of taxation? One of the two evils of taxation is the repressive effect of a tax. A license is a good illustration of what this means. The purpose of a license tax is to control or to repress an industry. A tariff duty is supposed to repress the business of importation. In some such manner, every kind of a property tax is likely, in one way or another, to repress some industry, or some line of business activity. When the payment or the non-payment of a tax depends upon whether a certain thing is done or not, the tendency of the tax is to discourage the doing of that thing; but when the payment or non-payment of the tax is not conditioned upon the doing of anything, the tax does not repress any kind of business activity. A tax on the products of industry will tend to discourage the production. A tax on land will have comparatively little repressive effect. In a few cases where the rise in the value of the land is one of the inducements to the starting of a new enterprise, any tax on that value would have the effect of discouraging that enterprise more or less. But if any one thinks that the repressive effect of a tax on land is at all to be compared with the repressive effect of a tax on the products of industry, I can only say that I think he is mistaken. The cases where the expected rise in the value of one's land is the chief inducement to a business undertaking, are the exceptional cases. These exceptional cases may attract one's attention and keep him from seeing the general facts, in which case he is in the position of a certain senator of whom it was said that he could see a fly on a barn door without being able to see the barn or the door either.

Though it may be true, as Mr. Plehn contends, that the difference between land and other agents of production is only a difference of degree, I should be inclined to accept Mr. Bullock's suggestion that a difference of degree may amount to a difference in kind. In one sense, all scientific distinctions are differences of degree. The difference between a man and a monkey is only a difference of degree, but it is considered sufficient to warrant a different kind of treatment. In this case it is the degree that counts. Certain taxes must be raised, and (granting that) wherever raised they will have something of a repressive tendency; but if the repressive tendency of a tax on ground rent is much less than that of a tax on other kinds of property, that alone will make ground rent a better subject of taxation.

How does urban rent compare in importance with agricultural rent? What was said a moment ago about the gradual development of a distinction between land and other forms of property will, in part, answer this question. The distinction shows itself first, and always most acutely, in cities where the scarcity value of land is greatest. In many of the newer and less advanced agricultural districts the distinction has scarcely yet amounted to a difference. The land is of so little value above the cost of improving it that it would

scarcely occur to any one to make a difference. But in some of the more valuable urban property the monopolistic element is so pronounced as to put its owner in the same class with the mediæval baron who took possession of a ford or a mountain pass and collected toll of all who went that way. Both are in control of access to certain utilities; both charge for access to them, and their charges are what the traffic or the business will stand. The baron could charge no more than the difference between the advantage of his route and some other route where travelers and merchants might go free. So far as their strictly economic functions are concerned there is not a particle of difference. The only difference is in the method of getting possession, the baron taking possession by force, the owner of a modern building site getting possession by legal methods.

How does ground rent differ from the annual value of franchises? Upon this question I am inclined to agree in the main with Mr. Mixter's position, but I should like to dissent from a position which seems to be implied in his statement of the case, though I do not believe that he meant to imply it. It *seems* to be implied that the public has no business trying to drive a good bargain with a private corporation which is offering to furnish a public utility, like transportation, street lighting, etc., I should be inclined to say explicitly that if the public can get these utilities on good terms for itself rather than on poor terms, it is perfectly proper for it to do so. It may be true that there are many people, both in England and America, who are awfully afraid somebody will make something; but it is equally true that there are some people who are awfully afraid that the public will drive a good bargain and make something for itself out of its franchises.

Again, I doubt if the prevalence of socialism in England can alone account for their backwardness in the matter of street transportation. That certainly could not account for England's being behind Germany, where there is more socialism to the square inch than anywhere else. In the first place, London is not far behind New York, where socialistic tendencies are not strong, and New York is decidedly behind Berlin, where socialism is rampant, and where they have municipal ownership. Again, the English steam railways are quite as far behind the German and American, at least so far as the accommodation of the public is concerned, as their street transportation systems are, though there has been very little interference with the steam railways. One among the several things which must account for this backward state is the natural conservatism of the English people. It is not what you or I think that rapid transit would be worth to the Londoners, but what they think it would be worth, that counts. So long as the average Londoner would rather ride on a 'bus or in a cab, the demand for the trolley is not great. If they really wanted rapid transit as much as we would want it, their socialistic sentiments would not long stand in the way.

Whether there is any surplus value analogous to rent in franchises may possibly be open to question—but it could only be disputed by quibbling over definitions. I should say that the most that any company would be willing to pay for a franchise would not be in excess of that surplus value. It would be a good thing for the public to charge that amount, for then it would get the money and the service besides. This is a perfectly cold-blooded business proposition. No business man makes a practice of offering better terms for labor or raw materials than is necessary to get the kind of labor and raw materials which he wants. If any one can think of a reason why the public should offer better terms for transportation or lighting than enough to secure the kind of transportation and lighting it wants, I should be glad to hear it.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS OF BOSTON X PAPERS ON THE FOREGOING SPEECHES

GROUND RENT AND SINGLE TAX.

(*Boston Transcript.*)

The second dinner to professional economists, given last evening by the Massachusetts Single Tax League, brought together a noteworthy group of speakers representing leading universities from Maine to California. The primary object of these gatherings is, of course, to advertise the Single Tax; but this particular method of advertising is broadly educational. It is the hope of President Fillebrown of the League, in arranging these gatherings, to promote agreement among leading teachers of political economy regarding definitions and principles that bear on the problem of taxation. The discussions may also be expected to have the desirable effect of leading the economists to give more attention to urban rents and land taxation in their textbooks and college lectures. In contributing toward these ends the Single Tax League is performing a real public service.

Upon the subject of discussion at last evening's dinner, "The Nature of Ground Rent," the participants seemed to be in substantial agreement. The statement of the nature of ground rent formulated by Professor Bullock commanded general assent. According to this commonly accepted view, ground rent, "what land is worth for use," differs essentially from interest on capital. The fact that the supply of land is practically fixed once for all and cannot be increased at will by human effort confers on the owner of land the power to command for its use a differential return. This return, moreover, goes on increasing as the community advances in population and wealth. The ownership of capital confers no such power. A vital distinction is thus to be drawn between land and capital, rent and interest.

This view of ground rent is not, to be sure, accepted by all economists. In last evening's discussion Professor Plehn contended that "Land when appropriated and in use is simply one form of capital, and ground rent is in every essential particular a form of interest." He argued that the fact that land surface is geographically limited has nothing to do with the economic supply of land in the market. "The economic supply of land," he maintained, "is not on this account limited any more than the supply of other forms of capital may be; land capital is produced or fashioned by human labor out of land surface and other things which nature affords, just in the same manner as other forms of capital are produced out of other materials nature affords." But in this argument, as was pointed out by another speaker, Professor Plehn overlooks the inconvenient fact that the economic supply of "land capital," as he puts it, is at all times and in all places inseparably bound up with the geographical supply of land surface, which is practically fixed in quantity. In other words, land capital stays put in land surface. It cannot be torn loose, split up and carted about at will. It is upon this concrete condition of limited supply of land that the classical doctrine of ground rent as a differential gain, unlike interest, rests.

When it comes to the practical application of this doctrine of ground rent, a difficulty arises. The crucial question whether ground rent is an unearned or undeserved income cannot be answered offhand for all cases. In the first place, it is to be observed that ground rent, interest on capital and profits of management are often inextricably entangled in the actual earnings of business men. Profits and interest are commonly earned in connection with the rent

of land. As Dr. Mixter observed in his comments on the practical bearing of the rent doctrine, "In many instances those who own land and apparently obtain a pure economic rent are in fact merely taking with one hand what they have made with the other; they are getting in connection with a piece of land the profits of their business management. In short, in the case of any specific income obtained in connection with land (the land itself makes nothing) it is desirable that we examine closely to see if any part of it corresponds, in view of the whole industrial situation, with the concept of rent."

Furthermore, whether ground rent, considered entirely apart from interest and profits, be an unearned income, depends, as Professor Callender well showed, entirely upon the nature of the natural resource or agent from which the rent is drawn. Each case has to be considered on its own merits. It is not difficult to show that certain kinds of natural agents in certain situations can be made to yield the largest returns to the community when private individuals are allowed to possess them and to appropriate their value; for example, mines, fisheries and agricultural lands. The private appropriation of ground rent is in some cases clearly justifiable, as on the whole socially beneficial.

But although not all income based on ground rent is to be regarded as unearned, it is tolerably clear that income accruing to the owners of city building sites is largely of this character. Urban growth unquestionably creates enormous land values which individual owners have no claim to appropriate in full. That is, rising land values represent in large part a social product which may rightly be levied upon by the community to meet the increasing expenses of municipal administration. A land tax, moreover, has the especial advantage that it exerts little, if any, repressive effect on industry. It seems, accordingly, equitable and expedient that an increasing share of the burden of taxation in cities should be placed upon land. So much would probably be conceded by nearly all economists. The same policy applied to franchise values would also be approved. But economists dissent from a proposal that all expenses of government should be met by a single tax on land, chiefly for the reason that any single tax is inevitably unjust. Single Taxers are right in pointing to land values, including franchises, as the main source to which municipalities should look for the additional revenues necessitated by urban growth; they are wrong in denying the necessity and the expediency of preserving other forms of taxation.

TAXES ON LAND VALUES.

(*Boston Herald.*)

The recent meeting of the Massachusetts Single Tax League, at which the question of the nature, operation and office of ground rent was discussed by several professors of political economy from different colleges and universities, furnished an illustration of the value of an organization such as the league as a means by which professional opinion can be concentrated, crystallized and, to some extent at least, popularized. Of course no one needs to be told that the laws bearing upon questions of trade, finance and taxation are rarely, if ever, the direct outcome of professional, scientific advice. The owner of a mining property if he possesses sound business sagacity, employs the ablest talent he can find in the work of developing his property. A railroad company intending to build a line of track through a country presenting many topographical difficulties will employ the ablest civil engineers to advise on the best means of overcoming the difficulties that have to be encountered. But a government, whether of city, state or nation, at least under a democratic

form of control, and not infrequently when autocratic or oligarchic, is indisposed to leave questions of trade, currency and taxation to the judgment of professional experts in economics.

It seems to be taken for granted that problems of this kind, which, as a matter of fact, are some of the most difficult and intricate that can be presented, are questions upon which every man is fully qualified in having a clear-cut opinion, and that the opinions on such a subject of a majority of citizens expressed by their votes, or by the votes of those whom they elect to represent them, constitute the last word that needs to be said on these subjects. It may be conceded that professional economic opinion has not been as clearly settled in the past as it might have been, and, what is more, is not at the present time entirely a unit in the conclusions reached. Thus at the recent meeting of the Massachusetts Single Tax League, at which the question of rent was discussed, while the majority of the economists were of the opinion that rent was a form of income which departed widely from interest received by the use of improvements which man places upon the land, there was a minority who held to what is probably the older idea, that land capital is produced or fashioned by human labor out of land surface, just as in the same manner other forms of capital are produced by human labor out of other materials which nature affords. On the whole, however, the tendency of the times is toward considering land as something apart from that which may be produced by its use, and hence in the question of taxation, which is the subject toward which the league turns its attention, land might be fairly expected to pay something that would be in the nature of a franchise tax as it is a monopoly, from the fact that while all must make use of it to a greater or less extent, it is limited in its quantity.

But while the Single Tax League may succeed in thus enlisting in a general way the support of professional opinion, it does not follow that it can thereby induce the Legislature of this or any other state to enact statutes in harmony with the economic opinions that it entertains and advances. Any number of objections of an exceedingly practical character could be raised by those who would be likely to find their taxes increased, or their possible source of income curtailed. If, on the other hand, it was urged that a reform in our system of taxation along the lines advocated by Mr. Henry George would be productive of great public advantage; that certain unearned increments that now go to swell the wealth of favored individuals would then be enjoyed by the community, the reply would be that such gains were altogether too problematical to be seriously taken into account. The fact that Smith, Jones and Robinson would lose more or less would be a circumstance which would loom so large in the imagination of the legislators as to entirely obscure the sight of any possible gain that the community as a whole might achieve.

We admit it is only by persistent agitation that great changes are brought about, and we foresee a long path, involving much hard work, which must be passed over before the tax changes which Henry George advocated can be given an application on a broad scale. It has always seemed to us, and we have found no recent reason for changing our opinion, that if by any possibility the state of Massachusetts could be persuaded to grant to its various municipalities local option in the matter of local taxation, the opportunity would then be afforded of experimenting on this subject in a practical manner, and we are decidedly of the opinion that under such circumstances it would be found that those municipalities which introduced a system of taxation limited to real estate would discover that they had adopted a plan which would greatly inure to both public and private advantage.

ECONOMISTS' AGREEMENT.

(Boston Morning Advertiser.)

The most notable thing about the speeches which followed the banquet given to prominent political economists at the Copley Square Hotel last evening, by the Massachusetts Single Tax League, was their nearly unanimous agreement in answering affirmatively the first of the three principal questions submitted to them as the basis of discussion. That question was whether there is, or is not, a fundamental difference between incomes derived from ground rent and incomes derived from other sources, such as the interest on invested capital and the products of human labor.

Of the seven other professors of political economy in well-known institutions of learning, who delivered carefully prepared addresses, six expressed themselves in substantial accord with Prof. C. J. Bullock of Williams College, the first speaker following the president of the league. Prof. Bullock declared himself a believer in what is called "the classic theory of rent," viz., that capital is something distinct from land, and interest is something of a different genus from rent. "The ground of this difference," said Prof. Bullock, "is found in the peculiar conditions that govern the supply of land."

Prof. G. S. Callender of Bowdoin College, Prof. W. C. Fisher of Wesleyan University, Dr. C. W. Mixter of Harvard University, Prof. W. M. Burke of Albion College, Prof. F. S. Baldwin of Boston University, and Prof. I. N. Carver of Harvard University, speaking in the order named, all agreed with Prof. Bullock, on that question, substantially; although some of them notably Profs. Fisher, Mixter, and Carver, thought there might well be some modifications in forms of statement, or with reference to exceptional circumstances.

The only radical dissent was expressed by Prof. C. C. Plehn, of the University of California. Prof. Plehn's contention was that to-day, in the United States, land, when appropriated and in use, is simply one form of capital; and ground rent is in every essential particular a form of interest.

The value to students of economic science of last night's discussions is all the greater because the addresses, or papers, had been not only carefully prepared, but copies had been furnished some time in advance to the different speakers, so that each one knew substantially what the others intended to say. Thus the points of agreement, of disagreement, and of suggested modification, were stated last evening with all the accuracy that could come from mature reflection.

Some of the statements of this fundamental difference between ground rent and other forms of income, though there was little or no direct mention of the single tax by the speakers, have a bearing on that question which is instantly obvious to those who are familiar with Henry George's writings, and with the more recent of authoritative utterances by leading single taxers.

Thus, Prof. Bullock pointed out that the demand for land comes from persons who desire to use it in production, and the annual rental offered for any tract will depend upon the advantages which that particular situation offers for the purposes to which it is to be devoted. "If a location on Summer street enables a merchant to do a very large retail trade," said Prof. Bullock, "and to realize large aggressive returns from his enterprise, a large demand price will be offered for that location." This fact is so familiar that it seems like a truism, yet it will perhaps be remembered that Prof. Bullock's statement is identical, to all intents and purposes, with the essence of those facts and figures, which were presented at a previous single tax banquet, relating to the land, improvements, rental, and increase of value of the land regardless of improvements, at the corner of Washington and Winter streets.

Prof. Callender came a little nearer in form, if not in fact, to the direct question of the ethics of the single tax on ground rent, when he said:

"When we turn to such cases as the water front of a great city like New York, or Chicago, or Boston, or to the building sites along the principal business streets of those cities, or to the right of running street cars through their principal streets, it is not obvious, to say the least, that the utility of these particular natural resources to the community is rendered greater by allowing private individuals to appropriate the value which continually increases with the growth of population."

Quite irrespective of the merits or demerits of the single tax doctrine, congratulations are certainly due to the league for this latest example, of the many which it has furnished, showing how a radical movement, conceived in an enthusiasm for humanity, but opposed to widespread, and deep-rooted customs and ideas, may be carried on in a spirit of perfect good fellowship between the friends and foes of the movement.

THE SINGLE TAX.

(*Boston Post.*)

The campaign of education on which the Massachusetts Single Tax League entered several years ago was advanced by the discussion following the dinner last evening at which a number of professional economists expressed their views of the nature, operation and office of ground rent. The paper of Professor Bullock of Williams College and the remarks which followed are enlightening as to the scientific basis of the scheme of taxation which this association presents and which is coming more strongly to command the approval of practical men.

We do not agree with the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, in the opinion expressed in his letter which was read at this meeting, that it is impossible to make the present generation understand the fundamental principles of taxation and see the true method of tax reform. Mr. Adams despairs of it within his lifetime, and says we "have got to look to the next generation." So far from this, the need of tax reform is already widely recognized, the protest is loud against the continuance of a system which is manifestly oppressive and unequal, and the search for a better method is earnest.

What is needed, we believe, is simply the authority to try the experiment here in Massachusetts of the method which the Single Tax League advises. This can be done by separate communities on their own account, and the Commonwealth can profit by their experience.

WHAT IS GROUND RENT?

(*Boston Globe.*)

What is ground rent? Is it rent ground out of an unwilling tenant, or is it not? It looks easy to answer, and yet it required the combined wisdom of eight college professors Monday night at the Copley square hotel dinner of the Massachusetts single tax league to dynamite that naughty problem.

When is rent rent and when is it not rent? Not only was this question raised by Prof. Bullock of Williams College, but even the harder one, what is the difference between rent and interest?

Prof. Callender of Bowdoin then put up the 200-pound economic weight, labeled, What is the unearned increment? Before the discussion was closed there had been asked and answered enough intricate questions to tax all the gray matter that one might suppose to exist even in eight college professors.

Some men will say that it is easy enough to tell what ground rent is by consulting their ledgers. As to whether rent is an earned or an unearned increment it matters little to those who pay none, though it may be interesting to economists.

As for the question raised by Prof. Carver, How does urban rent differ from agricultural? it would seem to be a matter to be settled between city and country landlords.

In fact, the whole range of problems growing out of the single tax question is too intricate for the lay mind. They will ultimately have to be settled by the college economists. Meanwhile all success to their endeavors.

MASSACHUSETTS SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

(Springfield Republican.)

The New England Single Tax League, under the direction of C. B. Fillebrown, is still hammering away at the problem of bringing its aims within reach of the popular understanding. Its dinner at Boston last evening is noteworthy for the number of scholars in economics brought together for an exchange of views on the disputed question in economic theory of the nature of ground rent. The discussion constitutes a real contribution to the science as it is now being developed, and the substance of the papers is accordingly given in other columns. They merit attention from the general reader who would inform himself on what is to become in the length of years a far more practical question than it has so far come to be considered.

(New Bedford Mercury.)

In the course of a discussion of the difference between ground rent and the annual value of franchises at the dinner of the Massachusetts Single Tax League the other evening Dr. C. W. Mixter of Harvard made an isolated statement which we deem worthy of attention in view of a discussion which has prevailed from time to time in these columns. Dr. Mixter attributed the lack of progress with rapid transit in London to the socialistic tendencies of the people, which, he said, made the masses in London desperately afraid of somebody's making something. Professor Carver, likewise of Harvard, was loth to permit this suggestion to pass unchallenged, and doubted if socialism in England can account for the lack of progress in matters of street transportation. He pointed out the situation in Berlin, where transportation is farther advanced than in our own large cities, and where socialism is especially rampant, as a refutation of the theory quoted by Dr. Mixter. Dr. Mixter farther defended the practice of public utility corporations in taking big dividends out of the people.

It seems strange to hear a university professor emphasizing material gains as essential to progress, since it is a fact that no college or university conducted as a private institution aiming at pecuniary returns amounts to much. We can doubtless get along very well without the inducement of pecuniary gain, substituting that emulation which leads Hobson to do brave deeds, which inspires John Jacob Astor to devote time and effort to an invention which he gives to the world—the ambition which inspires the soldier to fight for a ribbon, the motive which led the athletes of old to devote their lives to secure the crown of wild olives—the inspiration which led Dr. Mixter to apply himself to the preparation of a paper to be read before the Massachusetts Single Tax League without compensation in money. This motive, which has inspired the men of all ages, is the desire for what the professors call “social esteem”—the aspiration for approbation and honor. Pecuniary inducement is

not the sine qua non. In comparison with the impulse of social esteem, it is mean.

GROUND RENT AND THE SINGLE TAX.

(*The Boston Beacon.*)

It is rare that one finds in this country a band of reformers so persistent and enthusiastic in their advocacy of an idea and yet so uniformly broad minded and good tempered in carrying on their agitation as the members of the Massachusetts Single Tax League. One rather fancies that this agreeable combination of earnestness and optimism arises very largely from the mental attitude of the president of the league, Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, who has been for years a pioneer in economic reform and who has won to his side a group of vigorous thinkers made up of men of quite varied callings. The methods of the Single Tax League are educational and not revolutionary. Its members are sincere believers in the mechanical power of the wedge as being in the long run superior to dynamite, and they believe in getting in the small end of the wedge first. Notwithstanding the tendency of college professors to lend their support to the single tax idea, it will not do to call the movement academic. As far as it appeals to thinking men at all it appeals on the basis of common sense. At the conference of last Monday night, in which eight professional economists took part, the discussion turned on the question of ground rent and much that was illuminating was said on the possible distinctions between land and other forms of capital, and between rent and interest. All this was interesting, instructive and suggestive, but in the end we come back to the basic fact that land is the one form of capital which may lie utterly idle and yet enhance in value to the benefit of the individual owner simply through the co-operative activities of the entire community. It is this unearned increment in the value of land that is the disturbing element in the theories of the economists, and although numerous efforts have been made to account for it and at the same time to class land as productive capital, the attempts have not on the whole been successful. Once grant the premise of the advocates of the single tax, that land, like air and sunshine, is the common inheritance of the human race, and that land has been made a monopoly simply because of its tangible quality and through the ability of the strongest to seize and hold it,—once grant this, and the logic of the single tax irresistibly follows. Upon this much at least every reasonable person is agreed, that our existing tax system is about as bad as it can be and that almost any kind of a change would be a change for the better. The suggestion made some time ago that the General Court grant to all towns and cities in the Commonwealth the privilege of local option in matters of taxation is still worth considering. It is barely possible that if this privilege were granted some community would experiment with the single tax as a relief from existing extortions and inequalities, and in that case we should get some very significant data for legislators as well as economists to consider.

In the past our great and all inclusive economic problems have been studied in the light of certain theories which have maintained their sway in part because very few practical people gave them any attention, and in part because those who have tried to cope with the complex and knotty questions involved failed to reach a surety of conviction which made them venture to break away from the thrall of well grounded opinions. To study conditions in the light of long accepted theories is not the most progressive and scientific way of getting at things, and this habit may have contributed to that confused and unsatisfying thought regarding this subject which has won for it the name of the Dismal Science. And yet this same subject is bound up with all our most important

everyday interests, and it is evident that until the counsels of the teachers and leaders of economic thought shall be clarified there will be little prospect of practical advance in securing a tangible basis for legislation and experiment. It is pleasant, therefore, to discover in the interesting papers read at last Monday's conference indications of a growing unity of thought respecting economic definitions and principles. This, as we understand it, has been the purpose of Mr. Fillebrown and his associates of the Single Tax League, to secure through friendly discussion such an elimination of unessential differences and such an emphasis of essential agreements as will bring something like harmony out of confusion and secure a generally conceded basis of thought and action. For this worthy endeavor, which seems to have been very successfully carried out, the league deserves the thanks and indorsement of all those who realize the importance of an early and scientific solution of our economic problems.

AFTER DINNER WITH THE ECONOMISTS.

(The Social Settler in the Boston Transcript.)

President Fillebrown of the Massachusetts Single Tax League played the host again Monday evening in his usual hospitable fashion, the lions of the occasion being certain "professional economists." The latter held the boards at the postprandial entertainment, and dealt out three hours' worth of cut-and-dried wisdom on the subject of "Ground Rent." The subject was not a juicy one, and the treatment that it received was appropriate. No speaker is to be blamed, however, for failing to extract after-dinner sunbeams from an economic cucumber. The Settler is proud to say that he was among the few indefatigables who were in at the finish. When President Fillebrown finally called upon one of the chief performers to wind up the discussion, the Settler thought of the Memorial Day orator who was introduced to the patriotic celebrants gathered in the cemetery, as follows: "We will now listen to some closing remarks by the orator of the day, after which a salute will be fired over the dead." Seriously, however, President Fillebrown is to be congratulated upon his success in getting representative economists to express substantial agreement concerning a number of important points and principles. This in itself is no mean achievement. Whether the agreements will directly help the single tax cause is another story. But, however this may be, the results thus far reached in the agreement business testify eloquently to the diplomatic strategy of the tactful propagandist who directs the policy of the Massachusetts single taxers.

THE SINGLE TAX.

(Congregationalist.)

The best way to promote any particular reform is to bring light from all quarters on the conditions to be remedied. Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, president of the Single Tax League, appears to be the kind of reformer who welcomes all available help in the work to which he devotes himself. At the annual dinner of the league, held at Copley Square Hotel last week, which was attended by a large number of educators and business men he secured addresses from half a dozen instructors and professors of economics from Harvard and other universities, bringing one as far as from the University of California. The program was carefully arranged and the papers read were prepared after opportunity to see the outlines of arguments of the other speakers. If those who listened to them did not learn something valuable concerning the nature of ground rent and the reasons for and against raising all public revenues from taxes on land, it is not for lack of a systematic effort for their enlightenment.

THE SINGLE TAX.

(The Morning Star.)

The Massachusetts Single Tax League is looking after "the cause" with much graciousness and persistence. Banquets are a favorite method of propaganda. One was held at Copley Square Hotel in Boston, December 8, at which the professors of economics in the colleges and universities were guests of the league, and did the principal part of the after-dinner speaking. Leading colleges from Maine to California were represented, and the addresses were thoughtful and interesting. The most of the speakers held to the "classical" theory of rent, to the effect that it is as different from interest as land is different from capital—that land, in fact, is a natural agent like air and water, and is not capable of production or increase by human labor, and therefore should not be subject to individual ownership. It follows that rent represents might and custom instead of right and principle, and that it, as well as the land, really belongs to society instead of to individuals.

Several years ago—call it a good many years ago—a man bought a farm near the Mississippi River, in what is now the State of Minnesota. There were 160 acres of it, and he paid \$320 for it. He was Dutch and industrious. He just wanted to be a farmer and landowner, both of which he couldn't be in his native country. He built a log house, and loved his wife and children, and raised many bushels of wheat.

Other farmers settled on adjoining land. Somebody built a mill at the fall in the river, and other industries sprang up. Population increased. The Dutchman worked no harder than ever, but he raised larger crops because the people around him wanted them to live on. This increased the value of his land. In ten years it was worth \$1,500, almost against his will, because he was the kind of man who didn't like neighbors. He was not a Samaritan, and was a Christian only by virtue of his citizenship. He now felt rich and prosperous. But still he did not reflect that if all his neighbors moved away his farm would be worth no more than it was when he first settled on it.

Later something else happened. The settlement at the falls grew into a city. It expanded in the direction of this man's farm. The people in the city wanted improvements. They laid sewers, put in water mains, paved the streets, built car lines, and stretched electric light wires. This troubled our Dutch friend. It made his taxes higher. When they proposed to extend the "improvements" past his farm he objected. When they took some of his roadside for sidewalks he fought them. He took the case to court, and in five years had paid out all his hard-earned savings in lawyers' fees. But the improvements went steadily on, and the next year, after he had been heavily fined for obstructing the street car line past his premises, he was offered \$100,000 for three-quarters of his farm. That bewildered him. It made a Christian of him to the extent that he began to love his enemies. In due time he died reconciled to the progress that he had so steadily opposed.

The point of this parable is that the increased value of this farm was due not to its owner, but to the increase of population with its varied demands. Its owner had opposed this movement of society which made him rich. Why, then, should not this increased value of the farm belong to the public which promoted it, instead of to the individual who opposed it?

Now this is in a way the elementary principle that underlies the single tax movement. Land is a natural agent like air or water. It cannot be increased or diminished by human effort. Its growing value from year to year is due to the growing public demand. Why, then, should not the public be the real beneficiary of this increase in value? Why should not private ownership be abolished, and the people—that is, the State—own all the land and derive all

its revenues from renting to individuals, thus doing away with other forms of taxation?

There is not enough difference between this portion of land value which the public and not the individual has created—the so-called unearned increment—and the money that could be gathered by a direct and inclusive assessment on land to call for special treatment. It is perhaps the compromise which the single taxer of the John Stuart Mill type, who would seize only this unearned increment for the public, would make with those of the Henry George type, who would seize all land in the name of the State, and then use the rentals to pay public expenses.

There can be little doubt that if society had begun with that theory of land ownership—or rather if it had never yielded the policy of public ownership with which it probably did begin—it would be better for all alike to-day, so far as a just and visible and equitable source of revenue is concerned. But to re-enact the old policy would mean a revolution such as these generations have never seen. That this revolution might be brought about peaceably in the course of time is perhaps the thought of the league in inviting the teachers of economics to be its guests. If the generations of their students can be won to the theory much will have been gained. This was Charles Francis Adams's theory in a letter read at the banquet. "I feel well satisfied," he said, "that the result will not be accomplished in my day, or by men of my generation. The appeal must be to the college professors and to the graduates of the future." Only one kind of tax, and that solely a land tax, would not be so great a discrimination in favor of owners of other kinds of wealth as one might at first think. But we have not space to deal with that question now.

(*N. E. Farmer.*)

We have received many invitations to attend the meetings of the Massachusetts Single Tax League. Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, the president, has been for years a pioneer in economic reform and these people are persistent and enthusiastic in their advocacy of an idea and yet uniformly broad minded and good tempered in carrying on their agitation. Once grant the premise of the advocates of the single tax, that land, like air and sunshine, is the common inheritance of the human race, and that land has been made a monopoly simply because of its tangible quality and through the ability of the strongest to seize and hold it—once grant this, and the logic of the single tax irresistibly follows.

(*N. E. Grover.*)

The Single Tax League, under the direction of C. B. Fillebrown, shows more intelligent skill and persistency in pushing its course than any other association with which we are familiar. It is continuously hammering away at the problem of bringing its aims within reach of the popular understanding. Its dinner at Boston Monday evening was noteworthy for the number of scholars in economics brought together for an exchange of views on the disputed question in economic theory of the nature of ground rent. The discussion constitutes a real contribution to the science.

(*Boston Herald.*)

And yet we suppose the land value reformers would say that the Park Street Church is not entitled to the difference between the \$50,000 it paid for its property ninety years ago and the \$1,250,000 it is to get for it now. In that case, it couldn't build a new church in the Back Bay. This would complicate matters, were it not for the fact that land value reform has not yet arrived.

WHAT IS THE MOST DESIRABLE THING TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN 1903? x x

Under this heading the *Boston Globe* presents a symposium on its editorial page, the question being answered by Prof. A. E. Dolbear, of Tufts College, Rev. Charles F. Dole of the Twentieth Century Club, Mr. George T. Angell, President of the American Humane Education Society, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, President of the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association, and C. B. Fillebrown. Following is Mr. Fillebrown's contribution to the discussion, his answer to the query being

TO LEARN THE LESSON OF TAXATION.

Great emphasis is laid upon the undisputed fact that the power to tax is the power to destroy. Small note is made of the correlative truth that the power to tax implies also the power to build up, to restore, to rehabilitate. If this power is to reside in the people, the people should understand what it is, why they exercise it, and how to exercise it. Certain simple principles enter into the problem, a fair apprehension of which is necessary for their application whether in full or in part.

Ground rent (what land is worth for use) is generally admitted to be largely an indestructible social product, and hence it is, so to speak, a common fund and as such is proper to be levied upon for the common need in preference to the destructible products of individual hand and brain. In other words, the three-tenths of Boston's taxes now drawn from improvements and personal property could instead and more wisely be taken from ground rent, five-tenths or one-half of which would then be taken from this source instead of less than two-tenths as now.

Well founded complaint of partiality in the distribution of wealth is very largely due to special privileges by which a few profit at the expense of the many. A more just system of taxation would tend to correct this distribution, as nothing else has. Why not then begin to modify special privileges by taxation? "Special privileges to none" is a popular motto. Why not, at the very least, begin to tax them in proportion to their value?

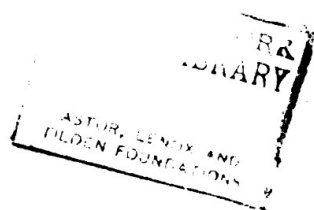
If ground rent is a social product, its private appropriation is a special privilege, which affords large private profit at public expense. Why not, then, tax such privilege for what it is worth? If a railroad has the special privilege of a monopoly in the transportation of coal from the Pennsylvania coal mines, or in the transportation of people to and from Boston, why not tax the railroad in proportion to the value of its franchise?

The private monopoly of a natural resource is a special privilege. If coal fields are a natural resource and they are monopolized by a few parties why should not their owners pay what other parties would be willing to pay for the same special privilege or monopoly?

If the private ownership of the two or three billion tons of unmined anthracite coal is a special privilege why not tax it what others would give for the privilege of mining and marketing it to the relief of a great coal famine? thus making all the people sharers in what is called a natural bounty. If the private appropriation of a billion dollars worth of iron ore is a special privilege would it not be fully as much if not more "proportionate and reasonable" for its owners to pay a tax upon the value of that privilege than for a man to pay a tax on the value of the house which he builds with his own hands or his own savings?



THE LATE REV. FATHER McLOUGHLIN
(See page 43)



Almost everybody scolds about trusts and monopolies, coal barons, oil magnates and railroad kings, but they seldom think of the perfectly natural resort of taxing them to the same extent that other people are being taxed.

Taxation appears to be the missing ingredient in a flood of nostrums, and yet it is respectfully submitted that taxation is the only possible method of regulation and correction, because it is the only method that can be made self-operative and impartial. If the year 1903 will put upon Boston's black-board an illustration in this lesson of the taxation of special privilege it will be the Columbus of a New World.



SINGLE TAXERS—INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION—OUR DUTY

GET A NEW ANGLE ON THE SITUATION BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

All Single Taxers realize that the poverty, suffering and crime which afflict society result chiefly from wrongs which men have enacted into law, and that these resulting evils can only be remedied by such changes in our laws and social institutions as will cause them to conform to right and justice. We also realize that these changes can be brought about, solely through the ballot, and that to be active Single Taxers, we should be active in politics. Since, therefore, we owe it to ourselves and our country to work diligently in politics, one would certainly expect to find the same unity among Single Taxers as to their political course, that we find to exist as to our principles. But, on the contrary, we are hopelessly divided among all the existing political parties, and in the same locality, single taxers are often found working hard for rival principles and candidates. This ought not to be; and the reason that it is so is this: We are united upon the principles we believe in, simply because we have realized that back of every political question there is a moral question; and we have brought our political beliefs to the test of morals, and have rejected as unsound every principle which does not conform to correct morals. But we have never realized that the same test should just as truly be applied in deciding where our political support should be given. As to this, we have confessedly followed seeming expediency, and each man has voted and worked as seemed to him most expedient.

Herein lies our error, and the cause of our lack of unity, organization and force. We are placing expediency above morality. We are supporting and voting for the old parties and all the wrongs which they advocate, simply because it seems, to a short sighted view, *expedient* that we should desert our own principles and "follow the line of least resistance."

To see how clearly wrong in morals this is, let us briefly review the teachings of the existing parties.

TWO OF A KIND.

These organizations agree in upholding the private ownership of land; in the taxing of labor and the products of labor; in advocating a tariff, differing merely as to the purpose of the tax. They disagree as to the method of regulating trusts; as to the kind of money we should use; and as to the policy of expansion. These teachings advocated by them are all violative of natural law and justice. We know that private ownership of land is the

source of industrial slavery, and that taxation of the products of labor is morally equivalent to robbery; and that in favoring these institutions, these political parties are bringing poverty and distress to millions of people. We know that trusts, imperialism, expansion, government by injunction and the like, are but logical results of the private ownership of land and of the spirit it engenders. That they are the mere symptoms, and that it is senseless to fight them while approving our present land laws as all existing parties do.

Now, knowing all these policies to be utterly wrong and absolutely opposed to our principles, and realizing that back of every political question lies a moral question, it is clear that we cannot rightfully and conscientiously vote for parties seeking to enact them into law.

PARTICEPS CRIMINIS.

When we know that our neighbor is striving to do some act that will cause great injury to another, if we aid him so to do, we are ourselves guilty of the wrong. And when we, knowing that existing political parties are seeking to pass measures which will deprive our fellowmen of their natural heritage and debase them from free men into practical serfdom, still countenance, work and vote for their success, we are morally guilty of wrong-doing. Conceding that the principles of one party are a shade less objectionable than are those of the other, yet, even then, its principles are utterly bad.

True, some single taxers assert that the Bryan wing of the Democratic party is coming our way. But, in fact, it is as much wedded to land monopoly as is Republicanism. And, when favoring this, it undertakes a crusade against trusts, imperialism and other evils which land monopoly breeds, it is doing a vain and silly thing.

RESPECT WE PAID TO AUTHORITY.

Let us be frank, though, I trust, not unkind. The greater portion of single taxers have repeatedly followed the fatuous hope that the Democratic party was coming our way. In 1892, we abandoned our principles to vote for "Democratic Free Trade," and the consequence was, that real free trade received a blow from which it has not yet recovered. Is not some part of the blame for this to rest upon our shoulders for deserting real principle, to follow seeming expediency? Again, in 1896, the Democracy abandoned the tariff issue entirely and declared for Free Silver. Yet we persuaded ourselves that it was coming toward us and we worked for it (and for Senator Jones, of the Round Bale Cotton Trust), only to learn after long waiting, that its nominee had evolved and was advocating a licensing of large corporations, thus seeking to regulate trusts by a new tax on industry. Still our infatuation remained, and we cheerfully came to the support of the Democracy again in 1900, only to have Mr. Bryan, (according to the reports of his speeches in the Democratic press,) visit Delaware, and deal us a heavy blow in return for our support, by declaring that an income tax is more equitable than is a tax on land values. Does this show that the Democratic party is coming our way? Surely not.

STICK TO THEM, AND REMAIN IN THE DISCARD.

Nothing in this article is intended as a criticism of any faction, or party. We may hope and concede that they are all honest and sincere in their beliefs. Nevertheless, they are wrong. They are teaching unsound doctrines and are leading the people away from the truth. In aiding them, we are merely making our own task more difficult. Sooner or later we must un-

teach what we are helping to inculcate. For the very errors that these parties are now teaching, the rightfulness of private ownership of land; the justice of raising revenue by tariffs, and by taxes on industry; restriction as the cure for trusts; regulation of railroads; the correctness of existing patent laws, and the like, are the very teachings which we ought to fight without compromise. They are the very antithesis of right, and sound principle, and compel us to oppose the present parties which uphold them.

But we are told that voting for the old parties is the quickest way to get the single tax. Past experience does not warrant us in accepting this assumption as correct. But aside from experience, what is this policy of voting, to plunder the poor by taxes, while depriving them of the opportunity to work, save the old idea of doing wrong that good may come? This is unthinkable. We seek to bring about a reign of justice; it will never come through wrong-doing nor from worshipping at the shrine of Baal. It is the high moral spirit of the single tax that constitutes its vital power and draws men to it. We can only hope to succeed by an appeal to the conscience of the nation. Surely we must not mar the loveliness of our teaching, and disfigure its beauty by engrafting upon it the doctrine that men may do evil if it seems to them expedient.

O YE, OF LITTLE FAITH.

No conflict can exist between expediency and sound morals. What is not right cannot be expedient; and the only infallible method of judging of the expediency of any act is to bring it to the test of morals.

By this test, therefore, single taxers must try our present political methods. Let us now bring these methods to this test. Let us consider what is our moral responsibility in the premises. We, then, know that all existing parties, (by which I mean national parties), favor taxing the products of labor and upholding private ownership in land. We know that the taking by society of a part of the products of labor in taxation is just as truly robbery as is the plundering of a coach by a lone highwayman. That when it deprives men of their equal rights to the use of the earth, it just as surely entails famine, pestilence, and death, as would some horde of hideous monsters carrying the torch and sword through the land. We know that these evils are the necessary, the unavoidable results, of the policy which all existing parties unite in upholding. Now, if, as is clear, all who knowingly and willfully aid and assist in perpetrating a wrong are, in morals, responsible for the necessary consequences of the act, we, knowing full well that the continuance of these laws must bring hunger and want, sin and shame, depravity and death, to tens of thousands, cannot vote for parties advocating them without doing grievous wrong, without incurring mortal guilt. We are free to vote for what is right and we cannot *rightfully* vote for what will reduce our men to want, and cause their children to famish before their eyes.

If, as is therefore plain, it is our imperative duty to refuse to vote for platforms that are productive of such wrongs, let us consider how we should best proceed to get the platform and the party for which we can rightfully vote. Some of us have had sufficient political experience to fully appreciate the importance of good tactical position, and are perfectly willing to seek it when so doing does not conflict with correct principle. Most of our friends are acting with the Democratic party, and a number still believe in the idea that it is coming our way. Let us concede for the argument, that it might not be tactful to break with the Democratic party just now. It is not proposed that a national organization be effected at this time.

BE AS WISE AS THE SERPENT, BUT DON'T OVER-WORK IT.

What we suggest is that the existing local parties favoring Single Tax, in New York, (Liberal Democratic,) Illinois, Delaware, and Colorado, and like organizations which can easily be formed in a number of other states, should, upon the calling of the National Convention of the party, elect delegates to it from their respective states, and boldly claiming for themselves and their platforms to represent the real Democracy, ask admittance for their delegation to the National convention. A demand for recognition coming from organized Democratic bodies in a dozen or more states—some of them doubtful—would necessarily have great weight. And while the delegations would be refused admission, their principles might be recognized, even if the Bryan and Cleveland wings remained in harmony.

But, the chances for harmony are very slight. Each of the factions sincerely believe that the policies of the other are incorrect, and to their antagonism on principle is now being added personal bitterness among the leaders. The struggle for delegates will be most acrimonious, and will prepare the rank and file of the respective factions to welcome a separation. And the leaders are men who know no compromise.

Now, if the party split over free silver, or any such issue, and we remain unorganized, it is most assuredly immaterial to us and to real Democracy what faction or party we flock with. And, as in the past, we will again be found hopelessly divided, and all earnestly supporting measures which we *know* will breed suffering among the people. But if we organize, we may reasonably hope to succeed in shaping the policy of the radical wing of the party. We need only elect our own delegations, and upon their being refused seats in the convention, have them organize their own "Liberal Democratic" convention, and then, when the split occurs, have them coalesce with the radical wing if this will incorporate into its platform, in clear cut terms, a declaration in favor of the Single Tax. If those at its head are really radical along anything like correct lines, they will do so. We will offer them for this, not only voters, but a candidate of exceptional strength and the nucleus of an organization in many states where they will otherwise be absolutely without leaders. We will further assure them of the support of a large number of men who will put out their shekels for the success of the cause. Will not these be real and substantial advantages to offer them in return for a plank in their platform?

BLIND LEADERS OF THE BLIND.

But suppose they prove utterly blind in their errors and wrapped in their belief that they can kill monopoly by fighting its mere symptoms; and suppose that while beating tom-toms about the Philippine question, imperialism, trusts, tariff reform, and the like, they should refuse to join with us in attacking the root of the evil and declaring against land monopoly. Ought we not then to leave them, as well as the Cleveland wing, to their vain imaginings and form a third wing of the party to make the fight against both sets of errors? Or are we again to permit our people to divide among themselves as to what form of error they will advocate? Most assuredly, we should make our nominations and go before the people.

THE BEAUTIFUL UNIT RULE.

Again, if we fail to elect delegates independently, as is here suggested, or to take some similar action, who can effectively demand of the convention that it incorporate the single tax into its platform? Of course, a few sin-

gle taxers may be chosen as delegates. But they will be committed to one or the other faction; and, besides, their voices will be stifled under the unit rule, by which nearly every state delegation is tied up. The vote of the majority of each delegation will control; and probably not a majority of a single delegation will urge the Single Tax as part of the platform. Each wing of the party will, therefore, take up some of the present fallacies because they believe there is a demand for them, leaving us to choose between them. But if we elect our own delegations and have an organized convention of delegates ready to put out a separate ticket if our demands are not complied with, we may very probably get what we ask for.

Now, let us suppose that we make no such move and either because the Cleveland wing controls without a split, or because the Bryanites take up some new and popular error, or for any other reason, our plank is rejected and we find ourselves compelled to put out a ticket. We can in no sense, then claim to be Democrats, since we will be nominating candidates, not as the real radical wing, but in opposition to the party ticket. We will thus lose the tactical advantage which, we are told, will come from claiming to be the third, and truly Democratic wing. Again we will then have before us the entire work of organizing our national, state, and local committees, and getting into shape for the fight, and of making it; all in the brief time between the holding of the Democratic convention and the day of election. It is easy to appreciate the utter impracticability of doing this effectively in that space of time. And our vote will be distressingly small.

IN NUT-SHELL.

To put the matter briefly, if this plan is adopted and either wing accepts our plank, our idea is to simply fall into line with their Democracy. Our organizations will then make their fight. But if they refuse to give us either a platform or a nominee satisfactory to us, then we will be ready to make out own fight.

SAVE US FROM OUR FRIENDS.

It may be said that if the Democratic party will take up tariff reform, we should stay with it. This same party under these same leaders betrayed this issue once before, and did free trade more harm than did the attacks of its open enemies. But even if they are sincere, we know that every improvement in government, like every new invention, simply increases the value of land, and under our present land system, adds to the proportion received by the land owners, and decreases the proportion of the laborers. This is true of government ownership of transportation lines, of a better medium of exchange, and of tariff for revenue only. Thus, as regards the latter, while a lower tariff would lessen the cost of living, it would lower wages as well; for there being more laborers than there are opportunities open to labor, (land being held under private ownership) the competition for work must force wages down proportionately. This demonstrates the wrongfulness of our deserting the single tax, for a moment, for any other reform. With land under private ownership, the financial disturbances which result from the doubt and fear of change, practically offsets and almost nullifies even the little temporary benefit which labor should receive; and thus all these movements, even when successful, must bring disappointment and discouragement. Let us not suffer ourselves to be drawn aside to battle with these issues, since the same amount of effort required to overcome them would overthrow land monopoly. Once this was accomplished and its benefits realized, the rest would be easy. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness (justice) and all these things shall be added unto ye."

HARK! SEMPRONIUS.

We fully appreciate the difficulty of uniting Single Taxers in this movement, but we have always been divided politically and if we are ever to unite it must be in support of the truth, not of error. And surely a larger proportion of Single Taxers will rally to a party advocating it than to those opposing it. Indeed, the abuse that others will heap upon it will rapidly bring all real single taxers to its support. They cannot logically stay away. And, besides, the vote of a few for the truth is better than the vote of many for error. It is not our duty to succeed, but it is our duty to deserve success.

We know that many third parties have failed in American politics, but this is because their principles were incorrect. Thus neither the Know-Nothing, Greenback, Prohibition, Populist, or Socialist parties were correct in their teachings; and the voters so recognized. The one third party which advocated the truth, was the Free Soil or early Republican party, and it won out from the very strength of its cause. Our cause, our truth, is yet more potent if we will but trust it.

But it may be said that things *may* come our way anyhow. We grant the possibility just as we do that the skies may fall to-morrow. But we seriously doubt it. And, besides, if we have a chance of getting what we want *without organizing* or effort, we clearly have a much stronger chance for it *by organizing* and going after it.

LET US WASH OUR HANDS OF IT.

We will not by this weaken the Democratic party, and still less its radical element. We will strengthen it by directing it away from its present errors. It is no kindness or real help to it, or to the republic, to strengthen it in its fallacies. Our duty to it, to the republic, and to ourselves is to refuse to follow it into errors, and to direct it away from them, even against its will. This will give it real strength by giving it correct issues. It will be in the event, only, that the leaders refuse to permit us to act with them, by making our so doing morally impossible, that we will put forth a platform which will hold single taxers together in support of what we know to be right. By doing this, we will conform expediency to the moral law, we will deserve to succeed. To do less than this is to fall short of our duty—is to throw upon us a large share of the moral guilt of the continuance of present social evils, and of the crimes and sufferings which they breed. All single taxers are therefore asked to assist in organizing along these lines.

EDWARD T. WEEKS,
New Iberia, La.



No form of government ever yet devised has been equal to the task of making men perfectly happy. None ever will be, for the simple reason that men are not made happy by outward conditions alone, but by the inward condition of their hearts as well. And if we pin our faith to this or that outward social institution we are necessarily disappointed. The more stable the institution the more quickly does it become insufficient. It remains fixed, but man grows. Let us fancy that some very admirable and sound social reform, like the single tax, for instance, could be put in operation. There is no doubt that we should all derive untold benefit from it.—Bliss Carman in the (N. Y.) *Commercial Advertiser*.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTES.

If the subscriber who receives this REVIEW will look at the wrapper he will find stamped thereon the date of the expiration of his subscription. As arrangements have been completed for carrying on the REVIEW through 1903 our subscribers who are behind in their subscriptions are urged to add to their remittances, renewals to the autumn number of 1903, thus saving in a great many instances the expense of postage for notification.

We urge, too, the need of adding to the subscription list of the REVIEW, which is as yet insufficient to carry it without loss. The REVIEW is now the only exclusive organ of the progress of the movement, and it should be supported. The single tax agitation should, in our opinion, possess a weekly or monthly organ, but in the meantime the REVIEW should be loyally supported. Will not our subscribers try to obtain others? To clubs of ten we will send the REVIEW at seventy-five cents a year, and to clubs of twenty at fifty cents a year. Such subscriptions must, however, begin with this number, and should include only new subscribers.

If every single taxpayer who is now a subscriber will obtain one other the REVIEW can stand alone, and this will also enable us to continue the numbers now sent gratuitously to public libraries and elsewhere.

Opportunity is a weekly paper published at Denver, Colorado, and devoted to the municipal ownership of public utilities. It is full of Western fire and vim.

OUR ASSOCIATE.

With this number of the REVIEW, our associate, Mrs. Charlotte E. Hampton, ceases to be connected with it. This terminates, temporarily only, it is to be hoped—an activity of nearly twelve years in an editorial or semi-editorial capacity in single tax work. Few will be able to appreciate the devotion of this long term of service for justice given in hours that of necessity were taken from the more pleasant attractions of home life, and those social festivities which form so large a part of the life of woman.

Mrs. Hampton has done this work because she loved it, and we may therefore spare our commiseration. But to have done it because she loved it bespeaks no ordinary degree of devotion to the high ideals of justice. We regret to part editorial company, for our associate has been of great service to the REVIEW in many ways. There is hardly a single taxpayer from one end of the country to the other, whether active or otherwise, whom she does not know. Her twelve years of service have made for her hosts of friends, and her receptive sympathies have called forth many confidences from those she never saw, men and women who had in common with her perhaps only the social aims of justice. It is something to have done such work in the world, and to have inspired such friendships.

OBITUARY.

GEORGE DE LISLE ZIMMERMAN.

Public interests have suffered an unusual loss in the passing of George de Lisle Zimmerman, of East Orange, New Jersey, who died Dec. 16th, 1902. Gentle in nature, kind and generous in disposition, but strong and aggressive in championing the cause of justice, he commanded at once the love of those who knew him by personal contact, and the respect of those who but witnessed his activities. Purity of character, combined with mental ability, and exceptional familiarity with current politics fitted him to render valuable service in reform work.

While recognizing the importance of every question involving truth, justice or love, he never lost sight of the Single Tax Movement as paramount of all others from the view point of priority. When a candidate for election to the New Jersey Assembly in 1901, he stood on a bold platform which demanded Tax Reform, and did not hesitate to state the definite direction which his tax reform efforts would take in the event of his election. To the average politician, so vague and evasive when dealing with taxation problems, it was a great surprise to find that Mr. Zimmerman, of the eleven Essex County Assembly nominees, polled the highest vote. That he would fail of election was a foregone conclusion, as the Democratic ticket upon which his

name appeared, had scarcely a fighting chance. Mr. Zimmerman was acting Secretary of the New Jersey Tax Reform Association, a radical free trader, and a prominent member of the Orange Civics Club. His connection with several local papers had made his name a familiar one. He was 39 years old, and at time of his death a member of the architectural firm of Brower & Zimmerman.

REV. THOMAS McLOUGHLIN.

The death of Rev. Thos. McLoughlin removes from the field of single tax work another soldier of the cross. We leave to other hands an appreciation of his life and work. It will be found upon another page. It is from the pen of an old friend of the editor, a friend and neighbor of the priest of God who has gone to his reward. It is an intimate personal sketch, by one who knew and loved without being able to accept—because invisible to him—the luminous truth so clear to the brave old man.

PERSONALS.

Edward Quincy Morton, of Daphne, Alabama, editor of the *Standard*, has been ill, but is rapidly recovering. He is a sufferer from rheumatism, and in a recent number of his paper he humorously describes the thousand and one remedies recommended by his friends.

Willis J. Abbot is conducting the *Pilgrim* with pronounced success. It is one of the best family journals now published, and its editorials, unlike the colorless periodicals which rival but do not surpass it have a character full of the individuality of a man who not only does his own thinking, but is permitted to do it in a magazine which loses none of its interest by its refusal to be "all things to all men."

In the *Westminster Review* for January, 1903, will be found an article by Charles Frederick Adams, on "How Shall Capital and Labor be Reconciled." The *Westminster* is not what it was in the old days, when the two Mills were contributors, but such writers as Mr. Adams are able to uphold worthily the traditions of that sterling organ of progressive thought. By the way, Mr. Adams has begun to wonder of late if the socialists are not nearer to him in politics than the unspeakable "democracy." How many of us are in the same frame of mind?

Judson Grennell, of Detroit, one of the first to ally himself with the single tax movement, and for 18 years connected with the *Sunday News-Tribune*, of that city has accepted the position of editor of *Boyce's Weekly*, a publication that is to be started in Chicago to dis-

cuss economic questions. His newspaper friends gave him a banquet just before his departure.

James E. Scripps, publisher of the *Evening News*, and the *Detroit Tribune*, was elected state senator in Detroit in November. He was first nominated by the Republicans, and the Democrats put up no candidate against him. Mr. Scripps is a firm single taxer so far as state, county and city taxes are concerned. He has written a good deal of sound matter on the subject, and at one session of the legislature he spent his time and money at the state capital in urging the passage of a single tax bill, the bill that lacked only one vote of passing.

Ernest Crosby's new book, "Swords and Ploughshares," is filled with the same militant hatred of war, the same fine aspiration for high things, and the same strong, manly wholesome spirit that characterizes all he writes. There is much poetry in it, too, of a kind that marks a maturity of advance over his previous volume. The influence of Tolstoi is in evidence, but there is no servile imitation, for our author's mind is as vigorous and original as that of the master's. He treads new paths with the sure steps of a pioneer, conscious of his strength. Not Kipling himself—and this is the only point in which our finer spirit resembles the uncrowned laureate—is more unconventional, more strenuous, more a complete barbarian in his contempt for all the miscalled graces of civilization.

MR. WEEKS' CALL FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION.

We desire to draw the attention of our readers to the call for independent political action printed on another page. We publish this without apologies. The *REVIEW* is the organ of the movement—not the organ of any party or faction. We concede the honesty of both the advocates of independent political action, and those opposed.

It seems to us that Mr. Weeks has presented the affirmative side of the question with much strength and felicity, and he raises points which those who disagree with him will find it difficult to answer. The question will press itself ever more and more for consideration by single taxers, as a whole, until some substantial agreement is reached. Undoubtedly, there is dissatisfaction with the progress of the movement in some directions, and distrust of the Democratic party—both of that faction represented by Cleveland and the so-called "radical" but superficial tendencies of "Bryanism." Certainly the single tax is too splendid a truth to be a tender to any political locomotive—to put it thus crudely. We must have indisputable proof that when and where we support the democracy, we obtain real concessions to our principles.

It is certain that we have given too long and received nothing, or but little in return. The election of single taxers to office is a "sop to Cerebus." It is indicative only of the respect in which the leaders of the movement are held. It is something, it is true, but little after all. To make one strong man a convert to the great gospel of industrial freedom is worth a dozen single taxers elected to office. How best to make converts is the question, and it is just here that there is room for difference of opinion. Do we make more converts by working through the party that stands, though feebly, blindly, and blunderingly against monopoly, or would independent political action offer us a freer, more persuasive and, therefore, more effective means of propaganda? We confess that we do not know; there is much to be said on both sides, and we purpose in our next issue to give opportunity, so far as we can, to all those who desire to be heard. In the meantime, the article of Mr. Weeks is worthy of all the consideration that can be paid it.

There is one point, however, on which Mr. Weeks is clearly wrong, though it does not affect the validity of his argument. That is the assertion that the reduction of the tariff to a revenue basis would not raise wages, because land values would absorb the gain. Ultimately they would, but for a long time wages would rise and would continue to rise until finally arrested by the inevitable increase in land values. Mr. Weeks need only take into consideration the little island of England where the reduction of the tariff to a revenue basis has been followed by a real increase in wages there and in other parts of Great Britain. Land values have not entirely absorbed such wage increase after fifty years. How much greater would such increase be, how much more difficult of absorption by rising land values in a country such as ours!

OUR NEW CONGRESSMAN.

Robert Baker, (Democrat), elected to the 58th Congress from the 6th New York District (Brooklyn), was born in 1862, and is one of the most active single tax men in the country. For six years he was National Committeeman from New York State, and Secretary of the Single Tax League of the U. S., Tom Johnson being the chairman. He has always been active in efforts to bring about much needed changes in the tax laws of the state and nation, for four years being the Secretary of the New York Tax Reform Association, and of the Brooklyn Revenue Reform Club, conducting the campaign of those organizations in New York State for the Home Rule in Taxation Bill, which was drawn by the late Thomas G. Shearman, the author of "Natural Taxation." He has also been Secretary of the Albany Single Tax Club, and both secretary

and president of the Brooklyn Single Tax League.

Although he supported Grover Cleveland in 1884, it was not until three years later that he took an active part in political affairs.

Residing in Albany in 1886, he was one of those who viewed with consternation and dismay the candidacy of Henry George for Mayor of the City of New York, and breathed a sigh of intense relief when the "saviors of society" who were Republican joined hands with Democratic "saviors" to avert what he then regarded as an impending irreparable calamity. Ten months later he was one of an audience that Henry George addressed, and was so impressed with the evident sincerity of the man, and the apparent truth of his statements, that he determined to thoroughly investigate the whole subject of taxation, and forthwith purchased a complete set of Henry George's books. Soon after he announced himself as a convert, and was elected Secretary of the Albany Single Tax Club. Moving to Brooklyn two years later, he was soon chosen Secretary of the Brooklyn Single Tax League, and later its president, in the meantime industriously circulating the petition for a congressional investigation of the single tax, securing 1,800 signatures. He was the secretary of the Brooklyn Ballot Reform League, and aided materially in securing the present modified Australian Ballot Law.

He was one of the delegates of the Brooklyn Single Tax Club to the National Single Tax Convention at Cooper Union, August, 1890, and also to the International Convention, held during the World's Fair at Chicago, in September, 1893, on which occasion he was chairman of the special committee, consisting of C. G. Buell, of Minneapolis; John Z. White, of Chicago; Jackson Ralston, of Hyattsville, Md.; Helene, of Adrian, Mich.; and Robert Baker, of New York, appointed during the second day's proceedings to draw up a plank covering the question of the attitude of the movement to the nationalization of the railroads, telegraphs, etc., and which reported the plank as adopted, such plank becoming the concluding paragraph of the platform then promulgated.

In 1892 he determined to take the fullest advantage of the general discontent with McKinleyism, and urged upon the Democratic leaders in Brooklyn the wisdom of enlisting the enthusiastic support of the free traders and single taxers by nominating a Henry George man for the Assembly. This was done, and Alfred J. Wolf was named, and Mr. Baker conducted his campaign, the single tax men holding open-air cart-tail meetings all over the district, inviting questions from their audiences and challenging opponents to speak at their meetings. The result was a reduction of the Republican plurality from 2,400 to 426.

Early in the following year he again brought the single taxers together and they organized the Citizens Union, electing Mr. Baker as secretary and later chairman of the Executive Committee, which was made up almost entirely of single tax men. Their object was to bring about the nomination and election of William J. Gaynor for Mayor and the election of several of their number to the Legislature. This was frustrated by the Republicans nominating Schieren for Mayor and Gaynor for Supreme Court Judge. Later in the summer Robert Baker was one of ten men, including Thomas G. Shearman and Edward M. Grout, who selected the Committee of One Hundred, and Mr. Baker was chosen its secretary.

In 1894 he was a candidate of the Shepard organization for the Assembly, in the present Eleventh Assembly District, which is part of the Sixth Congressional District, conducting the same kind of campaign that had been made for Wolf two years before.

1896 found him earnestly supporting Bryan and Sewall, not for Free Silver, but for free men, being convinced that the forces which had brought about Bryan's nomination were imbued with the true spirit of Democracy and would if successful do much to curb the arrogance of plutocracy and open the eyes of the masses of the people, in part at least, to the causes through which monopoly obtains its power to oppress and rob the people. He insisted that it was the first real cleavage between those who in the party were animated by Democratic ideals, and that it was clearly the duty of those who desired to secure equality of opportunity for all to throw their influence for the new forces in the party. In pursuance of this policy he vigorously opposed the attempt of Edward M. Shepard to secure unanimous endorsement of Palmer and Buckner by his organization, and single handed and alone was able to master thirty-two votes against such action. It was on this occasion that Shepard made his attack on the single tax men of the country, declaring it would be years before they would recover from their association with Bryan and his heresies and policy of national dishonor.

Mr. Baker took an active part in the campaign that year, speaking not only throughout Brooklyn, but also in the largest towns of Long Island. The next year he actively supported Henry George in his second Mayoralty canvass, having charge of the work of securing the necessary signatures to the nominating petitions required to place his name on the official ballot, and he also addressed numerous single tax meetings.

He spent most of the two following years in Canada and Europe, and therefore took no part in the campaigns of 1898 and 1899. In 1900 he spoke under the auspices of the

Democratic State Committee in Cohoes, Syracuse and other places in central New York. Immediately after the election that year he undertook the task of organizing the Citizens' Union in Brooklyn, having been urged to do this several months before by prominent and conservative citizens, but refusing so long as great national questions were at stake. He made it perfectly clear that if he undertook this it would be for the purpose of enlisting the radicals and particularly the single taxers. Apparently he succeeded beyond anything the aforesaid influential citizens expected or desired. For on an attempt being made to displace him they were overwhelmingly beaten, and in the Borough Convention in Brooklyn the radicals routed the mossbacks by over four to one, and nominated Robert Baker for Sheriff. The Republican organization, however, refused to accept him, declaring that he did not "measure up" to that office. Baker then withdrew and the fusion forces nominated one of the leading radicals (a Henry George man), M. J. Flaherty, for Coroner, while the Republicans secured the nomination of one of their men, Charles A. Guden, for Sheriff. That the latter fully "measured up" to the office was soon shown, for he had scarcely been elected when a faction in his own organization brought charges of corrupt anti-election bargaining against him, which, on being tried before Governor Odell—a Republican—resulted in his being removed from office.

Early in 1902 Robert Baker was the most active force in bringing into existence the Radical Democracy of Brooklyn, composed largely of Henry George men—those who had been active and influential in the Citizens' Union the previous year. It was hoped that with such an organization they could induce the Democratic party there to not only nominate their choice for Governor of the State—Bird S. Coler—but also secure the nomination of several of their members, either for Congress, Senate or Assembly.

On September 19 he drafted and secured the adoption of a series of planks for presentation to the Democratic State Convention and was appointed chairman of a committee of five to proceed to Saratoga and urge their incorporation in the State platform. The whole committee waited on ex-Senator Hill and advocated this course, and the next day Mr. Baker went before the Committee on Resolutions and urged the particular inclusion in the platform of the planks favoring the election of United States Senators by popular vote and the demand for the acquirement and operation of the railroads and anthracite coal mines, contending there was no hope of relief for the people in any other way, as Pennsylvania was entirely dominated and controlled by the very railroads that owned the anthracite coal deposits. Both of these planks were finally included in the State platform.

Returning to Brooklyn the Radical Democracy renewed its demand for the nomination of some of its members by the Democrats, and presented a list of names from which selections were asked. The request was complied with to the extent of nominating Robert Baker for Congress and Edwin J. Chapman and Edward A. Miller, two other single taxers, for the Assembly. An active campaign of the single tax kind—open air truck meetings, etc.—was at once inaugurated, and the “old guard” of the Henry George movement threw themselves into the fight with all their old time energy and enthusiasm, despite what to some appeared as a hopeless up hill fight, but Baker insisted from the first that he would win, and despite the bitter attacks made upon him by some of E. M. Shephard’s chief lieutenants and particularly by the Brooklyn *Eagle*, which honored no other Democratic candidate for Congress with its opposition, and which took advantage of every opportunity to draw an unfavorable comparison with the other Democratic Congressional candidates, insisting that “decent” Democrats would resent such a nomination, and that in any event the district was so overwhelmingly Republican that he would be beaten by a large plurality, yet the despised Henry George man carried a district which as at present constituted gave McKinley 4,577 plurality, by a plurality of 466.

Not the least gratifying feature of the situation is found in the fact that not alone did Baker get a larger proportionate vote than any other Democratic Congressional candidate—with the exception of Fitzgerald, one of the sitting members who had no opposition—but he ran ahead of Coler, the gubernatorial candidate, in nearly every election district where the Republicans are in the majority, the very sections in which the *Eagle* has its largest circulation, as it is a 3 cent paper. This is an indication of the magnificent and effective campaign made by the single tax men, and clearly shows that Baker’s radical views, so far from being a handicap, were a source of strength when explained as they were from the tail end of trucks.

FATHER TOM.

AN APPRECIATION OF THE LATE REV. THOMAS M’LOUGHLIN, OF NEW ROCHELLE, BY A PROTESTANT IN THE PARISH.

It would be sacrilege to head this short sketch other than it is, as he was “Father Tom” to everybody—rich and poor—and to those of all creeds and politics. This is a key to the lovability of his character. He was always near the heart of all the people. He had his foibles and his fancies, but he was always true to his Maker and just with his neighbors. A vigorous, whole-

some body and mentality were his chief characteristics.

He belonged to a school of priests, probably extinct in this country, possibly plenty still in Ireland—forceful and crude, but always sincere. If one should describe his life as something between Ian McLaren’s, Dr. McLure and Father Phil in “Handy Andy,” one would not be wide of the mark.

His fifty years of priesthood led him within the line of his duty, away from home and comfort in all weathers, for the cure of his parishioners’ souls, and he hated hypocrisy and always called a spade a spade, even if policy dictated it should be termed a fire shovel.

In the short space allotted me I may only indulge in a few sketches and stories of the man—for he was a man first and a priest afterwards. The story most often told is the story of the building of his new church. Imagine the fire of the old church—the controversy with those who would have built him a new one, and the resulting struggle of triumphant effort, in the erection of the magnificent new edifice, which his parishioners have finally made his monument, by depositing his body at its side, by itself, alone. And this was accomplished *after he was seventy years old*, and in spite of opposition within his own church family. It is true, the Protestants, as in Father Phil’s old time with the thatched roof, contributed to the cause, but their financial help was really infinitesimal, although their moral support may easily have been a source of a strength to an old man, who had passed the allotted span of life, and who should have been resting rather than struggling. And when the labor was accomplished, the edifice finished, the pride of Father Tom was the pride of all old New Rochelle, no matter what its creed. A monument it stands to New Rochelle and to Father Tom, and an example to posterity of what industry, will, frugality and administrative ability will accomplish for any man, endowed with the qualities of this country priest, no matter how late in life the effort may be made.

Father Tom was a man of the strongest convictions always. In war time he was a loyal Union man and became a Republican. From that political faith he never wavered until Henry George became a positive force in the thought of the nation. The writer recalls how he was loaned book after book of the apostle of single tax by Father Tom, and how he skimmed through them, much to his later discomfiture, as Father McLoughlin invariably questioned the writer, until the carelessness of my reading was laid naked before him. Then, and only then, for very shame, the writer read the books through, and while never converted to their theories he understood them, believed in the honesty of conviction of those who believed in them and recognized, what everyone must, their mag-

nificance as literature. When we were sure we disagreed there was neither hard feeling nor anger, only good natured chaffing.

He remained faithful to single tax theories to the end, and he remained the faithful friend of Father McGlynn until he passed away. He was not a changeable man.

He was no worshipper of wealth. After his old church burned down and before the new one was built, he held service in the parochial school house adjoining. The pews were hard, like proverbial Presbyterian benches. One day he passed into the building and found a mechanic upholstering one or two of the pews. He inquired by whose orders. He was told, "by his most liberal parishioner." He asked if the order included the whole of the pews or only the one or two. He was answered that it included the lesser number. "Take it out," said he, "they are privileged to no better pews here than others," and out came the upholstery.

He was as fond of nature as any man I ever knew. The flowers surrounding the church and his home were cherished and nourished, as few greenhouses are. He gathered from the four corners of the earth, curious stones and rocks and devised tasty uses for them about the church. These matters occupied his spare time the year around, and he gloried most in God's old-fashioned flowers. He gave them his individual loving care.

He was honest, and had no pride of opinion, which if he was convinced he was wrong he would not "publicly acknowledge." Years ago, he engaged in what seemed to his friends to be a needless newspaper controversy with the Presbyterian minister at New Rochelle. At the end he as publicly, in the same newspaper, declared himself wrong, stating that "his hot Celtic blood had got the better of him," and when a few years since that Presbyterian minister left New Rochelle for other fields, among those who bade him God-speed, was Father Tom. It is easy to be wrong, but it is hard to publicly acknowledge error.

He was a broad, fair man. When some of his mischievous congregation amused themselves, by breaking the windows of the Salvation Army barracks at New Rochelle, instead of a Sunday morning sermon, Father Tom delivered a lecture to his mischievous congregation telling them how wrong it was for them to destroy other people's property, and driving the point into them by inquiring, in homely phrase, how they would like it if the Salvationists broke their windows, and explaining that this was a free country, and freedom of worship was allowed everybody, winding up with the threat that if the persecution of the Salvationists did not stop, he would undertake the prosecution of the malefactors in his own congregation himself.

He was a charitable man. In snow drift

or hot summer, he was at the call of his humblest parishioners, near or far, when they were in need of either spiritual or temporal help. He would devote much time and infinite pains to help the widow procure her pension, or to minister to her spiritual welfare. No storm raged which would keep this whole-souled, strenuous, vigorous man from attendance upon what he considered a duty.

He was a firm believer in education. All his life school questions occupied his mind.

In fact, his last Sunday's service consisted in the reading and comment of Professor Eliot, of Harvard's, latest emanation on that subject. The homely, practical, common sense comments were of as much value to his church people as the article itself, with which he agreed fully.

* * * * *

He died, as he would have chosen, at work in the temple he had reared, and at work to the last. A good, old-fashioned priest has gone; a grand character has left its imprint, wider than the narrow confines of his parish; the light has gone out, but not failed, as the rays have spread out, so that a larger world has felt their influence and will in the time to come.

C. H. YOUNG.

BOOK REVIEWS.

A friend of mine told me that he was reading Ernest H. Crosby's poem, "The Machines," to his wife, without noticing that his little girl, eight years of age, was listening. In a few moments the child's sobs called attention to her; they were so violent that the reading had to be discontinued. This is a good illustration of the simplicity and the power of "Swords and Plowshares." Since Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children" there has been no more forcible plea for the poor little ones than this poem on the Grinding up of the children by the Machine.

Mr. Crosby likes the freedom of the Whitmanesque verse. Some one has remarked that any good prose will cut up into pretty fair blank verse, and much of this might have been as well written in the form of prose, were it not that the public, or at least the publisher, seems to demand the versified form.

If any one thinks, however, that Mr. Crosby chooses blank verse because he cannot write good rhyme, let him read "Christianity and War," or the following stanza:

I love the men thou lovest, Lord,
The prophet-seers whom thou createst.
Nor great nor good, my name record
As one who loved the best and greatest.

Ernest Crosby's "Swords and Plowshares."
Funk & Wagnalls. Cloth. \$1.50.

It is hard to say that any book will live, and I do not suppose that Crosby cares a penny whether this book lives or not. After all, the desire for immortality is a small and selfish ambition; the thing that a man wants is that his books shall do the work, not whether or not they shall be preserved in a museum. There are many books which have been forgotten because they made an end of controversy, which they were written to carry on; but whether the book is forgotten or not the spirit that inspired it will never be forgotten; it will go on forever, inspiring others.

It is of little consequence whether we can trace the influence of such poems in the work of others, it is sufficient that we see the same holy spirit that inspires us, breathing through the lips of our brethren, and he who reads "Swords and Plowshares" will feel that he is reading it again, in such verse as this of Margaret Haile's:

Give us this day our daily bread, O God!
Not for my bread alone I selfish pray.
Such prayer would never reach thy loving
ear;

Such prayer my human lips refuse to say.

I pray for those whom thou hast given me
here—

All men and women to be one with me,—
To sooth, sustain and comfort, love and
cheer

And draw in loving service nearer Thee.

My sister suffers in a garret bare,
My brothers labor and grow faint and
pine;

My baby wails—for food! I cannot bear it,
God,

For all the babies in the world are mine!

Father, and they are Thine! I claim thine
aid;

Thou needst must help us in our right-
eous cause!

Make strong our hands to tear Oppression
down,

And build a world according to Thy laws!

I cannot eat my daily bread alone.

Give none to me if these cannot be fed.
With them I stand or fall, for we are one.
Father, give all of us our daily bread.

BOLTON HALL.

A NEW BOOK BY BOLTON HALL.

Mr. Bolton Hall has collected his parables contributed to *Collier's*, *Life*, *The Outlook*, *Independent*, *Pilgrim*, and A. Wessels Company (New York), have published them in a neat and attractive volume at \$1.

Mr. Hall has won something of a reputation as a maker of these fables or parables. They are not one of the new forms of literature, by any means. Indeed, they are among the very oldest. Hebrew literature

is full of them; Chinese and Persian teachers have used them for the enforcement of moral injunctions. But never have they been used so effectively for the purposes of social reform. What is new about them, therefore, is their general intent and their modern setting—and this is the new fashion Mr. Hall has invented and made his own while borrowing an older form of literature for his lay figures. He has done this so well that his name is likely to be connected with this new fashion for a long time to come, and the work of those who succeed him in this kind of composition will provoke comparison with the parables gathered together in this volume.

All or almost all of these fables are good—some are excellent. We would not know where to quote should we begin. Our readers are certain to send for the book, and so will get them all. Indeed, not to have read this book is to have missed a fund of fancy and much original invention. We will quote one only—not the best, perhaps, for it is by no means easy to say which is the best.

"Said Zeus to Minerva: 'Minnie, I wish you'd go and see what's the matter with those mortals. They complain that they are short of all the things they need.'

"So Minerva opened the windows of heaven and looked.

"She reported to Zeus that men were crowded together in the towns by (with) vacant lands surrounding them, and they wanted to know if they couldn't have a new continent to discover.'

"So Zeus said: 'Well, mortals don't get any of the things they need off that unused land; just scoop it all out, and set it down in the middle of the sea.'

"'All right,' said Minerva; 'but the new continent will produce more things and the merchants and farmers—who give us most of our offerings—say they can't sell what is produced now.'

"'Do what I tell you,' said Zeus; 'they can't sell anything to the vacant lots, anyhow.'

"'Well,' said Minerva, rather sulkily, 'I suppose that will do; but why not let the oracle tell them to fine everybody that keeps one of these patches vacant; the land would be where they could get at it, and would be used.'

"'You're not so stupid, Minerva,' said Zeus; 'but I'm afraid they wouldn't do it.'

"Said Minerva: 'Oh, yes, they would. They're always fining each other for all sorts of things—for going into business, and for not doing anything, and for making drink, and for drinking it, and building houses, and for buying goods and selling them.'

"'You make me giddy, Minerva, with your imagination. You shouldn't invent such things.'

"'They do; it's truth I'm telling you,' said Minerva; 'they call them "duties," and

"taxes," and "imports," and "licenses," and "tariffs," and I don't know what besides, and think they do them all a lot of good."

"Well," said Zeus, "if they are so foolish as that, how are they to know how much to charge for each lot that people keep vacant?"

"Minerva turned away to hide a smile. She said, 'I am the goddess of wisdom, and I will tell them to charge for every piece just what it's worth.'

"Zeus said: 'Minn, you're always springing some new-fangled, far-off scheme on me, and I've no time to discuss panaceas for the woes of men. What I want to do is to really help those people out of their troubles, so just start them a Sunday-school to make them more resigned.'—P. 183.

J. D. M.

* A WORK BY CLARENCE DARROW.

A few books have so clearly and exhaustively treated their subjects that anything more that is said is merely emphasis or amplification. Such are John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women," and Anna Kingsford's "Perfect Way in Diet on Vegetarianism." To these Clarence Darrow has added "Resist not Evil," on State punishment for breach of law.

Any one may refuse to accept the reasoning of these books; but no one can fail to recognize the lucidity and completeness of the argument. For this reason it is difficult to review such a book—the only complete review would be an abstract of the chapters.

Mr. Darrow, a lawyer experienced in criminal cases, has compiled a brief, plainly setting forth the principles of non-resistance, and tracing the effects of action by the state based on its denial. He shows that "punishment has absolutely no effect to lessen crime," that "the mental actions of man have been shown to be as much due to law and environment as his physical health,—certain sections of the world are indigenous to men who kill their fellows; and more than this, certain portions produce men who kill with guns, others who kill with a knife, others still who administer poison. In certain sections, the chief crime is horse stealing; in others, running illicit distilleries; again, burglary; in some places, poaching; sometimes, robbery; and again, smuggling. A study of conditions would reveal why each of those crimes is indigenous to the particular soil that gives it birth, and just as draining swamps prevents the miasma, so a rational treatment of the condition caused by the various crimes would cure them, too. If our physicians were no more intelligent than our lawyers,

*Resist Not Evil," by Clarence S. Darrow. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Cloth, price, 75c.

when called to visit a miasmatic patient, instead of draining the swamp, they would chloroform the patient and expect thus to frighten all others from taking the disease."

"Men," he says, "would not steal sheep if they had land on which to raise mutton."

On the causes of crime, Darrow speaks as one who through God-like love has acquired God-like power so that "he seeth the heart."

It is to be wished, perhaps, that there were more emphasis and amplification of the chapter on the Remedial effects of Punishment, which might be more accurately called Preventative Effects of Punishment. Perhaps the author feared that to speak of its preventative effects might be taken for a ghastly joke.

It appears to me, however, that Mr. Darrow sometimes falls into the error of speaking to the animal and mental man from the standpoint of the spiritual man. He almost assumes that no one wishes to be revenged upon law breakers, whereas that is exactly what most persons do want, as is shown by the fact that the husband or the father of the alleged victim usually triumphantly lights the bonfire at which negroes accused of assaults on women are burnt. However, it is necessary first of all to lift up the standard and the world has need of the idealist, even though it believes that ideals are dangerous.

Those who wish to read further on this subject, or who find their interest in the subject languid, should read Oscar Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol," and Ingersoll's "Crimes against Criminals." But if you believe that any one should ever punish anybody for anything, don't read this book, my brother. It will hurt your head with a new idea.

BOLTON HALL.

ESSAYS BY A. J. OGILVY.

We have received from the Land Nationalization Society of London a pamphlet by A. J. Ogilvy, consisting of short, pithy essays, on some of the mooted questions of political economy. Alfred Russell Wallace has spoken of Mr. Ogilvy as "an original thinker and acute reasoner." Certainly this is commendation from a high source, and a reading of these essays—clear, pointed, suggestive—do much to justify the commendation. On only a few points would we take issue with Mr. Ogilvy. Of such is his advocacy of the landlord's claim to compensation. Such claim possesses a certain reasonableness only where land nationalization proposes forcible expropriation.

"If compensation," says Mr. Ogilvy, "means that the victims of the wrong are to pay the doers of it for merely ceasing to do it then it is absurd indeed." Yet this is precisely what is involved in the claim

of compensation. The wealth collected from the producers for the use of land is an annually recurring levy upon the labor and capital of the community; it is not something that is done and consummated, but something that will be done over and over again. Shall the owners of land be compensated for being denied the privilege of doing this next year, or the year after? And if the state shall decide next year that part of this economic rent, say twenty per cent, since a beginning must somewhere be made—shall be paid into the public treasury (which is the only real solution of the land question, and is, of course, the one favored by Mr. Ogilvy), how shall the land-owner be compensated? Shall it be by remitting half of the proposed tax? The absurdity of the suggestion is too self-evident, and it ought to be clear upon reflection that the whole question of compensation is not a practical one.

There are nearly a score of essays in this little pamphlet, and all will repay reading.
J. D. M.

News—Domestic

CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES.—(Special Correspondence—Ralph Hoyt.)—Though the result of the California State election in November last was not what Single Taxers hoped for, it was a very thin victory for the party of plutocracy and plunder. The head of the ticket was "counted in" by only about two thousand majority, and had it not been for certain complicated, ridiculous and pernicious provisions contained in the printed ballots (which, of course, militated against the Democratic ticket, and caused thousands of ballots to be thrown out), Franklin K. Lane, the candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket, would have been declared elected, and California would have had a genuine Democratic Single Tax Chief Executive in the Gubernatorial chair for the next four years. As it is, however, the result shows a terrible falling off in the Republican vote since four years ago, when the majority for Gage, candidate for Governor on the so-called Republican ticket, was nearly twenty thousand. Added to this falling off as to the head of the ticket the P. O. P. (Party of Plunder) lost three Congressmen, instead of electing a solid delegation of eight, as was the case four years ago.

Another and still more significant feature of California politics this year is the city election in Los Angeles, which occurred one month later than the State contest. The outcome of that hotly contested struggle was very encouraging to citizens who want good government, and are determined to have it.

Mayor M. P. Snyder was the Democratic candidate for re-election, and the principal interest of the campaign was centered on

him. Next to him in importance was the question of the adoption or rejection of several charter amendments for city government which were of vital interest to every citizen. The amendments were in the direction of needed reform. Snyder was elected Mayor by nearly three thousand plurality, and some of the amendments to the city charter were adopted by a large majority.

The direct legislation amendment provides for both the initiative and the referendum. It gives fifteen per cent. of the legal voters the right to propose an ordinance and cause its submission to the people, in case the city council fails to pass it without alteration. Seven per cent. of the voters may invoke the referendum upon any ordinance passed by the Council, and thereby force its submission to the people for ratification or rejection. Any number of ordinances may be voted upon at any election, but not more than one election can be held in any period of six months. Furthermore, the people may retire any elected officer whose course is unsatisfactory. This can be done by a petition signed by twenty-five per cent. of the electors, asking the council to call a special election. The name of the objectionable officer must appear on the ballot as a candidate, unless he declines. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes is to be declared elected.

It is said that Los Angeles is the first city in the world to adopt this reform measure, though it will probably not long be the only one. The direct legislation amendment received the largest majority of any one of the fifteen amendments submitted, the figures showing 12,846 affirmative votes and only 1,042 negatives.

The result of the proposition to thus amend the city charter has since led to the formation of a "Direct Legislation League of California," with Dr. John R. Haynes, of Los Angeles, as president, for the adoption of an amendment to the state constitution providing for direct legislation for the state as a whole, as well as for each county.

Thus it appears that the world does move in the right direction, though very slowly, and only in spots—small spots, too. Meanwhile, the principles of the Single Tax are still alive in Southern California, and are slowly but surely taking hold of people who think independently regarding time-honored superstitions and musty prejudices. No public Single Tax meetings are being held, but people are disposed to read newspaper articles, and other literature with which I supply them, advocating the principles which we believe in. Every few days I hear things from the lips of persons who surprise me by either partially or wholly endorsing the theory of land taxation as the only correct, logical, practicable and just method of raising public revenue.

And the number of men hereabouts who

admire the hercism and the work of Tom L. Johnson is legion.

CONNECTICUT, NEW HAVEN.—The power that the Single Tax philosophy confers on even the humblest, could not be better illustrated than in this city during the past year. With local politics in a state of confusion worse confounded a grand opportunity has been presented to offer a few basic principles in regard to municipal problems.

The coal strike has been taken full advantage of, as well as every other incident of a local nature, and the searchlight of truth has been mercilessly turned on the impotents. The result is a complete breaking up of old rings and old applications, so that few know where they are at.

Ground has been cleared for future action, and ministers in this city to-day who do not understand our position are fully convinced that a Single Taxer is a man to be reckoned with, one who has the courage of his convictions, and has positive knowledge of one thing at least.

We have proved here that courage is a powerful factor in our cause, for having no brilliancy or other gift among us, not even money, we have had to fight along with our own resources, and the result has been marvelous.

Indomitable courage, eternal vigilance, combined with never failing perseverance will work wonders, and the humblest of us have at least these attributes. Place these at the end of the Single Tax lever with justice as the fulcrum, and what can we not move?

The Woman's Single Tax Club is doing good work. We have some of the brightest women in the city with us, and they are spreading the light as only women can do. We, therefore, enter on the new year with exceedingly bright prospects, wishing every success to all our dear friends scattered the world over.

GEORGIA, ATLANTA.—(William Riley Boyd.)—I am compelled to report that we have no organization here; but there are many who are wholly or partly in sympathy with our view of what constitutes just taxation. And here is the field upon which our battle must be fought.

No one is satisfied with present methods of furnishing revenue, but it is difficult to induce legislation along rational lines looking to reform, for the reason that every such effort brings into prominence the contention of the Single Taxer, and raises anew the question so often asked: "Who is the rightful owner of the land?"

Recently in our legislature the General Tax Ordinance was under discussion. It was proposed to place a special tax upon the manufacturer, wholesale and retail dealer, in oleomargarine or other imitations of butter. The measure was so manifestly un-

just that one of the most earnest advocates suggested that a triple tax upon one product was excessive and harsh, a palpable truth, so he proposed to relieve the retailer, exclaiming in loud and earnest tones, "I want a just and equitable system of taxation."

Greatly desiring to bring supply and demand together, I beckoned one of the doorkeepers, handing him a leaflet of my own preparing, setting forth our Cult. He looked it over and I hope digested it, for he continued to oppose the excessive tax as proposed.

The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* has given much space to correspondents, and although the editor is far from the kingdom, the treatment of correspondents pro and con, has been fair and liberal, and we have a strong following in that city.

ILLINOIS, CHICAGO.—(Special Correspondence.—J. G. Foyer.)—The Single Tax Party movement in this city has made great strides in the campaign just passed. The daily newspapers have recognized our party on all occasions where other parties were recognized, thus advertising the Single Tax. In this campaign 109,500 issues of the Chicago *Single Taxer* were distributed, and more than \$500 was contributed toward the campaign expenses. This advertising and distribution of papers keeps our librarian busy to supply the demand for Henry George's works. I dare say that nowhere are as many books sold as here. It has become a common occurrence to have a stranger come into our office and purchase all of George's works. A complete Single Tax county ticket appeared upon the official ballot, and nowhere in Cook County could anyone have an excuse for not voting for the Single Tax. This cannot be said of any other city in the world.

The campaign just ended and styled "The Fourth Battle," and our subsequent "Battles" are as follows:

First campaign, including entire Cook County same as election just passed, 500 votes recorded.

Second campaign for Mayor 1,000 votes recorded.

Third campaign, Aldermanic election only, and confined to the city, 1,904 votes recorded.

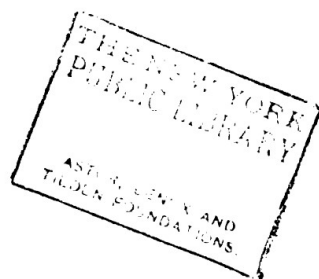
Fourth campaign, Cook County election, same as the first at the head of this list, 1,500 votes was the highest recorded for any one candidate by the Election Commissioners on the County ticket.

The number of votes cast for all candidates for Representative and Senatorial offices was 6,387. According to the vote cast at our first election in Cook County we have increased considerably. We have been reliably informed that no pains will be taken to obtain a correct count of our ticket until it directly affects the general result.

It is the desire of the Single Tax Party to cast as large a vote as possible, but it is



HON. ROBERT BAKER
(See page 41)



not the most important with us. We are bringing the attention of the people to the Single Tax, educating them by a most lavish distribution of papers and periodicals of various kinds.

It is the above point I am anxious to make clear. We are not office seekers. As I write this article the postman hands me a card from a student in the university at Madison, Wis., who has noticed the daily articles in the Chicago papers concerning the Single Tax Club, and states that he desires to study the Single Tax, and that he would like to obtain some literature on the subject.

This is a sample of the work we are doing by getting before the people, and the political programme is the best means of getting our principles before the people. There is no doubt of this. In the whole existence of the Chicago Single Tax Club, covering a period of fifteen years, the Club was unable to obtain any notice in the papers of any kind without charge. Since adopting political action everything we do is recorded.

The Socialists have made great gains all over the country through their method of getting into politics. Politics is a dead and senseless thing when an election is not in progress. On election time the ears of the public are open, and this is the time to talk Single Tax.

The Socialists, like the Single Taxers here, are what might be called playing at politics. But can we play politics without becoming familiar with the game as are the old parties, and can it not be said that in order to accomplish our ends we must not only be politicians, but we must elect Single Taxers to office. It has been impossible for a Single Tax publication to be successful from any point of view, either in circulation or financially, yet the Socialists have more than a dozen papers and magazines, with hundreds of thousands of copies circulated each issue, while we receive a paltry few thousand subscribers to our own periodicals. This is due to our policy of trying to convert the Democratic party. You might just as well attempt a journey to China through the bowels of the earth. We are not educating the common people unless we adopt political methods. For the past 23 years Single Taxers have attempted to reform the grafting politicians, with no success. The Socialists entered the political arena and to-day hold the balance of power in Cook County. Every Democratic politician in Chicago and Cook County could have been elected had they received the Socialistic vote. When the Single Taxer learns that the balance of power means more than their personal influence, they will pursue different methods. Personal influence depends upon the number of votes you control. The greater the number the greater the influence. It is said that the Single Tax Party polls a

small vote, and the very ones who pass this remark do all in their power to prevent a large vote. It is not the votes that the Single Tax cast, but what this policy of political action accomplishes.

In the future of things we observe that the small beginning is the only beginning. In the State of Colorado the Single Tax was called "Home Rule in Taxation," or a false "label," and it lost. Its opponents recognized it as the Single Tax and scared off the voters by identifying the thing. Had the Single Taxers in Colorado just started an educational campaign, informing the voters of the merits of the Single Tax, the result would have been different. The population of the entire State of Colorado is about the size of St. Louis, and the task of educating them is much lighter than here in Chicago. As it is, they must start in afresh. "Loves Labor Lost." After years of earnest work their efforts have been trampled in the dust owing to the ignorance of the people. In the State of Ohio it has been demonstrated that the influence of Tom L. Johnson and his money against the crooked politicians of both parties rolled up a larger majority than ever in the history of the State for the Republicans. I do not speak of this as a defeat of "Johnson," but as a defeat of the Democratic party in that State. As a consequence of the Ohio election, Mayor Johnson has his hands and feet tied with no power of any note to speak of. In order for Mayor Johnson to win in other counties as he did in this last election in Cuyahoga County, he must do as he did in that county. "Educate" the people to reform in all counties. This is his logical course; it is the only course in which he has won. The people do not vote against the Single Tax because they do not want it, but because they do not understand it. We are now preparing for the coming spring election for Mayor. What our program will be is undecided as yet. Nevertheless, the Single Tax banner will be thrown to the breeze, and as great an effort as before will be put forth to advertise our principles.

OHIO, CINCINNATI.—(Special Correspondence.—Joseph L. Schraer.)—The failure to properly celebrate the anniversary of our departed leader has dampened the ardor of some Single Taxers in this vicinity. Outside of the work of individuals, very little is being done in an organized way, except what is being done through the Vine Street Church.

This grand and noble institution is making great strides in behalf of humanity, and its fearless pastor, with the aid of others, is leaving nothing undone to hasten the day when men shall really be free and enjoy the blessings that an All-Wise Father has created for all. Too much in praise cannot be said of this church, as it has nearly always stood for the rights of the

oppressed as against those of the oppressor. It has been the refuge of the chattel slave in times past, and again becomes the home of those who are trying to overthrow a rotten system that keeps men in ignorance of their just rights.

This church asserts man's right to heaven here. It teaches him how to abolish poverty. It teaches men to have faith in a Creator who has made all things well; faith that the ills of humanity are due, not to the blunders of the Creator, but to man's indifference to truth, and to his transgression of natural laws.

It has faith in man; faith that he would rather do right than wrong; faith that if he were free his own inborn love of truth and right would be his salvation. This church is enlisting men in the holy crusade for economic liberty; firing their hearts with zeal for the public good; leading them to the republic that is to be through the simple ways of justice and peace. It teaches that the noblest conception of God is that of a father who loves all of his children. It follows that men are brothers, and that the fruits of Justice and Love between man and man, nation and nation, are proof of a vital religion.

Faith in God involves the belief that there are natural laws touching every part of our life, and that by discovering and obeying these laws men may create the conditions of their own happiness. Bodily, political and social disease are an evidence of the violation of natural law. We exalt the virtue of open-mindedness, that men may readily accept each new truth that leads to a better understanding of these laws.

It is the aim of this pulpit to help men to adjust their life to the righteousness of natural law, that they may become more brotherly, that their politics may be purified, that social conditions may be made more just, that the material as well as the moral—the communal as well as the individual life may be improved.

Liberty, Fraternity, Progress, Justice, Love—these are the ideals of this church, and we claim for our field of service the entire life of man, believing the highest form of worship to be an intelligent devotion to the good of a World-Wide Humanity.

If any person believes his life could be made more useful to the world, and, therefore, more profitable to himself by uniting with this church, he is cordially invited to make application for membership, as several from distant States have already done.

PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA.—There is nothing of special interest now going on in Philadelphia in Single Tax work. The Single Tax Society is holding its regular weekly meetings as usual, where economic questions are discussed. The meetings are

held at 1305 Arch Street every Wednesday evening.

The Henry George Club is holding its winter course of meetings at Industrial Hall on Sunday evenings. A good programme is being provided by the able and painstaking work of Mrs. Dr. Dickson. Among the more prominent speakers so far have been Bolton Hall, Prof. Lybarger and Prof. Daniel Batchellor.

The most important Single Tax work being done in this city are the very excellent articles in *The North American* every Sunday, by Henry George, Jr. The clearness of statement, excellent taste, sane judgment, and fairness with which he handles his subjects are sure to work good for the cause.

News—Foreign

MONTREAL.

Although we have not been setting the world on fire up here, a few words from us may be appreciated by some of your readers.

It is but a dull story that we have to tell, and one which assuredly would never be read by any but Single Taxers. For what significance can a few meetings, a lecture or two, and a petition to the City Council have to any who do not hold the key to the riddle, and who consequently are at a loss to know why we should continue this apparently fruitless, though endless agitation to have the taxes placed on land values.

We began our meetings about October, after a summer's idleness, according to our custom. At this meeting, several papers having a bearing upon the coal strike were read. We were favored by the presence of a coal mine engineer and owner, who had some remarks to make upon the subject, which, though, as you may readily understand, not favorable to our view, were fair and dispassionate from his standpoint.

It may read like presumptuous egotism to those who have not seen the light, yet it is true, that nothing can be more convincing of the truths of our philosophy, to a straight reasoner, than a comparison of the arguments advanced by single taxers and their opponents. Possibly to the general public the latter may carry more conviction, but to us they appear to lose the point of the argument altogether, concentrating their attentions upon an array of statistics which may mean anything or nothing, rather than upon those principles of justice which must in the end prevail. And so we see our visitor attempting to show that there was no profit, or very little, in coal mining, that very few coal mining companies paid dividends for many years after they started operations; that these dividends were very small.

Even supposing the facts were with him, which was disputed, what does it matter to the tens of thousands who are dependent upon that one man for their coal? And is it of no consequence that that one man should announce that God in His infinite wisdom had given him the coal, thus excluding all others from any right in it forever?

It looks a little as though monopoly were looking for the last trench, doesn't it?

Mr. Ernest Howard Crosby was in Toronto in November delivering a lecture there, under the auspices of the Single Tax Association. We arranged to have him deliver one here also, and we succeeded in getting a fair-sized crowd out to hear him. He spoke on "The Church and the Workingman," and handled his subject in a masterful manner. His voice is powerful, and his enunciation clear, so that none had any difficulty in knowing what he said. Of course, some did not understand what it meant, but others did, or thought they did, as was shown from the applications for membership at the close of the meeting. The Mayor of the city was the chairman, and he asked Mr. Crosby if he could suggest some means of raising funds to clean the streets of Montreal. You can readily imagine that Mr. Crosby could and did.

A week or so later we sent a deputation down to the City Hall, where a re-consideration of certain portions of the taxation laws was in progress, and presented a petition asking that the machinery tax be abolished, substituting therefor an increase of the rate on general property. This would increase the tax on land about a third of a mill. The suggestion was not acted upon, but the Council informed us that later on the whole question would be up for discussion of principles, and they would be glad to then receive further suggestions. Of course we are not counting upon any great immediate revolution in the methods of taxation, but it is not impossible that we may work up some kind of agitation which may have good results when the matter comes up for settlement.

T. C. ALLUM,
Sec. Single Tax Assn., of Montreal.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

Address by Fred J. Miller, at a recent Dinner of the Sunrise Club.

Industrial peace is important to industrial progress—much more important, perhaps, than those who are not familiar with manufacturing operations might suppose. Again, the lack of industrial peace has led, in the past, and may yet lead to serious troubles, and it does not require a very vivid imagination to suppose that had the mine owners maintained their stiff-necked attitude until the recent cold snap, we might have seen New York under martial law as

a result of serious disturbances that perhaps could not have been controlled otherwise. Believing as I do, and as I suppose we all do, in the maintenance of law and order, I regard such a possibility as a serious thing, and something to be avoided if there is any possibility of avoiding it.

My remarks on this subject may, I think, properly take the form of the relation of some incidents that have taken place, and some facts that have a bearing upon the question before us. Some years ago, there was a disturbance in the anthracite mining region,—previous to the present one, but not nearly so serious. During that trouble an old miner, being interviewed upon the matter, made some remarks which it seems to me are very illuminating. He said in substance: "When I was a young man working in this region we had no labor troubles. The wage question didn't bother us much, and we needed no unions, because any miner who chose to do so could go anywhere into these hills and dig out from six to eight dollars' worth of coal per day and take it to market, getting his money for it. Therefore, unless he could get similar wages he would not work for another, and the employers knew they must pay such wages, and there was no dispute about it. Now, however, the conditions are changed. Every available foot of coal land is monopolized, and belongs to one or the other of the great companies so that the miners who dig this coal are unable to dig any of it except upon the terms dictated by the owners of the soil."

Now, this man perhaps knew very little about the Single Tax philosophy, but, nevertheless, he understood what the matter was. He knew why we now have the labor question, and why it is so difficult to secure industrial peace; and he knew, also, that if the coal mines were to-day unmonopolized as they were in former times, so that capital and labor could have free access to them, there would be no trouble in the mines, and so far as that region is concerned, at least, we should have industrial peace.

Another incident which I may relate has been already set forth in a book with which, perhaps, some of you are familiar; but the story will bear repetition. During the gold fever in California in the late 40's and early '50's, owners of sailing boats going from the port of New York around Cape Horn to the Golden Gate could hire sailors at merely nominal wages; but many of these vessels, when they cast anchor in the Golden Gate remained there until they rotted because men could not be hired to sail them away for less than \$15 to \$20 a day, the reason being that these men could go ashore, and with a few simple tools wash out gold to that amount per day. Naturally, therefore, they would not work at sailing vessels nor at any other occupation for less money.

These men, when washing out gold, usually formed little communities, having their tents or huts near by the stream in which their work was done. At first, it was the practice for each and every man to wash out all the gold per day that he could, and he then did his own laundry work, his own cooking and whatever other work might be necessary to make himself comfortable. But it was usually found, after a time, that one member of this little community was a better cook than any of the other members of it. This might be because this man had been a cook by profession in New York, or elsewhere from whence he came. Whatever the reason may have been, the men soon discovered that some member of their little community could bake more and better flapjacks per minute than any other member, and they therefore would ask him to do all the cooking, and offer to pay him for his services as cook. Now, many men were hired to cook under these conditions, and gave up the washing out of gold; but do you suppose that these men worked for \$20 a month as cooks, under those conditions? By no means. They worked for about \$20 per day, because if they didn't get the \$20 for cooking, they would refuse to cook and would wash out gold to the value of \$20 per day. This simply meant that where the materials of nature were unappropriated and unmonopolized, they could apply their labor and their capital to those materials, and in return reap the full reward as given by nature. Consequently, they would work for no other man for any less than that, and there was no thought, or no occasion for anything like an industrial disturbance. In other words, industrial peace was assured, and the problem of how to maintain it did not present itself.

But now suppose that in such a community as this, one or two of the men composing it had conceived the idea that it would be a brilliant thing for him or them to acquire title to all this stream or section of country in which the gold could be washed out. Now if the other men had agreed to the validity of such a title, however it may have been obtained, then it would have been necessary for them either to have gone elsewhere to mine gold or to have worked for the man holding the title at such terms as he might dictate; for, the validity of his title being acknowledged, he could, of course, fix the terms upon which he would allow his companions to wash gold, and if there were no other similar locality to which they could go and have free access, then it must be evident to you that he could have exacted from them all the gold they washed each day, except that which represented the ordinary rate of wages such as they could obtain elsewhere in the country at ordinary labor.

Under such circumstances, it is easy to suppose that labor organizations would

have been formed; that rioting and trouble would have occurred, and the problem of how to secure industrial peace would have been presented to those communities, as, in fact, it has been presented to many communities in California since the monopolization of the gold lands and the other lands of the State has been made complete.

On the corner of Broadway and Murray Street, in this city, stands the building belonging to the Postal Telegraph Company. This building stands upon ground belonging to the Rhinelander estate, and for the privilege of having its building stand there, the Postal Telegraph Company pays to the Rhinelander estate \$1,000 per week, or \$52,000 per year. Previous to the erection of the present building a four or five-story brown stone business building of the early period stood there, which was an incumbrance to the lot; in other words, when the Postal Telegraph Company leased this land, it had a negative improvement value, that is to say, it was not as valuable for their purpose as it would have been had it been as the Creator made it, and the Rhinelanders have done absolutely nothing to create or to contribute to its present value. That value is created entirely by the presence of the people of the City of New York, and would disappear promptly and entirely if the people of the City of New York should leave it; but because the people of New York wish to live and to do business upon Manhattan Island this piece of ground has great value, and instead of the people who create this value taking it to themselves, as we Single Taxers maintain they have the absolute right to do, they allow private individuals, such as in this case are represented by the Rhinelanders, to appropriate all this value to their own purposes. This, though unjust, is not the worst feature of the case, however, the worst feature being that the high values at which land in New York is held and the speculation in it which is thereby induced cause vast amounts of it to be held out of use, so that neither labor or capital can gain access to it except upon the most extravagant terms.

It is this which constantly curtails the opportunities for the remunerative employment of capital and labor, and which, more than anything else, makes it necessary for us here and for all thoughtful and earnest American citizens to consider how we may secure industrial peace; for if it were not for this monopolization, industrial peace would secure itself, capital and labor would, whenever they wished, gain access to the materials of nature upon the liberal terms—even bountiful—terms imposed by nature; there would be no necessity for one human being bargaining with any other human being for the privilege of existing upon the surface of the earth, and of doing business upon it. The problem of how we shall

secure industrial peace rises from the fact that by our land laws men are deprived of their God-given, their natural right of access to the materials of nature, and our proposition is that, where men use these materials of nature, (it being necessary as we fully recognize that security in the possession of land should be maintained), that they should pay for this privilege of exclusive possession, the full annual rental value of such possession—pay it into a common fund to be administered in the interest of the people in such way as the people themselves shall determine, and we believe that thereby every human being will in effect have an equal right and part in the surface of the earth, and that his equal right to live and to a place upon the surface of the earth in which to live will be secured. Then we shall have industrial peace, and I believe it is not possible to secure industrial peace upon any other terms than by thus securing fundamental justice and equality of opportunity.

BANQUET TO MRS. ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

BY THE WOMEN'S HENRY GEORGE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK.

On the evening of Jan. 14th, a banquet and reception was given to Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox at the Hotel St. Denis, this city. Mrs. John S. Crosby, the president of the League presided, and acted as toastmistress. Among the well-known Single Tax women present were Mrs. Henry George, Jr., Miss Anita Truman, Miss Isabel Colburn, Miss Myrtle Stumm. Mrs. Edwin Markham and Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman were in attendance.

Letters of regret at their inability to be present were read from Hon. Tom L. Johnson, Louis F. Post and others. William R. Hearst occupied a seat at one of the tables.

Mrs. Wilcox being called upon responded as follows:

"I never make speeches, but, like all women, I sometimes tell stories. I am going to tell a little story on my friend, Mr. Knight.

"Several years ago Mr. Knight sent me a letter about the Single Tax movement, and a copy of Henry George's great book, 'Progress and Poverty,' requesting that I read it carefully. Of course, I immediately became a believer in Single Tax, and wrote an editorial on the subject, mentioning Mr. George's book. A few days later I received a letter from a man who asked where he could obtain a copy of Mr. Knight's great work."

Among the speakers were John S. Crosby and Mrs. Kate Gordon, Mrs. Edwin Markham and Mrs. Gilman. Miss Myrtle Stumm read the following poem by Mrs. Wilcox, written for the occasion:

THE EARTH BELONGS TO MAN.

In the mighty march of Progress
There is many a vain detour,
But the route is always upward,
And the aim is always sure,
And tho' men may prove uncertain
Faith must look behind the curtain
To the God, who is the DOER.

Since the molecules of matter
Into worlds and systems ran,
He has brought the life of marshes
And of jungles up to—man.
And to something far more holy
We are moving slowly, slowly.
In accordance with His plan.

There is marsh slime still upon us;
Of the jungle yet we smell;
For we sting and rend each other
In the mine and sweatshop hell,
And our greatest men rush willing
Forth to slashing and to killing
In the wars they love so well.

Once four-footed through the forest
In pursuit of food we trod.
And we left the riddled carcass
Of our rival on the sod.
Now we starve and freeze our neighbor
And refuse his right to labor
On his heritage from God.

Once we hung by tails from tree-tops
While we fought about a limb.
We have grown to men, from monkeys,
Since that far-off epoch dim.
Yet man shows the old ape folly,
Fighting on the bridge and trolley
While the EARTH belongs to him!

There is room for all God's children
On His beautiful broad earth
There is work and food and fuel
For each being come to birth.
On each mortal son and daughter
He bestowed air, land and water,
Love's bequest, to human worth.

Greed has grasped for private uses
What was bounty for us all—
Greed has built a towering fortress
And sits guarded by its wall.
But the protest of opinion
Surges hard on his dominion
And his fortress yet shall fall.

I can hear the tide increasing
In its volume and its force,
I foresee the wreck and ruin
It must cause upon its course.
For no hand can stop the motion
Of the tides of God's great ocean
When PROGRESSION is their source.

But beyond the strife and chaos
That must follow for a span
I behold the peace and plenty

Of the Great Primeval plan—
I behold the full fruition
Of the dreamed of new condition
In the Brotherhood of Man.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

MR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON NOW DENIES IT.

In our last number we printed a declaration of Booker T. Washington, the distinguished Principal of Tuskegee College, in which he boldly advocated his belief in the Single Tax. Such declaration was reprinted from the *Johnstown Democrat*. Mr. Green, of Chicago, a good Single Taxer, being somewhat skeptical on the matter, wrote to Mr. Washington, and received word from Mr. Washington's private secretary that Mr. W. had made no such statement. We immediately wrote to Warren Worth Bailey, editor of the *Johnstown Democrat*. Here is what Mr. Bailey has to say:

"This raises a most surprising issue of veracity between the distinguished colored educator and myself, but happily I was not alone with Mr. Washington at the time the remark was made. The conversation took place in Mr. Washington's room at his hotel on a lecture visit to Johnstown. I had accompanied him from the hall to his hotel. We there met Robert E. Cresswell, a prominent attorney and politician of this city. We went from the lobby to Mr. Washington's room, and there a few minutes later were joined by Attorney Thomas J. Itell, another prominent lawyer and active politician. In the room a conversation which had been begun from the hall to the hotel was continued. I had challenged a position which Mr. Washington had taken in his lecture. I insisted that he had shown in the lecture itself that the race question, as it affected the south, was, in fact, a labor question, because he had demonstrated by individual illustrations that the ordinary race prejudice had disappeared, even at the South, where black men attained social independence through the acquisition of opportunity and the development of their powers where such opportunity invited and made possible. The conversation was animated and direct, and in the course of it Mr. Washington said with emphasis that the Single Tax was the only salvation of the South. He said in effect that land monopoly was the great bar to the progress not only of his race, but of the white race as well. There was no qualification of his statement. The only thing that struck me was that he pursued the line he was following only because he is receiving the support of the great plutocratic interests, and is doing in a small way a work that gives him personal satisfaction and practically world-wide fame. Were he to attempt bringing about a fundamental reform under which his race as a

whole would be lifted up, I am sure that many sources from which he now draws strength would be closed against him. That he realizes this I have no sort of doubt, nor have I any doubt that his reason for wishing now to deny the statement for which I vouch is that if allowed to go unchallenged would be to invite the suspicion and perhaps open hostility of those society saviours who are always ready to help along enterprises similar to that with which Mr. Washington is connected.

"I think myself any one can see a reason why Mr. Washington should deny this remark. Those who know me will find it difficult to conceive a reason why I should misrepresent the gentleman. As a matter of fact, the statement was made in a private conversation, and I did not feel at liberty to use it in my paper except incidentally long afterwards in an editorial. At one time I had thought of writing up the substance of the conversation and publishing it as a news item, but when I reflected that Mr. Washington had talked perhaps without thought of publication, although he knew I was a newspaper man, it would be wholly unfair to him to do so, because he knew the holding of such sentiments by him, if known by the general public, would render him unpopular among the dilettante philanthropists who take pleasure in spending some small part of their unearned gains in charitable undertakings."

In a later communication to the *Review* Mr. Bailey writes:

"Mr. Cresswell and Mr. Itell have both been out of the city for a week in attendance at court, and I am not able to obtain their corroborative statements. I am not quite sure that both gentlemen were present at the time this remark was made. One or the other of them certainly was. I recall that Mr. Itell joined us after we had gone to the room, and that he left some time before Mr. Cresswell and myself, who stayed with Mr. Washington until time for his train. It is possible that Mr. Itell did not hear the remark. It is certain that Mr. Cresswell did hear it, and doubtless he will not have forgotten it."

With the desire to be just to all parties the editor of the *Review* wrote to Mr. Washington. From the latter's private secretary came an answer that Mr. Washington was out of town, and the matter would be laid before him on his return. Here the controversy may be allowed temporarily to rest. We do not think it unlikely that Mr. Washington, on reflection, may be able to recall substantially what he did say in the interview with Mr. Bailey. It is of importance, of course, that if Mr. Washington entertains a genuine belief in the single tax he should become an outspoken advocate. There need be no denying the value to the cause of such a convert. In the meantime, until we can hear from Mr. Washington, it will be well to remember that Mr. Bailey is

a cautious newspaper man, whose personal integrity would not permit him to misrepresent the opinion of any individual. Among single taxers and in the wider newspaper world his statements of fact will carry conviction. And in this case it appears he is not without corroborative witnesses. Our readers may therefore be left for the present to draw their own conclusions.

THE GAINS IN THE ELECTIONS.

There have been many gains secured in the recent elections. Perhaps the most important of these is the election to Congress of our old and devoted single tax worker, Robert Baker, a sketch of whom appears on another page. But hardly less important is the election of Lucius F. C. Garvin, a veteran in the single tax ranks, to the governorship of Rhode Island. Dr. Garvin has been a member of the Rhode Island assembly for many years, and has come to be known as a man to be reckoned with. Unless we except the late Hazen S. Pingree, he is perhaps the first single tax executive we have had.

In California another single taxer, Franklin K. Lane, has been defeated for governorship, but only by the narrowest of margins. This, for California, a state where monopolistic forces control, is a substantial victory.

In West Virginia, Chas. M. Wetzel has been elected to the House of Delegates. He was formerly an Indiana man, is a forceful speaker, and has been a single taxer for many years. He will have an opportunity to expose the fallacies in the measure now before the legislature of West Virginia, which, while proposing to abolish the system of personal property taxation, favors the substitution of license taxes, which is a proposition to jump from the frying pan into the fire. As the tax question is now an active one in West Virginia, we may expect that Mr. Wetzel will be heard from.

Clarence S. Darrow, a good enough single taxer for present purposes, is elected to the Illinois legislature.

Charles R. Eckert is defeated for Congress in Pennsylvania, as was anticipated. But this man, also a single taxer, is not cast down. When the news came that he was defeated, he wrote a friend: "The progress of reform is at best slow and tedious, and I have reached the point where I simply labor and wait in hope and faith."

In Colorado we appear to have won at the polls and lost in the count. In other words, a widespread and systematic scheme of fraud prevailed, by which the Bucklin amendment has been defeated.

In Ohio Mayor Johnson has received a temporary setback. But even here the defeat, if defeat it be, has its compensations. Johnson carries the city of Cleveland by the normal Johnson majority, and his re-election to the mayoralty of the city is assured.

Ohio will yet wake to the true greatness of the men who are fighting the battles for justice. As yet they distrust and doubt, and cannot be persuaded that Johnson is anything more than an ordinary politician, seeking his own political advantages for his own selfish purposes. But the time will come. Perhaps it is necessary that they should become a little more hungry, a little more needy.

On the whole, the results of the November elections are gratifying. The great cause moves on, and the truth that never yet lost a war loses now and then a battle. These are of small consequence.

When the dispiriting news came of the election of 1887, in which the splendid majority of 68,000 that Mr. George had secured for mayor a year before, had dwindled to something like half that number, the leader, whose faith saw the hand of God in so much that had occurred in his wonderfully eventful life, was asked by one whose lesser faith at the moment faltered, if he saw the hand of God in that, too. With his eyes thoughtfully fixed on the starry heavens, this man, in whom the spirit of the prophets of Israel lived again, answered solemnly, "I do not see it, but it is there."

COMMUNICATIONS.

SPOKANE, WASH.

Editor *Review*:

I have read with unusual interest your editorial in the last *Single Tax Review* concerning a national organization, which, in addition to other work, could assume management and publication of a national single tax paper. Such an organization is, in my judgment, greatly needed, and could be made to do immense good. It could assume management, also, of a lecture bureau, and in innumerable ways carry on propaganda work and enable single tax advocates throughout the country to come into closer touch with the movement and know better what others were doing.

The American Peace Society has such an organization, with headquarters in Boston. The payment of twenty dollars entitles one to a life membership, and all life members receive its national paper *The Advocate of Peace*, free. I trust you will push your suggestion and hope it may assume practical form. Certainly such an organization could do great good if conducted along right lines.

GEORGE DANA LINN.

This is the only communication called forth by our article in the last number on the necessity of a national organization. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the wisdom of political action, there ought not be two opinions as to the importance of a great national organization. The

fact that the organization last formed was permitted to die is no reason why another should not be formed as soon as possible. In a great national emergency, such as the coal famine, through which we have passed, what an important work might be done by such an organization, speaking for, say, half a million men. Backed with their credentials, Mayor Johnson, or Judge Maguire, could have appeared before Congress, and thus armed have recommended a policy that because of the votes back of their plea would have commanded a respectful hearing. This is but one of the purposes to which a great national organization might efficiently lend itself.—The Editor.

NEWARK, N. J.

Editor *Review*:

In the last number the question is asked, "Please describe fully the proposed method of assessing land values."

Your answer is, of course, to me perfectly familiar, and I thought fully covered the ground, until about two years ago, when I was asked this question: When selling price is entirely eliminated from large sections of land now of only speculative value, and is enormously reduced on even city land, what basis will the assessor have for making his assessments? Speculative values will be eliminated before you take half the ground rent. Where will be his means of comparison when sales become infrequent, as they must when the speculative element is squeezed out? In England, where vacant land is not taxed at all, and other land only nominally on a valuation made in Queen Elizabeth's time, on what basis would assessments be made under the single tax?

F. J. WERNER.

Ans.—The condition which Mr. Werner assumes will not arise for a long time to come. Until then no change in the law of assessment as it generally exists will be necessary. When the time arrives, however, that the speculative value of land is wiped out, that sales are infrequent, and further that practically all the annual ground rent is taken in taxation, a change in methods of assessment will be desirable if not necessary.

There are two methods commonly advocated to meet these conditions; one is to adopt the English system and assess the annual value instead of the capitalized value, and the other, proposed by Mr. Fillebrown of Boston, is to capitalize the annual ground value and assess the capital sum so obtained. The later method, perhaps, involves less change in our existing law and custom, but either of them is perfectly simple, and the requisite amendment could be made in any assessment law without difficulty.

When speculative values are eliminated the work of assessment will be much easier than it is at present. In assessing many parcels of property at the present time the

assessor has to take into account the present rental value and present actual selling value as well. The latter can only be determined by comparison of actual sales, and the process is sometimes difficult. When the assessor shall base his assessment on present annual rental value he will deal with that which is easily ascertainable, and his work will be more accurate than at present.—The Editor.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Editor *Single Tax Review*:

Single tax activity in this city, since the last number of the *Review*, has principally taken the form of communications to the newspapers—some lectures on the subject of the late street car strike, delivered at Tulane University by its president, a prominent bishop of this city and one of the professors of the college, and which included the usual lamentations on the sinfulness of any interference on the part of strikers with the right to work, afforded us an opportunity of getting in some good work—a communication from one of us calling attention to the full meaning of the right to work, and treating these questions at some length and on straight out single tax lines, was published by the *Times-Democrat* and given prominent place. The editorial dissent, which, of course, was no great surprise, was followed by rejoinders from several single taxers besides the writer of the first communication. The discussion lasted over two weeks and was not confined to one paper.

As a means of propaganda communications to newspapers have at least the advantage of cheapness, for, by scarcely any other means, even such as involve considerable cost, can these ideas be presented to as many people at once. And even if the letters are read by only a fraction of the paper's constituency, it is something, at any rate, that the headlines should set them to wondering at the meaning of the strange device we call the single tax. Unfortunately, there are yet legions of people of fairly good information otherwise to whom the words have a strange sound, or who have but a vague idea of their meaning. The great masses get their information almost entirely from the newspapers, and, the opposition knowing this, has cunningly determined upon the settled policy of silence for the suppression of enlightenment. What the cause needs is publicity. From hostile criticism there is little to fear, for not only is it true that all the people can't be fooled all the time, but the number of people who can be fooled at any time is getting less every day.

Some missionary work has been done among the editorial writers on the various journals in this city, a form of propaganda which, together with the method employed, is commended to the consideration of single taxers in other places. *The Public* of Chicago was sent to the private addresses of about a dozen editorial writers on different

local papers, accompanied in some cases with other literature. The high quality of Mr. Post's paper must compel the favorable attention of any intelligent person, and editorial writers, especially hampered, as they are by the censorship of the counting room, are bound to appreciate its courage, honesty and intelligence. It is not to be supposed that this procedure can at once effect a transformation in the average conservative newspaper over whose policy its editorial writers exercise little or no control, but it can develop whatever latent sympathy with single tax aims may exist among these gentlemen and enlist their support when we apply for leave to print. *The Public* was several times quoted from in editorials in the local press. One of its articles was reprinted, and better results could have been obtained by supplementing the subscription with copies of some book like George's *The Condition of Labor*, and perhaps a number or two of the *Review*. It should not be taken for granted that editorial writers are already informed on the single tax; aside from knowing in a general way perhaps that it is a subject which they are called upon to ignore, their lack of information on the subject is in some cases surprising; nor is it assumed, as might be supposed, for in their attempts to refute the single tax doctrine where some knowledge would enable them to oppose it with more plausibility, their comments show an ignorance that is genuine and complete.

Henry George, Jr.'s, admirable syndicate articles are regularly published in the Sunday morning edition of the *City Item*, an afternoon paper of large circulation, and are attracting a lot of attention and doing a great deal of good.

We are somewhat handicapped by the lack of cheap literature. It is unfortunate that such pamphlets as *The Shortest Road to the Single Tax* should be out of print, or no longer obtainable at the old price, and there is difficulty in inducing booksellers to handle the Henry George books at the increased price made by the publishers.

JOSEPH FAIDY.

To the last point raised by Mr. Faidy, we wish to announce that we are considering plans for publishing *The Shortest Road*.—The Editor.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Editor *Review*:

I would like you to take up the subject of an international single tax conference, to be held in St. Louis during the World's Fair. I would suggest that it be called for the sixty-fourth anniversary of Mr. George's birthday, September 2, 1904. I understand facilities in the way of hall room, etc., are going to be supplied by the Exposition company, and as the fair is going to be more splendid in every way than anything previously undertaken, I think the occasion

will be opportune for the holding of a successful conference.
L. P. CUSTER.

MELBOURNE, VICTORIA.

Editor *Review*:

After almost going out of active service for some three or four years, owing to federation, the tariff struggle and other causes, we resumed active work some six months ago, and I think did good service during the recent state parliament elections, when we made effective distribution of some 70,000 leaflets. Our president, Mr. Max Hirsch, was returned as member of Mandurang, supporting the government, and there are other good men who support the taxation of land values, for which also the labor party, some fifteen, and constituting about half the opposition, are also strong. I think, owing to the state of our finances, there is a good prospect of a tax upon land values being passed by the present parliament.

A. C. NICHOLS,
Hon. Sec. Single Tax League.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright is reported as having delivered himself of the following: "The solution of the labor problem is an impossibility—a conclusion I have reached after many years of careful consideration of the question; and I base this assertion upon the fact that in order to solve satisfactorily this difficult problem, the problem of life itself must at the same time be solved."

This is cheering, for if the labor problem is never to be solved Mr. Wright will hold his office forever. One of the most desirable results that will follow the solution of the labor problem will be the final riddance of the country of many useless offices of which that of labor commissioner is not the least superogatory.

A large part of this magazine is made up of the report of the Massachusetts League's dinner to the professors of political economy. We think that these dinners, marking as they do a very distinct advance in the campaign of education, are as important as anything that is being done anywhere, and are worthy of all the space that can be given them. Nevertheless, we have made extra provision in this magazine so that nothing of importance should be omitted. This number of the *Review* comprises therefore seventy-two pages instead of the usual sixty-four.

Our Houston friends have not been idle during the last few months. They got out a special edition of the *Houston Daily Tribune*, devoted almost entirely to the question of taxation, and bearing a display heading, "Tax Reformers of the State of Texas send Greeting to their Colorado brethren and Encouragement in their Efforts to secure Just Taxation." This issue was filled

with interesting and important matter on the taxation question from the pens of Messrs. Pastoriza, Porterfield, and other prominent men and merchants of Houston.

Everybody's Magazine for October contained an interesting account of Miss Margaret Haley's work in Chicago, which no woman who desires to take part in the work of civic usefulness should fail to read.

As we go to press we are grieved at the news of the death of David R. Harris, of Brooklyn. Mr. Harris was a member of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, and was a general favorite. A delegation from the Manhattan Club attended the funeral services in a body. We regret that the news comes too late to enable us to make adequate comment on the life and services of Mr. Harris.

THREE POINTS OF VIEW.

George F. Baer, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, says: "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country, and upon the successful management of which so much depends."

The *New York Tribune* says: "Some persons have had a notion that God put the coal in the earth to furnish heat for men's needs, and thought there was some slip in the cogs of the universe when they could not buy coal because President Baer, God's vice-gerent at the mines, would not work them."

Rev. E. E. Hale says: "In a republican government it is not possible, as it is not right, that 20 men, or 50,000 men shall control a supply which the good God has given for mankind. Take care that your committee does not ally itself with the 20 or with the 50,000."

The *New York World* has gone to the trouble of interviewing a number of authorities on the prospects for continued prosperity during the coming year. Among the experts on prosperity, who vouchsafe prophecies are Russell Sage and Minnie Maddern Fiske. We do not see why Coal King Baer and Anna Held should not also have been included along with the rest of the prosperity experts, for both are likely to be quite comfortable through the year 1903.

But seriously here was an opportunity if the *World* had desired it to point out the kind of prosperity we are having, and the

ominous tendencies liable to arrest it. The fact is, the *World* is rapidly becoming a journal in the interests of monopoly, and it will soon become of as little value financially to Mr. Pulitzer as it is educationally to the rest of the community. For the thing is being overdone in the metropolis—there are one or two too many journals which, deriving their support from the people, betray the people's interest. There is room for a few such papers, but the competition is getting too keen. The *World* will do better if it bids for the other kind of support.

That was a phrase full of revelation and unsuspected truth which Eugene V. Debs is reported to have uttered in reply to one who had spoken of the beneficiaries of the social system under which we live. "Beneficiaries," said Debs, "why, there are no beneficiaries of the present system."

And, indeed, there are not. For lives wrecked by the injustice and resulting inequalities of fortune one need not seek the hovels and the slums. For where the purse-proud go, with nerves shattered by forebodings and anticipations of market fluctuations, and in the terrible strain and stress that beset the conditions of modern stock gambling operations, minds, morals, and bodies are wrecked. And the other groups—those who passively take instead of strenuously exacting tribute,—these furnish the scandals of Newport and the ineffable trivialities of the idle voluptuaries of the so-called "society" degenerates at the other end of the line of unjust distribution. They are all fruits of the system—not beneficiaries. Debs is right—none benefit. This is the great law that points to the source wise men are right in believing divine. Society cannot do evil without injury to its every member. Slavery must enslave the master; none are free who servilely serve; none free who dominate by force or cunning.

John Washburn, who is president of the Washburn-Crosby Milling Company and president of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, in an interview with a reporter thus expressed himself. Mr. Washburn's attitude is significant of the change now in progress in the minds of merchants and business men:

"Take the vast domain lying to our north and west, of which Manitoba is the center. No one who has not been through this country can appreciate the great development that has taken place there within a few years. And the development is only beginning. Here is a country, an empire in itself, that in twenty years more will have reached a degree of importance as much beyond the dreams of men to-day as the present development is beyond the expectation of men who saw this country twenty

years ago. *Shall we try to get into closer commercial touch with this vast territory, or shall we continue to do business under obsolete tariffs and restrictions that, in my opinion, must be discontinued anyway sooner or later?*"

THIS IS NOT CONFISCATION—OH,
DEAR, NO!

The Government has given Nellie Lydeck, an Indian woman, and her two children, full title to a large portion of the town of Cass Lake, Minn. The decision, rendered by the Secretary of the Interior, grew out of allotment complications dating back to a time before the settlement of the town.

The United States Supreme Court has passed on the issue, and the townspeople have no alternative. Mrs. Lydeck and her children will have title to all improvements made on the land.

William Porter is the Single Tax movement in Cape May. He was nominated for Surrogate of Cape May County by the Democrats, and made an earnest but unsuccessful canvass. In a circular to the voters, after stating his Single Tax belief, Mr. Porter says: "This is what I am in politics for."

Mr. John J. O'Brien has full set of the *Standard*, which he would like to dispose of. He may be addressed care of the Mass. Single Tax League, 68 Essex street, Boston.

Lawson Purdy spoke on Local Option in taxation at a meeting of the Civic Federation of New Jersey, at Newark, N. J.

W. E. Mackin, whose name will not be unfamiliar to Single Taxers the world over, and who is now stationed in Nankin, China, has just completed a translation of Patrick Edward Dove's work into Chinese.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY DR.
McGLYNN MONUMENT ASSO-
CIATION AT ITS MEETING,
CIVIC HALL, NEW YORK, DEC.,
1902.

Resolved, That we learn with a peculiar sense of personal bereavement of the death of Father Thomas McLoughlin, for we remember the sturdy manliness shown in his fearless and frequent public acts of friendship for and his powerful, and ever ready and hearty encouragement of our great leader, Dr. McGlynn:

Resolved, That we shall cherish in our memory as sacred the deeds and words of Father McLoughlin, always performed or uttered in advocacy of truths, in defence of the weak, in aid of the needy, to bring

about the happiness of his fellowmen here, as well as hereafter.

Resolved, That these resolutions be entered upon our minutes and a copy be sent to the relations of Father McLoughlin, attested by our officers as the sentiments of this association.

SYLVESTER L. MALONE,
President.

THOMAS J. McMAHON,
Secretary.

THE LAND LAWS OF MOSES.

(From "Jesus, the Jew," by Harris Weinstock. Funk & Wagnalls Company.)

Moses, as a far-seeing statesman, saw that the safety of his people lay in establishing conditions which as far as possible would prevent a king, should they choose to have one, from becoming the absolute owner of the soil, and at the same time prevent the few from becoming land rich, and the many from becoming land poor. This prompted the enactment of the law creating the Jubilee Year. In the fiftieth year the land reverted to its original owner or to his heirs. Land monopoly was thus made impossible on the part of the rich or on the part of the ruler. If the agrarian system established by Moses were in force to-day, imagine how impossible would be the conditions, such as prevail in Ireland, cursed as it is with a system of absentee landlordism and farm tenancies. The wretched Irish farmer ekes out a miserable existence, while the idle landlord lives abroad as a man of pleasure on the rentals of the tenants, which literally come from the sweat of their brows. The land system of Moses would mean no landed millionaires, no landless poor, and no paupers.

The Bishop of Ossory having at the inaugural meeting of the Dublin University Philosophic Society last November, spoken of Henry George as a teacher of anarchy, that sterling organ of the Land for the People, the Cork County *Eagle*, thus replies:

"We would respectfully ask this dignitary of the Church in which he holds a high position, how comes it that neither he nor his clergy ever teach or preach the truth so fully and so explicitly laid down in God's Word on the disposition of the earth, which, it is stated in the Book of Books, He gave—not to a class or clique, but to the children of men? For instance, in the Commandments, which were written on tables of stone, with His own hand, God teaches the child a beautiful lesson of obedience and respect to the parent. He tells children to honor their parents, and, as a reward for the fulfillment of this duty, He assures

them long life in the land He has *given* them. There is here imposed a duty, and, for its faithful performance, long life is the reward. Yes, long life on the earth which the Lord says He *gave* to the children of men. Will the Bishop of Ossory assert that this universal gift has not been unjustly and unwarrantably taken possession of by a few, or will he deny that, while he expounds the teachings of Christ, who condemns *all wrong-doing*, that he, the good and pious Bishop of Ossory, shuts his eyes to an iniquitous land system which has brought in its wake, and is still bringing in its train such misery and wretchedness. But the Commandment referred to is only one confirmation out of many which conveys the gift of the earth to the children of men. Here are the exact words which ratify God's bounty and goodness—words repeated every Sunday in the Bishop's church, in fact in all the Protestant churches: "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in THE LAND WHICH THE LORD THY GOD GIVETH THEE."

The *Eagle* is doing a good work in publishing serially Rev. S. W. Thackeray's "Land and the Community, a History of Land Tenure." Dr. Thackeray's name will be familiar to many Single Taxers in this country.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE MAINE DEMOCRATIC CLUB,

PORTLAND, MAINE, JAN. 8, 1903.

By John DeWitt Warner.

THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE.

What is the People's Cause?

Democracy must be ever loyal to the People—if need be even against the government itself; but this does not involve paralysis of government, except to help monopoly. Democracy opposes government restriction—for it believes in giving the people all freedom possible. But it favors extension of public service. This to give each more freedom. To illustrate: Democracy abhors a Protective Tariff—because it interferes with men's business. But it favors our postal service—because that makes it easier for every man to do business.

No government can serve monopoly and the people; "for either it will hate the one and love the other, or it will hold to the 'one and despise the other.'" It cannot "serve God and Mammon."

To take our government out of bondage to Mammon; to make it better serve our people—such is, to-day, the People's Cause—such the program of Democracy.

What items does this involve?

First: Getting it out of the service of

Plutocracy—making it stop taxing our people for private monopoly.

Our forefathers denounced George III. "for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world." That is just what our own government is doing. What we need to-day is freedom from government obstruction to the people's business. Free Trade is what we want. Is it not high time to say so? If I remember correctly the Declaration of Independence was the glad end of a long series of loyal protests to the British crown, in which the Tories had joined. Would we not be stronger if we purged our ranks of those who are really against us?

One of the truths we must accept as axiomatic is that "Protection"—the theory that government should single out from the private industries of our country those which it thinks deserving aid, and apportion among them the aid it thinks others should give them—is usurpation—blackmail to which no man has any excuse for submitting, except that for the moment he cannot resist or escape; to which no one does submit except because he must.

I am not so sure, however, but that we may have among us those who wish to be classed as "Tariff Reformers." What does "Tariff Reform" mean? As I understand it, a mere tariff reformer is ready to acquiesce a tariff "for revenue." But, in fixing a tariff for revenue, the interests affected lie, bully, and bribe—just as in the case of a tariff for Protection. Not a man present but who knows that the statement of his most revered friend made to influence tariff rates, is as crooked as every returning honeymooner knows is the customary declaration of his wedded bride to avoid paying duty. The antics of ten monkeys to which have been thrown three oranges, are dignity and generosity compared with the performance of American manufacturers when tariff schedules are fixing.

Moreover, experience has shown how little we can hope for such adjustment of any tariff as to leave it one for revenue alone. The Wilson tariff was less oppressive in its extortions than any other we have had of late years; but there never was one less defensible on logical grounds than was this when it left the House; or one more bestuck with corruption than when it came back from the Senate to become a law.

Senators and Congressmen were not all angels then. There are men of honor and courage among them now. But no one, on reading the roll, can claim that Congress is now better worthy of trust, or that we have a right to expect future ones will be so.

Even if practicable, a tariff for revenue could not be defended. For it is a tax, not on ability to pay, but on necessity to use. From its very nature, to produce even a large or a stable return, it must be mainly

levied, not upon luxuries, but upon the necessities of life.

In short, it is the essential of a tariff tax that it is paid in the increased price of whatever the most of our citizens find it necessary to have. It is a tax which stands by the cradle, and, as every babe enters the household, vigilantly and pitilessly increases its father's share of public burdens; but which sleeps unmoved while bond is piled upon bond in the strong box, and broad acres are added to broad acres outside. Is it fair thus to tax the necessities of the poor and leave untouched the accumulations of the rich? Is it fair thus to burden the unfortunate in proportion to his wants, and thus to let the miser go free in proportion to his stinginess? Is it fair thus to discourage the rearing of children, and thus to encourage the breeding of dollars?

But we have timorous friends, who shiver whenever there is danger that something will be done. And they ask: Would you have business disaster? Certainly—disaster to every man the continuance of whose prosperity depends on the continuation of his power to tax us for his benefit. When answered thus, they generally say that they agree, "but—that 'some tariffs are not as bad as others'; and that 'we don't want to do anything that would unsettle business.'"

Well, which are the good tariffs? Which are those the repeal of which would unsettle any business—except the business of dead-beats? Now I have asked that question scores of times, and I have never yet received an answer. But I do know something as to tariffs:

In the year 1901, we collected through the Customs House \$233,500,000.

Of that 27 per cent. was the duty on sugar.

Could not the business of this country stand free sugar?

Of the remainder, a little less than 10 per cent. was on manufactured cottons; and about the same amount on woollen and manufactures of wool.

Could not the business interests of this country survive giving our whole people better and cheaper clothes?

Next comes Flax and other fibers 5½ per cent.; Iron and Steel goods 3 per cent.; Tea 3½ per cent.; Chemicals, Medicines, etc., 2 4-10 per cent.; Pottery and China 2 3-10 per cent.; Hides and Leather goods 3 per cent.—in each of which Free Trade would help our people. The duty on tea is already repealed.

Whom would it ruin if the Sugar Trust, the Cotton Trust, the Woollen Trust, the Linen Trust, the Iron and Steel Trust, the Leather Trust and the Glass Trust were left without protection?

Of our total tariff receipts the only considerable items collected on luxuries

are: 7 per cent. thereof on tobacco; 6 per cent. on manufactured silk, and 4 per cent. on liquors.

I appreciate that Liquor and Tobacco duties are needed to counterbalance Internal Revenue taxes. Indeed, most free traders would not lie awake nights on account of the really "revenue" tariff on tea, or on account of the one we would have had on coffee—except that when the item was up the Sugar Trust happened to be "short" on the coffee market, and sent its agent to have the Senate knock it out—as he has since sworn.

From beginning to end of the tariff schedules, there is not an item the repeal of which would not help business rather than hurt it. A pauper dollar that don't earn its living without outdoor aid, is just as much a drag on business as is a human wreck whom the poormaster has to help.

In short, my fearful friends, when you plead for Tariff Reform, instead of Free Trade, in order that business may not be hurt, you are letting yourselves be used by Protection monkeys as cat's paws, to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. The only good tariffs are dead tariffs. The best way to improve a tariff is to repeal it.

So much for the Tariff. But the trust question presses for solution: Statesmen may still quibble over definitions; but we may as well understand that what people mean by a "Trust" is a private monopoly in a necessary of life or commerce.

How extensive and serious are Trust operations? As we all know, within the past two years, these monopolistic combines have been so rapidly and recklessly spawned that in that time their number, their extent and their greed have been multiplied. In the nature of things exact statistics cannot now be given.

The situation at the end of 1900,—two years before the birth of most now considered really great—was, however, as follows—stated by the most trustworthy, conservative, and influential business newspaper in America, the *New York Journal of Commerce*:

"First, the capitalization of the 'trusts.' At the close of 1900, their 'nominal capital consisted of \$680,000,000 in bonds, \$1,250,000,000 of preferred 'stock' and \$2,796,000,000 in common 'stock,' . . . probably nine-tenths of the 'common shares have nothing behind them beyond such transient figments 'as compensation to 'promoters,' good-will, past profits without any guaranty of their continuance, and bonuses (over and above the true value of the 'properties amalgamated) to induce 'co-operation in the 'deals.' These 'common shares have brought no accessions of capital or property to the 'consolidations; they merely serve as 'counters in gambling stock transac-

"tions; or as shams to bolster up false confidence among the uninitiated; and "by no true or proper use of language can they be designated as 'CAPITAL stock.' In nearly all cases, they are a "worthless fiction."

In short two years ago 50 per cent. of our Trust stocks were water, upon which their promoters hoped, by government aid, to make the American people pay dividends.

As an example, take the most prominent late case in which we have the statement of the promoters themselves—that of the United States Steel Corporation, the largest single factor of which was the Carnegie Steel Company, limited.

Just before the steel combine was perfected, the principal owners of the Carnegie Company, Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Frick went to law as to the terms on which Carnegie might buy Frick out. Mr. Carnegie claimed the right to do so at a valuation of about \$5,000,000. Mr. Frick protested, alleging the property to be worth at least \$250,000,000. We are safe in saying that, when Mr. Carnegie tried to swear it down to \$75,000,000, and Mr. Frick tried to swear it up to \$250,000,000, the actual value was somewhere between the two.

July 15, 1902, Mr. Schwab, the President of the United States Steel Corporation, swore that these very properties—

"were purchased by the United States Steel Corporation . . . and the United States Steel Corporation thereupon issued and paid for such properties \$304,000,000 in five per cent. bonds . . . and \$188,556,000 in stock. (Or, in round numbers, \$500,-000,000)."

Did Mr. Carnegie drive too sharp a bargain? Not at all. On that point we have the oath of Mr. George W. Perkins, of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., August 22d, 1902, that—

"The" (United States Steel) "corporation was" (in May, 1902) "doing a business of over \$400,000,000 per annum on practically a cash basis."

—and that of the President of the Steel Corporation, Mr. Charles M. Schwab, on July 15th, 1902, that—

"The net earnings during the first three months of the second year, viz.: "from April 1, 1902, to July 1, 1902, "were \$37,691,700, or at the rate of "\$150,000,000 per year.

" . . . During the second year, the "properties are earning at the rate of "over 14 per cent. upon its common "capital stock, after deducting seven "per cent. cumulative dividend upon the "preferred stock."

In short, so effectively did the Corporation use its monopoly, that of its gross sales of over \$400,000,000, \$150,000,000, or 37½ per cent. was net profit, and its dividend actually twice the rate (or 14 per cent. per

annum) upon the ocean of water it had issued as common stock, than even the liberal rate (7 per cent.) which it paid upon its preferred stock.

To what was this monopoly due? Somewhat to railroad favoritism; but first and foremost to the fact that by "protection" its promoters were able to tax the American people at the same time that they gave cheaper goods to foreigners.

On this point nothing could be more luminous than Secretary Shaw's immortal explanation of Tariff trust relations—

"The protective tariff is not the "mother of trusts, though it is the parent of conditions that make it profitable for capital to combine and congenial for labor to organize."

Exactly; we have heard of such things before. Corrupt government, for example, is not the mother of crime, it is simply the parent of conditions which make it profitable for bandits to combine, and congenial for honest men to band together for safety.

As to special instances? President Roosevelt says there is no tariff on anthracite coal. Secretary of the Treasury Shaw instructs collectors to facilitate the adjustment of duties on imported anthracite; Secretary of the Navy Moody says the tariff on anthracite is a fraud and an outrage—and ought to be repealed. A Democrat can scarcely add to this.

Take Standard Oil:—From the time President Roosevelt was a free-trader himself, this has been one of the interests most helped by a high tariff; which preserved its monopoly, and for long years enabled it to charge double prices here, during which it gave Europe cheap oil. And to this very day the more profitable products of the Standard Oil Co. are protected by a high tariff—generally from 25 per cent. upwards.

Of its dealings with Labor, a late instance was the Tin Plate look-out in August last, to compel the workmen in that industry to accept 20 per cent. reduction in wages, because the Standard Oil Co. had notified the Tin Plate Trust that it proposed to take advantage of the tariff rebate, and get its tin plate abroad, unless by cutting down wages, the Tin Plate Trust would let it have tin cheaper here. The locked-out workmen met and resolved that the tariff was a protection of trusts against the laboring men.

On the Meat Trust I can quote a good deal better authority than President Roosevelt—Mr. Armour, its head. When he landed in New York on his return from Europe in the latter part of August, a *World* reporter met him and asked him about the prospects of the meat combine, with which we have since become familiar:

"Will the combination, if affected, "control the meat industry of this country?"

"I think it would."

"Will it control Europe?"

"No. It is impossible for any combination in the United States to control the meat trade of Europe, because of the large shipments of cattle from Argentine and other South American countries."

* * * * *

"We intend, however," he said, "to build a million dollar plant at Fort Worth, to handle Texas cattle for the export trade."

In other words, as Mr. Armour candidly explains, with a two cent per pound tariff on meat the combination enjoys a monopoly here. It cannot extend this to Europe because Europe is free, as America is not, to buy meat from Australia and South America. But so far are our high prices from being necessary for the meat business here, that the Meat Trust proposes to build enormous slaughter houses in Texas to send Europe cheap meat, and thus compete there with the Australian and South American farmers, who would be glad to furnish us cheap meat, if our tariff didn't leave us at the mercy of our Meat Trust.

Take the Steel Trust itself: Mr. Roosevelt don't think the tariff helps it. I must again be excused from quoting what I think better authority. Mr. Lewis Nixon is the head of the Great Shipbuilding combine, owning, as it now does, its own steel works and with shipyards from Maine to California. Promised ship subsidy he was willing to take it; but, being a Democrat, wouldn't lie about it; so that the subsidy people had no use for him after his first statements in January, 1900, from which I quote:

"Mr. Nixon (shipbuilder), speaking on behalf of the bill, testified (Hearings, 1900, p. 26), as follows:

"Mr. Fitzgerald: Where can you buy steel for \$35 a ton?

"Mr. Nixon: In England.

"Mr. Fitzgerald: How do you account for the fact, then, that American steel is sold abroad?

"Mr. Nixon: We sell it over there.

"Mr. Fitzgerald: And you have to pay \$60 for it here?

"Mr. Nixon: We have been doing it."

"Mr. Fitzgerald: Do I understand you to make the statement that you can buy steel for \$35 a ton in England?

"Mr. Nixon: Thirty-six dollars, I think, was the last quotation.

"Mr. Fitzgerald: And how much here?

"Mr. Nixon: Two and six-tenths cents a pound the other day."

The Republican program is to subsidize our shipbuilders so heavily that they can afford to pay Steel Trust extortion. The Democratic plan is to make the Steel Trust

give everybody cheap steel, so that no subsidy will be needed.

I have been asked not to forget the Ship Subsidy. I am rather surprised. For I had supposed this steel already doomed—at least until Hanna should be President, Knox, Chief Justice, and each Trust given an additional Senator for every \$100,000, 000 of its capital over half a million—all of which may be close at hand, but not here yet.

The original subsidy bill, under the pretense of helping our exports, gave most of the \$9,000,000 permitted without reference to exports, and to ships that could not carry them.

Sundry crumbs were widely scattered. But it was a case of "us four and no more"—with the International Navigation Company (a Pa. R. R.—and Standard Oil concern) at the head of the table, the Atlantic Transport Co. (another Pa. R. R. concern), at its right hand; at its left the Pacific Mail still odorous from its bribery, in the last ship subsidy scandal; and opposite the N. Y. and Cuba Mail.

For example: Of some \$5,700,000 subsidy that had this late grab succeeded would have been paid out during the first year, the International was to have gotten \$2,331,000, or over 50 per cent.; the Atlantic Transport Co., \$845,000, or nearly 15 per cent.; the Pacific Mail nearly \$600,000, or over 10 per cent.; and the N. Y. & Cuba Mail \$625,000, or 11 per cent.

Senators Hanna and Frye would have put it through Congress, however, except that from our wage-earners and farmers, in 1901, came such a storm of protest as to drive them from their loot.

Only in appearance, however—for they concocted a new bill—in fact, the same old steal for the same old sinners—which, last Spring, they put through the Senate, and tried to get through the House—before the Shipbuilding Combine and the Shipping Trust were launched.

I prefer to kick live steals rather than dead ones, and shall, therefore, waste little time on this—though it is still stirring. It is a mail subsidy grab for the same parties. For example, the International—since chief factor in the shipping trust—is now hired to carry our mails between this country and Great Britain—though it has not a single fast ship, or a single new one that is not far slower than its ten year old ones. In the year ending July 1st, 1902, on the theory that it carried our mails between New York and Great Britain, we paid the International \$667,000 for carrying 131,000,000 gr. of letters. We had to hire the greater part of our letters carried by faster British and German ships. For example, we paid the Cunard Line \$221,000 for carrying 141,000,000 gr. of letters. That is, we paid the Cunard for carrying more mail at greater speed, one-third the rate the International got for the work it could not do.

The pending bill provides that the Post Office Department contract with the International to carry these same mails for twenty years to come, at 30 per cent. higher rates of pay—this without a single provision for other or faster ships than it now supplies. In short, to establish an "Old Ladies' Home" where we shall pay its old hulks, no longer fit to carry mails, a bigger pension for doing nothing, than we must pay in addition to fast modern ships for actually carrying our mails.

This is a sample apple from the ship subsidy basket. The rest are smaller, but just as rotten.

There is beauty in many another tariff trust, but I don't know of a rose in the garden more sweet than the sugar blooms, or a more rich "Cuban Reciprocity." I don't believe President Roosevelt knew the measure he was procured to recommend was one the Sugar Trust had concocted. But he knows it now. For with the rest of us he has learned that the Cuban manifestoes were subsidized and public expression here manufactured by Mr. Thurber, with Mr. Havemeyer's money—a combination that certifies the interest in which was pushed a Reciprocity that left Cuba's product, one which we need, still shut out by a duty scarcely less prohibitory than the one which now disgraces our statutes—the reduction, however, being as much as the Sugar Trust dared grab on its raw materials, without risking reduction of the much worse tariff on its refined product.

It was a fine example of lofty principle our President gave us—an appeal for generosity to Cuba—on the ground that it wouldn't cost us anything, and not even hurt the beet sugar dead-beats—a statement, doubtless, inspired by the Sugar Trust, and naturally not a true one. For Mr. Oxnard knows more about beet sugar than the President will ever learn, and he and his have poured out their money like water, and filled the air with their squalling, to beat the Sugar Trust program.

The Democratic program, as I understand it, is to strike down at one blow the Sugar Trust and Beet Sugar Trust, and help our own people by giving them free sugar—thus giving the Cubans about a hundred-fold what they are likely to get from any Havemeyer-Roosevelt plan.

As to the philanthropy of the Sugar Trust: Among those interested in the sugar business before the Sugar Trust was formed was John C. Havemeyer, of Yonkers, reputed a high-minded, straightforward gentleman. During the past ten years I have often wondered how he could join in the infamy by which that Trust had prospered. The answer came in this telegram, which I quote from the *New York Times* of December 14th:

"John C. Havemeyer delivered an address in Westminster Presbyterian

"Church to-night, and referred to the reason which led him to abandon the sugar industry for the profession of preacher. In the course of his remarks he said:

"When the sugar manufacturers combined together to form a trust, I could not see that my way was clear to live a Christian life and at the same time to rob the poor by raising the price of their coffee sweetening."

—I shall not try to add to that picture.

One more specimen: From the Press despatches of December 11th—less than a month since—I quote:

"Isidor and Nathan Strauss, composing the firm of R. H. Macy & Co., applied to Justice Leventritt yesterday for an injunction restraining the American Publishers' Association and the American Booksellers' Association from acting under a certain agreement whereby they wished to stop selling books to Macy's."

"Col. Stephen H. Olin appeared for the book dealers. Col. Olin admitted that the book publishers and sellers had entered into agreements to maintain the prices of books. The trouble arose from the fact that Macy's would not consent to keep up the prices of the books."

Plaintiffs quoted from the annual report of the Secretary of the Booksellers' Association the following, as to village or school librarians who might try to save public moneys:

"If your local librarian is disposed to ask for a greater discount, it is your duty to call upon him and explain to him explicitly the reason why the public library is entitled to no discounts."

"If he still insists on cutting off a share of your rightful profit, it is your further duty to go before the Town or City Council and have the annual salary of your local librarian reduced. This you may rightfully ask as a taxpayer."

The final suggestion I have just quoted typifies trust methods. The Publishers' Association doubtless assumes itself an honorable body. But there is not a man of its directorate who does not know that the instructions thus given its agents could not be—and were not intended to be—carried out except by lying and bullying; or who will claim that the tools to whom this order was issued were expected, when they lobbied, to punish local librarians, to state the real reason why they did so. If there be dirtier business than this, I have yet been spared from getting it. If there be men who deserve both the pump and the

horsewhip, it is "gentlemen" who order or connive at such business.

Well; What do we propose to do with Trusts? The President parrots the worn answer, "Publicity." Publicity—What for? Does anyone imagine the people of this country are in any doubt as to the fact—or the nature—or the consequences of these Trusts—or as to who is responsible for them? I perfectly well appreciate that publicity might protect small investors in Trust stocks; but when did fair division of plunder, rather than suppression of banditti, become the first duty of government? Our President reminds one of the boy who, when shown by his mamma the picture of Daniel in the Lion's den, burst into tears in sympathy with the little lion "who was crowded so far into the back that he wasn't going to get any Daniel." The mighty hunter in the White House may sympathize with the little Bulls and Bears. But what a plundered people demand is Protection from the beasts, little as well as big.

Our Tariff is the blood sucker through which Trusts most drain our life and commerce. What do we propose to do about that? It will not do simply to answer that we propose to reduce Protection, to bad Trusts. We may not know yet whether the Meat Combine, or the Coal Combine, or the Sugar Trust, or the Steel Trust, or many another Trust is a bad one or not. But the people do; and it is time for us to answer whether or not we are determined to have free meat, free coal, free sugar, free steel—in short, every other thing free, just as fast as we can force the issues.

Again: Some of us may assume it wisdom to wait until a trust grows from a mere nuisance to a national menace, before we cut off the protection on which it is growing fat. Our voters, however, indulge in no such nonsense. They every day more sharply urge Free Trade, not merely against big trusts, that have grown dangerous, but against little ones—before they get big.

So far can Congress undo the wrong it has done. But that is not enough. Interstate Commerce and Postal Service are in the power of Congress. No formidable trust could exist except suffered by Congress to do interstate business. Next to the tariff Interstate railroads have most bled others to fatten Trusts. Free Trade would strip Trusts of "Protection"—their shield. Why should not Congress use the powers expressly given it to provide for Interstate transport as well as postal service—and thus take from the trusts their sword as well?

Do you want instances of how Trusts have used railroad crime to destroy legitimate business?

I note a little Standard Oil history, lately collated by Miss Tarbell:

"In 1871 John D. Rockefeller and his "associates entered into a conspiracy with

"the railroads serving the oil regions. "Under the terms of this conspiracy a "monopoly was to be created by freezing out of business all oil refiners who "were not members of the band. . . .

"Their contracts . . . which the "railroad managers secretly signed, "fixed rates of freight from all the leading shipping points within the oil "regions to all the great refining centers—New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg, and Cleveland. . .

"For example, the open rate on crude "oil to New York was put at \$2.56 a "barrel. On this price the South Improvement company (the Rockefeller "interest) was allowed a rebate of \$1.06. "But it got not only this rebate, it was "given in cash a like amount on each "barrel of crude oil shipped by parties "outside the combination."

That is, while others were charged \$2.56, the Standard Oil paid only from \$1.50 down—only 44 cents per barrel net, for example, in case outsiders shipped as much as did it.

This paved the way for the benevolent assimilation of its rivals on the Standard's own terms.

In this connection I am glad to note that that Attorney-General Knox has seen more than he has done. In October he said:

"In the early part of this year it came "to the knowledge of the President that "great railway systems in the middle "West, upon which every section of the "country is dependent for the movement of breadstuffs, had entered into "unlawful agreements to transport the "shipments of a few favored grain "buyers at rates much below the tariff "charges imposed upon small dealers "and the general public. This injustice prevailed to such an extent and "for so long a time that most of the "smaller shippers had been driven from "the field. . . . In a word, there was "practically only one buyer on each railway system, and the illegal advantages "he secured from the carrier gave him "a monopoly of the grain trade on the "line with which his secret compact "was made. It was an odious condition.

"Nor does this describe the full measure of wrongdoing. It reached the "centers of trade, and affected related "industries with more or less disaster. "In Kansas City, for example, it was "asserted that local dealers had been "excluded from participation in the "grain trades; that their elevators for "the storage and transshipment of grain, "built at great expense for the demands "of an important market, had been deprived of business; and that large "numbers of laborers had lost employment and remained in idleness, solely

"because of the diversion of business
"from its natural channels, as the re-
"sult of this forbidden monopoly in the
"purchase and transportation of grain."

In short, our railroads have misused the privileges given them until our government postal service, as well as both our interstate and foreign commerce, is obstructed and blackmailed, while trust monopoly is openly favored by law breakers, such as those whom, as they have themselves reminded us, God in his inscrutable providence, has permitted to monopolize an thracite.

If more evidence were needed we have the Interstate Commerce Commission's late report on the Railroad pools' combine with the Meat Trust:

"The facts developed upon that investigation (of the Chicago packing houses) and upon a previous investigation into the movement of grain and grain products, are of such a character that no thoughtful person can contemplate them with indifference. That the leading traffic officials of many of the principal railway lines, men occupying high positions and charged with the most important duties, should deliberately violate the statute law of the land, and agree with each other to do so; that it should be thought by them necessary to *destroy vouchers* and to so *manipulate bookkeeping* as to obliterate evidence of transactions; that hundreds of thousands of dollars should be paid in unlawful rebates to a few great packing-houses; . . . must be surprising and offensive to all right-minded persons. Equally startling, at least, is the fact that the owners of these packing houses, men whose names are known throughout the commercial world, should seemingly be eager to augment their gains with the enormous amount of these rebates, which they receive in plain defiance of a Federal statute."

In view of such conditions, who can dispute Chairman Knapp's conclusion:

"If we could unearth the secrets of these modern trusts, whose quick gotten wealth dwarfs the riches of Solomon, and whose impudent exactions put tyranny to shame, we should find the explanation of their menacing growth in the systematic and heartless methods by which they have evaded the common burdens of transportation. . . .

"As I view the matter the state has as much right to farm out its business of collecting its revenues or preserving the peace, and then allow the par-

"ties entrusted with those duties to fix the rate of taxation according to their interests, or to sell personal protection to the highest bidder, as it has to permit the great function of public carriage to be the subject of special bargain or secret dicker, to be made unequal by favoritism or oppressive by extortion. . . ."

We have lately heard many appeals to the alleged principles of Democracy, from gentlemen not hitherto suspected of knowing or caring for them. Our Trust and Railroad magnates eagerly warn us against extension of federal powers. In our cities, street railway and gas magnates are bitter against what they call the "State Socialism" of municipal street cars and gas works. In Congress Republican Senators have fits at any proposed extension of mail facilities that would hurt express monopoly.

The people appreciate the great risks in government control of railroads; but they also appreciate the greater ones in railroad control of government. They know that they must choose between them—and they have made their choice. Have we? If so, the quicker we announce it the better. If not, we had better let somebody lead who does know the direction in which he is going.

But again rise our timid friends and ask: Where are the thousands of millions of dollars to buy the railroads? It would not cost a dollar to enact laws that would give the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to make railroads choose between fair service to all, or penitentiary for their officials, and fines that would kill dividends. And why should not government also proceed to construct roads for its postal service and interstate commerce on routes where such would pay from the start—for example, from Boston to New York, or from New York to Washington? Does any one doubt that such roads would pay? Or but that, this once done, other great lines would try so to serve our people as not to invite government to build roads?

Indeed, the railroad problem is an easy one compared with others that are close at hand. As our supply of meat, of bread, of coal, of steel, of sugar,—of one after another necessary of life or commerce becomes a private monopoly—Is our government as now constituted, helpless to break it? And, if so: As between State and Federal Constitutions, and the Constitution of our citizens themselves. If one must go, which is fated to be broken first?

To set up a bogie of Socialism is no answer. Our people know the real thing too well. And as between the Socialism of Plutocracy that abuses law to make the people serve it, and that of Democracy that exacts ever more service from government to give its people more freedom, they will not hesitate to choose.

Again: Another problem is ever with us—that of taxation. Tariff taxation is unfair taxation. Then in the name of Justice let us have Free Trade. Agreed; but on what shall we levy taxes? If we don't know, we had better find out. The people expect us to answer. What have we to propose? Is there a fairer tax than the Income Tax? Is there a less oppressive tax than a Succession Tax? Is there a tax that takes less of what a man has earned, and more of what is due the public already, than a tax on Land Values?

If so, a waiting people listens to hear us suggest these better taxes. If not, the same people expects us to propose and adjust Income taxes, Succession taxes, Land taxes—one or all. Or, if any one thinks excise, or direct taxes upon the states in proportion to population, or any other method should be further or newly exploited, it is high time to consider it. If we need constitutional amendment to open the way for what should be done, we should demand and work for it—and meanwhile use all the power Congress has.

These problems are urgent. If we don't meet them they will meet us. Democracy cannot be ready too soon.

I do not forget that many still urge that Democracy is not a proper theory of government. Indeed, if we are to judge from the world's history, the opinion of mankind has been so largely otherwise that one might argue that monarchy, or Aristocracy is better than popular government. And I respect the logic—though I do not agree with it—of Mr. Carnegie—who stands among those most responsible for what now faces us, and far first among those attempting to meet their responsibility—when thirteen years ago he voiced the theory upon which he and worse men have since been working—that it was on the whole good to let our people become stratified into upper and lower classes, one representing Wealth and the other Labor—on the theory that—

“The millionaire will be a trustee for
“the poor, entrusted with a great part
“of the increased wealth of the community,
“but administering it for the community
“far better than it could or
“would have done for itself.”

What I do know, however, is that this is Plutocracy, not Democracy. What I urge is that, while it may be honorable to leave the field in case we find Democracy a failure, it is dishonorable, so long as we flaunt its banner, to make any other fight than that of the People's Cause, against Protection, Privilege and Plutocracy.

As to tactics, we might well learn from our foes. From their standpoint they rightly refuse to disturb any tariff item, on the ground that the protective system would be thereby endangered; and that only by defending each in what he now has, can a

solid front be maintained. To demand Free Trade on some lines while winking at Protection in others, is to betray the People's Cause in order to keep with us those who belong with the enemy. If we are willing to join the church of Esau, ought we not at least to be more sure of our potage?

The fact is, sir, as I believe, that for every Protectionist or doubter held with us by trimming, we lose two who might have been converted did we stand for Free Trade.

Of course, success is important; and if the protectionists we took with us when we got power in '92 had proved helpful to public weal and Democratic honor, I could now understand the position of a trimmer, however little I might agree with him. The fact, however, is that, with all we then accomplished—and we did much—our betrayal by those among us who were half-hearted on principle, turned Democracy into a hissing and by-word, and gave Protection a new lease of life.

There are two ways in which we may come again into power: One, by drifting in to fill the vacuum, when our voters kick out the Republicans—just as the Republicans themselves came in in '94—not because anybody wanted them, but from popular indignation wreaked upon Democrats: Another, by organizing and leading our voters to intelligent assault upon monopoly—so that our success shall be a proof of their confidence.

If we depend upon the former the less we do the better; but if on the latter, the quicker we hang our banners on the outer wall the more promptly can we expect fighting recruits.

I appreciate that argument may be made in favor of a still-hunt to get into office, for the sake of the opportunity thus given a patriot. And as to any particular patriot who proposes this, I shall try to believe his use of office might be more creditable than the way he got it. But my observation has not been that way. And I don't think our people can be made to believe that a party, or a man, who wants to get into office with a dark lantern, is one you can trust when he is in.

So, sir, as the most direct means towards success—certainly in serving our country—probably in getting its offices—I am sure we might well adopt Cato's counsel, as the policy of the Democratic party to the end of time:

“'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it.”

IF any one of our friends has a Memorial Set of Henry George's works which he would be willing to dispose of, will he write to the REVIEW, stating terms?