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SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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



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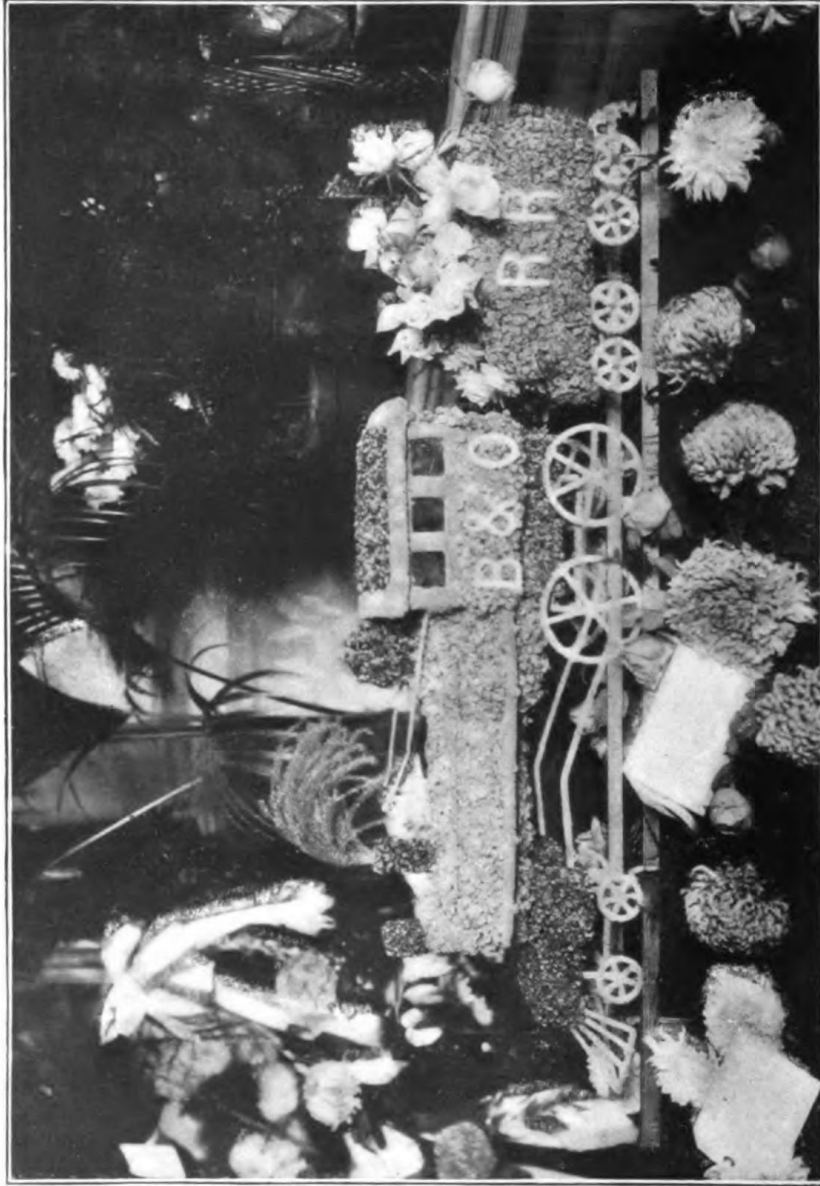
SINGLE TAX REVIEW,
JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor and Publisher.



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**LOCOMOTIVE AND TENDER (MADE OF ROSES AND IMMORTELLES)
PRESENTED TO HON. ROBERT BAKER**

(See page 50)

THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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

TWO REMARKABLE NOVELS.

(For the Review.)

By LEWIS H. BEHRENS.

"I care not who makes the people's laws, provided I be allowed to write the people's ballads," was the suggestive remark of a celebrated democratic poet of the eighteenth century. To-day in most English-speaking countries the ballad writer has almost entirely passed away, and his place has been taken by the writers of fiction. It is from novels, from avowed works of fiction, even more than from newspapers, that the proverbial man in the street, and still more his woman-kind, gains such ideas as they have of the ideals and aspirations which to-day are influencing the thought of the world, and determining its future destinies. The fiction that most strongly appeal to them may not be of the highest order, for their natural tendency is toward sensationalism rather than toward philosophy. The works of George Eliot, to my mind the most philosophic writer of fiction modern times has produced, will be distasteful to many who will eagerly devour the works of a Marie Corelli. And many whom the best works of a Thackeray, or even of a Dickens, will but tire, will turn with avidity to the works of a Dumas, a Max Pemberton, a Jules Verne, and others of the adventurous and romantic school. Hence it is that we always rejoice when we find any such works inspired, or even influenced, by a sound, healthy, and illuminating social philosophy, more especially if it be by the elevating social philosophy so honorably associated with the name of Henry George. And it is to two novels manifestly influenced, if not inspired, by these doctrines that we purpose drawing the attention of our readers in this paper. Both are from the pen of the same author, M. P. Shiel, and both appeared in the same year, 1901, though issued by different publishers.

"THE LORD OF THE SEA."

This is the title of the one which first attracted our notice; and though we must confess to have found it most unequal, and susceptible of much improvement by revision and condensation, yet we found it imbued throughout with a sound knowledge and deep insight into the fundamental principles of the Georgian philosophy, which to-day is slowly but surely gaining a foothold in every civilized country throughout the world. Its romantic story may be briefly outlined as follows: The hero is condemned to be hanged, afterwards commuted to penal servitude for life, for a crime of which, of course, he is

"THE LORD OF THE SEA," by M. P. Shiel. Published by Grant Richards, London, 1901, (Price 6/). "THE PURPLE CLOUD," by the same author. Published by Chatto and Windus, London, 1901, (Price 6/).

innocent. In the solitude of his cell he finds the solution of the social problem which had always troubled his understanding; he escapes in order to proclaim it to the world, only to find that it has been already preached and scornfully rejected, not only by those who profit, or think they profit, by the prevailing social injustice, but also by the downtrodden, impoverished and degraded victims thereof. He then feels that the world is not to be converted to social justice by persuasion and argument, but by force, and suddenly finding himself in possession of untold millions, he determines to devote them to its conversion. He claims the sea as his domain, erects floating forts and takes possession of his property, demands tribute or rent from the commerce of the world, destroys the navies sent against him, then saves Great Britain from invasion, brings the nations of the world to his feet, and agrees to cease to demand tribute, by which is meant *rent*, from those who use or trespass on his domain, *provided* that in all countries the equal claim of all to the use of the earth shall be recognized and respected, and an equal share of the natural bounties shall be secured to all.

The following extracts will sufficiently indicate the telling manner in which the gospel of radical Land Reform is preached in the romantic and sometimes bewildering pages of this remarkable book :

THE PROBLEM SUGGESTED.

In the opening pages the problem urgently requiring solution is indicated in a speech, placed, of course, in the mouth of the hero as follows:

“I tell you the vast earth laughs, literally laughs, at the insignificant drawings made upon her resources by the puny infantry called Man: and still, if the population of the earth were multiplied by trillions and quadrillions, she would laugh, showering even more upon us her careless largesses, the more of us there were.... Then why do we suffer, friends? What is the fault? The world is full of want, wide daily slaughter, mortal woe... But God has given us a most plenteous earth, and such a thing as want can only appear on it by some miracle of chronic blindness. I see, therefore, that there is a fault—we all see that; and I know this about the fault, that it is something very old, simple, commonplace, yet deep, deep, or we should all see it at once; but it is hidden from our observation by its very ordinariness, like the sun which we seldom look at. It *must* be so. But as to what the fault is I have no suspicion: I have never had time to think.”

THE PROBLEM SOLVED.

“Never had time to think!” suggestive words, truly. In the solitude of his cell, however, he has time, more time than enough. A chance remark of a passing fisherman gives him the clue, and in the most striking pages of the whole book, in pages which contain the kernel as well as the crisis of the whole story, a master pen reveals to us how simple the solution really is, when once the clue to it is placed in our hands.

“What was it the old man had said about fish, and fishermen, and the sea? Hogarth remembered that it had struck him at the time—for a moment only. Here and now certainly he had time to think of it. He bent his brow to it, sought out, and finally remembered something like the very words: ‘The day’s work of a fisherman gives him enough fish to live on all the week, and he could lie around idling the other six days if he chose; only people can’t live on nothing but fish all the time, you know.’

Was it true? He thought that it must be true if an old fisherman said it... But if the words were true, it was strange—strange. Was the sea, than, a more productive element for men to work in than the land? That was absurd: the land, in the nature of things, was very far more productive than the sea. Then why could not all men procure an easy superfluity by one day’s work, idling six, as the fisher could, if he chose to live naked in a cave eating fish alone! In that case the fisher could change some of his day’s work fish for the shore people day’s work things, and so all have variety as well as superabundance.

At the interest of this question he leapt from his hammock, peering into that thing... This, then, was clear; that there was some big difference between land and sea as working ground for men.... There was, therefore, some power which took from shore-people a very large part of what they made: a power which did not exist on the sea. That much was certain. What was this power? this vast inherent difference?

He could think of no vast inherent difference between sea and land, except this: that all who worked on shore paid rent for land in many forms, directly and indirectly, in a million, million secret, subtle ways: but those who fished on sea paid none for the sea. So, then, if shore-folk paid no rent for the shore, they would have a still greater superfluity of shoes, etc., from one day's labor in six than the fish-rich fisher on the sea.

So it seemed. So it *was*—as with savages. He started: but one half minute's reflection showed him that it was in the very nature of the shore to pay rent: because one piece of land, for various reasons, was better than another—City land for instance—and those working on the better must pay for that benefit. Civilized land, therefore, was bound to pay rent.... The wretchedness of man, then, was a Law, fixed, fixed. Hogarth was faced by a wall. He felt himself on the verge of some high truth, fundamental as the hills: yet he was baffled. Of course, he was quite an unlearned fellow; but he imagined himself a pioneer that night, grappling with a secret into which no brain had ever penetrated—such was his high-born self-sufficiency: nor had any idea that the problem had long been solved by the clearest spirits that have walked the earth.

Land was bound to pay rent: he reached that point; and there for an hour of toil remained.

But suppose the workers on shore paid all the rent *among themselves*?

At last these words, in a great moment, crossed his lips: and he uttered a shout that echoed through the galleries of Colmoor..... He leapt and paced.

If the workers on shore paid all the rent among one another:—then they would, on the whole, be in precisely the same position as the fish-rich workers on sea, who paid no rent at all! the nation, as a whole, would live on its country rent free: England would be English, as the sea human: and our race might then begin to live!"

THE CONVICTION OF THE TRUE SINGLE-TAXER.

And on the next page find the following suggestive and inspiring passage, in which the inmost conviction of all true Single Taxers is admirably and beautifully summarized.

"To a man who finds Truth, there is no uncertainty as to Her lineaments: deep well he knows Her look, Her smile: there can be no mistake. Though a heavenly host should appear, with a shout, to gainsay him, still, calm as Galileo, he would reply: 'You have somehow miscarried: the fact *is* so: God knows it.'"

THE CLAIM TO THE SEA.

The letter which the hero subsequently addresses to the Foreign Offices of Europe, and in which he sets forth his claim to the sovereignty of the sea, is also worthy of quotation. It runs as follows:

"I have the honour hereby to make formal announcement to Your Lordship that I am on the point of setting up, in the midst of the world, a new Power, the most extended which has hitherto been, but one whose relations with the Queen's Government will, I trust, be those of friendliness..... The domain of my Power will be the sea: and to the sea I set up claim as far as such points of latitude as have been attained by Man, and over all the degrees of longitude..... The validity of my Title to the sea must be considered to rest on the same basis as the title of any private owner to any particular area of the earth's crust namely Priority of Claim. If the one is valid, so, necessarily, is the other; if one is invalid, so, I admit, is the other. But this title to land, based on *Priority of Claim*, is admitted in the Law of all civilized nations, and, outside the Law-courts is hardly disputed. Wherefore can my claim to sea be hardly disputed: for, till now, no person, no nation, has laid claim to it, in the way of private, or national, property, as I hereby do.... This my claim, therefore, is in harmony with the spirit of (for example) British Law in its actual form. And whether it should be recognized I say not; but I say that it will be recognized: for it will be enforced."

I think we have now sufficiently indicated the spirit and character of this very remarkable book, a revised and condensed edition of which would, I think, sell well on your side of the water, and do much useful and timely work in stirring up thought on that question of questions, the Land Question.

"THE PURPLE CLOUD."

Weird, repellent and fantastic, yet intensely realistic, attractive and fascinating, is this other book of Mr. Shiel, which we should not advise anyone to read late at night after everybody else has gone to bed. The hero returns from

a trip to the North Pole and finds that a purple cloud of hydrocyanic acid had suddenly destroyed the rest of mankind. For many years he roams and ravages over the whole world, seeking to eradicate every sign of man's activities: and upward of two-thirds of the book, which is a veritable *tour de force*, is taken up with vivid and nightmare breeding descriptions of his thoughts, feelings, emotions and actions under these very blood-curdling conditions. After many years he discovers that another human being has been miraculously saved, a young girl, as pure and sweet and innocent as Mother Eve before the Fall. His experiences have convinced him that the whole race of mankind were necessarily and naturally wicked and depraved; her intuitions have convinced her that they were naturally good, and that if they really became bad it was simply the conditions under which they lived that made them so. The following conversation will suffice to reveal the author's keen insight into psychological and social problems:

"Vices and crimes, crimes and vices. Always the same. What were these crimes and vices?"

"Robberies of a hundred sorts, murders of ten hundred."

"But that made them *do* them?"

"Their evil nature—their base souls."

"But *you* are one of them, *I* am another: yet you and I live here together, and we do no vices and crimes."

"No," I said, "we do no vices and crimes because we lack *motive*. There is no danger that we should hate each other, for we have plenty to eat and drink, dates, wines and thousands of things. But *they* hated and schemed, because they were very numerous, and there arose a question among them of dates and wine."

"Was there not, then, enough land to grow dates and wine for all?"

"There was—yes: much more than enough, I fancy. But some got hold of a vast lot of it, and as the rest felt the pinch of scarcity, there arose, naturally, a pretty state of things—including vices and crimes."

"Ah, but then," says she, "it was not to their bad souls that the vices and crimes were due, but only to this question of land. It is certain that had there been no such question, there would have been no vices and crimes, because you and I, who are just like them, do no vices and crimes here, where there is no such question."

"I am not going to argue the matter," I said. "There *was* that question of dates and wine, you see. And there always must be on an earth where millions of men, with varying degrees of cunning reside."

"Oh, not at all necessarily!" she cries, with conviction; "not at all, at all: since there are much more dates and wine than are enough for all. If there should spring up more men now, having the whole wisdom, science, and experience of the past at their hand, and they made an arrangement among themselves that the first man who tried to take more than he could work should be killed, the question could never arise again."

"It arose before—it would arise again."

"But No! I can guess clearly how it arose before: it arose through the sheer carelessness of the first men. The land was at first so very, very much more than enough for all, that the men did not take the trouble to make an arrangement among themselves; and afterwards the habit of carelessness was confirmed; till at last the very original carelessness must have got to have the look of an arrangement; and so the stream that began in a little wrong ended in a big wrong, the wrong growing more and more fixed and fatal as the stream rolled further from its source. I see it clearly, can't you? But now, if some more men would spring, they would be taught—"

"Ah, but no more men will spring, you see—"

"There is no telling. I sometimes feel as if they must, and shall. The trees blossom, the thunder rolls, the air makes me run and leap, the ground is full of richness, and I hear the voice of the Lord God walking all among the trees of the forests."

I have glanced at several of Mr. Shiel's later works, but have found in them no reference to social questions. In conclusion, however, I would express the hope that in the fullness of time, if leisure and opportunity are granted him, he will yet produce another book in which the gospel of social salvation will be preached, and the cry of "Land for the People" will be raised, in a manner which will bring it home to ever increasing thousands of his fellow-creatures. Those of our readers who have perused the above quotations will agree with me in believing that Mr. Shiel has within him the power to produce such a book.

London, England, December 10th, 1903.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND MAYOR JOHNSON AS TYPICAL REPRESENTATIVES OF OPPOSING POLITICAL IDEALS.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER IN THE ARENA.

Always during periods of social progress, where the forces that make for the supremacy of ideals are gathering for conflict, may be selected individuals who in themselves typify the opposing elements. Their acts and their aims will be, accurately enough, the measure of these ideals, though intellectually or morally the individual may fall below them, for behind all movements of the people is a spiritual element that is greater than man. "Two things fill me with awe," said Kant, "the starry heavens and the sense of responsibility in man." And he might have added, "the upward movements of peoples, by which overcoming all resistance, they rise ever higher and higher, touching the godlike in the final goal."

Yet as a testimony to the indestructible individuality of man, there will, nevertheless, as we have said, be two or more men who stand out more prominently than the rest as representative of the two tendencies making for progress or for retrogression. And in the conflict of to-day, in which the relations of these two forces are but superficially changed, two individuals prominent in public life may be selected as typical of all that the present worldwide social reform movement involves. These two men are Theodore Roosevelt and Tom L. Johnson.

No two individuals can be more unlike. The first is instinctively an aristocrat. For this he is not to blame; it is due to his bringing up. He has certain manly qualities, but it is questionable if these would stand the test of a great crisis. They failed him, at all events, on a notable occasion—*viz.*, at the time of Blaine's nomination. He is hardly the stuff that moral heroes are made of; he will have the courage to do right if he has "good backing," but to be alone and right—that, we suspect, would be a different story. He is a safe man—too safe. The dominant forces that surround him, if fairly respectable, will keep him so, but this is a negative virtue, and may make a man either useful or the reverse. It may seem ridiculous to say that of a man with Roosevelt's stubborn jaw, but that jaw denotes pugnacity rather than strength. Morally he will be swayed, as he always has been, by expediency. He will probably be well behaved, as the country goes, or as the forces nearest him, or most powerfully with him go. He has impulsiveness, the first forward direction of which is probably toward what is right and just, but he lacks the staying quality absent in most pugnacious and impulsive temperaments.

We might, indeed, trust to his impulses if these could not be seen, or bought, or bribed—in no purely sordid sense, be it said, but as effectively for the purposes of suppression. For his second thought is of the calculating kind, and he will dare little at the risk of success. For he yearns to succeed, to surmount all obstacles—and for this he will work, though his first impulse is to do right in the face of consequences. Later comes the calculating thought, and the man, superficially the man of impulses, becomes the merest slave of his ambition.

How often has he shown this—in the Cuban reciprocity question, in his first brave threats against trusts, in his absolute words pledging a continuance of the policy of President McKinley as outlined in the almost great speech of the latter on the eve of his assassination. Theodore Roosevelt is a President without a policy—he is as perfect a type of the opportunist as ever sat in the presidential chair.

He has crowded a good many achievements into the forty-odd years of his life—his industry has certainly been marvelous. He has been civil service reformer, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, ranchman, writer of many books, and he has climbed San Juan Hill—his friends say in the face of a galling fire—and he is a hard-working Chief Executive. His books are good examples of the book-making art, and are not without interest—some of them. But compare his Cromwell with the Cromwell of another, a contemporary who has failed as a politician where Roosevelt has succeeded. It is perhaps not a fair comparison, for John Morley is a consummate literary artist. But seek the President's writings for estimates of the men of the past—here, if anywhere, even if the writer were to fail when tested by the highest literary canons, we might hope for impartial and accurately judicial estimates. It is, perhaps, the best test to apply to one chosen to guide the destinies of the Republic to ask how he has dealt with great reputations. Roosevelt has dealt with them in the spirit of a "broncho buster," with all the assurance of an unenlightened mind that finds itself confronted with new and unfamiliar facts. Nothing is a surer index to a man than his judgment of men. By this, make what pretensions he may respecting his ideals, will his actual ideals be known. Let us present some of these most astounding estimates of men.

Tom Paine the President calls an atheist, and repeats about him all the libels of history, the falsity of which were long ago demonstrated. President Monroe is spoken of as "a colorless, high-bred gentleman of no especial ability, but well fitted to act as presidential figurehead." Of Martin Van Buren it is said that he "faithfully served the Mammon of unrighteousness." But it is for Thomas Jefferson that this aristocrat reserves all the concentrated contempt of which he is capable. He is described as a "scholarly, timid, and shifting doctrinaire, the father of nullification, and, therefore, secession." He speaks of the "cheap pseudo-classism that he borrowed from the French Revolutionists." Here speaks the natural Toryism of the President's mind, and these instances might be multiplied *ad infinitum*. The task, however, would be an ungrateful one.

There is much that is true in many of the things that President Roosevelt has said in public speeches. A man of the President's active mind could not be talking constantly without saying some things that were true. But he is a man of *unapplied maxims*. Much that is true in his public utterances is at war with his public acts and his theory of statesmanship. When at the dedication of a Carnegie library in the city of Washington recently he said, "The man who will submit or demand to be carried is not worth carrying, and if you make the effort it helps neither him nor you!" This is a fruitful maxim that would make President Roosevelt an utterly "unavailable" candidate for renomination. For his whole theory is that men and industries need to be carried to be profitable at all. But this is so like Roosevelt, who if he were called upon to make a single application of his many maxims for one short day would relegate himself to private life and a distinguished station as a civilian. This he has no intention of doing.

With all his versatility we imagine that the President's real admirers will prefer to dwell upon the Civil Service Reform epoch of his life rather than upon any subsequent period of his career. For here his attitude was less equivocal, more resolute, and his ideals less objectionable. But here, as since, we can see how this man was governed by his environment. The reform of the Civil Service was not, is not, a small thing. But it is essentially a class reform, and young Mr. Roosevelt had no opposition in his class, and had everything to strengthen a backbone popularly supposed to be something like adamant in its unyielding perpendicularity, but really quite like jelly fish to the least formidable handling.

The character of Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, is at once more simple and more complex than that of the President. Superficially one might imagine that here was a man whose sympathies would be plutocratic. Of Southern birth and a man of wealth, whose wealth is the result of privilege—by what strange chance is it that this man should represent, in himself and in the ideals and convictions he voices, the hopes and aspirations of the disinherited? Behind that smiling face, the jovial, keen, characteristic and blunt personality that holds the attention, that is at once insinuating and ingratiating—who does things with a confidence born of his success in nearly all things he has touched, and yet who asserts this mastery so tactfully and unobtrusively—behind all this can it be that there lurks the passionate hatred of injustice, the great love for the unfortunate that marks those whose Samson-like hands have torn at the pillars of hoary wrong, or those who in the great march of history have at different periods led the hopes of the oppressed? Among all of these we search in vain for an *insouciant* Johnson. Surely, then, we are mistaken. Neither physiognomically nor temperamentally are the ranks of the reformers recruited from the Johnson type of man. We do not look to such types for the moral enthusiasm which glows in your Mazzinis, Georges, Phillips, and Garrisons.

Yet this man's career is the best proof of his sincerity. He has, indeed, dedicated himself to a task which has for its object nothing less than the reconstruction of society on a righteous basis—the making of the Golden Rule part of the legislation of the land, and the securing of economic equality for all the people. Not that he expects to accomplish this—no one man can do so much, but one may do what in him lies, and to the extent of his great abilities Johnson has already done much. It is to this Quixotic task to which this practical man has devoted all his energies and all his hopes. He may never attain the presidency—indeed, those who are the Warwicks of social revolt rarely attain to high places—but he will be the kingmaker, and out of the new political thought he is creating will emerge some individual who will represent, as Lincoln did, the compromise between the compromisers and the uncompromising. You make thought and we profit by it, said (in substance) William H. Seward to Wendell Phillips, and Johnson is making thought, though not in the same way that Phillips did, for Johnson is not only a reformer, but a very sagacious and practical politician.

He is audacious to the point of recklessness in his methods—apparently. An instance of his audacity was his challenge to his Republican opponent in his first campaign for Congress. Johnson at this time was an inexperienced speaker, and his opponent was one of the best debaters in Congress. But Johnson realized that he had entered the arena for a finish fight, and he has never yet run away from any foe. Burton declined on the ground, as he said, that he feared the hall would be packed with Johnson partisans. Johnson's counter-proposition was worthy of him. He proposed that admission be by ticket and that Burton take all the tickets.

The majority of the people of Ohio do not yet believe in Johnson. The hardest thing in the world, and the most puzzlingly funny at times, is the difficulty of convincing people who are in reality very easily deceived when their cupidity is appealed to by dishonest men, that any man is really honest. The prey of every "get rich quick" concern, and of every confidence man—the men who accept the protestations without question of the politicians of their party, and who grow fairly tipsy with fervor at the declarations of political charlatans and the tricks of every Cagliostro, are amazingly skeptical when they are told that any man may have the good of all men at heart. And the more honest he is the greater difficulty some men have in believing in him. For he is "so different." Thus, in a community of charlatans the man who

speaks his mind with simplicity and candor will manifestly appear as a humbug.

Is it a strange thing that one should wish to bring about a reign of righteousness in the community—especially after he had made a fortune for himself? Yet this is held to be just Johnson's weakness, whereas by ordinary methods of reasoning it might be accounted his strength. For he is safe whatever happens.

But suppose the pride of opinion urges him?—that and his ambition, Even from this low point of view is his sincerity inconceivable? May not one be ambitious to accomplish good, to plant institutions that will endure, and in view of which men will arise and call him blessed? Is there not a passion for righteousness as well as other passions? May it not be a source of pleasure to lead men to a goal of justice, with the incidental enjoyment that comes from being hailed as a leader? And in view of all this is not the public skepticism about some men, combined as it is with their unfathomable credulity respecting others when their prejudices or their cupidity is appealed to, one of the most amazing characteristics of vast masses of men?

There is no reason why we should not accept Johnson's statement of his motives. He is nothing of a demagogue. He does not tell men that they are wise and good and virtuous, for he knows better. He is often frank to the point of rudeness, and he has never retreated an inch for the sake of temporary success. He has more real backbone than Roosevelt ever dreamed of, and the resoluteness of his character has made him what he is. He does not owe his place to any adventitious aid of popular feeling—he has not ridden on the crest of a wave; he has fought his way through the rough waters and against the tide. The glamour of San Juan Hill is not upon him; he has not said the things people like to hear, but, on the contrary, has awakened the anger and opposition of the most powerful forces in the community by speaking unpalatable truths. Nevertheless he has triumphed, measurably, at least. And it is all due to the tremendous personality of the man, and the truth with which he is armed.

A presidential campaign, if such there might be, in which these two men should meet in the lists would be worth going a long way to see. The man who has never retreated against the man who forever retreats—the brave in words against the brave in deeds, the showy against the solid reputation. But more than that—typified in the two the struggle for a righteous social system against a blind acquiescence in things as they are, the intelligent, keen spirit of social reconstruction against the conservatism and respectability of all existing privilege.



SOCIAL REFORM THE ALTERNATIVE OF SOCIALISM.

(For the Review.)

BY EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

Prof. Richard T. Ely, in his book (*Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*), in the last chapter, under the caption, "The Possibilities of Social Reform," argues that social reform is the alternative of socialism. Prof. Ely calls attention to the actual interference of government in many instances, and to the sentiment in favor of public ownership of natural monopolies, and the extension of governmental control of public utilities. He says that our present competitive system modified by reform, is both the scientific and practical alternative of socialism. This is undoubtedly true, for, Prof. Ely well says

that "the only plan of a society, having large and widespread support on the part of thinkers of capacity, which it is proposed to substitute for existing society, is socialism," and he concludes, with reason, that "The alternative which confronts us is, then, socialism or social reform."

The character of the social reform indicated by Prof. Ely is the extension of competition, to the exclusion of the various forms of private monopoly. That society will move toward the one or the other of these antipodal points is certain. The great question before society, and which is now up for solution is: Shall we have competition or shall we have socialism? None but the insignificantly few want monopoly. The intrinsic nature of monopoly is such that only the few can possibly be benefited by it; for it requires the exploitation of the many as the necessary condition of benefit to anybody. That the growing intelligence of the people, supplemented by vastly expanding education, will long tolerate such an absurd system is unthinkable. It is obvious, then, that Prof. Ely is right in the assumption that we must choose between social reform and socialism.

Prof. Ely favors the competitive system. And in the course of his able argument in support of social reform, as the necessary condition to the perpetuation of that system, he quotes at some length an editorial in *Boyce's Weekly* for March 4, 1903, written by A. M. Simons, "one of the ablest of American socialists," as Prof. Ely characterizes him. It may not be strange that the propagandist of socialism should evince ignorance of the socio-economic significance of what he himself says, but it is remarkable that Prof. Ely should have refrained from exposing the ludicrous weakness of Mr. Simons' argument, when he says, as Prof. Ely quotes him: "If a half dozen great department stores or finally one, will supply the city of Chicago and fill the demand in the retail trade at a less cost of human labor than a thousand, then, when once the private ownership of these few stores is determined, that ownership becomes as much a special privilege as does the ownership of the street cars and telegraph."

Here we have a private owner in competition with all the world, serving the public for a less consideration than anybody else can do, and Mr. Simons objects to it! Why? This private owner gives the public so much more for its money than anybody else can as to forestall anybody else from occupying the position of manager in his line of trade. And what is it that effectively prevents anybody else from entering into competition with this unique individual, this man of masterful ability? Why, nothing, but the fact that nobody else can render equal service to the public at so low a price. (Query: Is it the CAPITALIST who excites Mr. Simons' sympathy?)

Observe, also, that Mr. Simons, after reducing the number of establishments from a thousand down to one, seems to lose sight of the nine hundred ninety-nine managers, plus an uncertain number of other people, set free to engage in productive industry, to the greatly increased enrichment of society.

The socialist is a tolerable soloist; but political economy is orchestral, and the man that cannot keep in mind the multitudinous correlations that sustain the harmonies must needs make sorry work of wielding the baton.

Under socialism there would still be managers, of course, with the difference that the manager's salary would be determined by society. Now, suppose that society were to confiscate the "tools of trade" belonging to this man, and, recognizing his great abilities, should invite him to continue as manager. In view of the undisputed fact that he has hitherto served society at a less cost than anybody else could, would society ask him to cut his figure still lower? And in case he should decline, what then? Obviously since nobody else can fill the bill at his price, as has been demonstrated, somebody else must be employed, at a higher cost to the public! Could there be a plainer

demonstration of the fact that under free competition, society would secure the highest service at the least possible cost?

Elsewhere in the quotation as given by Prof. Ely Mr. Simons says: "Among those who seek to patch up and tinker our present society, few phrases are more frequently used than that of special privilege. This phrase is used to show that the abuses of our present society are specific, not generic, superficial, not inherent. It implies that if certain definite excrescences were peeled off, a smooth and beautiful social organization would be revealed beneath. With a little sticking plaster here and there, and a few patches judiciously applied, or, at the most, a few minor amputations performed, the social organization would be restored to health. With such people, monopoly and extortion are always due to some special privilege, some peculiar advantage, some abnormal situation. The ownership of land and franchises is particularly regarded as a 'special privilege.' Because the number or extent of these things is limited, therefore, they say, ownership confers a monopoly. This limitation, it is claimed, is peculiar to these few things and does not extend to the general mass of industrial capital. Here is where the socialist parts company with them."

But if we can show that "this limitation is peculiar to these few things, [or to some things], and does not extend to the general mass of industrial capital," the socialist parts company with us at his own peril. Perhaps we shall be able to show that Mr. Simons is not tossing us in the air and catching us upon his horns, but that, on the contrary, he merely thinks he is doing so.

Let us revert once more to the case of the great business director, who, through his unique ability, has become the sole retailer of the city of Chicago. Suppose we erect a building and stock it with the "tools of trade," equal in all respects to those that he owns, except that the new store is located in a suburb remote from the center of population, and, confiscating his centrally located property, offer as compensation the new plant. Will he be able, from the new site, to continue in command of Chicago's retail business? Of course not. But why not? Certainly not because he is any less able, personally, than before. Certainly not because of non-ownership of the "tools of trade," for he has them in as great abundance as ever. Why not, then? Simply and solely because his new site is a comparatively poor one. His former site was at the center of population, in a place most convenient of access to the public. Now, it is simply impracticable for the great mass of the public to reach him; or for him to reach them; at a cost that will enable him to compete with the new (though somewhat less capable) management of the business at the old site.

In view of these obvious facts, it seems to the present writer that the private ownership of a certain piece of land most conveniently situated with respect to the retail trade is an advantageous circumstance. Now, the site was not put there. It was always there; and the location of people about that site gave it its exceptional value. He who happens to own that particular site can get as much for his service in conjunction with his "tools of trade," as the man and the tools less favorably situated, plus the difference in economic value of the two sites. Or, to state it a little differently; he can get as much more than he could in a less favorable location as the difference in economic value of the two sites. This difference in value is not his product but the product of society; and some of us believe that society is entitled to its own. Our plan of appropriation is to tax the site according to its value. And we hold that if we do not do so, the private owner of the site will enjoy a "special privilege."

Otherwise, would not the phrase "inequitable taxation" be meaningless? And does not this argument apply to franchises with equal force?

Mr. Simons says further: "So long as the tools of production are so complex that it takes thousands of men to use them, private ownership of those tools gives a 'special privilege' to the owners as opposed to those who must use them and cannot own them.

"This is the 'special privilege' at which the socialist is striking. He sees that it can be abolished only by making the ownership correspond with the use, that is, by making the ownership of the collectively used tools also collective."

But what advantage attaches to collective ownership above collective use, when (as would be the case under just taxation and free competition), the public can have the use at its own figure, besides getting the managerial services of the ablest man under circumstances that will compel him to exert all his powers to maintain his position and save his "tools" from going into the scrap pile?

On whichever side the reader may array himself upon these questions, one thing is certain, that, as Prof. Ely says, the alternative of either socialism or social reform confronts us. The socialists are enthusiastically aggressive; and unless the believers in the competitive system bestir themselves, and perfect the system, the forces making for socialism will triumph, for a time, at least; for society is in the midst of a storm, and unless the officers run the ship into the safe haven, the seamen will in the effort at self-preservation, undertake the navigation, when we need not be surprised if we run upon the rocks.



A FEW ECONOMIC QUERIES.

(For the Review.)

BY ERNEST CROSBY.

I wish to call attention to one or two terms and phrases which we often hear, even from the mouths of Single Taxers, and which seem to me to be of doubtful import. It can do no harm to suggest the objections which occur to me, so that the readers of the Review may consider them for themselves.

(1) It is frequently said that the community is entitled to land-value because it creates them. Is this a sound economic statement?* Is that person or are those persons entitled to the value which he or they create? Let us suppose that you have a house in a remote district, far from any neighbor. I come and buy the land all around yours and build a handsome house for myself and lay out a beautiful park which entirely encloses your land. Let us suppose for the sake of the argument that no one else ever settles near by because the rest of the available land is swampy and uninhabitable. Yet the value of your house has been greatly increased by me. Before, you could not rent it, but now you have many applications from tenants, and they run the price up, bidding against

* We think, when certain considerations are borne in mind, that it is a sound economic statement, and that the objections made to it arise from confusions regarding the genesis of values. All values, of course, arise, in a sense, as Mr. Crosby says further on, from the presence of the community, since where no community is there can be no exchange, and where there is no exchange there can be no value. The value of a house, however, is as much as the same can be duplicated for, and this duplication depends, not upon the community, but upon a few individuals working in co-operation. The site-value of land is not due to the labor of individuals, but arises from the presence and growth of the community; so it seems to us a perfectly sound economic statement to say that the community is entitled to land values because it creates them.—THE EDITOR.

each other, as they all wish to live in the midst of my park. Now I alone have caused the increase in value of your house. Does that increase belong to me for that reason? Clearly not. Suppose again that twenty hunters occupy cabins in the inaccessible heart of a forest, supporting themselves with what they shoot. A railway comes to the settlement and opens the market for game in the nearest city two hundred miles away. The value of the land increases at once, but the owners hold it so high that there is no increase in the size of the community. The increased value was created by the railway. Can it make a just claim to collect it from the inhabitants as a direct tax? In this latter case it may be said that the distant city is the community which creates the increased value, but it could not do it without the railway, and the railway was the immediate and effective cause. And would you permit the city to tax the hunting settlement at a distance of two hundred miles on the ground that it had caused the unearned increment?

It seems to me that by admitting the principle that values belong to those who cause them we are opening the door to untenable deductions. In one sense all values are caused by the community, for value depends upon supply and demand. The object itself is produced by supply, and its value is produced by demand, and demand is always the act of the community. Hence all values, of manufactured articles as well as of land, are caused by the community, and we may find that we are proving too much by asserting such a principle. As a matter of fact opponents of the Single Tax often attack this weak spot in our armor, and they do not have much difficulty in piercing it.

The fact is that this argument is not in the least necessary to the Single Tax position. I am entitled to an equal right in the earth, because no one else can prove a better title than mine. The question of value does not arise until it becomes necessary to determine my share of the earth, and then we have no other measure but that of the value of the different parts of the surface. But the question of how that value arises is altogether immaterial. It is sufficient that it is not directly the result of the "owner's" labor.

(2) The terms "land-value" and "ground-rent" seem to me imperfect, for both of them contain a reference to the material which the premises contain. "Land" and "ground" both suggest the idea of earth, sand, clay, stone, or other material. Now, if I am not mistaken, the distinguishing peculiarity of land-holding is that it involves the possession of space. The material contained in the space is a mere incident which happens to confer exclusive access to and control of that material, but that material can be taken away and made the proper subject of ownership, and yet the true "land" (that is the space), remains. A real "land-value" consists altogether, I should say, of "access,"—that is of access to raw material, to the forces of nature, to water-fronts, to the community itself in streets, and so on. It is unjust that one person should have a superior unearned "access" of this kind to another. We all ought to have an equal chance to take the minerals, to use the fecundity of nature, to reach the water-ways, and to come into contact with the community and its market. Hence the justice of taxing away the privileges of the monopolizers of these rights. If I am correct, some such term as "space-value," or "site-value," or even "access-value," would be better than "land-value." Probably "site-value" is on the whole the best.

(3) Economists who ought to know better often contend that a rich man costs the community only what he consumes. If his annual income is a hundred thousand dollars and he only spends fifty thousand upon himself and his family, they claim that, as the other fifty thousand comes back to the community in investments, the community loses nothing by its passage through the rich man's bank account, and that it comes to the same thing as if he had never drawn the fifty thousand dollars at all. No less an authority than Mr. Edward Atkin-

son has recently maintained this position, and his action has shaken my faith in the reasoning powers of economists generally. Let us suppose that our rich friend has drawn his fifty thousand dollars, which he cannot spend on himself, but intends to devote to new investments. In drawing up a balance sheet between him and the community we must evidently charge him with fifty thousand dollars. Now if one thing is more certain than another, it is that he will not let a dollar of that sum go, (for we are not considering charity) without exacting an equivalent or more for it from the community. In other words, his accounts in the future with the community are going to balance exactly, or else to show a surplus in his favor. How then can such an account ever cancel the charge of fifty thousand dollars which stands against him? As far as rectifying his accounts with the community is concerned, he might as well throw the fifty thousand dollars into the sea. He has taken it from the community and he can only balance the account by giving it back.

Look at it from the point of view of a workman. You are a large landed proprietor, you employ a hundred men to work on your farms, and I am one of them. You are able to shave down our wages so that every man does two dollars work in a day for one dollar of pay. I complain to you that you are taking a dollar a day from me. "Oh, never mind," you say. "I will spend that part of my money in new investments and you will be employed on them." Your dollar will surely come back to you. The next year you build a great macadamized road for your farms, and I am set to work at it, and at the end of the week when I go for my dollar-a-day pay, you say, "Now you see, don't you, that you are getting your dollar after all?" And it is true. But, alas! it is a dollar that I worked for once last year and am working for again this year. It has been earned twice and paid but once, and as I am again receiving but one dollar for two dollars work, my present credit ought to absorb it twice, and leave nothing over to be credited on last year.

No. A man costs a community all that he takes from it, and it makes no difference in his relations with the community what he does with it, unless indeed he gives it back. It may be said that a community is as rich after a burglary as before, and so it is, if you count the burglar in. But in drawing a true balance sheet between a man and the community in which he lives, you must keep him separate from the rest of the community, and if you do this, you will see that he costs all that he draws from it. To be sure it is better for a community to have money spent in it than to have it thrown away, but it does not alter the debit and credit account. If a thief empties my till, I may be obliged to him if he spends the money in my shop. But I will hardly allow him to square his accounts with me in that way.

(4) Not altogether disconnected from this idea that it makes no difference how much a rich man draws from a community, so long as he invests his money there, is the idea that it is good for a country to have its wealth gathered into a few hands. Mr. Carnegie once wrote that great fortunes were a blessing to a country, and that the poor man was better off in England than in France, because there were more millionaires there, and still more so in America, because we have more millionaires than England. The fact is that it is better economically to live in a rich country both for poor men and rich men. Where there is most wealth, there is a better chance to get a bare living and also to accumulate millions under unjust laws. Parasites thrive best on a healthy full-blooded animal, and a monopolist's graft works best in a wealthy country. But if the wealth of the country were honestly distributed it would be far better for the poor man, for he would then have the assurance that there would be no rake-off from his earnings. If there were such a thing as a country without monopolies, we would see in it the best place for the poor man, and for the honest man, but it would contain no multi-millionaires.

(5) The last fallacy which I have to consider is the trite saying that "the interests of capital and labor are one," meaning that the interests of employer and employed are one. This aphorism is repeated again and again when strikes arise for the purpose of allaying the dissatisfaction of the men, and often by public men of apparent common-sense in the honest belief that they mean something. But they have really no meaning. It is true that in a Utopia in which the laborer owned the capital, the interests of capital and labor would be identical. It is also true that to-day in so far as the outside world is concerned they have the same interests, viz. to buy their raw material cheap, to sell their product dear, and to pay as low a rent as possible. But when it comes to a question of dividing the earnings, (and this is almost always the question at issue in a strike,) their interests are diametrically opposed, and nothing is gained by shutting our eyes to it. For every cent paid in wages diminishes profits and every cent paid in profits diminishes wages. Capital and labor are in fact partners up to a certain point. Partners' interests are identical in their relations to all the rest of the world, but when they sit down to divide their profits, their interests are absolutely hostile, and every dollar added to the pile of one is subtracted from the pile of the other. Let us then cease to use this meaningless phrase when employers and employees fall out, and try to look deeper into the causes of their disputes.



THE RELIGION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

Address by *W. A. DOUGLASS, B. A. in Buffalo, on Sunday, December 13th, 1903.

The labor problem is essential a religious problem. It calls on every man to obey the apostolic injunction: Render to every man his due. It calls on every man to throw himself with heroic zeal into the crusade, not to wrest an empty tomb from the hands of the infidels; but to rescue a living humanity from the enthrallment in which it has been engulfed by bad social adjustments. It calls on men everywhere to endeavor by every legitimate means to effect a glorious realization of the dream of the poet:

Then let us pray that come it may
As come it will for a' that,
When man to man the world o'er
Shall brother be for a' that.

The religion of the past has been marked by most serious defects, and even at the present day certain truths are over emphasized, while certain other truths, equally important, are passed by in silence. We are often taught to look for an ecstatic sublimation and to sing of the sweet bye and bye, and too little are we instructed how to bring the good here and now.

We want a religion that will never be satisfied till it has secured for every man an honest day's work; the full benefits of civilization to every man who bears his fair share of the burden of civilization. We want a religion which when it repeats the sublimest of all confessionals: I believe in God the Father maker of heaven and earth, will give to that declaration its proper application in the correlative declaration: I believe in man the brother the heir to that

* W. A. Douglass, of Toronto, is one of the best known single taxers in the Canadian dominion. He has a remarkable faculty of putting our great economic truth in strong and strikingly novel fashion.—THE EDITOR.

earth. We want a religion which will repeat again and again, until it sinks into the heart and arouses the conscience of humanity, that this earth is not a manufactured article for sale and barter, but is the gift of God for equitable division among His children. We want a religion, which will look upon industry as a sacred duty, and which will also look upon industry as establishing an inalienable right to all the wealth it produces, which will look upon the horny hand and the sweat of the brow as God's certificates of the right of the toiler to the full reward of his efforts. We want a religion, which, when it prays on Sunday: Give us this day OUR daily bread, will not concoct on Monday some scheme to switch one man's crop into another man's barn. We want a religion so enswathed in goodness, so buttressed with righteousness, so based in justice, and so permeated through and through with love, that the toil necessary for sustenance, will be but an exhilarating recreation, life a song of joy and existence a hallowed benediction.

At this point I doubt not I shall be met by the chronical objector who enquires, more in derision than for information: How are you going to realize all this? He assures us, with great show of wisdom, that the problem is exceedingly complex and insuperably difficult.

In reply permit me to state that this is one of the simplest of problems. It is no more difficult than to distinguish between a mountain and a valley, between an up and a down, or between a construction and a destruction. We have simply to learn to distinguish between the man who toils to produce abundance, who uses the land to enrich the world, and the man who uses the face of the earth as a power for extortion.

Could we turn the page of history back for a hundred years, we would find in this city about a score of houses. The small hamlet of that day has grown with every decade, until it is now the mighty metropolitan centre, soon likely to have a half million people. By what process has the score of dwellings of a century ago grown into the vast mass of buildings that we find located here to-day? From a score they have become well nigh a hundred thousand, and you all know that this has come as the result of industry. This is a process of multiplication.

When the first settlers came to this spot they found land in excessive abundance, a thousand acres available for each. To-day, in some cases, you will find hundreds of people crowded on to the one acre. With every increase of population the land had to be divided and sub-divided, the amount available for each growing less and less.

This is a process of division.

The score of dwellings of a century ago had a value of a few thousand dollars. The value of the multitude of buildings to-day cannot be much less than a hundred million dollars. This is a multiplication of wealth.

The land a hundred years ago had a very trifling value, but to-day its value must be very nearly the same as that of the buildings. This increased value indicates the increase of scarcity and poverty in land. This increased value is the result of communal growth.

Having now pointed out to you a distinction, which is essential to this discussion, I want to call your attention to another distinction. But at this point I feel myself somewhat embarrassed, for I am undertaking to describe to you an adjustment of such marvelous wonders that language is inadequate to convey a proper conception of its full glory. Let me, therefore, try and give you some idea of it by the use of a parable.

I have thousands upon thousands of servants, all hastening to do my bidding, and exerting themselves with their utmost skill and with their greatest alacrity to see that my various wants are supplied. By land and by sea on the mountain or in the valley, on the plain or in the mine, they are toiling, year in and year out, that no want may go unsatisfied.

I call them to judgment as to their methods of working. Do you try to perform your services at the best season, so as to bring forth the best results? Do you sow in the spring and reap in the harvest? Can I trust you to do that of your own free will under the guidance of your common sense? Or should the legislature pass some enactment imposing penalties to compel you to work at the right time?

"Certainly, we work at the right time," they reply "and we require no more law to compel us so to do, than we require law to compel us to handle with our hands and walk with our feet."

I put another question: "Do you all strive to work in the very best manner? Do you try to take advantage of all the forces of nature so that they will give you the greatest assistance? Or should the legislature pass a law and enact penalties to compel you so to do?"

"Work in the best manner! Certainly we do!" they reply. "Did we not adopt the steam engine as soon as invented? Have we not adopted the dynamo, the X-rays, wireless telegraphy, the steam thresher, the binder and every other improvement that ingenuity could devise as quickly as we could get them? A law to compel us to work in the best manner! Why, we go to bed at night hoping that in our dreams we will find some way of doubling our power of production before the morning."

"Well then," I ask again, "do you always strive to seek the very best place from which to get your supplies? Is there not danger that if left unrestrained by law, you will wander away from fertility to barrenness, from abundance to scarcity? Is it not absolutely necessary that laws should be passed imposing penalties to guide you always to the right place for your productions?"

"The right place!" they answer, "did you ever hear of us choosing a worse, when we could find a better? Do we abandon the fertile plains for those that are barren? Do we run away from the productive mines to those that are harder to work? From the time Adam first went into business to the present hour of the clock, did you ever hear of men built on such a plan that they were afraid of the abundant and ran away to scarcity? If you impose a penalty at all, the only place you can do it to have any effect will be to keep us from abundance that we are hungering and thirsting to reach."

Now, my friends, is it not true that I have a marvelous number of willing and obedient servants? Thousands and hundreds of thousands, yea millions, striving to work for me at the best time, in the best manner and at the best place?

I ask you to notice the astonishing result, astonishing beyond any power of description. Cut me off wholly from these servants, compel me to do everything for myself, and what will be the result? Could calamity be more dire? If I could only live at all, would it not be a living of the most abject penury, the most meagre possible existence; food the poorest, clothing the crudest, habitation the most wretched, destitute, utterly destitute, of all the amenities and refinements of civilization. But let me once have access to humanity so that I may depend upon my fellow beings to produce for me, and can you imagine a contrast greater? In isolation I am in the most abject destitution. In association with my fellows I can lay under tribute the wisdom of the ages, philosophy the most profound, poesy of the greatest beauty, biography and eloquence the most thrilling. All the inventions of the ages are toiling to satisfy my wants.

In association with my fellow man I can accomplish more in a single day than in isolation and self-dependence I could accomplish in ten thousand ages. Such is the ineffable beauty of the social forces.

I have told you of the multitude of servants—permit me now to tell you more of the masters.

I pointed out to you how in the growth of the city, labor had multiplied the

number of dwellings. That was the action of individual service. I pointed out to you furthermore how the increase of population had carried up the value of the land from nothing until to-day it cannot be less than a hundred million dollars. Suppose I had been allowed to appropriate that value as my own, what would be my power to-day? With an income ranging from four to five million dollars yearly, I could appropriate to myself the product of five thousand farms, I need not raise so much as a blade of grass, and yet to me there would come the product yearly of ten thousand men.

Here is the growth of mastery.

Could we witness a contrast wider than that between the impoverishment caused by the appropriation of fortunes by land owners; and the enrichment caused by the unflagging energy that industry is continually exercising to fill the land with the abundance of wealth?

The hand of industry, it is true, makes the wealth, but the hand of industry does not get the wealth.

The hand of the land owner need make no wealth, but every year he can appropriate a fortune.

With every increase in population his power to collect tribute grows and grows. We have seen what the development has been in one century. If population grows in the next one hundred years as it has in the past, and the tribute that toil has to pay for the occupation of the land keeps growing proportionately, will we not witness a development of extraordinary proportions—men with billions on the one hand, and millions of people to whom life is not worth living.

In the adjustment of our taxation what heed have our legislatures given to these forces? Alas! alas! we have been acting with a recklessness, which will soon become criminal. Instead of appropriating for public purposes those values which come through the growth of population, and which properly belong to population, we have ever been pursuing the industrious man, as if he were a nuisance to be suppressed. At the same time we have been exciting the cupidity of some men to gain fortune, not by producing fortune, but by the spoilation of and extortion from their fellows.

In view of this extraordinary contrast, industry doing its best for humanity on the one hand, and speculation and extortion doing its worst on the other, can there be any hesitation as to the source from which we should draw our taxation? Is it not our religious duty, as quickly as possible, to place our taxation in such a way, that we will remove the temptation, which now leads people to seek fortune by spoilation, and place it in such a way, that we will encourage every man to do his best for his fellow men?

Does not this appeal at once to your consciences as being the method which conforms most closely to the true idea of justice? And I am not calling your attention to a fact of the first importance when I state that it is only in the path of justice that religion can have free course and be glorified?

Comparing my own power with that of the sun is like a comparison between inexpressible weakness and infinite power. It is as a gnat contending with a locomotive. My puny arm raised against his immeasurable flood of light would be an exhibition of the most monumental weakness.

But I can place my hand between that sun and my eyes, so that I cut off his rays. and thus practically blot out the sun so far as I am concerned.

In the construction of this world, I have no hesitation in proclaiming, that the Creator is just as anxious and just as willing to flood this earth with moral beauty and with moral grandeur, as He is to supply it with the light of day. But, let us raise between us and the Giver of all good the obstacle of injustice, and we cut off the supply of holy influences just as truly as the hand can cut off the rays of the sun.

I am delighted to notice in the controversies of to-day that some of the leading divines are beginning to recognize that the greatest obstacle to the progress of religion is the injustice which now separates man from man. For, as it has been most truly remarked, whatever separates man from man must separate man from God. We cannot serve God and mammon.



* TENETS OF THE SINGLE TAX.

BY E. T. WEEKS.

We hold that the earth is the common heritage of all men. That apart from the earth men cannot live; and that whatever hinders their access to the earth, increases to them the difficulty of living. We assert that the very fact of birth gives to all men an equal and inalienable right to life; and because men can exist only upon and from the earth, their common heritage, it follows that all men have an equal and inalienable right to the use of the earth. And we hold that whatever human laws or institutions deny and hinder their equal exercise of this right, deny, in effect, that all men are entitled to an equal opportunity to live, and thus deny their equal right to life. We hold that private property in land, including all natural opportunities, by decreeing to a minority of men the ownership of the earth, and compelling the majority to give to these a part of the products of their labor for the mere privilege of using it, artificially increases to the multitudes the difficulty of living; infringes their equal right to the use of the earth; deprives them of their right to an equal opportunity to live, and thus denies that all men have an equal right to life. And we hold therefore that private property in land, under which the minority may wholly exclude the majority from the earth, is violative of natural rights, and is wrong; and that the human enactments which decree it should be abolished.

We assert that, in production, whatever unnaturally increases the share of the product given as rent unduly lessens the part remaining for wages and interest. Expressly asserting the need for private possession of land, we declare that its private ownership is wholly injurious. That, by enabling some to monopolize and keep out of use the most valuable lands, it gives monopoly values to land, unnaturally increases rent and the part of the product exacted as rent, and by compelling labor to resort to lands of low productiveness, it lessens the returns of labor, decreases wages and hampers production.

We assert that land values are created solely by the presence of population and the thrift and progress of the community. That they arise with the coming of population, grow with its growth and shrink and even disappear with its decline. That as a community becomes more populous and needs greater revenues, its land values increase. And that, by the very law of its being, every community creates, concurrently, a need for revenues and a fund, land values, from which this want may be satisfied.

We hold that to the producer belongs the thing produced. That land values being produced not by any individual, but by the presence and thrift of the community, the same principle of justice which gives to the individual the product of his labor, ordains that this fund, land values, belongs to the community, and should be taken for the support of the government.

*In each issue of the REVIEW will appear hereafter a brief statement of our principles, and the methods of their practical application. These articles will be carefully written and condensed by single taxers who have demonstrated their ability as teachers. The admirable paper of Mr. Weeks is the first, and in our next issue Mr. Henry George, Jr., will furnish the second of the series.

To do this, and to take away the substance of ownership in land, while securing the individual in the private possession thereof, we propose to levy an annual tax on the rental or using value of land, irrespective of improvements, equal to the entire amount thereof, and that the resulting revenue be apportioned among the Federal, State and local governments; and that all other revenue taxes be abolished.

We hold that we would thus simplify and equalize taxation, cheapen its collection and do away with perjury in relation thereto. We assert that a tax on land values, unlike other taxes, cannot be shifted to the consumer. That the tax we propose would compel every holder of land to contribute annually to the common welfare, the full value of the special privilege thus enjoyed by him; would destroy speculation in land by making it unprofitable to hold land out of use; would give capital and labor access to vast quantities of land, including oil, coal, iron and other mineral deposits, and make impossible the monopolizing of the original sources of supply; would derive the revenues of government from the very fund which society itself creates; and since more than ninety per cent of all lands values are in urban lands, franchises, and mineral deposits, it would remove from the farming and the wage-earning population the great burden of taxation, which, as the principal consumers, now falls ultimately upon them. We assert that by abolishing all revenue taxes upon improvements, capital, labor and the products of labor, and giving access to lands now monopolized and idle, it would stimulate investment, promote industry and enterprise, raise wages and bring about general and more equal prosperity.

We are opposed to all forms of special privilege; we recognize the importance of the financial and other questions; and we expressly declare that government ownership of transportation lines and public utilities is needed as a complement to this tax; but we hold that every improvement in government, or other advance in material progress, simply increases the value of land, and, under private ownership of land, adds to the proportion received by the land owner and decreases the proportion of the laborer. And, declaring that man's relation to the earth is primary, we hold that the adoption of the Single Tax as a means to secure to all the people their equal right to its use is a prerequisite in order that they, and not a minority of them, may enjoy the material benefits to accrue from further advances in government and even in civilization itself.



A LEAF FROM THE HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

(For The Review.)

BY JAMES A. WARREN.

The cable brings the message announcing the death at her stately home in London, Eng., of Mary E. Schenley, whose name is so inseparably linked with the history of Pittsburg and, it might be said, of Western Pennsylvania. There are names far more familiar to the people of the United States. Indeed, outside of Pennsylvania the name of Schenley, in connection with the enormous land holdings in this city and the city of Allegheny, may be known to but comparatively few. It is here in this mentally sodden atmosphere that the family name of Schenley is as freely used and known as to the Romans was the name of Caesar, and with scarcely less of awe and deference.

Mrs. Mary E. Schenley was born at Locust Grove, near Louisville, Ky., April 27, 1826. Her parents were William Croghan, Jr., and Mary O'Hara, the latter a daughter of Gen. James O'Hara, a pioneer resident of Pittsburg

and prominent during the Revolutionary period. Mrs. Schenley's parents came to this city in the early '30s. After the death of her mother, Mary E. Croghan, while attending school, in the year 1841, made the acquaintance of Capt. Edward H. Schenley, an officer in the British Army. The gallant captain was 45 years old and had been twice a widower. Owing to her father's strong objections to her marriage with an English army officer, the lovers eloped and after a residence of about ten years in England Mr. and Mrs. Schenley returned to this country and received a faltering forgiveness from Croghan, *pere*, who had been a major in the United States Army. The vast heritage in lands of Mrs. Schenley in receiving the possessions of her mother, as will be seen, was to place her among the richest women in the world, and give her a dominion over many thousands of her countrymen, which was to become imperial in its power and so far reaching in moulding the destiny of her fellow beings that beside it the rule of a king or emperor is puerile and impotent.

The following brief summary is given to show the holdings of the frail and gentle personality, who by accident of birth became the holder of so large a part of the earth which society had allowed a maternal ancestor to appropriate and "purchase" under the title of "legal" possession. To-day these holdings are conservatively estimated to be worth \$50,000,000 for nearly all of the land is in the business part of Pittsburg, where land is measured by the inch. The amounts here set forth are given as showing the assessment for taxable purposes (said to be) against holdings in the respective wards :

First ward.....	\$87,000
Second ward.....	235,850
Third ward.....	335,525
Sixth ward.....	27,018
Twelfth ward.....	2,013,103
Thirteenth ward.....	54,109
Fourteenth ward.....	1,982,105
Eighteenth ward.....	221,400
Twenty-first ward.....	148,452
Total.....	<u>\$5,104,562</u>

To this group must be added holdings in the business centre of Allegheny City and which are located respectively in the Second, Third, Fourth and Ninth wards of that municipality.

The policy of the Schenley estate has been up to very late years of allowing no disintegration by sale of any part of its vast estate. The English system of ground rental has been followed, and to this can be attributed the entire absence of any modern buildings, save in few instances, resting on the Schenley land. For, structures erected by a lessee for a long term of years, have only been changed to meet existing conditions of a growing city. Thus a congregation may have first erected under a long lease, a building devoted to the worship of God, and this sacred use was followed in succession of occupancy by boarding and lodging house keepers, the saloon and maybe the brothel. For it is but the very irony of our civilization that seems to show in such evolution the degradation and debasement of the higher aspirations of the soul because of man's ignoring and violation of natural laws. And here, where the expression is a byword, one can easily learn why "The Schenley Estate never improves." There is no necessity for it. In those districts where squalor and misery brood in all its hideous mien in ramshackle buildings unworthy to properly shelter cattle, if their owner placed any value upon them, will be found the "homes" of human beings, and from this wretched type comes a tributary

to that golden stream which has flowed with yearly increasing current into the reservoirs of Schenley.

The news of Mrs. Schenley's demise was sent to this city's executive by Andrew Carnegie, who, discarding his cap and bells for the nonce, sent this absurd and snuffing message: "Pittsburg's queenly benefactress passed away suddenly yesterday is London. If ever there was a true and loyal Pittsburger to the end, Mrs. Schenley was one." A call was issued for a joint session of the city councils to adopt resolutions to the memory of the dead, and the moral turpitude of this atmosphere may be faintly imagined when it is known that after reciting the dead woman's many "gifts" to the people of Pittsburg, Mrs. Schenley was eulogized as a "queen of her kind," and to this as a fitting climax the proposition is made to erect a memorial arch at the entrance of Schenley Park to perpetuate the memory of the city's chief benefactress. How far more fitting, though gruesome the suggestion, thus perpetuating in the minds of Pittsburgers the monumental injustice of which Mrs. Schenley was a beneficiary, to rear with reverend hands a pyramid of the skulls of those who had known in life no other "free and native land" than that owned by the House of Schenley? For, even as where the humanity of the Christ was taken, in the shadow of this suggested Golgotha mankind would be daily crucified in the name of private property in land.

Those "gifts" of Mrs. Schenley to the people of Pittsburg include 300 acres, now known as Schenley Park; part of the site of Riverview Park (Allegheny City); site for West Penn Hospital (Pittsburg); site for the institution for the blind (Pittsburg); site for newsboys' home (Pittsburg); and the site for the old blockhouse of Ft. Duquesne and adjoining property. This land thus deeded is estimated at present values as being worth \$9,000,000. This, however, is as but a few crumbs from the gigantic loaf which the people of these cities by their presence have leavened and allowed to remain unquestioned as the private possession of a landholder who for nearly fifty years had not visited her subjects in this grand old commonwealth of Pennsylvania, where only God's blessed air and sunshine is as yet exempted from the sacred seal of private possession and free from the order of a putrescent political oligarchy dominated by the unspeakable Quay.

The city press intoned a *te deum* in praise of the dead woman's benefactions, but in that hymn not a single note was sounded but to the "queen" who had held the orb and scepter of power—the holder of a vast landed estate. God had bestowed upon the dead the greatest crown. Upon Mrs. Schenley's brow had rested the royal diadem of wifehood and motherhood, and in this sphere all womankind wears the ermine of truest sovereignty. It is Mrs. Schenley, the landholder, the representative of a flagrant injustice in the name of law and vested rights, who has robbed thousands of their birthright that is arraigned in the court of public conscience. Consider the power of this one woman whose tenantry in these two cities number over 25,000 persons. Did this landholder ever think of the lives of babes born to the parents of her miserable tenants in some of the reeking tenements where rent must be forthcoming to the agent at his regular call? To thousands of her tenants Mrs. Schenley's personality was a myth, for it is nearly half a century since in 1856 Mrs. Schenley went to England and never again visited her native land. What of the moral responsibility of the individual that receives without question a golden tide from fellow beings whose lives are a continual battle for food and raiment, and has never sought to lighten their burden by even a personal visit among them for over two score of years? Death, contagion and the agent of eviction could enter many of these tenants' homes, but the Mistress of the Lands knew them not. Land vacant, broad, magnificent sweep of acres up from the city's chief thoroughfares to the noble hills beyond, as virgin as

the Creator gave it, its surface glistening with emerald sheen, assessed as farm land, while \$50,000 is now asked for a tiny acre. Yes, that belongs to the Schenley estate. Down through the "Hill" district of this city, in some of the ghettos is a glimpse of Dante's Inferno. Yes, that belongs to the Schenley estate. What has the prisoner at the bar to say? What has the prisoner done for this city in the name of civic pride? What has the prisoner at the bar given in return for the millions taken from the citizens of Pittsburg to a treasure house beyond the sea?

The saturnalia of graft that had been witnessed by Pittsburgers for twenty-five years was checked to a degree by the withdrawal from activity, because of failing health, of that arch grafter, C. L. Magee, and to whose memory a monument in bronze is soon to be erected that Pittsburgers, lest they forget, may look upon and remember another of the city's "benefactors." The displacing of the once powerful and unscrupulous Magee-Flinn ring by a fusion of disappointed grafters and political hacks with many independent Republicans and Democrats, a movement, which in its inception won a considerable following in the hope of better city government, has resulted in making Pittsburg politically a municipal bedlam. To paraphrase is to but say that

" Shatter and break the political hack as you will,
The odor of graft will cling to him still,"

and here where the political spoils hunter is found on every hand is it to be wondered that Municipal Purity lies prostrate and the masses of the people take their medicine without a grimace? The Pittsburg Railways Company owned by "The Philadelphia Company," and which has a perpetual lease upon the streets and highways where its tracks are laid, pays the city so insignificant a sum in taxes upon its enormous properties and privileges that it is not worth mentioning. Yet this corporation gets anything it desires through councils, while the holders of homes and other city property are taxed at a millage of 15, not including the two mills of school tax, and can get nothing from their city fathers. While the taxpayers of these two cities have thus been held up and robbed by the land monopolist and who have become so accustomed to being bled that they have seemingly lost the power of resistance, all the patient burden bearing and amazing servility displayed under the thrall of such a colossal game of graft played by the Schenley estate may be understood.

Le roi est mort. Vive le mort. Title deeds remain and the heirs of the Schenley estate will but follow in the footsteps of their ancestors in the legalized piracy which moral insanity and greed alone defend. To that band of sincere and thoughtful men in this city, organized for the purpose of teaching the philosophy of the natural order of society, all hail. The very conditions which grow apace and present seemingly insuperable obstacles, those conditions which cause at times the bravest hearted to falter, will ultimately prove to be the very agencies by which the citizens of this morally polluted city will have their eyes opened to the radiant figure of Truth and will gladly greet her handmaids who bear the protecting shields of justice and economic freedom.



THE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

(For the Review).

BY GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

In Germany the fight goes on briskly along the line of the assessment of city lots at their actual selling value. The law making this possible was the merit of Prussia's greatest Minister of Finance, Johannn von Miquel, who was at heart a good Single Taxer. Eighty Prussian communities, large and small,

have already adopted the method and every month adds new names to the list. The discussion pro and con is at present going on in the two important cities of Halle and Magdeburg, and the municipal government of each has sent a letter of inquiry to such cities as have already adopted this taxation. The leading questions put to the cities are:

1—What increase in revenue in taxation on land and in taxation on buildings, has been noticed over the last year's income from the former method?

2—Has it been found that the new method of taxation brings a relatively higher assessment of the so called better sort of houses, and a lessening of the burden of taxation for the houses of cheap flats?

3—Has there been much trouble in the introduction of the new method; have there been many reclamations and protests, particularly among the class of land owners, etc?

To these questions, sent out by Magdeburg, cities of the size and importance of Cologne, Kiel, Charlottenburg, Düsseldorf, Dortmund Münster and others have sent most satisfactory answers. Charlottenburg, Kiel, Münster, Düsseldorf, Mülheim-am-Rhein report, increase from 35,000 up to 90,000 marks. Dortmund, which did not desire an increase, found itself in a position to notably, decrease the tax rate by turning in a large surplus.

To the second question all without exception return an affirmative answer.

As for the protests in the third question, the cities take that matter very easily. Some report very few protests, others, protests from land speculators which they do not consider worthy of notice, and in no case have the protests, or reclamations been of a nature to induce municipal authorities to doubt in any way the excellence and efficacy of the new method of taxation.

One question in the Halle Enquête. "What reception was given the new method in the circles of land owners?" brought some interesting answers which are most instructive reading particularly for the enemies of the reform.

Barmen (a big manufacturing town) answers, "The new assessments are received with willingness.

Aachen. No complaints have been made.

Breslau. The house of City Representatives (who usually represent moneyed interests) accepted the new method unanimously.

Charlottenburg (the big suburb of Berlin). The owners of lots built upon are delighted, as their tax rate is greatly lessened.

Cologne. All are satisfied, as lots built upon have been reduced in their rates, up to a reduction of 40 per cent for lots bearing cheap houses.

Dusseldorf. The new method has been well received.

Another question sent out by Halle was:—"Have the land owners made any attempt to shift this tax on to the tenants?" When answers are given to this question they are invariably in the negative, as well as to the question whether the new taxation has led to a reduction of the number of gardens in the city.

The progress of any movement in Germany is attended by so much excellent and thorough statistical work that it is of great assistance to those interested elsewhere.

Damaschke's first book, "Municipal Politics," has passed into its fourth edition and has been received with great interest by heads of municipal governments everywhere. "*Land Reform*," the German leader's excellent historical and politic exposition of the Single Tax, has already seen its second enlarged and revised edition, which is also nearly exhausted. The German Land Reform League now numbers 180,000 members, which includes all members of organizations that have joined the parent League as corporate members.

The "Free Seminary for Political Economy" instituted by the League in Berlin, has been found a most valuable means of agitation and propaganda. It

meets every two weeks in some large hall, usually the lecture hall of one of the big High Schools, and Mr. Damaschke, or another of the leaders of the party, gives the main lecture of the evening, following out a regular schedule for the study of economics. The main points of the theme are written on the blackboard, and discussion follows, the whole being planned and carried out on the line of a High School Upper class. The hall is filled to overflowing almost every meeting and scarcely a night that does not add one or two new members to the League.



HERBERT SPENCER.

THE STORY OF HIS RECANTATION.

(For the Review.)

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

During the morning of December 8, 1903, Herbert Spencer died on his little estate at Brighton, England, quietly and without pain, in his eighty-fourth year. As by his previously expressed wish, his body was reduced to ashes; and thus passed the expounder of the Synthetic Philosophy.

Spencer had set himself the most ambitious of all philosophical tasks: that of explaining, by a process of synthesis or building-up, the scheme of the world and all that is therein. He constructed a formula that he called the law of evolution, and which he believed explained the process of development of matter and mind; a process, in the words of William Henry Hudson, ranging from "the unrolling of a planetary system to the sprouting of a wayside flower; and from the genesis of intelligence to the latest variations of social life."

Spencer had in his first book, "Social Statics," more than fifty years ago, predicated a world, created by God, whose name he constantly used, and whose Divine Will, he asserted, constituted the natural order and the essence of social justice. When, later, Spencer began to build up, by what he assumed to be a purely scientific method, a universal philosophy, he declared the idea of God was merely a notion derived by savages from sight of their own shadows; that the origin of things, so far as men could know, was force; that back of that was the Unknowable; that beginning with force, matter and motion, and their integration and dissipation, brought forth all the physical things that we know; that from the mutations of matter and motion came also the developments of the mind; and that thus the process of evolution goes forward, until the reverse process of dissolution resolves things back to their beginning, force; when another cycle of the integration of matter and dissipation of motion begins.

Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy may satisfy those who are willing to follow what they believe to be strictly scientific methods. But to others it is as inconclusive as that philosopher's definition of his root word, evolution: "An integration of matter and a dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent, homogeneity to a definite, coherent, heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." What causes the integration of matter and the dissipation of motion? Force. And who or what created force? That is unknowable. Thus it comes that Spencer's Philosophy merely means the expounding of materialism. The world, the solar system, stellar space—what are they? Matter and motion in their myriad mutations, working, working, working.

And what, then, is this thing we call humanity? The veriest flotsam and jetsam of physical forces—matter integrating, motion dissipating.

If, then, we begin with force and develop to what we are through changes of matter and motion, what, at the best, does human life amount to but a Summer's afternoon butterfly, a snail creeping across a log, a passing feathery cloud! Why should the more fortunate think of the toil and trouble of others; why should there be restraint, sacrifice, heroic deeds? If force is the genesis of all things that we can know, and if men themselves are but the creatures of force, would not the more fortunate but follow the law of their being if they made force the rule of social life, if they used force to obtain the satisfactions of desire? And what would this be but an adaptation of the law which Spencer says rules in the animal world below man—"the survival of the fittest?"

These are the conclusions that some will draw from Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy as expounded in his five grand divisions, beginning with "First Principles." All endeavors to explain it otherwise will to them be the making of distinctions that do not bear—be but the piling on of words.

On the other hand, to thousands and tens of thousands, Spencer has been a "guide, philosopher and friend." The more rational ones have thought that perhaps he went too wide of the old symbols; that he may have given his teachings too much the aspect of strict materialism insomuch that since beyond a certain point human scientific inquiry cannot go, he had dismissed that from the formula of the scheme of things, as "Unknowable," and thus seemingly supported that phase of atheism, which, at start, making the negative declaration that the First Cause is shrouded in eternal mystery, so that none can say what it is, comes at last to its antonym, and makes the positive declaration that there is no God.

Yet large numbers of men have paid and will yet pay to Spencer the sincere homage due to one who awakens a realization of a stupendous and magnificent truth—the universal reign of law. To many such men this truth fills the heart and mind, and from the moment when it flashes upon them, all else appears unimportant by comparison.

This was not the supreme consideration with Spencer himself, however. The five grand divisions of his philosophy were: "First Principles," "the Principles of Biology," "the Principles of Psychology," "the Principles of Sociology," and "the Principles of Morality," or, as frequently described, "the Principles of Ethics." To this last division Spencer said "all the preceding parts are subsidiary." Of "the Principles of Morality" the final and most important part dealt with "The Ethics of Social Life: Justice."

According to Spencer, the first principle of justice gives "every man freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." In "Social Statics," the book from which his synthetic philosophy developed, Spencer deduced from this law of equal freedom "the right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of his fellow-men," * * * "the maintenance of this right necessarily" forbidding "private property in land." And Spencer specifically declared: "However, difficult it is to embody that theory in fact, equity sternly commands it to be done."

Here, at beginning, was a philosophy that had its roots in the ground, that decreed that men should, as a fundamental right of their being, have equal access to nature upon which and from which they must subsist. Spencer declared this to be the corner-stone of Justice.

Yet in the final development of his philosophy, Spencer indirectly, evasively and with a great cloud of words, renounced this declaration and took means to justify private property in land.

What is all the philosophy in the world to the man who has hunger gnaw-

ing at his vitals? How great a mockery it is to discourse on Supreme Law and Order to men who are bereft of their inheritance in natural opportunities and who have to sell themselves into the veriest slavery to obtain subsistence? What can the principle of evolution seem like to those deprived of their natural rights but a merciless principle of force that seizes and crushes the many for the benefit of the few?

This is the great indictment against Herbert Spencer. In his early years he saw and plainly declared the truth of equal rights to the earth. In his later years he saw the same truth, but he denied it.

Herbert Spencer was born in the village of Derby, in the Midlands of England, on April 27, 1820. His health was delicate and he kept in the open air as much as possible and was not sent to school. His father, who was a school teacher, instructed the boy for a time himself and later gave him into the charge of Herbert's uncle, the Rev. Thomas Spencer, a clergyman in the Established Church. The boy showed a marked aptitude for mechanics and mathematics, and his studies were mainly in the direction of civil engineering. When 16 he invented and published in the *Civil Engineers' and Architects' Journal* a theorem in descriptive geometry, and he assisted his father in philosophical experiments. At 17 he began to earn his living as a civil engineer on the London & Birmingham Railway, under Charles Fox, who afterwards constructed the Crystal Palace. Young Spencer followed this vocation for eight or nine years, when an industrial depression threw him out of work. He returned to his father's roof for a while.

But he had before that published various articles in the *Civil Engineers' and Architects' Journal*, and these were succeeded by a series of letters on the "Proper Sphere of Government," in the *Non-Conformist* newspaper. The reception of these writings, even if small, together with his hard experience at engineering, determined Mr. Spencer to adopt literature for a living. In 1848 he obtained a position on the *Economist* newspaper, then under the management of its proprietor, Mr. James Wilson, M. P.?

This engagement lasted for four years, during the first two of which he wrote his first book, "Social Statics; or, the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of Them Developed." This book attracted some attention, although the extent of its circulation may be judged from the fact that fourteen years were required for the disposal of the first edition of only 750 copies. Nevertheless, Mr. Spencer was invited to contribute to the pages of the *Westminster Review*, which had been established in 1832 by Bentham, for many years had received contributions from James Mill, and to which, from 1835 to 1840, the latter's son, John Stuart Mill, had been chief contributor. This periodical is still flourishing in England and publishes so many articles advocating the Single Tax idea that that principle may be set down as one of the chief tenets of its teachings.

Five years after "Social Statics" appeared, Mr. Spencer published his second book, "The Principles of Psychology," preceded and followed by several magazine articles. In his "Psychology" he showed the principle of evolution as applied to the phenomena of mind. In 1860 he issued a descriptive programme for the development of a system of synthetic philosophy, in which the principle of evolution should be applied to all classes of phenomena. To this work all the rest of his life was devoted.

It is possible that this plan would not have been carried out had it not been for American support. For the British reception of Spencer's "Psychology" had been scarcely better than that accorded to "Social Statics," twelve years being required to dispose of less than eight hundred copies. Publishers were reluctant to undertake the printing of such slow-selling books. John Stuart Mill, who became interested in Spencer's plan, suggested getting up a guarantee

fund. But this Spencer did not find necessary, as an American publishing house, D. Appleton & Co. of New York, had become interested in "Social Statics" and the "Psychology." It welcomed the idea of the series of works, agreeing to pay a liberal royalty, and it was in the United States and through the Appleton publishing house that Spencer's books had very much the largest part of their circulation. D. Appleton & Co. have sold considerably more than one hundred thousand copies of his books, all told. With this American support, the English philosopher was enabled to make arrangements for the publication of his system of works in England.

Spencer obtained recognition in England only slowly. Yet his life soon fell in pleasant places. For years he spent much of his time at the Atheneum Club, and apparently its more conservative atmosphere wrought a marked change in the philosopher's social views. He had been a poor young man of but thirty, without embarrassing acquaintances among the class of "vested wrongs" when he had published "Social Statics." He had denounced in extended, explicit and emphatic language private property in land, naming specific cases of tyranny growing out of private ownership of the soil. But the Atheneum Club and Spencer's growing reputation as a philosopher brought acquaintanceships and friendships among the privileged, with the consequence that the uncompromising declarations of the poor young philosopher for equal rights in land melted away; giving place to such qualifications, "ifs and buts and excepts" as to leave land ownership strengthened in private hands and to keep nineteen-twentieths out of their birth-right.

To appreciate the change that occurred in Spencer it is only necessary to look at his earlier and some of his latter utterances touching rights in land. His earlier views were chiefly set forth in Chapter IX. of "Social Statics," entitled "The Right to the Use of the Earth," which right, he held, was equal among all men and was "immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom," the primary law of social ethics. Listen to the words of the young philosopher of 1850:

Given a race of beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires—given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires—a world into which those beings are similarly born, and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of the world. For if each of them "has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other," then each of them is free to use the earth for the satisfaction of his wants, provided he allows all others the same liberty. And conversely, it is manifest that no one, or part of them, may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from similarly using it; seeing that to do this is to assume greater freedom than the rest, and consequently to break the law.

Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land. * * * Supposing the entire habitable globe to be enclosed, it follows that if the landowners have a valid right to the surface, all who are not landowners, have no right at all to its surface. Hence, such can exist on the earth by sufferance only. They are all trespassers. Save by the permission of the lords of the soil, they can have no room for the soles of their feet. Nay, should the others think fit to deny them a resting place, these landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether. * * *

Passing from the consideration of the possible, to that of the actual, we find yet further reason to deny the rectitude of property in land. It can never be pretended that the existing titles to such property are legitimate. Should anyone think so, let him look in the chronicles. Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which those titles may be traced. The original deeds were written by the sword, rather than with the pen. * * * Could valid claims be thus constituted? And if one act of transfer can give no title, can many? No: though *nothing* be multiplied forever, it will not produce *one*.

"But time," say some, "is a great legalizer." * * * How long does it take for what was originally *wrong* to grow into a *right*? At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid? * * *

Whether it may be expedient to admit claims of a certain standing, is not the point. We have here nothing to do with considerations of conventional privilege or legislative convenience. We have simply to inquire what is the verdict given by pure equity in the matter. And this

verdict enjoins a protest against every existing pretension to the individual possession of the soil; and dictates the assertion, that the right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid; all deeds, customs, and laws notwithstanding.

Not only have present land tenures an indefensible origin, but it is impossible to discover any mode in which land *can* become private property. * * *

It does indeed at first sight seem possible for the earth to become the exclusive possession of individuals by some process of equitable distribution. * * * But * * * who are to be the allottees? Shall adult males, and all who have reached twenty-one on a specified day, be the fortunate individuals? If so, what is to be done with those who come of age on the morrow? Is it proposed that each man, woman and child shall have a section? If so, what becomes of all who are to be born next year? * * *

Until * * * we can produce a valid commission authorizing us to make this distribution—until it can be proved that God has given one charter of privileges to one generation, and another to the next—until we can demonstrate that men born after a certain date are doomed to slavery, we must consider that no such allotment is permissible.

Probably some will regard the difficulties inseparable from individual ownership of the soil, as caused by pushing to excess a doctrine applicable only within rational limits. This is a very favorite style of thinking with some. There are people who hate anything in the shape of exact conclusions; and these are of them. According to such, the right is never in either extreme, but always half way between the extremes. They are continually trying to reconcile *Yes* and *No*. *Its* and *but*s and *excepts* are their delight. * * *

But it behooves such to recollect that ethical truth is as exact and as peremptory as physical truth; and that in this matter of land-tenure, the verdict of morality must be distinctly *yea* or *nay*. Either men *have* a right to make the soil private property, or they *have not*. There is no medium. We must choose one of the two positions. There can be no half-and-half opinion. In the nature of things the fact must be one way or the other.

If men *have not* such a right, we are at once delivered from the several predicaments already pointed out. If they *have* such a right, then is that right absolute, sacred, not on any pretence to be violated. If they *have* such a right, then is his Grace of Leeds justified in warning off tourists from Ben Mac Dhui, the Duke of Atholl in closing Glen Tilt, the Duke of Buccleugh in denying sites to the Free Church, and the Duke of Sutherland in banishing the Highlanders to make room for sheep-walks. * * *

“But to what does this doctrine, that men are equally entitled to the use of the earth, lead? Must we return to the times of unenclosed wilds, and subsist on roots, berries and game? Or are we to be left to the management of Messrs. Fourrier, Owen, Louis Blanc & Co.?”

Neither. Such a doctrine is consistent with the highest state of civilization; may be carried out without involving a community of goods; and need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements. The change required would simply be a change of landlords. * * * Instead of paying his rent to the agent of Sir John or his Grace, he would pay it to an agent, or deputy agent of the community. Stewards would be public officials, instead of private ones; and tenancy the only land tenure. * * *

A state of things so ordered would be in perfect harmony with the moral law. Under it all men would be equally landlords; all men would be alike free to become tenants. * * * Clearly, therefore, on such a system, the earth might be inclosed, occupied and cultivated, in entire subordination to the law of equal freedom.

No doubt great difficulties must attend the resumption, by mankind at large, of their rights to the soil. The question of compensation to existing proprietors is a complicated one. * * *

But with our perplexity and our extraction from it, abstract morality has no concern. Men having got themselves into the dilemma by disobedience to the law, must get out of it as well as they can; and with as little injury to the landed class as they may.

Meanwhile, we shall do well to recollect, that there are others besides the landed class to be considered. In our tender regard for the vested interests of the few, let us not forget that the rights of the many are in abeyance; and must remain so, as long as the earth is monopolized by individuals. * * * It may by-and-by be perceived that Equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened; and that men may learn that to deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth, is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.

Reviewing the argument, we see that the right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of his fellow men, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom * * * and that however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, Equity sternly commands it to be done.

This is the substance of the famous chapter of “*Social Statics*.” Spencer did not see the simple method of taxing rent into the public treasury; the word “*land*” in his mind seemed to mean what, singularly enough, it seems to mean to most of the English economists, namely, agricultural land; he did not make clear what he thought about compensation, although elsewhere he shows

that his words would have applied only to improvements and not to land; and he fell into a confusion toward the end of the chapter about *equal* rights and *joint* rights, two very different things. While all these may be shortcomings, (and they are fully examined in my father's history of Spencer's various utterances on the land question, under title of "A Perplexed Philosopher") the chapter is remarkable, nevertheless, for its clear and emphatic declaration that private property in land is wrong, "all deeds, customs and laws notwithstanding;" it waves aside all compromises, "all ifs and buts and excepts," and says that no matter what the cost, Justice sternly commands that equal rights to the land be observed, since that is requisite to the exercise of the first principle of justice, the principle that "every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man."

This was strong doctrine, but "Social Statics" had little circulation. Even had it had large circulation, the landed interests were not at that time roused to any sense of insecurity of their institution. Spencer, however, did not press his land doctrine. He was drawn off into a development of other phases of his philosophy. And so this land utterance lay dormant until the appearance, in 1879, of "Progress and Poverty," in which quotations were made from Chapter IX of "Social Statics." The remarkable circulation of "Progress and Poverty" and the Irish land agitation about that time brought the land question into hot and general discussion. In 1882 a cheap edition of "Progress and Poverty" appeared in Great Britain and had a phenomenal sale. The *London Times*, the *Quarterly Review* and other important journals and periodicals reviewed and criticised it. In the course of these comments the quotation from "Social Statics" came in for notice and at length Spencer was charged with attacking private property in land.

The Herbert Spencer of the 80's was not the Herbert Spencer of the 50's. The early Spencer had been a poor young man who had no regard for "the vested rights of Sir John or his Grace" and boldly asserted "the rights of the many." The later Spencer had made his peace with "Sir John and his Grace" and was anxious to help conserve their special privileges. Hence it was that Spencer in 1882 sent a letter to the *St. James's Gazette*, in which, with some shuffling, he said that the criticised statements on the land question were garbled quotations from a book written thirty-two years before, which book he had "since withdrawn from circulation in England."

The fact was that "Social Statics" had been printed from type, not stereotyped plate, so that after the exhaustion of the first edition, no more copies were printed in that country, the type having long since been distributed. But editions had been printed continuously in the United States from plates made there, and sheets of the American print had been sent to England to supply all British demands.

Nothing more was heard of the matter for half a dozen years. In November, 1889, Mr. John Morley, M.P., was interviewed by some of his constituents, among them Mr. John Laidler, a bricklayer, who spoke in behalf of nationalization of the land. Morley dissented and Laidler, in support of his own position, quoted passages from Chapter IX of "Social Statics." The *London Times*, published a report of the proceedings, and that turned public attention on Spencer's land doctrines again. This brought a long letter from Spencer to that newspaper. Again he shuffled. Among other things he said:

The work referred to—"Social Statics"—was intended to be a system of political ethics—absolute political ethics, or that which ought to be, as distinguished from relative political ethics, or that which is at present the nearest practicable approach to it.

One has only to refer to the foregoing extracts from "Social Statics" to see how misleading was this description of that book. "Equity does not per-

mit property in land " it said and in the plainest terms it declared that the first principle of justice—that every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man—could not be applied until the monopoly of land should be abolished and equal rights to it observed.

This Morley-Laidler incident and report in the *Times* led to letters from Professor Huxley and others, who wanted to know just what Spencer meant, none of them apparently having seen a copy of "Social Statics." Spencer noticed only Huxley, meeting him by evading the main points and raising other questions.

There the case rested for a while, during which Spencer got out a new edition of "Social Statics." But it was not a reprint of the old edition of 1850, which had been continuously published in the United States. The new "Social Statics" was "abridged and revised." Of it my father, in his full history of the whole matter ("A Perplexed Philosopher") said: "It has been disemboweled, stuffed, mummified, and set up in the gardens of the Spencerian Philosophy, where it may be viewed with entire complacency by Sir John and his Grace."

Of the old Chapter IX entitled: "The Right to the Use of the Earth," brief passages condemning Socialism and giving no idea of the significance of the former chapter were published and given the title of "Socialism."

About this time the final part of the last grand division of Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy was published. It was the part called "The Ethics of Social Life: Justice," that part to which all the rest of the philosophy led up. Chapter XI treated of rights to land and to light and air, which properly should be included in the term "land," but which were there treated as independent of it. The chapter was entitled "The Right to the Use of Natural Media." The limitations of space prevent the publication of the chapter in full here and the presentation of extracts would give no adequate idea of it. I shall content myself with offering my father's description of it ("A Perplexed Philosopher," Part III, Chapter VIII):

We are told that when private property in land did arise, it was habitually incomplete, since it was subject to the claims of the over-lord, the implication being that the ownership was subordinate to the head of the community; and that this conception survives alike in theory and in practice to the present time, since the state now takes land for public purposes after making due compensation to existing holders. The supreme power of the monarch having been replaced by the supreme power of the people, the people are now the supreme owners of the land, and may take it, if they please, on payment of full compensation. Thus, individual freedom has been reacquired with regard to land, and to-day, in the existing theory and practice of English law, and like their equal rights to light and air, the equal rights of all to the use of land are fully recognized.

* * * * *

If we put the conclusion as to the right to the use of land to which Mr. Spencer thus comes in "Justice" in the same form which he uses in "Social Statics" we have this:

Given a race of beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires—given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires—a world into which such beings are similarly born, and it unavoidably follows that they have the right to use this world as soon as they have paid the full value of it to those of their number who call themselves its owners.

That this is not in any way an unfair or gratuitous condensation of Spencer's changed position in respect to equal rights of land may be seen by any who will examine for himself that philosopher's later writings. And let this examination be extended to the extraordinary "Appendix B" of "The Ethics of Social Life: Justice."

This "Appendix B" is a long supplement to the chapter on "The Right to the Use of Natural Media." Beginning with the assertion that private property in land had its origin through blood and iron" he endeavors to prove

the impracticability of doing justice to those who were originally robbed of their rights, or to their descendents. Who were the robbers and who the robbed, and who are their descendents? No one can tell. Hence "that bitter feeling towards the landed which contemplation of the past generates in many of the landless, is in great measure misplaced." But "even suppose that the present landowners are the posterity of those who spoiled their fellows, which in large part they are not," we must take account of that which the people at large "have received in the form of a share of the returns"—that is, of poor-law relief. The entire cost of the administration of the poor law "since the 43d Elizabeth (1601) in England and Wales" has been £734,000,000. That is, this £734,000,000 was "given to the poorer members of the landless class during three centuries" out of charges levied mainly on the land, for "a land owner, who is at the same time a Queen's Counsel, frequently employed professionally to arbitrate in questions of local taxation," estimates that at least £500,000,000 of this sum came out of land taxation.

In his articles (1884) on "The Coming Slavery" and "The Sins of Legislators," Spencer had declared that the poor-law charges had been borne not by the landlords but by the "diligent and provident laborer" and by the "half-pauperized laborer." But ignoring these, as he had ignored other earlier utterances, Mr. Spencer chose to assume in this "Appendix B." of "Justice," that if the landless had any claim to the land of England, it must be to "the land in its primitive, unsubdued state, furnishing nothing but wild animals and wild fruits;" and that against such a claim the landlords had "perhaps a larger claim," namely, the £500,000,000 (in round figures, \$2,500,000,000) which they had paid into the public treasury for poor-law relief to the landless. And then says Spencer, in recantation of his early declaration that "Equity does not permit private property in land":

When, in "Social Statics," published in 1850, I drew from the law of equal freedom the corollary that the land could not equitably be alienated from the community, and argued that, after compensating its existing holders, it should be re-appropriated by the community, I overlooked the foregoing considerations. Moreover, I did not clearly see what would be implied by the giving of compensation for all that value which the labor of ages has given to the land. While as shown in Chapter XI., [of "Justice"] I adhere to the inference originally drawn, that the aggregate of men forming the community are the supreme owners of the land—an inference harmonizing with legal doctrine and daily acted upon in legislation—a fuller consideration of the matter has led me to the conclusion that individual ownership, subject to state suzerainty, should be maintained.

Here is Spencer flat for "individual ownership" of land, and yet he says that he adheres "to the inference originally drawn, that the aggregate of men forming the community are the supreme owners of the land." What was that original inference, as expressed in "Social Statics in 1850?" Here are the words from that book:

Given a race of beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires, given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires—a world into which such beings are similarly born, and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of the world. * * * Equity therefore does not permit private property in land. * * * The right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid; all deed, customs and laws notwithstanding.

Soon after the appearance of "Justice," the final volume of Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy, my father reviewed all of Spencer's utterances on the land question in "A Perplexed Philosopher," and commenting on the English philosopher's recantation in Chapter XI of "Justice," ("The Right to the Use of Natural Media") my father then passed this heavy judgment:

Try Herbert Spencer by the ideas he once held—the idea of a Living God, whose creatures we are, and the idea of a divine order, to which we are bound to conform. Or try him by

what he now professes—the idea that we are but the evolutionary results of the integrations of matter and motion. Try him by the principles of “Social Statics,” or try him by the principles of “Justice.” In this chapter he proves himself alike a traitor to all that he once held and to all that he now holds—a conscious and deliberate traitor, who assumes the place of the philosopher, the office of the judge, only to darken truth and to deny justice; to sell out the right of the wronged and to prostitute his powers in the defence of the wronger.

Henry George wrote this in 1892. He died five years later, with no change of view as to Spencer. Spencer had up to that time neither directly nor indirectly taken notice of the charge, nor did he later. He lived for twelve years after this terrific arraignment. They were twelve years of silence on the land question.

“Say only good of the dead” is the ancient prescript, This can apply only to the private life of a man. Spencer was hailed as “the first philosopher of all time;” his works live after him. Because of that, posterity must quote his own words from “Social Statics,” written when he was a free man: “To deprive others of their right to the use of the earth, is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.” And under this quotation posterity must write this sentence: “Herbert Spencer himself, when he was no longer a free man, aided and abetted this great crime.”



THE WAITER.

(For the Review).

BY BOLTON HALL.

A lazy youth just loafed around holding down barrels at the corner grocery. Bye and Bye his uncle left him a farm, but he let it run to weeds. He said, “Why waste breath and energy in hustling when everything that others earn will come to him who waits?”

He didn't look for a place as a waiter; but he held things so well that he held the farm in the path of progress until he sold it out for a big price.

Moral: Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth and get some of His land.

“ There is no man alive, however he may strive,
Allowed to own the work of his own hands.
Landlords and waterlords, at all the roads and fords,
Taking their tolls, imposing their commands.

Not until he is made the lord of his own trade,
Can any man be glad or strong or free;
There looms the coming war. Which captain are you for,
The chartered wrong, or Christ and liberty?”

From Bliss Carman's "Lincoln" Ode.

“Go build a great city—a city without slums—a city of inspiration—a buoyant, hopeful, beautiful city—a city in whose glory we of the West and South can participate—a world city, hospitable and splendid, modern and prophetic, and when you have done that, behold! you will find your sister cities walking with even pace by your side, your rivals only in the ways of civic worth and civic beauty.”—Hamlin, Garland, “New York a City of Power,” in *Metropolitan Magazine*, for December.



HENRY H. HARDINGE

(See page 24)

SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An Illustrated Quarterly Magazine of
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PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

Kindly examine this wrapper, and note if the date of expiration of your subscription is stamped thereon. Help the *Review* by remitting at once.

THE REVIEW FOR 1904.

The *Review* enters upon the new year with good prospects of being able to increase its subscription list and widen the influence that such a periodical is capable of wielding. Our friends can help us by taking advantage of the offer set forth on page 64 by which the *Review* for one year and Mr. Louis F. Post's *Ethics of Democracy*, which is published at \$2.00, may be secured for \$2.25.

In addition to this, we make the following offer. To all those sending \$5.00, ten subscribers of their own selection will be added to the list for one year.

In future numbers efforts will be made to secure contributions from the best known single taxers here and abroad. The news features of the progress of the movement will be extended so as to include reports from all countries where the single tax has obtained a foothold. To this end we call upon our foreign correspondents to keep us informed of every forward step.

Help us to enlarge our free list so that numbers may be sent to public libraries, where the *Review* is certain to find readers, to the desks of newspaper editors who wish to keep in touch with the movement, to public men whose democracy will incline them to listen to our teachings.

Do not underestimate the value of the *Review*. It has been called "the best Single Tax organ since the *Standard*," and though it appears but quarterly, it must be remem-

bered that it contains more than twice as much matter as the old *National Single Taxer*. It is the only organ left the movement, and should be supported until something better can take its place. Its circulation is small as yet, for single taxers are apathetic. Such circulation does not begin to represent even the organized strength of the single tax movement, just as the organized strength does not begin to represent the real numerical forces that are everywhere at work in advancing our principle.

It is folly to say that the movement does not need an organ. It needs something bigger and better than the *Review*, something, too, that will appear oftener than every three months. It is needed for many reasons, as an inspiration to others, to keep the workers in touch, to afford a medium for the expression of individual suggestions for securing progress, for the enlightenment of those who stand outside the active circle, and for the publication of such special events as the Post-Clark debate last Winter, the affairs of the Mass. Single Tax League, and lastly as a permanent record of those successive steps which mark our advance.

The success of such an ideal publication does not rest with the Editor. He can but suggest means; the *Review*, to be the medium that it ought to be, depends upon co-operation, and cooperation of the widest. Let our good friends everywhere and in all lands, do what they can in the coming year to secure subscriptions, and by keeping the *Review* fully informed of what is being done make the organ of the movement an epitome of the history for the year of the struggle for industrial emancipation through the only means by which it can be permanently attained.

DECLARATIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LEAGUE.

We refrain at this time from making extended comment upon the differences that have developed in Massachusetts (see *News Domestic*), respecting the form which the propaganda for the Single Tax ought to take. This we do, not merely out of deference to and admiration for Mr. Fillebrown and recognition of the great service he has rendered to the cause in that State, but because it remains an open question whether his precise form of address is not better adapted to his audience. When it is shown that nearly every paper in Boston has been won over, to the extent, at least, of welcoming a trial of the taxation of land values in the municipality, we should be cautious how we criticise the splendid judgment that has directed so successfully the propaganda of the League.

That there is a real difference between land ownership and ownership in land values, may be conceded; and the abolition of the private ownership in land values leaves

land ownership innocuous for evil. Certainly, too, the natural right to the use of the earth is, in a sense, a real property in its use. These are some of the subtleties of terminology.

But while bearing all this in mind, let us be careful not to whittle down too finely the teachings of Henry George. We hear too little in these days of those great smashing phrases: Industrial Emancipation, The Land for the People, The Abolition of Poverty, The New Crusade. It is such battle cries as these, with the tremendous spirit behind them, that will have a strange potency in the time when the industrial crash sets in. We are sailing smoother waters now, but the storms are coming. There will be need then for newer and more thrilling words of command and sterner rallying cries.

But, in the meantime, to the Massachusetts League—God Speed!

SINGLE TAX INFORMATION BUREAU.

Believing that the Single Tax movement is still in its educational stage, and that the judicious distribution of literature is therefore one of the most effective methods of propaganda at the present time, a few Single Taxers in Brooklyn established on May 1st, 1908, the Single Tax Information Bureau, with headquarters at 1467 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

During the eight months that the Bureau has been in existence, it has printed and purchased about 60,000 documents, including pamphlets, circular letters and leaflets. Of this amount about 40,000 have been distributed through the mails to specially selected names.

The Bureau advertises in a large number of newspapers and periodicals throughout the country, and up to the present time about twelve hundred applications for literature have been received and supplied. All these names are systematically recorded and from time to time are supplied with additional literature.

The bulk of the literature sent out consists of neat and attractive pamphlets printed specially for the Bureau by Frank Vierth, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Some of the titles are: Single Tax Catechism; Right to the Use of the Earth, by Herbert Spencer; Objections to the Land Tax, by Thomas G. Shearman; A Single Tax View of Trusts, by Louis F. Post; and the following by Henry George: The Single Tax; Cause of Industrial Depressions; Effects of Material Progress; First Principles. The Shortest Road to the Single Tax, also The Story of My Dictatorship and a large quantity of leaflets published by A. G. Beecher of Warren, Pa., are included in the literature for distribution.

It would be a most excellent plan to establish such a Bureau in every State of the Union. One or two "Crossdale" Single

Taxers could volunteer to do the necessary work connected therewith, and by using his own residence as headquarters would avoid the costly and important items of rent and clerk hire, thus using the entire income for postage and the purchase of literature.

If any of the readers of this article desire to establish a Bureau, information as to ways and means will be cheerfully supplied upon application to the Secretary, E. B. Swinney, 1467 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

(See Portrait.)

Henry H. Hardinge was born on a farm in Canada in the year of grace 1868. He received a "very common" school education, and has just informed the writer that he is now attending the university of latter-day civilization—post graduate course. He has lived in Chicago for the last sixteen years, and says he can think of no excuse to offer.

Mr. Hardinge is devoted to the mechanic arts. He is an inventor, and one of the most expert workmen in iron and steel in the country. The manufacture of watch-makers' tools for some years received his careful attention, and the business founded by him, because of superior products, now practically controls some lines of this industry. The only perfect chuck known to the watch-making trade is the result of toil during many sleepless nights on the part of Mr. Hardinge.

At present he is engaged in the work of enormously reducing the cost of several branches of the typefounding industry. The results in this direction seem to indicate a fortune for the inventor. In short, Mr. Hardinge is a mechanical engineer of the first order, with the originality of the inventor added.

Several years ago he listened for a few minutes to one of our street speakers, and bought a copy of "The Land Question," which the boys had on sale—and "saw the cat." Since that day political economy has been his hobby, affording, as he says, diversion and relaxation from the arduous duties of a manufacturer who has no legal monopoly.

Mr. Hardinge's style is terse, incisive, epigrammatic. Work in iron and steel requires exactness. His native capacity and training have combined to develop a precision that are exceedingly annoying to those who come into conflict with him. Two parts of an argument that do not agree are to him like two parts of a mechanism that do not fit. The thing will not work, and that is the end of the matter.

A tireless worker on behalf of economic truth, which has its expression in the Single Tax movement, finding his forum in halls, in shops, on the corner, on the street car, in fact wherever men may be met,

Henry H. Hardinge will make his mark in whatever field of endeavor may secure his attention. His fund of illustrations and swift apprehension of the essential features of any matter under consideration make him one to be feared by enemies and prized by friends. With him patriotism is resistance to tyranny.

News—Domestic.

CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES.—(Special Correspondence.—Ralph Hoyt.) The few Single Taxers in this city continue true to the fundamental principles of our cause, despite the result of the Ohio election and some other incidents of more recent date. We see no reason for discouragement, but feel sure that out of the apparent darkness there will come, in due time, a light that will illuminate this monopoly-ridden country and bring eventual harmony between elements which now are warring with each other, though really desiring to accomplish the same object—equal rights for all, with special privileges to none.

We are now viewing with deep interest the great real estate boom in this city, which has been going on for several years, and growing in size, fierceness and absurdity. The daily, weekly and monthly sales of city lots not only increase in numbers, but they show a continuous creeping up of what are universally considered land values. In one sense they are such. At least they are land PRICES; and the amount of pure speculative "business" prevailing here creates a fiercer demand for real estate as the days go by. True there is and for sometime has been a vast amount of building going on within the city limits, and in various contiguous little cities; but the figures to which prices of small spots of God's earth have attained are beyond what they should be for the permanent good of the people interested in healthy expansion. Sooner or later there must be a reaction. The engine can not much longer bear such a pressure without having an explosion. No two men, or larger number of men, can earn a living by perpetual swapping of horses. Neither can a community always prosper, or even live comfortably, by depending mainly on mere land speculation.

Well do I remember the great boom of 1886, '87 and '88. For two years Los Angeles, was "booming." Real estate agencies were thicker than mosquitos. Nearly every available business structure downtown was subdivided into small compartments, and used as real estate offices, for which the occupants paid enormous rentals, and charged enormous prices for every small patch of earth offered for sale. The agents using those little high-priced pens evidently agreed with the sentiment expressed by Bulwer when he declared that "The pen is mightier than the sword." Agents and

sub-agents were almost as thick in the streets as ever were grasshoppers in the fields of Kansas. And every such agent was constantly looking or running after a buyer. Each agent presented somewhat the appearance of a shipwrecked mariner floating on a log in mid-ocean—he was straining his eyes to discover a sale!

The boom continued two years or more, and then collapsed. Then came a reaction all over the city and county. For several years thereafter there was only one mechanical line in which men found satisfactory employment here, and that was carpenter work. Every carpenter was kept busy making signs for buildings in the town, the signs reading either "FOR SALE" or "TO LET."

There may not be a set-back in the growth of this queer city for a year or more to come; though there is reason to believe the change may occur within the ensuing ten months. When it does come, many people who are now economically blind may get their eyes open and begin to learn the important lesson that we have been working on a wrong basis. That land speculation is not an industry, but a game of chance. That monopoly of natural resources is a special privilege, for which every person indulging in it should pay a reasonable sum into the public treasury for public purposes. That the natural right to the use of the earth and all that the individual honestly produces is as sacred as any moral right in the category. That any state, or municipality which disregards such natural rights is sure to reap a whirlwind.

Meanwhile, we Single Taxers are still the same firm believers in the ultimate triumph of our principles.

"For ever the Right comes uppermost,
And ever is Justice done."

Applications for Single Tax literature are becoming more and more frequent, and I have the pleasure of giving out much of it to persons who apparently are interested in the great problem which we know can never be settled till it is settled as Henry George proposed. Any Single Taxer who may have such literature on hand, will do a good service by mailing some of it to me, as I can place it, free in the hands of every applicant.

COLORADO, DENVER.—(Special Correspondence.—E. O. Bailey.)—The effects of the campaign for Local Option a year ago, are still discernible.

With the exception of individual action, and that largely confined to Denver, little is being done to restore the influence and the organization which that campaign—with its final defeat—cost us.

The causes are apparent. Reaction from its high tension was inevitable, and recovery from its sacrifices necessary.

Denver has been convulsed with the birth agonies of a new charter in which Single

Taxers have merged with the liberal element in an effort to secure a practical interpretation of the provision in the amendment for direct legislation (locally) and public ownership of municipal utilities.

Flagrant fraud and official corruption defeated the first charter proposed, and corporation lawyers and politicians are at work upon another in which "reform theories" will be absent.

Ex-Senator Bucklin has returned from California where he was seriously ill with rheumatism of the heart and is ready, he says, for another battle with the enemy.

E. N. Burdick, Secretary of the Australasian Tax League had a debate recently with Mrs. Maynard, a Socialist. It was well attended and contended.

The Socialists are very active throughout the state taking advantage of the desperate straits in which the striking miners have been placed by "The Citizens Alliance" which is rapidly disunionizing many camps, mines and mills.

Bishop Matz has been conducting a series of addresses from his pulpit, denouncing Socialism and demanding submission to the present order on the part of Catholics. The effect is doubtless of a negative sort, although these lectures are given long reviews in the daily papers.

Mr. J. R. Herman, the Single Tax gladiator, recently delivered an excellent address before the young people of the Unity Church. Mr. Richard Welton furnished the music, and aided by his presence in making the meeting a successful one. Mr. Herman is also to make a talk before the Carpenters Union banquet on the 18th of January.

The campaigns of 1904 will find us all busy again in the cause of reform.

GEORGIA, ATLANTA.—(Special Correspondence.—William Riley Boyd.)—While it is true that Atlanta has no Single Tax Organization, it is also true that there are many who accept the doctrine; and in time their influence will be felt along the lines of discussion. The Saturday Night Club, a literary and debating society, has a number of Single Taxers, and the matter is often the subject of discussion. Miss Mary Hicks, of Bainbridge, Georgia, is engaged in effort to interest the women of our State in the work of "The Women's Single Tax League," and there is little doubt that she will arouse interest in this and kindred topics.

But the really hopeful feature of the situation is that the authorities are convinced of the inadequacy of the present method of assessing taxes, and are casting about for something different.

When so conservative an organ as the *Atlanta Journal* makes open confession that the taxing of personal property is beset with difficulties, making it an uncertain source of revenue, we realize that light is about to dawn.

After noting an "increase of tax assess-

ments for past year of more than two millions of dollars," it adds this significant statement: "The increase would have been larger but for a decrease of \$145,598 in the assessment of personal property."

In the closing words of his great work, "Progress and Poverty," Mr. George says, referring to the Single Tax: "Will it at length prevail? Ultimately, yes. But in our own times, or in times of which any memory of us remains, who shall say?"

The wise advocate of our cult wishes no sudden or violent change, but is content to wait the slower processes of reason and necessity; and these are working silently, but effectively, the day is not far distant when the whole truth will be proclaimed and the world will have learned the great lesson that "The Land belongs to the People." Every pending question which agitates the world and hinders progress would find its solution if the land were restored to its real owners.

The Panama matter, affairs in the Philippines, racial adjustment the world over, all wait for the settlement of this great question, and must wait, for here alone may be found the final act of justice for all men.

ILLINOIS, CHICAGO.—(Special Correspondence.—G. J. Foyer.)—The progress being made by the Chicago Single Tax Club has been with the country newspaper editors throughout the State. We have now nearly 200 of these editors who are willing to publish articles on the Single Tax. It is estimated that more than two-thirds of the editors so secured are Republicans. These editors have the Club on their mailing list, and we receive copies of the paper with our Single Tax articles "Marked," to show us that they have published them. The letters will go to these papers in systematic order after the first of the year, when the letter writing corps have contributed enough letters for the mailing of a different one each week to the various newspapers. Our representatives have secured the consent of these papers to attend a convention to be held later in the year, called "The Local Home Rule" Convention, and the editors are made delegates to this convention. We are about to be placed in touch with a greater number of people on the Single Tax question than was ever attempted before men who could be reached only through their little country paper. Our greatest surprise has been the willingness of these papers to publish our arguments. The Club has taken an active interest in the question of Municipal Ownership and was invited with other organizations to address the local transportation committee on the traction question. Mr. Thomas Rhodus, President of the Club, and G. J. Foyer addressed this committee on December 8th. Other members will appear later on in the debate. The newspapers give no accurate report of these debates.

I regret to chronicle the death of two ardent Single Taxers and members of the Club, Mr. George A. Brooks, who was the editor of the *Bulletin* in our campaign, and Mr. Edward E. Harding, who had stood for Alderman and other offices in our campaign, passed away the week of December 10th. Both were earnest men, who gave much of their time to the cause.

MASSACHUSETTS, BOSTON.—(Special Correspondence.—Jane Dearborn Mills.)—The League held its annual meeting on Monday, November 11. After a dinner at 6 o'clock, the members assembled for the transaction of business.

Besides the election of officers, the principal business was the discussion and final adoption of a resolution passed for the purpose of annulling one passed at a meeting during the year just gone by. The last year's resolution was:

"Resolved, That while the Single Tax would, better than any other system, meet the requirements of scientific taxation, liberating opportunity, freeing labor and unburdening production, yet were private ownership in the soil morally defensible, no amount of advantage to be gained would justify placing taxation exclusively upon land values:

"Therefore, while ready to support any movement tending toward the end we seek, we at all times bow to the arbitrament and accept the test set forth by Henry George, that, if private property in land be just, the remedy we propose is a false one: if, on the contrary, private property in land be unjust, then is our remedy the true one."

This year's resolution was:

"It is hereby affirmed that the purpose of the Massachusetts Single Tax League is (1) to promote an understanding of the Single Tax as a plan which Henry George put into practical form in the proposition 'to abolish all taxation save that upon land values,' and (2) to show, as proposed by Mr. Post, 'the wisdom and the justice of applying land values to common use, so far as they will go, or so much of them as may be needed for the just requirements of economical government.' It is further affirmed that any vote as to the right or wrong of private property in land is foreign to the purpose of the League."

The reason for annulling the first resolution was stated by those in favor of such annulment, notably President C. B. Fillebrown, as being that the declared object of the League, stated in the Constitution, is the propaganda of Single Tax principles. No mention is made in the Constitution of what any of these principles are: and there are those in the League who see in the statement that private property in land is unjust, an exaggerated declaration of Henry George's avowed principles, and, in that sense, an untrue one. Mr. Fillebrown is

the leader in this view. He holds that only one condition of private property in land is unjust, namely, the private appropriation of ground rent, that all other conditions will remain the same under the Single Tax, as now, except the one necessarily disappearing under the equal taxation of unoccupied and occupied land—land speculation. Hence, a false impression of the practical application of the Single Tax is given to the uninformed by the wholesale assertion, "Private property in land is unjust," since this condemns those conditions of the present system which are equally conditions of the Single Tax system.

The vote for this new resolution did not necessarily mean that every one who did so agreed, unconditionally, with Mr. Fillebrown; it indicated, rather, that they recognized the necessity for freedom in the League of every member to stand publicly and privately for his own view without disloyalty to the League; and that they recognized that the declaration of a principle in a terminology which some believe conveys a wrong impression to the uninformed hampers such freedom.

The officers elected were: President, C. B. Fillebrown; Treasurer, J. E. Willis; Secretary, Jane Dearborn Mills; Executive Committee, William K. Peabody, L. A. Lothrop, Mrs. Eliza Stowe Twitchell, W. C. Colby, Samuel Brazier and W. S. Crossman.

On December 21, Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island delivered a Single Tax public lecture, under the auspices of the League, in the Y. M. C. Union Hall.

The speaker was introduced by a most able introductory address by Wm. Lloyd Garrison. He pointed out the national conceit of the times, and the national "assurance of divine favor, which have marked every previous republic or empire which has gone down in blood and shame," the necessity of understanding the "forces of decay" which are attacking our freedom, and that the duty of the hour is to point out and emphasize the cheering omens that exist. "In conspicuous politics," he said, "I should be puzzled to name more than two men who stand solely for Democratic ideals. One of them is Tom L. Johnson, and the other I am honored in introducing, Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Governor of Rhode Island."

Gov. Garvin outlined the chief Single Tax arguments, speaking earnestly, and in clear and simple language setting forth the justice and practicability of the system. He said that the present system of taxation of property is only a few hundred years old, and that there is probably a comparatively long future before the human race; hence the claim that it is too late to put assessments on a Single Tax basis is not sufficient excuse for refusing it a trial. In production there are two factors, man and land. The abolition of slavery, thus abolishing man-monopoly, was one step, but land-monopoly is not yet done away with. He explained

the method by which the Single Tax would abolish this, being applied gradually, and with little or no injury or deprivation to any one; and how opportunities would be opened up to the people, and necessity for giving charity would disappear.

Questions followed from truth-seekers, disbelievers, and friendly, though unbelieving Socialists. Gov. Garvin met them all with clear and logical answers, which must have carried conviction to those whose minds were ready for these truths.

MINNESOTA, ST. PAUL.—(Special Correspondence.—C. J. Buell.)—The Single Tax sentiment is growing steadily throughout Minnesota and the Northwest, not so rapidly perhaps as at some past periods, but still with a healthy onward movement.

Here in St. Paul a committee has been formed for the purpose of getting Single Tax speakers before societies that hold regular meetings for thoughtful discussion. Some meetings of this character have already occurred and others are to follow. A. J. Gray is chairman of the committee, and D. Dion, secretary. They will be able to do some good work.

John Z. White will be here from Jan. 17 to 24 inclusive, and we expect his work will cause considerable discussion. We have already arranged for over a dozen addresses and several more will undoubtedly be booked before his coming. He will speak in several churches, before the socialist clubs of both cities, to the Y. M. C. A. of Minneapolis, the Woman's Suffrage Association, the Trades and Labor Assembly, the St. Paul Carpenter's Union and other societies.

Speaking of the Socialist clubs, leads me to say that there is very little State Socialism here in Minnesota. The Socialists are rapidly increasing in numbers, but their whole drift is toward a Democratic Socialism that demands the largest possible degree of personal liberty, but does not seem to have very definite ideas as to how the production and exchange of wealth will be managed. But personal liberty must be preserved. This leads me to suggest to our good Socialist friends that a careful study of the writings of Henry George and other Single Taxers will probably furnish the definitions that now seem to be lacking.

For as all roads were said to lead to Rome, so all economic discussion must finally lead the sincere student, whether he thinks himself a Socialist or not, to the philosophy of the Single Tax.

MISSOURI, ST. LOUIS.—(Special Correspondence.—L. P. Custer.)—There has been a decided lull in Single Tax circles of this vicinity for several weeks. The League continues to hold weekly meetings, but the political conditions, together with the World's Fair agitation, absorbing, as it does, the almost undivided interest of the great

commercial and business institutions of the city and incidentally the thousands of individuals connected therewith, has had a material influence in causing the movement to be largely swallowed up by the rush of private manipulation and scheming to get in on the ground floor of opportunity to profit in one way or another while the fever is on. Everybody is on the lookout for the "main chance," and Single Tax and every other question based on purely social and ethical grounds, is lost sight of for the time being, except with a few of the faithful who have embraced the idea that material desires are incidental to and not primary in the affairs of men. I am one of these and there are others, but the number, as compared with the whole body of those who accept the philosophy of George, hereabouts, is insignificant. The political conditions first designated as being one of the principal causes for this state of affairs, is the primary force and the rush to get in on the ground floor of opportunity to get something out of the golden harvest that seems to be in sight this summer, on account of the great show to be held in St. Louis and everybody, who has anything like a tangible notion of the necessity for reform, feels that there is absolutely no use expending energy and time trying to make headway now, for, the political machine elements have everything so completely their own way that for the present there is not a ghost of a show to accomplish anything.

But the League has taken action to keep the "candle burning," as our indefatigable worker, Prof. Harry Sycamore, of the Aschenbroedel Club, (Musicians Union) puts it, and there will continue to be a meeting every Wednesday evening during the coming year, at the headquarters of the above named club, on the northeast corner of 18th and Olive, where we have commodious accommodations for the entertainment of our friends who may feel like seeking an opportunity to renew their supply of inspiration for the cause of justice and high ideals.

There will be, no doubt, many of our workers in the country at large, who will visit our city during the World's Fair period, for it is going to be the biggest and grandest thing of its kind ever held, and all such, who intend to come should remember where and when we meet and the location of our hall, and make it a point to call on us. They may not find many present, but those in attendance will welcome them and be glad to see them. If those, who are accustomed to speak in behalf of the cause, will notify us ahead, we will be glad to make effort to secure the attendance of our friends in number so that the visitor may feel that his loyalty to the movement and the energy expended in making it effective, is not wasted.

There is, as yet no well defined movement under way for a National Conference of the Single Taxers of the United States, for the

reason that there is no responsible head, or leader, to take hold of it and push it. Until some one with the necessary enthusiasm and influence comes forward and takes the initiative, there will be no such undertaking. That there ought to be there is no question, but it will not work itself out. It must have a main spring, and that piece of important mechanism is not now in sight. I hope one will be forthcoming, but it must make its appearance soon, or it will be too late.

PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA. — The Woman's Henry George League of Philadelphia, which is the only woman's Single Tax organization in the State of Pennsylvania, held its first public meeting on the evening of Thursday, December 10th. The speakers of the evening were Mrs. Margaret Lora Coope, President of the Legislative League of Washington, D. C.; and Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Vice President of the Woman's Henry George League of New York. Mrs. Coope gave a short poetic address on "What's In A Name" and Miss Colbron spoke at length on "Why Women should work for Single Tax." The main points made by the speaker were that work for Single Tax, while distinctly a modern form of activity for women, was yet one that could not antagonize the most strait-laced and old-fashioned. It was a work in which woman does not stand in antagonism to man, but one where she must learn from him the rudiments of practical knowledge of everyday questions, such as the mere matter of taxation, which is not thought necessary as a part of a girl's education, in spite of the fact that women are directly as well as indirectly large taxpayers. This dependence on man will tend to make a woman realize the more fully what man's work in the world is, what are his struggles, and the commingling of interests will preserve the integrity of the home life, while it will make the woman understand that the more fundamental abuses of modern society are not those by which women suffer alone, but those which affect men as well. Man is not the natural enemy of Woman, but her natural friend and fellow-fighter, against the wrongs of special privilege and monopoly which oppress both alike. The necessity for keeping her sympathies and emotions in abeyance while she struggles with such prosaic matters as assessments and tax rates, is what frightens most women away from Single Tax and leads them into so-called philanthropy, or, if they are more enlightened, into that vague emotionalizing known as Fabianism. But if women will but persevere they will find, that once the question of tax rates conquered, (and the conquering of it is excellent mental exercise of itself,) there is just as much room for feeling in our work, and a much greater understanding of fundamental justice, than in many other movements.

Woman's work for Single Tax must be at present largely that of propaganda. There is great need for woman helpers here, for single tax men are busy with the immediate practical work called for by a participation in our country's political life. Miss Colbron said that while she was thoroughly in sympathy with the question of woman suffrage, she would prefer that it be put off a little longer that all women might first be drawn into single tax organization, and made intelligent single taxers, as then their votes would be an immense power for good to the country. Until then, only too many of them would vote on the side of vested rights and conservative privilege. Single Tax women must organize, that they may work effectively among other women, but they must have a care that the main object of their clubs is Single Tax first and foremost, and *not* the club of itself. Women's club life tends only too much to degenerate into a mere clubdom, a squabbling over parliamentary rules and other unessentials, which should be but the means to an end, never the end in itself. It is like the different styles of song-teaching known roughly as the old Italian and the modern German style, although the line of demarcation is not so exact. In the old fashioned Italian style, the voice, the tone production was everything. The sentiment to be expressed was very unimportant and no sorrow nor distress was excuse for bringing out a tone which was not of itself beautiful. Singers became mere machines for sound. The modern German school makes of the voice only a vehicle of expression. It may be made as beautiful as possible, but the emotion to be expressed, the spirit of the text is, first and foremost, the one great thing to be considered. So it is with club life. We meet together for a purpose, in this case for the spreading of a great doctrine, and Single Tax women must remember that their organization is nothing more than a means to better further this end. Rather a loose organization and a lack of parliamentary knowledge with good single tax work, than a perfect organization that wastes its time in futile discussion as to parliamentary rules.

An animated discussion followed and many questions were asked. There were from sixty to seventy people present, and a number of new names were added to the membership list.

The Philadelphia League was organized last May with twelve charter members; it now has a membership roll of thirty-four names. Meetings are held on the first and third Monday evenings of each month. One lawn party was the only meeting held during the Summer months, so that the rapid growth of the League during the short term of its existence is most gratifying. At every regular meeting several new members have been gained. The officers of the League are: President, Charlotte M. Dickson, D. D. S.;

Vice-President, Mrs. Laura Powell; Secretary, Miss Jennie Dix; Treasurer, Miss Annie Ryan.

RHODE ISLAND, PROVIDENCE.—(Special Correspondence.—John A. W. McLoughlin.)—It is hard for me to write about the progress of our movement in this little State. I have come to the conclusion that Rhode Island is the very best place for propaganda in the world, but it would be difficult to state my reasons. Like Topsy they have grown.

I have just read Ralph Hoyt's letter, and would like to say a word about politics. In my mind *the great difficulty (the only difficulty)* is to get it to the people, and any way that will tend to bring it home to them, there is good in. Politics may be good advertising, and it may not. Let the individual choose for himself. If any one can see a head in politics let him hit it. I never can forget the letter I read in the *Standard* many years ago: It told us to hammer, to 'ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer, and more or less we are all hammering and doing good work, too.

I am always looking for hints as to the best way to hammer, and I have come to this conclusion: When you attempt propaganda work, teach the Single Tax, go straight at it, do not lead up to it by talking Home Rule, changes in the Constitution, or any of those things which *lead up to it*. When the people get the Single Tax in their heads, nothing will stop it. Just let a Single Taxer ask himself what to-day would be his mental attitude if Henry George had thought it necessary to lead *him* by a string, to understand the Single Tax. Why it is much easier of understanding than any of the other questions which we say lead to it.

When you get a man's attention the trick is done, it is a useless waste of time if you secure his attention to *something else*.

If the following hint is worth anything, I give it freely: The writer has gone into politics. His object is to use a ward as a field to get at the people. The political campaign itself is only a "hurrah, boys," a sort of "commencement" to wind up the school year. My *modus operandi* was to be nominated on nomination papers as Alderman. The first year was a dead failure—politically. My signatures were not accepted, but a few good Single Taxers and myself held outdoor meetings, and this year we started in again. We did no campaigning, but sent Single Tax circulars to the voters. I stood alone, there was no attempt to get votes. I received 77, which was 9 per cent. of the total vote cast, and over 16 per cent. of the victorious candidate. When the Winter passes I expect more help, and we will go ahead with the good work.

Here is my idea of politics: I think Rhode Island is the best State in the Union for propaganda. One reason is its size. It is

not even as large as it appears, for Providence (181,000 inhabitants) is, practically speaking, the State. If we can make one ward a Single Tax ward, we will soon have two, and six will be a majority of the city government.

The conversion of one ward staring the people in the face will be a beautiful means of reaching the people.

I would like to hear the idea criticised. The few of us who are in it feel very much encouraged. We consider 77 Single Tax votes in one ward a remarkable number, and being in touch with the ward, I feel we are making an impression.

TENNESSEE, MT. PLEASANT.—(Special Correspondence.—A. Freeland.)—There is nothing special to report in the way of Single Tax news in Tennessee. For years the State has exempted the personal property of farmers to the extent of \$1,000 from taxation. Outside of this exemption the State's taxing system is antiquated. What with a poll tax for the privilege of voting, license taxes, personal taxes, etc., commerce and industry are pretty well throttled. Public utility franchises are lightly assessed. Tenancy is the rule and home ownership the exception. Where the lands are good, there are great estates, reminding one of the nobility and peasantry of Europe. In the mountainous and timbered districts, where the land is poor, many own their homes. There are a great many very poor people in the State, quite a number of well-to-do, and a few rich. Tenant farmers who furnish their own teams, implements, etc., pay one-half the crop as rent. Where the landowner furnishes practically every thing the tenant pays two-thirds. Conditions are not yet as bad as in Sicily, where the tenant pays four-fifths for the use of Nature's gift.

There is a group of able Single Taxers in Memphis, among them such well known men as Bolton Smith, R. G. Brown and Malcolm McDowell. Mr. W. A. Harris recently left Memphis and located at Fairhope. Mr. J. S. Billings, at one time President of the Atlanta, Ga., Single Tax Club, left this community a year ago and is now in Oklahoma. There are only four active propagandists, to my knowledge, in this county, but there are many adherents.

Mr. W. E. Alexander recently returned from Texas, and is located at his old home in Lewisburg, in an adjoining county. He is a good writer and has many converts to his credit in Marshall County.

Since coming to this State, four years ago, the three daily papers in Nashville have published probably 100 of my communications. A lesser number have appeared in other papers in the State. Contributions from letter writers outside the State frequently appear in the Nashville papers. There are a number of passive adherents of the cause in Nashville, but no Croasdalers, to my knowledge.

If we could keep a speaker in the field in the State for a few months, we could make many converts. But up to the present there is no way of reaching the people.

WEST VIRGINIA, PARKERSBURG.—(Special Correspondence.—W. I. Boreman.)—The most interesting item I can send you is that our Republican Governor, A. B. White, is stirred up on the tax question with a vengeance. He calls the attention of the people of the State to the Tax Commission's report, which shows a great discrepancy between the rate paid on railroad property in this State and the rate paid in the adjoining States of Maryland and Ohio.

The Governor, who is a student of taxation, has been making speeches on the tax question through the State. It looks as if he may succeed in reading himself out of his party.

Every paper in sympathy with the corporations is attacking him, many of the so-called Democratic ones among them.

By the way, maybe you do not know that West Virginia has a law on her books directing land appraisers to value the land separately from the improvements, but such is the fact. It has been the law for a number of years.

Our city this last year was granted a new charter giving us our own land appraisers, and directing the re-valuing of the land at a not longer interval of once in five years in place of once in ten years, as heretofore.

One ridiculous clause was forced in the charter by the big landholders.

It is directed that where land in lots of five (5) acres or more is not laid off in lots or offered for sale and is being used for agricultural or pasturing purposes, that the appraisers have no authority to re-value. Nor shall the city have authority to run streets through it. It is a provision clearly unconstitutional, but being so plainly unfair the Single Taxers like it to stay on the books just for an object lesson.

WISCONSIN, OSHKOSH.—(Special Correspondence—John Harrington.)—Wisconsin is not usually considered one of the states where much is being done in the direction of the Single Tax Doctrine. The term, "Single Tax", is scarcely ever heard. Yet the truth of the Single Tax doctrine has so permeated society, that even in conservative Wisconsin, without reference to the name "Single Tax," and without any sounding of trumpets or tooting of horns, much has been accomplished.

I have already called attention to Chapter 92, Laws of 1901, which provides for the separate assessment of land, and the buildings and improvement thereon. This law I had the honor of drafting and of securing its introduction into the legislatures of 1899 and 1901. It has now been tried for three successive years throughout the state, and is generally approved by the people and the

officers. In the farming districts, as was to be expected, it has affected little change in results; but in this city, (of about 80,000 population) it has very nearly doubled the taxes on vacant lots, thereby materially reducing the taxes upon improvements and personal property. In the cities it is especially popular, while in the farming districts it is unobjectionable.

Chapter 246, Laws of 1903, exempts from taxation the following items of personal property :

- (a) The tools of a mechanic used in his trade not exceeding \$50.00 in value.
- (b) One bicycle used by the owner.
- (c) One sewing machine kept for the use of the owner and his family.
- (d) Fire arms kept for the use of the owner not exceeding \$25.00 in value.
- (e) Five colonies or swarms of honey bees.
- (f) Poultry not exceeding in value \$25.00.
- (g) All farm animals born after Dec. 31, next preceding the day of assessment.
- (h) One watch not exceeding \$50.00 in value.

Chapter 293, Laws of 1903, amending Subd. 11 of Sec. 1038 revised statutes, exempts "wearing apparel, family portraits, private libraries, not exceeding in value \$200.00; kitchen and other household furniture, one piano, organ, or melodeon, and other musical instruments" not exceeding \$200.00 in value. "and also growing crops." The last mentioned two acts are liberally construed and have the effect of exempting nearly all the property of the kinds mentioned.

Chapter 378, Laws of 1903, purports to exempt mortgaged real estate to the extent of the mortgage, and to tax the latter, leaving the payment of the tax a matter of contract between the mortgagor and mortgagee. In practice this act has substantially resolved itself into a law exempting mortgages from taxation. Such has proved to be its effect.

Chapter 315, Laws of 1903, in substance changes the method of railroad taxation from a license fee system based on gross earnings, to a system of ad valorem taxation.

This briefly outlines the progress of taxation for the past three years, so far as the same tends in the direction of the Single Tax. These measures indicate the entering of the wedge that can never be withdrawn. There is almost no propaganda work here—as such. Our few single taxers seem disposed to do what they can in the form of concrete work, with as little noise and shouting as may be. What has been done does not seem very much; and yet many states where a good deal is said cannot show even this much accomplished. Of course expediency, rather than justice would seem to be the motive for our legislation; but education in true expediency will carry the people well on toward the higher ground of justice.

News—Foreign.

TORONTO.

Our civic elections have come and gone, and tho' we have not won all that we wanted to we are still better off than we were last year.

Ald. Dr. Noble and Mr. W. A. Douglass, both Single Taxers, were nominated for the city council, and Ald. Noble was re-elected. Of the present council five of the twenty-four aldermen are pledged to submit our \$700 exemption to a vote of the people. Our active campaign this Fall has all centered about this plan of exempting dwellings from taxation to the extent of \$700 of their assessed value, and we have succeeded in making quite a stir over the matter.

A special committee of the legislature met in November to consider the new assessment bill before the house. When the members of this committee met we had time allotted to us to address them. As a result of our letters they knew the lines along which we would talk and comprehended us much better than they otherwise would have done. We urged upon them the taxation of franchises and the granting of local option to municipalities to the extent of the \$700 exemption of dwellings. Our deputation was exceedingly well received, and numerous compliments were showered on us from the chairman and members, and from the press.

We also sent a deputation to the city council to ask that body to submit the question to the people. There is a resolution to this effect before them, made by Ald. Noble, but they are all afraid of it and every time it comes up they "refer it back." What they will do now that the elections are over is a matter of speculation.

We have put out five thousand tracts on the question and Ald. Noble has put out an additional five thousand of them in his own ward. In fact he fought and won his election on it.

Our annual series of Sunday afternoon meetings commences in the Grand Opera House on January 3rd. This season we are to have a definite series of eight lectures and intend to throw the very best talent into them all. Our speakers are all arranged ahead and Rev. Mr. Cooley of Cleveland is to start them going.

In our last letter we reported the commencement of "The Canadian Single Taxer." Three issues have now appeared and the success of the venture is pretty nearly assured. We are making it as bright and full of news as is possible and we think our American friends would find it interesting, as it contains reports of the work that is going forward in one of the "hottest" centres on the continent.

Good progress has been made by the Direct Legislation movement here. This year we have practically all the aldermen pledged to adopt such rules of procedure in

the council as will establish this much needed reform in our city government.

During the coming year we propose to take advantage of this and work up an initiative petition to compel the aldermen to submit the \$700 exemption to the people.

This shows the advantage of other reform to Single Tax. Direct Legislation is our first step, for it will enable us to secure such legislation as the people want. There will then be some use in educating them.

WALTER H. ROEBUCK, Sec'y.

MONTREAL.

Looking back over the calendar year which closes to-night, I am not sure that I can point to any particular event which has occurred among us during that time and find therein any specific gain to the cause of Single Tax. And yet I and the other members of our Association, not only do not feel at all discouraged but believe we have every right to feel quite hopeful regarding the effect of our year's work. Still, there are associations in Canada, such as that very energetic one in the city of Toronto, which can point to tangible results. And this is the age when tangible results count, faith in the unseen working out of principles being yet in swaddling clothes.

Outside of a few public meetings and the visit of Mr. Bellangee, of the Fairhope Colony, we have, perhaps, not done any special propaganda work with the direct object of advocating the Single Tax. Yet, if I were asked what I considered the most prominent or interesting events to Single Taxers during the year, in this community, I should point to the Morgan store incident, and to that of the fight for the extension of the Street Railway franchise. And I should give as my reasons the fact that in both instances the interest of the public, if not its passions, were aroused to an unusual extent for the city of Montreal, proclaiming a slowly awakening belief that there is something the matter somewhere.

Perhaps I could not do better than to review the events referred to. The Morgan Departmental Store matter was fully explained in the *Single Tax Review* of the second quarter of this year. In short, the Morgans considered themselves overtaxed, but failing to convince the city officials of this, they cast about for a means of reducing the value of their building. This being one of the handsomest of its kind in the city, was, in accordance with the plan pursued by most corporations and governments, compelled to bear heavier taxes than its less beautiful brethren. So the Morgans determined to build around it (they having sufficient land for the purpose) a plain brick shell, it having been explained to them that valuations for the purpose of taxation were generally made from the exterior appearance. The public became interested, then

the absurdity of the thing seemed to strike them. The city officials compromised, and thus prevented the defacement of the block; but not before the lesson had come home to thousands who would otherwise never have had any doubts that our present method of taxation was the best that could be devised.

Then came the Street Railway affair, the end of which is not yet. To show how the principles, or want of principles, upon which franchises of this nature rest, work for their own destruction, and at the same time to explain the matter more fully, it is necessary to refer back a few years to the lighting franchise.

Four or five years ago the street lighting franchise expired. Our Association contended that the municipality should own its own plant, and we brought on some of our Single Tax orators from the United States to explain our ideas in a public meeting. The public seemed to take very little interest in the matter. A consolidation of several lighting companies had recently taken place, but there were still several independent ones, competition among which the people thought would safeguard their interests. The consolidated interest eventually was awarded the contract at rates pretty favorable to the city. Shortly afterwards amalgamations began to take place, and about six months ago the most powerful competitor was brought into the fold, so that to-day there is but one company in the city. Then the cost of gas and electricity for private use began to advance, and there is no reason to suppose that further advances will not be made in the near future. This naturally aroused the public.

Some months ago it began to appear that the Street Railway, whose franchise had still about twenty years to run, was going to move to have it extended. The Single Tax Association was again to the front, and soon had published and distributed thousands of pamphlets dealing with the subject in a sufficiently exhaustive manner to show what the public was sacrificing in granting an extension. These pamphlets have been the hand-book of those who have done the most effective work against the railway. In fact it was stated by one of the Aldermen that had it not been for the Association the railway would have won almost in the first round. As it is, the railway has been defeated in every round fought before the Council. The connection between the lighting franchise referred to, and that of the Street Railway, becomes more apparent when it is remembered that the two interests are so closely in touch with each other that an amalgamation between them was common gossip for a time. Many believe it will yet take place. It will, therefore, not be surprising to hear that the feeling against extending the privileges of such a powerful interest is very strong.

In all this work, of course, our Association loses no opportunity of bringing for-

ward the Single Tax argument that the public is the rightful owner of the values which it creates. The fight will doubtless develop many interesting phases, and an account of these will be forwarded to the *Review* from time to time.

T. C. ALLUM, Secy.

ENGLAND.

A conference on the taxation of land value was held in London, on December 9th. John Ferguson of Glasgow, presided. The conference adopted two bills for the taxation of land values in the boroughs of England, Wales and Ireland. These bills will be presented to Parliament.

The London Daily News, which is more than friendly to the movement in Great Britain, in its issue of December 10th, thus explains the objects of these bills:

"The seed sown by the Corporation of Glasgow last year in calling a conference on the subject of the taxation of land values has brought forth fruit in the shape of two Bills adapted respectively to English and Scottish needs. They are constructed on modest lines; but they embody the great principle the recognition of which is one of the most urgent needs of the day, whether from the point of view of land reform, housing reform, or the reform of taxation. In attacking the question the executive have deemed it wise to deal with the future rather than with the past. This is certainly pursuing the line of least resistance, and we do not think land reformers will complain. On the other hand they will rejoice to see the subject pressed upon Parliament by the great rating authorities themselves. There can be no reasonable opposition to proposals backed by the great municipalities of the country which have to face in the public interests the problems of rating and which feel the pinch of the present intolerable system at every point—in the insufficiency of rating resources, in the burden which falls upon the commercial community, and in the restriction of the building area and the consequent congestion of the people. It is proposed to bring unoccupied land on to the rate book, the suggested ratable value of such land being three per cent. on the price at which it would sell as between a willing buyer and a willing seller. This will not only mean revenue, but it will cut at the pernicious practice of holding land back from the public use until it has reached a fancy price. It will stop the conspiracy of the landowner against the expansion of the town, which is the prolific source of slums and urban misery. When the owner has either to pay rates or sell, he will not stand in the way of the community. "Don't shoot; I will come down," will be his formula. The two other points covered by the Bill are the differentiating between land and buildings for rating purposes, and a

stipulation for securing to the tenant the deduction from his rent of the amount due in respect of the rating of the land. We agree with Councillor Kirtley, of Sunderland, that the Bill will be "a stepping stone to a great national reform." It is in these matters of household reform that the true function of Liberalism consists. We have wandered over the face of the earth in search of adventure long enough."

The movement is rapidly forcing its way into politics. In a recent answer to an inquiring of the London Daily News requesting an expression of opinion on the situation, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman thus replied:

"Is it not the fact that the land system as it operates in our great towns and centres is a heavier drain upon industry and the well-being of the people than any consequences that can follow from the operation of foreign tariffs? Sir R. Giffen has told us that in the last twenty years house rent has doubled. I should prefer to see steps taken to relieve the homes of the people of this excessive pressure instead of adding to it by taxing food and manufactures."

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION.

(For the Review.)

BY EDWARD T. WEEKS.

Availing myself of your permission to discuss still further the question of independent political action for Single Taxers, it is scarcely necessary to do more than reiterate the argument already advanced, that it is our duty to be guided by principle rather than by seeming expediency. And that therefore in every community in which we are sufficiently strong to maintain even a very small Single Tax party, it is our duty to organize and maintain such a party. For in those communities, at least, Single Taxers are free to vote for what is right. And for them to assert that every political wrong involves a moral wrong, and yet vote with parties pledged to what we condemn, certainly renders them guilty of the wrong; they are, to this extent, at least, responsible for the poverty, suffering and vice which these wrongs produce, to say nothing of the inconsistency involved, nor of the betrayal of right principle.

To assert that voting for the old parties and their fallacies is the quickest way to get the Single Tax is to assert what cannot be proven. Besides, it is merely to prefer seeming expediency to principle; is to follow error rather than truth. It is simply the old argument that the end justifies the means. It is a mere excuse offered in palliation of our short-comings. And more than this, it is a cowardly plea: one that confesses ourselves afraid to proclaim the naked truth, but prefers to ease conscience by seeking to discover some approach to right

principle among the quantities of known errors for which the parties stand. Our whole duty is to act honestly, and to vote for what is right. This done, it is not our duty to worry about results. These rest with a higher power. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized for it seems to have been forgotten. It is not our duty to succeed, but only to so act that we should deserve success.

We have followed seeming expediency in our methods for many years and we can now see some of the results. We have shouted and voted for tariff reform, free silver, local option in taxation, three cent fares and for all sorts of things, except what we believe in, until we find that the Single Taxers are now habitually evading any direct enunciation of Single Tax principles as though these were monstrous; and actually doing their best to inculcate doctrines which are either absolutely wrong or which confuse the people and lead them to seek for remedies elsewhere than in the Single Tax. This may seem to be a strange assertion. Yet in proof of it, let us frankly, but without wishing to wound, consider the attitudes of the leading exponents of the movement, and of those whom they influence. Thus, we find Mr. Fillebrown threatening to sever connection with the Massachusetts Single Taxers unless they resolve that they are not opposing the private ownership of land. And this though they know that whoever rightfully owns the land rightfully owns the rents it produces; and that if this rightful owner be a private person, then for the State to take these rents, in taxation, is robbery. Again, Mr. Johnson and nearly all other Single Taxers are advocating home rule in taxation, which asserts that every county or city should be permitted to impose such taxes as it pleases, while, in truth, it is the duty of the State to secure the citizen in the equal enjoyment of his rights, his labor and the fruits thereof, both as against individuals and communities. In California, Mr. James G. Maguire runs for Governor and is allowed to discuss every issue whatsoever excepting only the Single Tax. So Mr. Post runs almost the entire gamut of the so-called reforms, yet leads the majority of the Single Taxers of Chicago in bitterly opposing the efforts of a handful of men to bring the Single Tax to the attention of the voters of that city. Mr. N. O. Nelson thinks any attempt to get the Single Tax is ill-considered, because the American people love their homes too much to adopt such a system! Mr. Garrison is much more convinced of the necessity of bringing about an unnatural social intermingling among the races than of the need for securing primary justice to all men. Thus, our best men, those who have sacrificed most for the cause; those whom we most highly esteem, those as to whose intentions there can be no question, have gone off on side issues; and

we find the very apostles of the Single Tax, (and with them the vast majority of Single Taxers), after twenty years of practicing this doctrine of expediency, have either lost sight of the fact that land monopoly is the great source of economic evils and are now helping to divert attention from the Single Tax movement by magnifying the importance of lesser evils; or are actually expending energy, time and money to teach doctrines which are in direct conflict with our principles. There is little wonder therefore that our own cause is suffering at the hands of its friends.

Possibly the most conspicuous example of this desertion of principle for expediency is found in the movement for home rule in taxation. Its basic idea is that the voters of every community should be empowered to decide for themselves just what taxes they shall impose upon the minority. Clearly such a teaching is incorrect. The state owes to its citizens the duty of securing to all, alike, the exercise of their equal freedom; without interference therein either from individuals or from the community. This is the principle purpose of its existence. Hence, it must see that they are neither robbed nor enslaved. And any state whose constitution permits localities to rob their citizens falls short of the duty it owes them. The moral law is as binding on the State as on the individual. And since the taxation of the products of labor is theft, to permit it to the community is for the State to violate the command, "Thou shall not steal." Our fight, therefore, is for a clear recognition of this command in the fundamental law of the State; and is against any enactment which gives consent to each community to plunder at its will. We might as justly urge the correctness of local option in theft, or in slavery, or in murder. For the wrong which we are fighting leads to all of these. Home rule in matters of mere local administration is altogether right. But home rule which permits violation of the fundamental rights of citizenship, of property, and of life is altogether wrong.

Yet such is the doctrine which this pursuit of expediency has led the great bulk of Single Taxers to adopt. For this, great campaigns have been fought, precious money expended and energy wasted! Would it not have been better for us had those campaigns been made straight out fights for the truth? Then, defeat would have left us stronger, while to-day, from having supported errors, we are more utterly weakened than at any time in the last ten years.

In the same way, the issue of three cent fares is not our doctrine, since we believe in government ownership. And so of tariff reduction, since we favor free trade. Yet all these years we have been shouting for these errors. Is it never to be time for us to speak out for the naked truth! To vote for right principles!

Consider for a moment. What right have

we, knowing the truth, to refuse to put it before the people on the ground that it is more expedient to join them in voting for what we believe to be wrong? Think of the great responsibility and the risk of error which we thus assume. For it is clear that if we organize, work and vote for a straight Single Tax party, we shall have done our full duty. But, if it be morally wrong for us to vote for existing parties we have failed in our duty and do not deserve success, nor will it come to us.

Why is it that we take up and vote for all these strange teachings rather than for the right? Is it not, after all, that we are afraid of the effect on the people of our voting for the naked truth? Afraid that they will see how few we are and will laugh at us? Or else mistrust that the people can know the truth when presented to them? And is it not because of these fears of the power of truth, and these mistrusts of the people that we take up all these follies and teach them? If so, the prompting is cowardly, the act is a betrayal of principle, and the result, as we see, has been disastrous. And it is only natural that it should be. For it is incredible that the expounding of error can best inculcate the truth, or that voting for wrongs is the quickest way to secure rights.

Our duty, therefore, is to organize a straight out Single Tax party in all of the States where we can do so, and to thus give to every voter the opportunity of voting right. So soon as we have done this our responsibility will end, and his commence. But so long as we do not do this, and knowingly urge him to vote for wrongs, the responsibility is not upon him, but rests heavily upon us. For we have deliberately failed to do our duty by our fellow men.

As to whether we shall adopt right methods now depends upon the Single Taxers of the large centers, such as New York, Chicago and Boston, where the movement is sufficiently strong to have (by petition) the nominees of a party printed on the official ballots. Those not so located can but present the truth to them with the hope that some among them will take up this work.

In the December number of *The New Christianity*, the editor, Rev. S. H. Spencer, brings to a close his searching paper on Socialism, which has run through twelve numbers. The final paper treats of those *practical* restrictions on liberty made necessary under Socialistic *regime*, and these are contrasted with what the author terms the "*self regulating*" method of distinction which would obtain under the Single Tax. So admirably condensed, and so unusually fair and even sympathetic is the author's marshalling of these objections against Socialism that we would like to see the twelve papers published in pamphlet form for general distribution.

WORK OF THE HENRY GEORGE ASSOCIATION IN CHICAGO.

LECTURE TOUR OF JOHN Z. WHITE.

In Chicago and vicinity an energetic campaign has been under way for upwards of three months, under the immediate direction of the President of the Henry George Association, F. H. Monroe. This campaign is doing more and better work than has ever before been accomplished in Chicago. A much greater number of citizens are being interested, and there is a sympathy manifested which promises much for the future.

In this work the President is ably assisted by a large number who are not all avowed Single Taxers, but all realize that the Single Tax movement is coming to be the center around which real Democrats must close, if practical results would be achieved.

A number of speakers are at the call of the President—mechanics, lawyers, and men of other professions. During the time indicated eight or ten debates have been held with socialists, at two of which three speakers appeared for each side. The attendance ranged from seventy-five to twelve hundred. At four larger meetings ten cents admission was charged, and a collection was also taken. These debates proved to be very popular and will be continued as long as the socialists will consent to participate. Our men like nothing better than to appear in these contests, for, even if the audience is fifty per cent. or more socialistic, there are always enough fair-minded inquirers to appeal to. Besides, all socialists are not beyond redemption—as we have reason to know.

In the first debate of this character, John Z. White spoke for the Single Tax and A. M. Simons for socialism—the Single Tax having the affirmative. After the fray was over, some socialists agreed that the Single Tax arguments as presented were the stronger, but claimed that Mr. Simons was the more oratorical. This claim was admitted—but they were reminded that it was made in behalf of a “scientific” matter. It is understood Mr. Simons poses as a scientific socialist.

The chairman on this occasion was Hon. Theodore Brentano, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. After the debate he made many inquiries regarding the Single Tax.

The second debate was participated in by Louis F. Post, Henry H. Hardinge and John Z. White for the Single Tax, and Ernest Unterman, Seymour Stedman and A. M. Simons for socialism—the socialists having the affirmative. The proceedings were reported by stenographers. This report is now in the hands of the printer, and will

soon be at the service of those who may be interested.

Ex-State Senator Jones of Massachusetts was chairman at this meeting, and was much interested in what he described as the continually rising temperature of the day.

Mr. White has appeared at some meeting nearly every day since the latter part of September. A partial list of his meetings is given:

- September 28—Normal Park Presbyterian Church.
- October 2—Reliable Lodge, No. 253, International Ass'n of Machinists.
- October, 18—Ruskin College, Glen Ellyn, Ill.
- October 15—Union No. 9901, Wholesale Grocery Employes' Union.
- October 18—Self Educational Club, 848 So. Paulina St.
- October 19—United Garment Workers' Local No. 96.
- October 20—Carpenters and Joiners of America, Union No. 80.
- October 22—Chicago Civil Service League.
- October 23—Forward Movement Social Settlement.
- October 24—Mass Meeting, Temperance Hall, Englewood. Municipal Ownership.
- October 26—Carpenters' and Joiners' Ass'n of America.
- October 29—United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 434.
- October 30—Reliable Lodge, No. 253, International Ass'n of Machinists.
- November 1—Debate: The Single Tax vs. Socialism.
- November 2—United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 199.
- November 3—Painters' and Decorators' Brotherhood, Local Union No. 194.
- November 4—International Brotherhood of Steam Engineers, No. 69.
- November 6—Brass Workers' Local Union, No. 127.
- November 6—Dyers' and Cleaners' Union No. 10168.
- November 8—Mass Meeting, Handel Hall, 3.30 P. M., on Municipal Ownership.
- November 8—Universalist Church, Sycamore, Ill.
- November 9—First Presbyterian Church, Lake View, Ill.
- November 10—Fellowship Club, Berwyn Baptist Church.
- November 11—Turners Society, North Side Turner Hall.
- November 12—United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 13.
- November 13—Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers, No. 6.
- November 15—Mass Meeting, Handel Hall, 3.30 P. M., Municipal Ownership.
- November 15—Mass Meeting, So. Chicago, Municipal Ownership.
- November 16—Hull House Men's Club.
- November 17—Men's Club, St. Peter's Church.

November 19—Grand Rapids, Mich.
 November 20—Ferris Institute, Big Rapids, Mich.
 November 21—Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
 November 22—Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
 November 23—Cadillac, Mich.
 November 24—United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 141.
 November 25—United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 63.
 November 26—Turnverein—Vorwärts.
 November 28—Mass Meeting, Englewood Branch Henry George Ass'n.
 November 29—Union Labor Hall, 92nd and Erie St.
 December 1—Social Economics Club, 3.30 P. M.
 December 1—Improvement Club at the Park Manor Congregational Church.
 December 3—Young Men's Club, Galilee Baptist Church.
 December 4—International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.
 December 5—Community Club of Henry Booth House.
 December 6—Men's Sunday Forum, Institutional Church, 4.00 P. M.
 December 7—Retail Clerks' International Protective Ass'n, No. 444.
 December 10—Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union, No. 226.
 December 12—Patternmakers' Ass'n.
 December 13—Lecture: Handel Hall, 40 E. Randolph St.
 December 13—Debate: Single Tax vs. Socialism, 92nd and Erie Sts., So. Chicago.
 December 15—Congregational church, Desplaines, Ill.
 December 17—Henry George Ass'n.
 December 18—Medical Improvement Club.
 December 20—Debate. Socialism vs. Single Tax.
 December 21—Debate before a club of doctors, dentists and druggists.
 December 22—Carlyle Club.
 December 24—Henry George Ass'n.
 December 27—Debate. Handel Hall,
 December 28—Seaman's Union.
 December 29—St. Peter's and St. Paul's Church.
 January 3—Debate. Socialism vs. Single Tax.
 January 4—Debate at Elgin, Ill., on Socialism vs. Single Tax.
 January 5—Congregational Church Men's Club.
 January 6—Carpenters Union, No. 10.
 January 7—Men's Club. St. Luke's Church.
 January 8—Debate. Streator, Ill.
 January 9—Cleveland, Ohio.
 January 10—Toronto, Ont.
 January 12—Hair Spinners Union.
 January 13—Turners.
 January 14—International Brickmakers.
 January 15—International Machinists.
 January 17 to 24—Minneapolis, Minn.
 January 26—Young Men's League, 8d Presbyterian Church.

January 29—Woodworkers No. 57.
 January 31—Debate, Kensington, Ill.

Other speakers for the Henry George Association have been doing splendid work, and together have held more meetings and reached more people than has Mr. White. Among these are W. Chas. Tanner, H. H. Hardinge, Western Star, W. J. Danford, Jacob Leboski, and Thos McElligott.

The trip into Michigan was very promising. At Grand Rapids a meeting of very intelligent people, mostly of the professions and of business life, listened with the closest attention and asked many questions without any of the manifestation of antagonism that formerly was so prevalent. At Big Rapids a large meeting was held at the Ferris Institute, at which many citizens and members of their families were present, besides a majority of the students. This meeting may be described as highly successful. The usual run of questions followed the lecture, some experiencing much trouble in efforts to learn why the landlord would not shift the tax, and others feeling that it would be confiscation if he could not. Most of those present finally declared themselves satisfied the landlord would pay and ought to, as otherwise he was of no use to the community.

At Mt. Pleasant two meetings were held, one on Saturday evening and the other on Sunday afternoon. Both meetings were attended by the leading citizens of the city, and the lecture seemed to be widely endorsed. Questions were numerous and pointed, only one or two were offered in an ill-natured manner, and these, it turned out, came from a local property owner and money lender. The audience seemed not displeased to see him crowded into close quarters. Several farmers came in to attend these meetings, and it was quite evident that the more prosperous were less attracted to our cause than were those who plainly belonged to the tenant class. The necessities of the situation are steadily forcing the land question on the attention of all classes, George was right when he said "the future is ours."

It was remarked on the street next day that Mt. Pleasant had enjoyed more Single Tax during forty-eight hours than before for ten years. This was hardly fair to our good friend Perry, who is truly as wise as a serpent and as harmless as a dove—a true Crossdaler.

At Cadillac the meeting was in charge of the local Federation of Labor, and the night

was exceedingly cold. The result was a rather slim attendance—about one hundred. The interest of those who were there was gratifying. Some questions were asked, but most of the audience were seemingly satisfied with the presentation—one old man on shaking hands at the close of the lecture, said: "I am glad I came to-night. I know, now, what I am trying to do." This man was plainly a type of thousands, who know something is wrong and know the interests of workmen are common, but who have not been able clearly to perceive the true relation of economic forces. He said further: "I can work with better heart now." Words like these are cheering to those of us who see the dawn of a better day.

At nearly all meetings we meet the usual mental attitude of doubt toward anything new, followed, of course, by the very apparent fact that the landlord would shift the tax to tenants. And when vacant land is indicated and we ask which tenant is nearest, we are, of course, told that our plan would result in confiscation which honest men cannot defend. This, of course, forces the choice of confiscating the landlord's power or permitting him to continue confiscating the wages of labor. A few illustrations usually silence direct opposition—and the balance of the interview is generally a game of checkers.

The debate on December 27 between John Z. White and Col. W. A. Roberts was somewhat peculiar, for the reason that Col. Roberts is a Bryan Democrat. But it really was curious to hear him shout "confiscation" as lustily as a Southern slave owner, or a society saver of New York in 1886. He professed to be a free trader—that is, he wants trade freer than it is now—and obviously he was a currency reformer. The railroad monopoly might properly be curtailed; but the Single Tax—could it be possible that intelligent men advocated so crazy a proposition. Why, just one incident in his career illustrated the harm it would do. He at one time (so he told us) bought a tract of land, divided it into lots, and subsequently sold these on monthly payments—paying the taxes himself until the lot was cleared of debt by the buyer. Then he built a house for the owner—also on monthly payments—who, from the time the building was erected, began paying taxes. Now, we were asked, is it not perfectly clear that if the Single Tax were in operation this whole scheme would be impossible—and so these buyers could not have become the owners of the lots in question? The Colonel was perfectly serious. He really thought those poor people would never have been able to get those lots unless he or some other kind individual first sub-

divided the property. He was much like the prominent and dignified citizen who was perfectly sure in his own mind that owners of vacant land were merely holding it until such time as it may be needed, and who was very much offended when asked if, should the owner let go, he thought it would fall through? Meanwhile, he was precisely right when he said owners of vacant land were holding it until such time as it might be needed.

As met by us, the members of church men's clubs and members of trade unions are about equal in intelligent appreciation of our arguments. The very best appreciation that we have thus far encountered has been met with among these two sorts of organizations.

There are few men who are not aware that better conditions are possible, but they are afraid of each definite proposal. They advocate an altered condition, but object to each particular method proposed to that end—talk one way, vote another. The chief strength of conservatism is cowardice.

FAIRHOPE ON ITS NINTH ANNIVERSARY.

Fairhope celebrated its ninth anniversary on New Year's night with a very interesting and enjoyable programme. The Christian Church building, kindly tendered for the occasion, was crowded to its limit, emphasizing the need of a larger auditorium, which is one of the improvements talked of for the near future.

The Secretary's history of 1903 showed a net gain in population of thirteen families, the construction of sixteen dwellings, one store building and very extensive improvements of two other store buildings, and the completion by the Association of a warehouse, 82 by 74 feet, in connection with the wharf. The receipts from land rents were \$919.75, as against \$817.20 for 1902 and \$479.63 for 1901. The wharf receipts were \$986.05, as against \$708.84 for 1902 and \$533.54 for 1901.

A notable feature of the year was the accession to the membership of the Association of a number of well known Single Taxers, among them, Jno. S. Crosby, Ernest H. Crosby, August Lewis and George L. Rusby, of New York, C. F. Nesbit, of Washington, R. F. Powell, of Philadelphia, Robert Tyson, of Ontario, Chas. R. Eckert and Jos. C. Campbell, of Pennsylvania.

Prof. Bellangee returned from his extensive Northern tour in the interest of the Colony the day before New Year's to be present at the anniversary. His trip was of very great advantage to the Colony in many ways, and he will probably go out again in the Spring. It would be hardly possible to drive him North again during

the Winter months. New Year's at Fairhope was like a balmy Spring day.

The Executive Council of the Association made its appraisal of rental values for 1904, during December. A printed copy of the entire appraisal was furnished every lease-holder and complaints against the same heard on the evening of the sixteenth. The answers to complaints by the members of the Council and other Association members, made it a first-class Single Tax meeting, and were so satisfactory that after all had been said *pro* and *con*, the Council's judgment was sustained in general by an almost unanimous vote. The new appraisal will, on the basis of present holdings, bring a little over \$1,500 into the Association's treasury.

An interesting point in Professor Belangee's address at the anniversary was that he had found on his trip men of large affairs particularly interested in Fairhope, and most keenly appreciative of the possibilities of our community with the people in control of the land and the public utilities.

The prospects of the Colony for the year 1904 are of the brightest, and its members extend a hearty New Year's greeting to their fellow Single Taxers throughout the world. If arrangements are made for a Single Tax headquarters at Saint Louis during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, we want to co operate and have a representative there continuously. E. B. GASTON.

THE SINGLE TAX IN PARTIAL OPERATION.

Guam, America's new possession in the Pacific, is not the only place in the world where the theories of Henry George are being applied. On the east coast of Vancouver Island, in British Columbia, the flourishing town of Nanaimo, with its 6,000 inhabitants, has no tax for municipal purposes save one on land values, levied alike on occupied and unoccupied land, according to the orthodox interpretation of the Single Tax theory. The town is a miners' town, where the doctrine of "three acres and a cow" is almost universally realized as well as that of "every man his own house owner." For this happy result the easy terms of the London syndicate which owns the coal and land in the neighborhood are largely responsible.—*The London Chronicle*.

A Plea for the Children, by Mina Price, published by Frank Vierth, at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is No. 13 of *Junior Why*, and is a little vest pocket pamphlet that has been widely circulated by Single Tax and labor associations. It cannot be too generally circulated. It is an effective presentation of the evils of child labor, and is told with a woman's sympathetic pen.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

(INTRODUCING GOVERNOR GARVIN AT Y. M. C. A. HALL IN BOSTON, MONDAY, DEC. 21ST.)

There is a popular belief that our democratic form of government is independent and self-working. However much its administrators may depart from fundamental principles the delusion that a special Providence is guiding the nation along its chosen path is all abounding. Therefore only fools and pessimists need worry. It is a cheap and easy philosophy hoary with age. National conceit and assurance of Divine favor have marked every previous republic or empire which has gone down in blood and shame.

We boast our seats of learning and the land is full of scholars; some, alas, in politics who have not only read but written history. But what has it taught them? As for the lessons it conveys, a blank page might represent the story of the years that are behind us. Although disaster and eclipse have overtaken the elder nations who tried to circumvent the moral law, undaunted our new fledgling sounds the same atheistic defiance and cherishes the same insane confidence that presages downfall.

On the last day of the Constitutional Convention, September 17, 1789, Benjamin Franklin with forecast and wisdom uttered these impressive words:

"I believe that this government is likely to be well administered; and believe further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall be so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other."

No faith in government as a machine of perpetual motion deluded that clear brain. When people grow careless of freedom the despot comes. The gravity of the situation confronting democracy may serve for mirth to witless writers for the press or bring expressions of incredulity from cheerful optimists. But to serious historical students and lovers of freedom the present chapter of the country's record is full of anxious import. Is the point reached where the American people are so corrupted that they are only fitted for despotic rule?

There is a reason why nations in which civilization has reached its highest development should be brought to such a pass. We welcome, therefore, with eagerness whoever can throw intelligent light upon the problem, if problem be the proper name for self-made social tangles. If our heritage of freedom is to be preserved we cannot too soon understand its attacking forces of decay. Skilled machinery of administration, personal purity of officials are not enough when skill is exerted for wealth and power and personally pure men support organized

and dominant systems of plunder. If moral sense is lost and greed has dulled the popular conscience, a government of angels could work no redemption. Nations are as individuals.

"When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead."

We have seen sad times before and lived through adversities that threatened wreck. Strengthened by the memory of the nation's previous awakening and recovery we look with courage for signs of morning amidst the present "encircling gloom." We must not doubt that cheering omens exist. To point out and emphasize them is the duty of the hour. We cannot question that privilege will fall when democracy grapples with it in deadly earnest.

But there are various brands of democracy. The dominant and vociferous one is that of party. Ex-Gov. Hill represented it in his declaration, "I am a Democrat." Except as a badge of organization the words were without meaning. From them no one could predict how the Governor would act in a given case involving democratic principles, unless indeed one counted him on the hostile side although in party harmony.

Genuine democracy, based on the ideals expressed by Thomas Jefferson, has many professed admirers and few adherents. Politicians of sinister purpose parade Jeffersonian sentiments as a shelter from which to strike at the roots of self-government. For idealists who accept the gospel as a living one there is only a tolerant contempt. Success and not ideals is the quest of parties. Of what use is organization if not to control offices and patronage? Otherwise, as the ingenuous Flanagan, of Texas, asked, "What are we here for?"

In conspicuous politics I should be puzzled to name more than two men who stand solely for democratic ideals. One of them is Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio. Although emphatically defeated at the recent election he will surely reappear upon the field if life and health are left him. Well did he say: "Truth loses many battles but no war," and politicians cannot yet reckon without him in their cunning schemes.

The other Jeffersonian I shall name was not submerged by the political flood of last November although his party was overwhelmed. For the second time he was landed safe and sound in the Governor's chair of Rhode Island, a miracle full of cheer. Speaking unwelcome truth in a corrupt and machine-ridden state, regardless of personal fortune, his simple courage and fidelity touched the hearts of his Republican opponents and commanded their respect. To their aid he owes his re-election.

This Democrat of the pure brand is with us to-night for no partisan purpose. From his lips you will hear no platitudes or empty rhetoric. For many years it has been my privilege to know and honor this modest, thoughtful, clear-sighted, determined and

undiscouraged reformer. Wherever in his own state a suffering cause needed a champion, an abuse demanded exposure, a beneficent law called for enactment, one man at least could be counted on to respond "Here am I." That man is the speaker of this evening whom I am honored in introducing, Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Governor of Rhode Island.

COMMUNICATIONS.

TWO WRITERS IN AGREEMENT.

Editor Single Tax Review:

There are, to my mind, strong arguments that may be urged on both sides of this question. Among the arguments in opposition to independent action are: (a) The moral certainty of no immediate success at the polls; (b) only a small portion of those who believe in the justice of Single Tax are willing to give up their old parties and vote for it, and hence a ballot will make the cause seem weaker than it really is; (c) the division of the reform forces of the country caused thereby; (d) the antagonism which it thus invites from the adherents and especially the leaders of the old parties; and (e) the belief that Single Taxers can work best for their reform by teaching its principles within their old parties.

Among the arguments in favor of independent action are: (a) The interest which is thereby aroused among many of the believers in the reform who love the concrete rather than the abstract, and who thus become active and efficient propagandists of its principles; (b) the great advertising which results therefrom during a campaign.

The amount of Single Tax literature that was issued here in Chicago during the last two or three campaigns was very great indeed, and the pieces numbered up in the millions. The amount of money expended reflected great credit upon the members of the club, and bore witness to their activity and loyalty.

If our American cities had a form of cumulative voting something after the style prevailing in Brussels there would be still more encouragement than now exists for independent political action.

Whatever may be our decision regarding independent action under prevailing conditions, it seems certain to me that we cannot expect that any legislation favorable to Single Tax will be enacted until we first secure the initiative and referendum. Direct legislation by the people through the optional initiative and referendum, such as has existed for many years in Switzerland, with such excellent results and for a less period in South Dakota will have to be secured in any state that desires to try to experiment with the theory of Henry George. Nothing else will dethrone the political boss.

Single Taxers should bear this in mind,

and while they need not cease to advocate their great reform they should remember that the key to all reform is direct legislation by the people.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

Editor Single Tax Review:

As a Single Taxer from the inauguration of the movement I should like to have the privilege of your columns to express some of my views relative to the present status and future prospects of the Single Tax especially with a view to independent political action.

I desire to say in the first place that I am opposed to a Single Tax political party not because I am opposed to all so-called third or independent parties, but because such a course at present could in no wise benefit the Single Tax, but on the contrary probably very much impede its chances of ultimate success. Theoretically, political parties are assemblages of citizens holding certain views in common which they hope by associating themselves together to further, by a formal appeal to their fellow-citizens at the ballot box. Practically the parties are nothing of the kind. All political parties that have ever existed since the beginning of the republic have had for their real purpose the seizure of the power to make laws. In other words they are law-making firms. They carry on this business solely for the purpose of making money, just like any other private enterprise is carried on. The party in power gains a temporary monopoly of the law making power with which its leaders or owners proceed to "make hay while the sun shines" by collecting as large a boodle fund as the circumstances of the time warrant.

Now the Single Tax will benefit no one special interest. It is for the benefit of the whole people, and will in my opinion do the whole people more good than any agency that has ever been devised by man. In order to start a Single Tax party you have to look to the masses of the people for financial support as they are the only beneficiaries except you run the new party as a side-show to one of the great political parties. Now the people do not possess means enough to pay the cost of running a new party which under no conceivable circumstances from the very nature of its being could ever have any legislation to sell and thus provide itself with the sinews of war. It will thus be seen that a Single Tax party is impracticable, viewed from the standpoint of practical politics which defines the sole function of a political party to be the accumulation and distribution of a campaign fund.

Principles are used in politics like Christianity is used in the so-called Christian churches simply as pretenses, and something to talk about and to pretend to believe in order to catch the unwary "suckers" who constitute the multitude.

The primary question of a political nature

to be solved in this country is not the question of taxation. It is—Shall the people rule this country, or shall the special privileged classes continue to control public affairs? Many Single Taxers have failed to grasp the meaning of this question. As a rule Single Taxers think they may succeed under the existing form of government which practically precludes the masses from any share in the law-making. I assert that the success of the Single Tax under our present form of government is to all intents and purposes absolutely hopeless.

This is true also of all the other economic reforms closely allied to the Single Tax.

As things stand nothing at all in the interest of the whole people is going to happen. Upon the contrary, plutocracy is bound to become more arrogant and triumphant than ever before. It is quite within range of possibility that the Single Tax idea will disappear entirely from the minds of the masses of men quite as completely as the "l'impot unique" of the French physiocrats disappeared from the popular mind until interest in it was revived by the late Henry George.

I beg of our friends that if any independent political action is contemplated that they eliminate the Single Tax from the declaration of the new party. Let the party be formed solely upon the idea of putting the masses of the people in control of the law-making by means of direct legislation.

The Single Tax means direct taxation, the first of all the functions of government. Give the people power to make the laws and among the first things they will do will be to demand that the control of the taxing power be vested in themselves. The only way that the taxing power can be kept within the control of the people is by direct legislation. With a full initiative and referendum both the incidence and amount of taxes would be within the control of the people. Now they have control of neither. The fundamental political superstition in the United States upon which is grounded all our other political superstitions is the idea that we live in a "government of the people by the people and for the people." The truth is we live in a government of plutocrats, by the plutocrats, and run entirely in their interests. This remark applies equally to the executive legislative and judicial function of the national, state, or municipal division of our government. Money and special privileges bought with money rule them all. I have for years taken an active interest in all kind of practical politics and know the foregoing to be gospel truth. In the light of these premises where is the hope for the Single Tax unless the people get the power to make the laws for their own benefit? A fair answer to this query will be much appreciated and may help to make the new year of happier augury to the Single Tax cause.

WILLIAM A. HILL, M. D.

BOOK REVIEWS.

*JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY.

This book from the pen of Mr. John R. Dunlap, of the *Engineering Magazine*, of this city, is journalism. It is good journalism. But it is nothing more. It deals with data; it does not treat of explanations or solutions in any but a purely incidental fashion. It is true that the author has his solutions; and these he regards as very simple and easy, and indeed they are if we accept his very easy and simple and quite superficial analysis.

His remedy for corporate abuses is "publicity." Attaching as he does such superlative importance to this remedy it is to be feared that his optimism has slight foundation. To know that abuses exist is important, but who does not know it? In view of the largely prevailing public apathy on these questions, how can our author believe that publicity offers a permanent corrective? If all this abuse of power spring "through public franchises granted by the people" then no solution short of the restoration of these franchises to the people is adequate.

Yet our author will not consider "public ownership" of such franchises. He even attributes the failure of the Greek democracy to "government ownership."

Mr. Dunlap clearly sees that the monopoly of the Standard Oil Company is derived from its ownership of oil wells, railroads, and pipe lines. He places them in this order, yet it is clear that any one of these monopolies—land monopolies all—would suffice to give that Company powers of extortion. "The remedy," says Mr. Dunlap, "is to open the books." We must call the officials to account." Indeed, for what? For doing as they will to do with their own? And this watered stock of the great corporations founded upon monopoly—"upon which the people are heavily taxed to pay interest and dividends." Does it make any difference to the people who pay whether they pay to a smaller or larger number of stockholders, on a large or small capitalization? The powers of taxation in the hands of a monopoly are not determined by its capitalization; it is the extent of its monopoly that in the first place determines how much paper it can float. Stock watering is a symptom; it is not in itself the evil. Why, then, worry about it? If the publicity which Mr. Dunlap advocates as a remedy has taught our author only so much—for he is better informed on the details of these matters than after his publicity law had triumphed the average citizen could possibly be—how can we hope for any large results from the mere "opening of the books?"

Mr. Dunlap speaks of "the ardent reform-

ers of our time who are confused by theories of socialism and the single tax." "We must get back to first principles." "We must indeed, but we are more than confused—we are pitifully mystified—if we conceive with our author that tariff reform, a graduated income tax, and publicity of corporation accounts are solutions in accord with first principles.

Our author thinks that the law of eminent domain offers a solution of the land question. He would apply it to unused coal mines, when coal is sorely needed. "The application of the law of eminent domain to vacant and unused opportunities," he cries, triumphantly. Shall it be applied to every city lot, to every vacant farm? Can one picture even in imagination the confusion resulting from the operation of such an exercise of the law of eminent domain. Why he should think the single tax "impossible" after that, is a mystery; for if this is possible then nothing is impossible and nothing impracticable.

The best chapter is that on money. This, at least, will repay reading. Yet even here Mr. Dunlap attaches undue importance to the purely superficial aspect of the money question. Granted that "sound money" is necessary to continued prosperity, yet regardless of any monetary system, prosperity is determined by other and more fundamental causes. It is not the single taxer, but our author who is confused by the purely superficial aspects of his problem, for it is the single taxer who can tell him that so long as the earth owners exact tribute of industry—a tribute limited only by the earning capacity of labor and capital, and forever trenching upon their powers of endurance—there can be no real and lasting prosperity.

It is to be regretted that so little can be said in praise of this work, for Mr. Dunlap writes with much earnestness. If he could think as clearly as he feels keenly, and knew as much of first principles as he does of industrial and political history, his work would possess some significance.

J. D. M.

*GETTING A LIVING.

What Solomon really meant to say was "of making books without limit there is no end." Here is a work of 769 pages; it would make no difference if it were double or half that number; its limitations as to letter press are determined only by the writer's industry and powers of endurance. But there will not exist anywhere a reader who will peruse the book from beginning to end: such indefatigable powers are not to be discovered even in this much reading but little thinking age. The very dedication is a short chapter in itself, not bad, indeed, but full of the author's peculiar verbosity.

*Jeffersonian Democracy, by John R. Dunlap. Published by the Jeffersonian Society, 120 Liberty Street, N. Y. City. Paper 50 cents; cloth \$1.50, 479 pp.

*Getting a Living. The Problem of Wealth and Poverty, by George L. Bolen, 8vo 769 pp. The Macmillan Company, London and New York.

The writer however, is to be commended for one excellence; his writing is clear and his meaning rarely in doubt. In the university and professorial obscuring of truth so common in the books and economic quarterlies, this is no small merit.

At the very outset however, the author stumbles into the pitfall of erroneous division of the shares in the distribution of wealth. To the three shares going to the three factors, land, labor and capital, he adds another share to a fourth factor, which he calls "the employer's ability for managing and bearing risks," thus confusing wages with ability, and interest with risks, one clearly the share of labor, the other as clearly the share of capital. This of course is the socialist's figment of profit again dignified as a *factor*.

In his preface our author quotes from Professor J. B. Clark the statement that "society can largely realize illimitable well being when it learns better to comprehend and utilize economic forces having a promise not yet conceived by the mind of man." This is true; and one of these economic forces, chief of them all, indeed, is rent, which Mr. Bolen elsewhere defines as "a payment made to the owner for the use of land that could (can) be used without payment of rent." Yet a few pages on, he tells us that "The increment of land value, on the average, is well earned, and falls to the owner rightfully, and again, "the landlord does not as socialists and single taxers assert take, under the law of private ownership, a large share of the product of the laborer and employer without rendering any return to them or to society." Now the Ricardian law of rent, which our author accepts, and his own statement of that law, proves that the landowner does take such share without equivalent return. If not, what is the sense of the author's four factor division? If not, why speak of the share that goes to labor, the share that goes to capital, and another that goes to rent? If the labor and capital that do all the work do not get this other share, some portion of society that does not work must, *prima facie*, receive it. Land is a *passive* factor; those who control the passive factor contribute nothing to production, at least as controllers. If they do contribute it is as members of the other division, laborers or capitalists, and the return they then receive is not rent, but wages or interest, which is payment for doing something, or for permission to use something which their labor has already created, not rent, which, to restate our author's definition, is "payment for the use of land that is more desirable than other land that can be used without payment of rent."

The fact is, with all the nonsense written as political economy, the great body of now generally accepted definitions preclude, save by the most perverted ingenuity, any total obscuring of some, at least, of the funda-

mental truths. Mr. Bolen is not so ingenious; indeed, we acquit him of anything but an immeasurable incapacity to follow up his premises with conclusions that fit.

In the discussion on rent, and as to whether it does or does not enter into price, our author seems in doubt, for he argues both ways. The work, as far as we have read, is full of this "double shuffle." For example, it is said of Henry George that "he was socialistic in his grossly extravagant and untrue belief of the extent and increase of human misery under present conditions, and of the benefits to be secured by his plan." That is, he was socialistic in his pessimism and also in his optimism! Go to! Mr. Bolen is absolutely honest, otherwise he would not have introduced on pages 7 and 8 such a good description of how the single tax would operate, nor described in the note on page 21 (from an article written by the editor of the *Single Tax Review* in the *Independent* for September 11th, 1902) the many practical steps that have been taken to apply the teaching of Mr. George.

Our author states some awkward facts, but he has his own explanations of them. There is no land monopoly in America he says, and the increase of farm tenantry to a large extent is to be desired, being due to the rise of wage workers to independent farming, in which many pass from renting to owning! Ah, indeed! There are so many ways of explaining facts if one only wishes to. Let our author take now the figures that prove the increasing consolidation of land ownership throughout the country, the decrease in the number of independent farmers, and then examine this problem of the increase of farm tenantry in the light of these new figures.

But assuming his contention to be correct, for argument's sake, why express satisfaction? For if the condition of the farm laborer is all that can be desired, why is he to be congratulated when he passes to the condition of a tenant, and if ownership (sans mortgage) confers no advantage over that of tenantry why exult at the farmers passage from tenancy to ownership? We are considering land now, not improvements, and if ownership did not mean the exaction of tribute, as under rightful conditions it would not, then would there be no chance for either cavil or exultation, since tenant and owner would stand on the same equality.

Of course Mr. Bolen thinks the single tax robbery, and this in face of his definition of rent as "a payment made to the owner for the use of land that is more desirable than other land that can be used without payment of rent." And then he follows up the definition of the single tax as robbery by this characteristic "double shuffle:"

"Taking all the economic rent of land in taxation would practically be taking the land itself, since its value springs from rent or the worth of its use*** Of course, if

the state owned all the land it would get an enormous income in rent, with which, after abolishing all present taxation, it could do wonders for its citizens, in education and social betterment of every kind. But how could the state get possession of land now owned by private parties? To buy it would involve for purchase price and for interest on bonds, taxation that would be better for direct income than would the rent. Mr. George argues that land should simply be confiscated, etc." Why we should have to issue bonds to buy the land to take the rent is because (for Mr. Bolen proves it) we cannot take the rent without taking the land and paying for it, which would call for bonds and payment of interest, taxation that would be better for direct income than the rent! And this he clinches with the extraordinary statement that Mr. George argues that land should simply be confiscated. All this, of course, is confusion and not perfidy, for Mr. Bolen has elsewhere in the work stated the single tax with a great degree of fairness.

We are compelled now to leave Mr. Bolen. We have only reached 22 pages in this review; there are, it will be remembered, 769 pages; that the remainder is less valuable than what precedes it, is perhaps not a perfectly fair inference from the examples we have educed. Doubtless we may guess there is something of value hidden away between its leaves "thick as Valambrosa." It is perhaps not an unfair hazard. J. D. M.

* "BISOCIALISM."

"Those persons who wish to change the present order of society particularly with regard to the distribution of wealth produced are divisible into two classes—those who disbelieve in government, and those who believe in some form of government; and these governmentalists are in turn divisible into "omnisocialists," who desire the socialization of all means of production and distribution, and "bisocialists," who would "limit the State to the socialization of but two things, viz., natural opportunities—represented by ground values—and public utilities." Thus the author of "Bisocialism" * derives the term which gives title to his book, which is in essence a presentation of the political economy of the Single Tax, much in the manner of, and apparently intended as a challenge to, the modern school of writers who deal with economics and the production and exchange of values, rather than of wealth. The title is hardly a happy one, for not only can there be socialization of some other two things besides those chosen by the author, but there are exponents of the Single Tax philosophy who believe that if it were in

practice fully, there would be no "public utility value" at all.

The sub-title of the book, "The Reign of the Man at the Margin," expresses the trend of thought of the author, and also emphasizes the chief merit of the book—namely, the manner in which the effect of the "margin" is shown; not only as to the margin of cultivation, but also the margin in purchasing power and need, and in selling need, and the way in which the interplay of these forces under free competition and absence of monopoly (with the equalization of natural opportunities through the social taking of ground rent) brings about a state of the market in which both parties to an exchange are benefited.

The chapter on the "Marginal Pair," dealing with the marginal buyer (that is, the buyer who is least anxious to buy, and therefore in greatest need of inducement) and the marginal seller (who is least anxious to sell) is one of the best in the book. It shows how prices and values are determined in the market, and why by economic law the sellers are more anxious to sell than the buyers to buy—despite the fact that it is the buyer who is under ethical obligation for service rendered him, as Henry George pointed out. Chapter 8 on "measurable utility" explains another economic phenomena which does not receive enough consideration—that in an open market the buyer does not pay for an article the full value of the labor that he saves by buying it instead of producing it; of course the seller is also the buyer, and this "differential" value is the saving to human energy resulting from the sub-division of labor. It is an explanation in the "value" terminology of the mutual benefit of exchange.

But while Mr. Trowbridge is severe upon other economists in his chapter on value (IX), his definition, "value is simply measurable utility at the point of exchange" is open to criticism; for what is utility at the point of exchange measurable in, but in some other utility? and what is it in that case but relation, which the author denies it to be; as he likewise denies value to be exchange power, though that is only another way of calling it a relation? There are other definitions to which objection could be made if space permitted.

And it is to be wished that the author had heeded his admonition that the definitions of economic science "must be clothed in comprehensible language if this science is not wholly to lose its prestige." For unfortunately he has thought it necessary to invent a number of new terms. And while their meaning is fairly apparent from their construction, and he gives a definition of each one, the effect upon the reader is confusing; necessitating a continual mental translation into current terminology. The reviewer confesses that the tediousness of this process, coupled with a scarcity of available time, has prevented him in some

* Bisocialism; *The Reign of the Man at the Margin*. By Oliver R. Trowbridge. Moody Publishing Co., New York City.

cases from putting forth the effort necessary to understand the author's intended meaning. And therefore while agreeing with the main conclusions of the book, he is not prepared to give unqualified assent to the validity of the processes by which these conclusions are reached.

This confusing terminology is to be regretted, as it will tend to prevent the book from having the influence on current thought to which its many merits entitle it. The great unenlightened majority will not trouble to study it out, and the economists to whom it is a challenge will not take kindly to what is to them a foreign language. Mr. Trowbridge thinks that new terms were necessary. But the method adopted by Henry George of using ordinary words, and as nearly as possible in their popular meanings, should serve as a shining example.

However, those who are familiar with the Single Tax will find it less difficult to follow the author's reasoning than those to whom even the conclusions are strange, and it will furnish them with arguments with which to meet some of the abstruse points raised by followers of the "Austrian school." "Bisocialism" is an interesting contribution to economic literature. And it certainly is good practice in mental concentration.

A. C. P.

* ETHICS OF DEMOCRACY.

The gentle art of criticism would lose many of its votaries if all reviewers were as strongly in sympathy with the publication they are called upon to review as is the present writer with the principles set forth in the "Ethics of Democracy." In fact, the title of the book is the feature of it which is most fairly open to criticism. For it may be said that many there be who use and hear the word "Ethics" without comprehending its full significance.

It might be worth while to quote in this connection the definition of "Ethics" which appears in the Standard Dictionary, as a close reading of this book does not indicate that Mr. Post has given it. The quotation is from Francis L. Patton's "Syllabus of Ethics." "Ethics is the science that offers a rational explanation of the ideas of Rightness and Oughtness; and that deals with the life of free personal beings under these conceptions, considering it is related to an ideal or norm of excellence, conformity to which is obligatory."

It is a pity that such a book cannot be assured of the widest circulation among professing Democrats, the great majority of whom seem to lack adequate comprehension of even the meaning of Democracy. To readers of the *Public* the book will come

*"Ethics of Democracy." By Lewis F. Post. Price \$2.00. Moody Publishing Co., N. Y. City.

as a welcome condensation of the remarkably just appreciation of current tendencies which appear from week to week in that ablest of contemporary publications. Where so many just and valuable observations are made upon current methods of thought, it is hard to select within the space which can be allowed a representative number of quotations, and yet, some of these are so apt that we cannot refrain from inserting them:

The College Graduate.—"The average college graduate, with all his advantages in some respects, is pathetically unfortunate in one particular. He is allowed to imagine—worse yet, he is confirmed in the wretched delusion—that the world is his oyster if he but elect to open it. To him the future is what Santa Claus is to the child, except that the children are undeceived in good time. Even while the Santa Claus delusion lasts, they are on the one hand entertained by it and on the other unharmed. Not so with the college graduate. His Santa Claus delusion is not a source of innocent amusement; it is the cause of years of unwholesome excitement and feverish hope. And no one undeceives him. Until disappointment has succeeded disappointment and deadening failure has at last crowned his middle life with thorns, he struggles blindly and painfully on, confident that the non-existent Santa Claus of his under-graduate days will yet fill his stockings. This is unfair to young men. Those who know the world owe it to them not to kindle false hopes. They owe it to them to tell the truth. No young man of good mettle would be discouraged by knowing the truth, and many might be saved by it from disaster."

Success.—"The frequently repeated advice which agents and beneficiaries of monopoly interests give to young men, that extraordinary industry is the key to success, is suggestive of the method of making the mule turn the mill by hanging a bundle of hay where it continually dangles before his nose but eludes his reach."

Imperialism.—"If it is civilization that we wish to spread, if the progress of the world is our object, we have only to become universal free traders instead of imperialistic free booters. Here is the choice. Free trade, with the olive branch of peace and the horn of general plenty; or imperialism, with the destructive implements and the demoralizing influences of war."

Independence Day.—"But Independence Day is better. It is consecrated not only to peace, but also to the ideals that make peace possible. Its inspiring appeal is to the righteous theory upon which our nation is founded; and however crudely, even barbarously, we may celebrate its annual return, we can never quite escape its sacred lesson. The gist of that lesson is, not that we once became an independent nation, but that in becoming one we laid its foundation in the immutable principle of equal human rights. The 'glittering generalities' of our

Declaration of Independence are the glorious ideals of our republic, which we celebrate on its natal day." J. J. M.

"THE BEING WITH THE UPTURNED FACE."

This book, by Clarence Latherbury, is a very practical prophecy of better things. A call to a fuller life in the present, and an awakening that shall show men that individual redemption must come from within, that each man must be his own redeemer, laying hold on the Spirit of Truth, to save him from his ignorance, and doubts and weakness. The message of the book is along Theosophic lines, and to some eyes may seem to confuse instead of solving the problem of evil.

Aside from this, which may be looked upon as a defect, there are hosts of positive thoughts, angelic hosts they might be called, which strengthen and invigorate the reader until he can almost feel his old shell falling away.

The book shows the wide reading as well as the earnest thought of its author and it possesses a style befitting its matter, rich, full and flowing. A. S.

HON. ROBERT BAKER.

The frontispiece of this issue represents the floral locomotive and tender, made of roses and immortelles, presented to the Hon. Robert Baker by his admirers, and placed upon his desk on the eve of taking his seat in the House of Representatives. It was designed, of course, as a testimonial for his course in refusing a pass from the B. & O. R. R.

Mr. Baker is demonstrating to the country and to his party the character of his democracy. Mr. Hepburn, republican member of the House, has also learned how dangerous it is to play with edged tools. He will be wiser hereafter. Copies of the speech in reply to Mr. Hepburn, which Mr. Baker delivered in the House, may be obtained by writing either to your own Congressman, or to James M. Griggs, Chairman of the Cong. Dem. Com. at Washington, D. C. The speech can be of considerable service to the cause if widely distributed, and we trust our friends will help push its circulation. Remember this speech can be sent in bulk to those making application to Congressman Griggs, and our friends can distribute copies in their own neighborhoods.

A SYMPOSIUM ON INTEREST.

In our next number will appear a symposium on interest, to which Lewis H. Behrens, James Love, S. J. Chubb, John J. Murphy, Byron W. Holt, J. R. Cummings, S. Solis Cohen, John Filmer and others will contribute. This will form a most interesting and valuable series of papers.

* THE INDIVIDUALISM OF HERBERT SPENCER.

(For the Review.)

BY THOMAS SCANLON.

The passing of Herbert Spencer leaves a big void in the ranks of the thinkers in every department of human inquiry and in no field will his influence be more missed than in that of political and social science. For, although there was nothing that he did not touch and find a place for in his philosophical scheme, his ultimate purpose was, as he tells us in the preface to one of his works, "that of finding, for the principles of right or wrong, in conduct at large, a scientific basis." For this the teeming resources of natural science were ransacked; the crowning work of evolution, to the eye of this philosopher was a world of right living human beings; a world in which the greatest possible amount of happiness would be realized, and where no one's happiness would mean anybody else's misery. The aim that runs through Spencer's first book, "Social Statics," is the same aim which, reinforced by riper research and modified in some important details, appears as the culminating point in his philosophy, under the division of ethics.

Starting from star-dust and winding up with the greatest happiness of the human race is a long stride. The very thought of such a stride makes the ordinary mind stagger, as it did the mind of Spencer himself in later years, yet he had the boldness to grasp it in outline in the noonday of his career, and the good fortune to live to bridge it all over, if not to the satisfaction of all religious critics and scientific specialists, at least to the admiration of all who are qualified to recognize the calibre of a mind of the highest generalizing power. Nor can it be said that he "spread himself out very thin" over the wide area thus covered; the breadth of his mental operations was never at the expense of its depth: no writer ever brought more inductive evidence to back up his inductive speculations. Although his mind was of telescopic penetration, he was microscopic in the skill with

*This article from the pen of one of the shrewdest and clearest thinkers in our movement presents a more charitable view of Mr. Spencer's course on the Land Question, and is at variance with the generally accepted opinion of the majority of Single Taxers, and with that of Mr. Henry George, Jr., printed elsewhere in this issue of the *Review*. We fancy that most of our readers will side with the majority. The distinction between "relative" and "absolute" ethics seems to us childish, a paltry subterfuge which will permit any philosopher to escape from the legitimate conclusions of his teachings. The principles of "absolute" ethics become "relative"—*i. e.*, command practical application—the minute they are understood. The absolute implies the imperative "Thou shalt," and the principles then comprehended are at once relative. If they are not, the value of ethical speculation is merely a harmless diversion in which to engage will seem to serious minds a criminal waste of intellectual energy.—The Editor.

which he marshalled the facts of nature in support of his theories. None of his readers ever found his disquisitions dry for the want of apt illustrations.

The marvel is that taking the whole span of Spencer's scheme into consideration, the inconsistencies and errors alleged against him should be so few. He sought to unify all knowledge, to reduce our ideas of all things to order, and to expel mystery from the knowable universe; he may have failed; yet his works remain on record as evidence of what a finite mind can do towards clarifying human intelligence.

In this short sketch I propose to confine myself to Spencer as an ethical and political teacher. Within that relatively contracted sphere his ideas have, perhaps, met with more opposition than they have anywhere else, unless it be in the domain of theology. It has been said that Spencer's views on government which, as the reader knows, were those of extreme *laissez-faire*ism, did not tally with his evolutionary theories; that these latter led towards socialism, and that his clinging to the former was not the result of reasoned consistency but of an early bias toward individualism which subsequent intellectual discipline failed to shake off. Such impressions indicate a slight acquaintance with Spencer's works. It was easy for the careless reader to misapprehend his meaning. Accustomed as he was to weigh every word he used, and to use only the right word in the right place, he was compelled, by the generalizing character of his subjects, to express himself frequently in abstract terms, and these terms when filtered through everyday minds did not always convey the message intended. But to those who have a clear grasp of what Spencer meant by the word "evolution" there ought not to arise any difficulty in tracing the harmony of his many-sided views. As in the biological world, progress from a lower to a higher state was marked, amongst other things, by an increasing substitution of heterogeneity for homogeneity, so higher up in the scale of being until the grand superstructure of human society is reached, the same law holds good; societies and States become progressive in proportion as they display greater heterogeneity of parts. Here, then, was a physical criterion of ethical results; a scientific standard by which the conduct of men, whether associated together as a government, or acting in their individual capacity, might alike be judged. Was Spencer, then, inconsistent when he argued that the functions of government ought to be limited to preserving the equal rights of all human beings? The way to answer this question is to ask another, viz: Under which system is there likely to be greater heterogeneity of social life—the system under which everyone is free to pursue his inclinations subject to his not infringing the equal rights of his fellows, or the system under which action is

interfered with by governmental authority? Spencer was an individualist because he was an evolutionist; in other words, because he saw that under individualism there would be the widest possible scope for that diversity and complexity of human society which are the distinguishing marks of evolution, progress, happiness or whatever else we like to call it.

But the men who thought Spencer inconsistent in his views on government were few in comparison with those who thought them intrinsically wrong. All the signs of the times seemed to be against him, and it takes a philosopher to look deeper than the signs of the times. How, it was commonly asked, could a man be right in holding views which are at variance with the trend of public opinion and statesmanship throughout the world? Does not the universal growth of the socialistic spirit and the assumption by governments everywhere, of larger and larger powers, prove that the world is growing in a direction contrary to that outlined by Spencer and hence that he has failed to discover the laws of social growth? That society continues to grow towards socialism, the author of "The Coming Slavery" was the first to admit, but inasmuch as he only enunciated a law and did not make a prediction his authority is in no way damaged by the event. His position is that in so far as governments have encroached upon the province of the individual, there has taken place, *not evolution but dissolution*; the extent to which the dissolution has taken place in no wise affecting the validity of the law. Whether the modern civilized States will go to pieces like those which have preceded them, or whether they shall progress toward higher and higher levels of happiness depends upon whether the law of evolution is lived up to or not, and if it is not, there is nothing for them but dissolution, all the decrees of all the governments in the world—democratic or autocratic—to the contrary notwithstanding.

To elevate human conduct into a science was a bold and masterly conception. It marked a great advance as the position taken by the expediency philosophers like Bentham and Mill. There's was a makeshift standard; "the greatest good of the greatest number" was all it aimed at. It offered no guidance as to what classes of acts were good and why they were good, but committed everything to the sliding-scale of majority-rule. Spencer took hold of the difficulties which they shirked, gave them an evolutionary setting and produced a code of social justice which, whatever be its shortcomings, has at least scientific orderliness and coherency.

That there is a highest possible state of human development; that this state, though belonging to the remote future, can be known by us, that we can aid in its realization by conscious effort, and that according

as we do or do not thus aid in its realization, our actions are good or bad; such was, roughly speaking, the view of human conduct which Spencer undertook to defend. While nature and not art was to be the great improver of humanity, yet art might assist nature by taking advantage of her laws. The process of improvement was necessarily slow; the millenium could not be ushered in before its time; the perfect man could only come with the perfect condition; in the meantime, with the world in its present discordant and transitional state, we cannot do absolutely the right thing; the thing that is right, relatively to our present imperfect stage of development, is all that we can reasonably be asked to do.

It was scarcely to be expected that views so novel and sweeping and running counter to popular ethical conceptions, would escape fierce criticism and they did not. Men brought up, to look upon the ideas of right and wrong as immutable could not readily comprehend the distinction between absolute and relative ethics. Cultured scientists like Professor Huxley and shrewd social observers like Henry George were unable to see why a right thing should not be a right thing whether it be done to-day, to-morrow or a million years hence. Yet if the question was asked whether the horse of to-day and the horse of a million years hence would be the same sort of animal, Professor Huxley at least, would have returned an emphatic "No." Anyhow Spencer did not escape the penalty of being in advance of his contemporaries. A man with two codes of ethics, unless he takes particular care to prevent them from getting mixed, is apt to be classed in the same category as a grocer with two different sets of weights. Spencer was not as careful as he might have been in defining the application of his doctrine to an important question of the day and there were not wanting attacks upon his honesty in consequence. In a book called "Social Statics" published by him in 1850, setting forth what, in his view, were the conditions under which the greatest amount of human happiness could be produced, he advocated what has since become known as "the nationalization of the land," but omitted to make it clear to his readers that he was only writing a book on absolute ethics whose sphere of application lay in the remote future. The book was naturally and inevitably accepted as an argument interested to influence legislation in England in the nineteenth century. The misunderstandings under this head continued to accumulate and Spencer's explanation of position, accompanied as it was, by a partial retraction of his earlier views led to a heated newspaper controversy, but did not greatly diminish the misunderstandings that had been created. He alleged that he never was a land nationalizer except in an academic or abstract sense, and that even in that limited sense he was no longer a land

nationalizer, having convinced himself that industrial ownership of land, subject to the control of the people acting through the State, was a sufficient compliance with the law of equal freedom which he had enunciated. Many of his admirers were and are unable to follow him through the logical meshes by which he managed to arrive at this latter conclusion, and the somewhat equivocal position assumed by him on this question made practical men ask what was the use of a code of ethics which gave such poor guidance when a concrete difficulty arose. It certainly does seem strange to us, poor every day mortals, that a man whose teachings tend towards liberty, who believed in the fullest development of individual life and regarded the formation of character as the chief end of government, who could speak of protectionists as "aggressors," and who saw no ethical warrant for property except in labor, should yet think himself consistent in holding that private property in land should be maintained. His changes of opinion were, no doubt, honestly arrived at. His love of toleration, his hatred of flattery, his fair methods of criticising his opponents, his cosmopolitanism and his indifference to the charges of want of patriotism made against him in recent years by his imperialistic opponents,—these are not the characteristics of a man who would tone down his opinions to suit "Sir John or His Grace." Probably Spencer's deep-rooted objection to State administration had more to do with his charge of view than anything else. Probably also his conviction that the evolution of society must be a slow process, made him recoil from the application of quick radical remedies to chronic social wrongs. It is for his readers to draw their own conclusions from the principles he lays down; from many of these conclusions in respect of current problems they will probably dissent, so seldom is the legislator an efficient administrator of his own laws; all the same these laws and generalizations are so many master-keys with which future inquirers will open new doors in every department of human thought.

James H. Warren, whose article, "A Leaf from the History of Pittsburg," appears elsewhere in this issue of the *Review*, is not generally known to the great body of Single Taxers, but his contribution to this number ought to make him so, for it is a notable one. It is such articles as this that the *Review* is in need of. There are in most of our cities concrete examples of the Schenley sort, and our contributors will kindly bear in mind that no more useful work can be done than the writing and printing of these tragic examples in the drama of civilization. More than half of the sorrows of the race are bound up in these innocent folds of parchment conveying to favored individuals titles to portions of the earth.

PERSONALS.

Ernest Crosby's article, "Shakespeare's Attitude Toward the Working Classes," has been translated into Russian by Count Leo Tolstoy.

Hamlin Garland, distinguished novelist and Single Taxer, has been appointed by the Interior Department to revise the Indian names of the United States.

A. B. Potter, who represents the New York Tax Reform Association, is doing yeoman's work throughout this State in the cause of local option in taxation.

Judge Samuel Seabury was the chairman of the committee that received William J. Bryan on his arrival in New York City on the Celtic and entertained him at the Victoria Hotel.

On December 23rd, Mr. W. E. Barker, of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, and Miss Christine Ross, of the Woman's Henry George League, were married by Rev. Leighton Williams, at the Amity Baptist Church, this city. Their many friends will unite in wishing the young couple prosperity, happiness, and long life.

T. Scanlon, of Newark, N. J., is Secretary of the Economic Club, which meets on alternate Wednesdays at the Newark Free Public Library. The first part of the meeting is devoted to the reading of a chapter from some economic work, and the latter half of the time to its discussion. "Progress and Poverty" was the book selected at the last session.

Wellesley Burke is one of the few active Single Taxers of Kingston, Jamaica. Last year when the hurricane swept Jamaica, Mr. Wellesley addressed a letter to the Governor pointing out how the destruction had revealed a lesson in the true method of taxation. The one thing the hurricane had not injured was the land value. It had swept away crops and buildings, but had left all those sources of revenue necessary for the building up of the island and the resumption of rational governmental house-keeping. It is easy to keep up the fight where there is plenty of company, but it is a different thing where one must uphold the standard alone. That requires heroism of a sterner sort.

Another Single Taxer of Jamaica is Capt. G. G. Taylor, who is separated from Mr. Burke, the former being a resident of Cedar Valley, who also alone and unaided is doing good work for the cause. Jamaica just now affords many an object lesson.

This year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of *Progress and Poverty*. Some appropriate celebration of this event should be undertaken, and we invite suggestions from Single Taxers everywhere.

MISCELLANY.

"During my time I have associated with many public men, at home, on the Continent and in America, and among those I met in the latter place was the late Henry George, a man whose doctrines in connection with the Land Question I appreciated above all others. I afterwards met him in Queenstown in company with Mr. F. P. E. Potter, Editor and Proprietor of the *Eagle*, than whom I can honestly say there is not in Ireland a more consistent, a more earnest, or an abler advocate of the land doctrine George taught. As a close reader of his independent and ably-conducted paper, I can, in truth, make this assertion. The late Dr. Colthurst, one of the most eminent political economists in Ireland, was also one of the company. I am sorry to say that the teaching of Henry George and those who think with him has not borne better fruit up to the present, as I believe his doctrine on the Land Question is the only one that can benefit the people and peasantry who wish to be happy, prosperous and progressive. Even at the present day I would strongly urge on those interested in the Land Question to study carefully for themselves Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," and on those who are interested in the Fiscal Question to read and digest his "Free Trade and Protection."

—Speech of Mr. Charles G. Doran, at Skibreen, Ireland, on the occasion of the Memorial Anniversary of the Martyred Three, Monday Nov. 23, 1903. Mr. Doran was active in the Fenian uprising and the Irish revolutionary movements in the sixties.

Not for a class he wrought,
With gift of tongue and pen,
With higher mission fraught,
He lived—and died—for men!

—"Henry George," from the "Karma of Labor," a recent volume of poems by Henry Keyes Foster.

WORK OF THE MANHATTAN CLUB.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club has entered upon its Winter and Spring campaign with enthusiasm. The election of President Benjamin Doblin to the office of President gives assurance that the association will be active during the year in the good work.

A class in oratory has been established under the tutorship of Mr. John S. Crosby. Another class in political economy is under the lead of James R. Brown, and meets every Tuesday evening. Admission is free and everybody is invited.

It is proposed to hold four large public meetings during the coming Spring at Cooper Union. Monthly club dinners are held and those desiring to attend should communicate with the secretary at the club rooms, 224 East 62nd Street.

The officers elected for 1904 are Pres., B. Dohlin; V. P., M. G. Palliser; Treas., E. M. Klein; Rec. Sec., W. F. Casey; Cor. Sec., C. DeLancey Allen; Fin. Sec., F. W. Stanton; House Com., J. C. Neu; Fin. Com., J. V. Gilloon; Library Com., J. McKenna; Agtn. Com., S. G. Levy; Memb. Com., H. C. S. Stimpson.

THE LARGEST LANDHOLDER.

John S. Billby, of Quitman, is said to be the largest individual landholder in the United States. He owns 85,000 acres of valuable land in Nodaway and Atchison counties, Mo.; between 10,000 and 15,000 acres in Arkansas, besides lands in five other States. He is said recently to have leased 95,000 acres in Indian Territory and is negotiating for 35,000 more. A conservative estimate of his holdings is 180,000 acres. He is a native of New Jersey, 70 years old, and rents out parcels of his holdings for farming purposes.—*New York Commercial Advertiser*.

Almost every democrat in England is emphatic in his view of Protection. John Burns, Keir Hardie, Sydney Webb, Burt, and a host of others who have studied the evil effects of the system in America and Victoria are unanimous in declaring that it is an iniquitous fallacy.—*Taxation*, Kilgourie, West Australia.

There is something to be said in favor of the Single Tax contention. It is manifestly unjust to other taxpayers that some people should hold vacant land for years on speculation almost without taxation while people who have improved their land are punished by assessment of their property at its full value. There is no economic or ethical reason why the community at large should bear the burdens of people who choose to invest in unproductive property.—*Chicago Chronicle*.

"Look at your streets! Row upon row of little boxes, one like another, lacking in all that is essential, loaded with all that is superfluous—this is what passes among you for architecture. Your literature is the daily press, with its stream of fatuity, of anecdotes, puzzles, puns and police court scandal. Your pictures are stories in paint, transcripts of all that is banal, clumsily botched by amateurs as devoid of tradition as of genius. Your outer sense as well as your inner is dead; you are blind and deaf. Ratiocination has taken the place of perception, and your whole life is an infinite syllogism from premises you have not examined to conclusions you have not anticipated or willed. Everywhere means, nowhere an end! Your people no doubt are better equipped than ours

with some of the less important goods of life; they eat more, drink more, sleep more; but there their superiority ends. They are less cheerful, less contented, less industrious, less law-abiding; their occupations are more unhealthful both for body and mind; they are crowded into cities and factories, divorced from nature and the ownership of the soil."—"Letters from a Chinese Official."

I think all those who came to close quarters with Henry George during the few months of his stay in Australia must agree entirely with the general estimate of him held in America as a high-minded, simple, lovable man, inspired by the noblest humanitarian ideals, coldly logical as a controversialist, passionate with lofty eloquence as a preacher of righteousness. It was the writer's privilege to be in his company a good deal, especially during the South Australian portion of his tour. There were opportunities enough to see him behind the scenes, so to speak, but he really never was there. In the public view and in private he was the same man, of boundless compassion, deeply moved by the pathos of pain and suffering endured by others, modest in his own requirements and enjoyments, unconventional in small matters, without eccentricity or ostentation. No great reform ever had a worthier leader. "His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world, 'This was a man.'"—John Farrell in Sydney (Aus.) *Daily Telegraph*.

On the question of land tenure, the question of the acquisition of land for public purposes, and above all the taxation of land values—for the housing question involves all these—there would never be a real solution of the difficulties which everybody admitted were patent and undeniable, the difficulties of this question of housing until they had got a Government and a Parliament strong and resolute enough to take hold of the land question and deal with it on fundamental principles.—Speech of the Hon. Mr. Asquith, M. P., Oct. 17, 1908, reported in the *London Daily News*.

No publication fills, or attempts to fill, the place of the *Review* for Single Taxers; and we do not see how one who wants to keep in touch with the broad movement can forego the pleasure of having it.—*Fairhope Courier*.

ERRATA.—On page 21, for "order of a putrescent oligarchy," read *odor*.

On page 45, in note on second column, for "self-regulating method of distinction," read *distribution*.