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The

SINGLE TAX REVIEW

A BI-MONTHLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF SINGLE
TAX AND TAX REFORM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

PARTIAL CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER

Report of the Fels Fund Conference.

Land History of the American Colonies.

The Latifundium.

Sir George Grey.

News from Oregon and Elsewhere.

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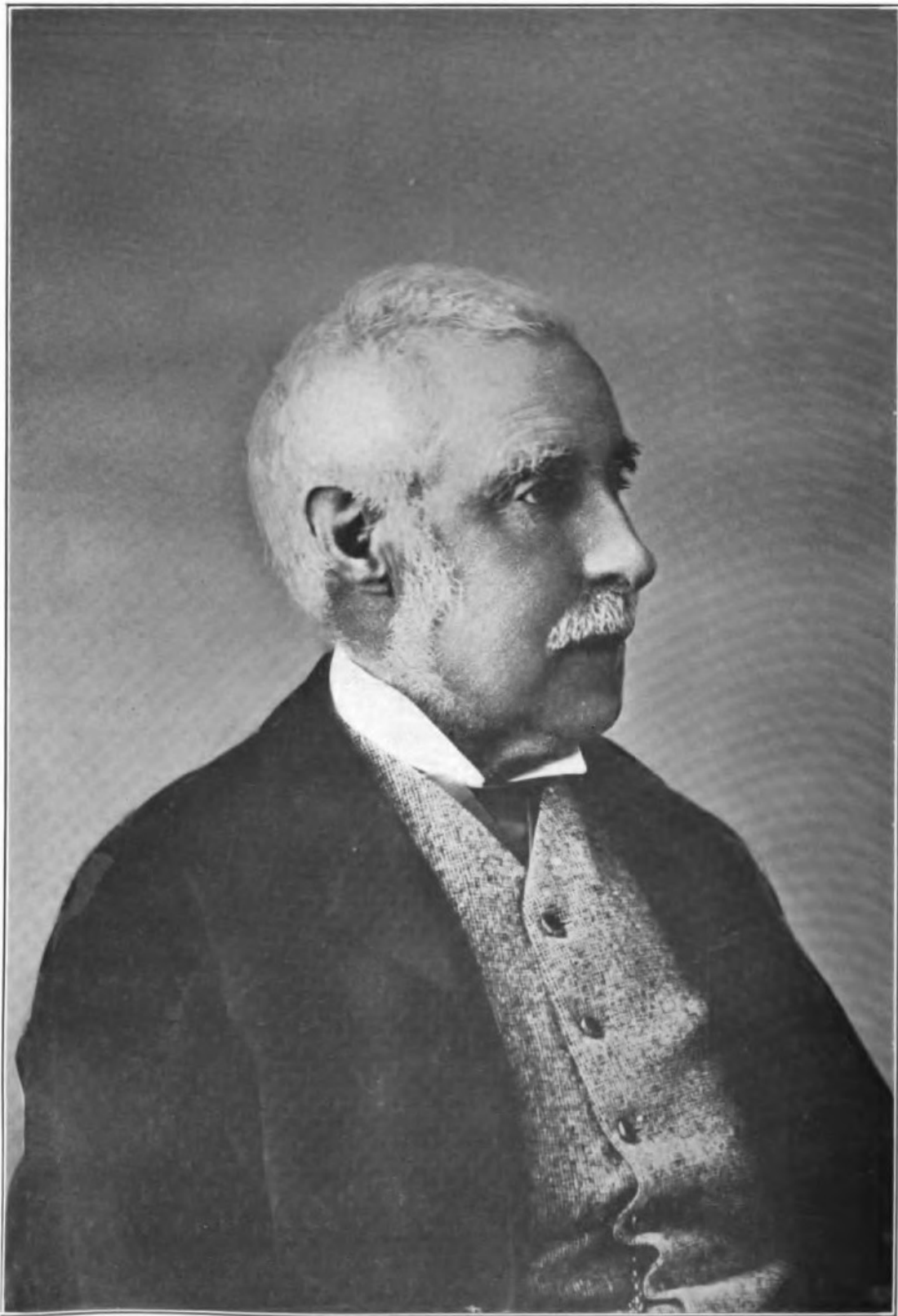
JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor and Publisher



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SIR GEORGE GREY
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THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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

LAND HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

(For the Review)

By THOMAS L. BRUNK, B. S., M. D.

(Concluded)

NEW YORK.

Ever since the Half-Moon anchored at Manhattan Island in 1624, New York has been the scene of scandalous land-jobberies, land grants to favorites, feudal manors, rent wars, huge speculative deals and swindles, and today stands as the highest monument of the colossal wrongs of our inherited land-holding system. From 1626 to 1664, New York was a province of Holland. During that time an effort was made on the part of the great landholding class of that country to establish in New York Lordships resembling those of Holland. To accomplish that end, in 1629 the College of nineteen Lords high in the councils of the government, adopted a Charter of Privileges for Patroons who desired to found colonies in New Netherland. "Everyone who would emigrate on his own account was promised as much land as he could cultivate. But few farmers were expected to emigrate without aid, as the country people were subordinate to their landlords. They could not vote and had not the experience in government required for planting a State on the principle of equality." Therefore the landlords planned to establish Manors in New York. Bancroft gives their plan in this language: (1, Vol. 2, p. 42) "He that within four years would plant a colony of fifty souls became a Lord of a Manor or Patroon, possessing in absolute property the lands he might colonize. Those lands might extend sixteen miles in length; or if they lay on both sides of a river, eight miles on each bank, stretching indefinitely far into the interior; yet it was stipulated that the soil must be purchased of the Indians. Were cities to grow up, the institution of their government would rest with the patroon, who was to exercise judicial power." The directors and agents of the West India Company immediately appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the territory.

One of the largest domains purchased from the Indians under the provisions of the Charter of Privileges was that of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a Holland

Lord who had grown rich by polishing pearls and diamonds. His tract extended north and south of Albany 24 miles on both sides of the Hudson river and 48 miles into the interior. It made an area of 1136 square miles comprising nearly three counties. Other exploiters and patroons were members of the Chamber of Amsterdam. These were Jonas Witsen, Hendrick Hamel, Samuel Godyn, Samuel Blommaert, John del Laet and Michael Pauw. Pauw bought Staten Island and all the land now occupied by Jersey City and Hoboken. Godyn and Blommaert bargained for the two lower counties of Delaware. The rest appropriated large tracts in New York. The feudal possessors acquired a title to all the important trading points where the natives resorted for traffic; thus "to the humble emigrant, the monopoly of commerce was aggravated by the monopoly of land."

The powers granted to the West India Company were monstrous. It was clothed with exclusive rights in the domains of the Dutch on the coasts of America. It might make treaties, maintain courts of justice, and employ soldiers in the name of the States General of Holland. Note that it takes soldiers and courts to make titles to land and all forms of special privilege secure. In every colony in which the people were to be held subordinate to the landholding class, the courts, army and church were under the control of the land-lords. This has always been the case and is no less the case today. Governors were to be appointed and their instructions ratified by the States General of Holland. The purpose of the Dutch West India Company was at first commercial; but its charter expressly provided that it was to advance the colonization of the fruitful and unsettled parts of the wide domain intrusted to it. "While the directors of the Company were clothed with vast powers, the settlers insisted on applying the principles of self-government which they had learned in their native towns." The impress given to the colony by this first generation in showing the spirit of independence even under the heel of greedy governors and in the midst of large landed estates was never quite outgrown. Like the laboring settlers in other colonies, they had to battle constantly for the meagre rights they enjoyed. A burgher government was conceded to New Amsterdam with the condition that the sheriff should maintain the privileges of the West India Company. But without giving the details it suffices to say that "the mode in which the country was then governed under the Dutch was intolerable. Immigrants were to receive as much land as they could cultivate if they paid one-tenth of the produce as a quit-rent."

While the Dutch were forming a huge land monopoly and growing rich trading with the Indians, the English became jealous of this growing power in the New World and sought to extinguish it. Accordingly in 1664 a force was sent to demand the surrender of Manhattan and its forts. As the river was blockaded, and as the Dutch were unprepared to offer strong resistance even under the arbitrary rule of Peter Stuyvesant, they surrendered. The Duke of York, brother of the English King, had been given a patent granting him all the lands and rivers from the Connecticut river to the Delaware Bay.

Thus at the surrender of the Dutch, he became the Lord Proprietor of the whole region and his authority was acknowledged.

The patent issued to the Duke of York authorized him to make all laws and to carry on the government as he saw fit. In no other colony was arbitrary power so distinctly recognized. These laws were known as "The Duke's Laws." They provided for religious tolerance, courts, town offices, and certain rates of taxation. For the government of New York city, a Mayor and Council were established. None of the old Patroons was disturbed in their holdings. But Staten Island, which had reverted to the West India Company, was taken by the English. New Jersey, a part of the Duke's territory, was given to Lord Berkley and Sir George Cartaret who in turn "divided it among speculators, who as a body, had gain and not freedom, for their end." For twelve years New Jersey was in an unsettled condition with no laws or administration of law. Attempts were made by two sets of proprietors to appoint commissions to govern, but on account of the confusion and disputes about land titles, they were rejected by the people. Finally East and West Jersey united into one province and came under the governor of New York though it retained a separate legislature.

By 1691, wealth already was a claim to distinction and certain families began to assume eminence and influence. The phrase "The party of aristocrats" was applied to those who opposed Leisler as Governor. The question of revenue was the first for each Governor to meet; and it gave rise to constant collisions with the Assembly (elected by the freeholders) both in the mode of raising it and the control of its expenditure. All through history the raising of revenue has led to untold wrongs and dissensions.

By 1710, land began to promise large returns from its rise in value. Speculators were reaching out for large tracts. "Councilor Bayard under Governor Fletcher took to himself a grant belonging to the Mohawks as large as one of the middle counties of England without paying a reasonable quit-rent." Robert Livingston secured a grant for several thousand acres on the Hudson to which was added enough in 1715, by George I, to include most of what is now Dutchess and Columbia counties. This was the Lordship or Manor of Livingston. It is a territory about fifty miles long and twenty wide, or about 1000 square miles. Clergymen were members of combinations such as would now be known as Indian rings and land rings. Dominie Godfrey Dellins, the Dutch pastor at Albany, was charged with fraudulently securing deeds from Red men for vast tracts. Pinhome, a member of the council, obtained patents for a piece of land fifty miles long and two miles on each side of the Mohawk river. Peter Schuyler was one of several who at first was interested in buying these lands, but withdrew from the transactions on account of the frauds practiced.

"The vast domain of the Iroquois continued to offer temptations; and Governors and officials of various grades, and capitalists large and small, grasped for a share of it, until only scanty reservations remained to the original owners."

No sooner were the lands monopolized by the few, than the same symptoms of disease appeared in society as in all past history under the same condition. Governor Hunter reported in 1716 that he could not "say that the inhabitants increase as in the neighboring provinces, where the purchase of land is easier. Great numbers leave Long Island yearly to plant in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania." In 1720 the population was reported to be but 27,000 whites and 4,000 blacks. The total population of all the colonies was 434,000. It can readily be seen that this sparseness of population proves that the streams of emigration are always in the direction of free lands and away from land monopoly.

Labor being scarce, to secure it the same plan was adopted in New York as in Virginia. Ireland and England were searched for those poor creatures who robbed of their lands were unable to pay their way to New York. These were made to sign contracts to work for a period of years without pay on the plea that their condition was greatly bettered by being brought to America, also to repay the expense of transportation. These indentured slaves however did not have to serve as many years as they did in Virginia. Also Governor Hunter entered upon a large scheme to introduce laborers into the province. He secured 10,000 pounds from the English government to pay the transportation of the poor from German districts known as the Palatinate where the French had ravished the country. About 3,200 were brought over. They were planted in five villages about 100 miles up the Hudson, three being on lands belonging to the Livingstons' and two on royal lands on the west side. They were to produce tar and turpentine. But trouble soon began. It was claimed that the money promised to them was not paid; that the land was barren, and that enough food was not provided. The Palatines organized a strike, and Governor Hunter went among them with troops to subdue them and enforce his contracts. The Palatines appealed to England but did not receive much sympathy. Lord Clarendon used the same stock argument that is used today regarding distressed laborers. He said, "that every person who will work, man or woman, may earn eighteen pence sterling a day. In a new country a livelihood is easily gained." The Indians offered the Palatines land in Schoharie county on easy terms and thither many of them soon removed and made a new settlement. Others found homes in the Mohawk valley.

At this early date a land caste was growing up in New York State. All the great land owners were intermarrying within the sacred circle of the aristocracy to perpetuate their own political power. When Governor Hunter retired, Peter Schuyler, the most prominent New Yorker at the beginning of the eighteenth century, became president of the Council and acting Governor. His second wife was a daughter of Petrus Van Rensselaer. "Several branches of the Schuyler family intermarried with the Hamiltons, Livingstons, Van Cortlands, and other influential families, and continued very strong in social and political position for a long period." Many notable names on the roll of New York are descendants of Lewis Morris. His eminence during this period

was due solely to his ownership of large estates in New Jersey as well as in New York. He became Governor of New Jersey. A relative of his became Chief Justice of New York, and was also a large land holder.

The Governors appointed by the Duke of York all openly proceeded to make a fortune in New York by land deals, large salaries, and restrictions to trade. William Burnet, son of the distinguished bishop of that name, followed Hunter as Governor. He married a daughter of Abraham Van Howe, a prosperous Dutch merchant and member of the Council. His chief measure was the prohibition of trade between Albany and Canada in Indian goods, to hold the Indian trade for New York and away from the French. This of course favored his father-in-law and indirectly himself. Though not a lawyer, he exercised the powers of chancellor to the court of Chancery. One of his decrees affected the estate of Phillipse, speaker of the Assembly. This was seized as an occasion to express the general cry that this court's violent measures had ruined some persons and driven others from the colony; that "its extraordinary proceedings and exorbitant fees countenanced to be exacted by the officers thereof are the greatest grievances and oppressions this colony hath ever felt." (History of New York. Ellis H. Roberts.)

Governor Burnet was so antagonized by the Assembly that he was glad to be transferred to Massachusetts. Then came two years of the grasping Governor Crosby. "He sought to derive all available profits out of the colony." His salary was 1,500 pounds a year and his fees for trips to Albany were as high as 400 pounds. Also for a trip to London to oppose a bill unfavorable to the sugar trade of the colony, he got 750 pounds. As remedies for trade depression he recommended subsidies to shipbuilding, a transfer of some of the taxes from trade to legal documents, while he condemned "too great importation of negroes and convicts." These recommendations remind one very much of those made by the nabobs in our Congress and our "able financiers" for the past ten years to encourage our merchant marine, and the tinkering of our tariff schedules to suit its beneficiaries. This same Crosby "destroyed deeds which fell into his hands for land in Albany, and he aimed to overthrow the old patents on Long Island in order that in the readjustment, he might get gain in fees and perhaps also in land. Crosby's Manor, covering vast tracts of land in the upper part of the Mohawk valley, proves that his greed brought rich and ripe fruit into his lap."

A fact abundantly proven in history, is that the suppression or censoring of the public press or the freedom of speech, has usually been by the privileged or land holding class. Also to show that most of our freedom was obtained before the Revolution, I wish to relate this instance in our history that settled the question of freedom of the press. So intolerable were the acts of Governor Crosby that John Peter Zenger, publisher of the *New York Journal*, stated fearlessly in his paper, "We see men's deeds destroyed, Judges arbitrarily displaced, new Courts erected without consent of the legislature, by which it seems to me trials by juries are taken away when the Governor pleases and men of known estates denied their votes." For publishing these plain truths,

Zenger was arrested and imprisoned on the charge of libel and while in jail all paper and ink were denied him. For his attorney he had Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, a Quaker and a master of a glowing and powerful eloquence. He said at the trial, "The practice of informations for libels, is a sword in the hands of a wicked King and an arrant coward, to cut down and destroy the innocent." In conclusion he asserted the principle underlying the case in these words: "It is not a case of a poor printer, nor of New York alone which the jury is now trying. No. It may in its consequences affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the soil of America. It is the cause of liberty; the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power in these parts of the world at least, by speaking and writing the truth." The jury promptly rendered a verdict of not guilty. Hamilton was the hero of the hour. Freedom of speech had a new birth, and the spirit of the case and the sympathy it drew forth were prophetic of the liberty which on this continent was beginning to dawn. This case marked a complete change in theory and practice. It was a new guiding principle in affairs, the creation of a bulwark for the people which rulers and courts must forever regard.

As the eighteenth century advanced, other land scandals arose. About 1736 Captain Laughlin Campbell brought over 423 Scotch Highlanders whom he planned to make his vassals. He received a grant of 30,000 acres near lake George. But many came at their own expense and would not consent to become bonded servants to Campbell. They said that they came to America to be relieved from serving their Lords in Scotland and would not serve another here. But those whose expenses were paid by Campbell, became his indented servants. At this time Governor Clarke was at the head of state affairs. He claimed a share in the Campbell lands and the large fees he was receiving. To offset this, Mr. Livingston, then in the Assembly, offered to appropriate seven pounds to every seventy families of the poor of these emigrants. In 1743, Governor Clarke returned to England with a fortune estimated at 100,000 pounds or in present values nearly \$2,000,000. He was followed by Admiral George Clinton who like Clarke, "took every means to gather in fees to increase his fortune by operations in lands." He amassed about 80,000 pounds.

The Iroquois about this time began to grow restive under the pressure of the greed and fraud of the land speculators. The savage could no longer endure the land robbery. Not only were the Red men cheated out of their lands by the New York authorities, but they were also brutalized by the English and French in "securing the services of these barbarians to scalp their white enemies, while each in turn was loudest to denounce the shocking barbarities of such tribes they failed to secure in their own service. Nearly every important massacre in the history of North America was organized and directed by agents of one of these governments. (H. H. Jackson, "A Century of Dishonor.") In 1722 as high as 100 pounds was offered in New York for an Indian scalp. The whites scalped Indians also. According to Helen Hunt Jackson, the whites taught the Indian how to scalp. This is the civilizing

method the land pirates used with the untutored savage. Patents to lands always stated that the leading aim of the whites in dealing with the Indian was to Christianize him. But instead, he was treated with such shocking atrocities that the savage has rarely been able to parallel them.

At the close of the French and Indian war, two controversies arose among the aristocrats of New York. In the founding of Columbia College by a lottery in 1746, the Episcopalians of the colony took the most active part. In this it was alleged that the Governor was showing this sect too much favor. Members were chosen to the Assembly to check this tendency. The opposition was among the Presbyterians, and their chief leaders were the four Livingstons then in the Assembly. Through alliance by marriage with the Schuylers and the Jays, and by its wealth, the Livingston family held a preeminence rarely equaled in this country. The favored party was supported by Philip Verplanck of the Cortlandt Manor, the Van Rensselaers and other relatives and personal friends. As in Virginia, one division of the landlords was expressing the popular cry of independence of the royal authority, while the other division upheld it and was receiving all the favors for their loyalty. The lines were thus already drawn which deepened and broadened into the great struggle for American landlord independence.

To show that land is and always has been the great lever of power held by kings and the ruling class by which they exploit the people, it is well to touch upon another controversy that arose in the colony at this time over the independence of the courts against the executive power. The Assembly sought to compel the appointment of judges of the Supreme Court with terms lasting during good behavior; but the Governor insisted that their commissions should be at the pleasure of the appointing power. This was a radical difference between the people and the royal authority. The question was, should the judges be mere creatures of the King? The Lords of Trade in England declared that the life term "tended to lessen the just dependence which the colonies ought to have upon the mother country." So popular was the life tenure that jurists could not be found in New York who would accept places on the bench at the executive pleasure. To fill a vacancy, a Chief Justice, Benjamin Pratt, was imported from Boston with a commission "during His Majesty's pleasure." The Assembly then refused to pay such judges. Whereupon, to carry his point, the Governor paid Pratt out of the quit-rent from the vast tracts of uncultivated lands of the King. Thus the will of the people was thwarted and through the quit-rent were virtually taxed to pay the appointed judges.

The vast estates which fell to the patroons and were continued in their families, and those of the Schuylers, Cuylers, and the manors owned by the Van Rensselaers, Livingstons, Phillipses, Johnsons, Cortlandts, and others, constituted the alienating and malodorous feature of this colony. They were the center of almost feudal power. They interfered with the settlement of the thrifty small farmer. They stunted all progress and the growth of everything but the growth of a dangerous and cocktail-drinking aristocracy.

Their Manor-houses were the seat of courtly hospitality for their caste in summer, while in winter the same set usually "spent their time in New York where they contributed to give that city the reputation of gaiety and display, and devotion to recent London fashions."

It is the popular belief, and it is commonly taught in our public schools, that the American Revolution was brought about and fought by the discontented, tax-ridden yeomen and townsmen who wished to have a voice in how they should be taxed. As developed from the historical evidence, no greater misconception of fact could be imagined. While the colonies were taxed heavily and unjustly, the burden of paying them fell mostly upon the big planters and the rich landholders who could afford the taxed luxuries. The Revolution was not a sudden outburst of public indignation, though a few events had inflamed the public mind so that a declaration of war would not be a shock and bring about a loud protest. The Revolution had been brewing for more than a hundred years. Holders of great stretches of fertile estates became imbued with a full sense of their influence and power and began at an early time to defy Royalty that attempted to infringe upon that power or impose burdens upon them without their consent. By giving away lands, Royalty constructed the very strongholds that would some day be its equal in strength and influence, and battle with it for supremacy. It was the land-ruling class of America against the land-ruling class of England that actually stood behind every move of the Revolution. Morris financed it, Washington led the armies, Jefferson drew up the Declaration of Independence to appease the demands of an evolving democracy, and the Continental Congress, dominated by the land lords from Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, declared war and appointed the officers. But the poor man from field and shop sacrificed his life for what he was told was his emancipation from the oppression of a sordid King. The weak, deluded, landless man has always been the tool in the hands of powerful land-kings to accomplish their selfish designs. The Revolution was an evolutionary step to something better; but does anyone believe that when the poor soldier returned home his condition was changed, or that he could satisfy his wants and enjoy life more than before? Some were given lands confiscated from the Tories. These no doubt had increased opportunities; but how about those who were still renters on the great Manors and plantations? Were they not precisely where they were before the great struggle? We had freedom of speech, of press, of religion before the Revolution. Were men any more free than they were before thousands fell on the field of battle? In fact, did they not have the same masters as before, and did not these masters now have full control of the government?

After the Revolution we witness the inauguration of the first President, an owner of about twenty thousand acres of Virginia's best soil and a land speculator in the Northwest territory. His oath of office was administered by Robert R. Livingston, owner of the Livingston Manor of 1,000 square miles and Justice of the Supreme Court of New York. Washington's first cabinet appointees were with one exception large land holders. General

Knox was a book-seller in Boston before the war. But John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Edmond Randolph, and James Madison were all owners of large estates. Knox resigned with Hamilton to engage in land speculation. This was an age over which the royal atmosphere still hung. A semi-monarchical distinction was paid to Washington. Such ascriptions were heard as, "Long Live George Washington," or "God bless your reign." Much of this was due, doubtless, to Washington's mode of life. His residence in New York where the government was first located, was in a spacious house on Broadway near Bowling Green in the fashionable quarter. "There was more richness of style among New Yorkers than either Philadelphia or Boston could boast. The style maintained by President Washington was rich and elegant; ostentatious, perhaps, as regards equipage, for he had the Virginian's taste for fine horses with the best of a Virginian's means for gratifying it. The state carriage, with its body of hemispherical shape, cream-colored, and tricked out with dainty devices of little cupids supporting festoons, was the wonder of the town; especially on state occasions, when it was drawn by six blooded horses. The pomp of this turn-out was enhanced by footmen and outriders in livery. He held a levee every Tuesday afternoon from three to four at which paraded a "starched assembly" of the rich "who were bent upon winding up executive ceremonials" to as near royalty as a jealous democracy would permit. "His usual dress on these occasions consisted of a suit of black velvet, a pear-colored waistcoat, knee and shoe buckles of silver, dark silk stockings, and yellow gloves; upon his left side he wore a dress sword, a cocked hat was under his arm, his hair was powdered." Washington, however, was as genuine a man as ever came from his Maker's hand; an American to the core, a sincere patriot, believing in the future grandeur of this Republic, the gratitude of his fellow countrymen being his only reward. But who will dare say that the radiance and lustre of his name would have been less had he lived in an age free from land monopoly, or if he had discerned the dire results that are as sure to come to the country in which he played the star role in founding, from land monopoly, and his large influence had stamped his protest upon it and thus given to us a nation in which land could never be controlled by the few? Instead of this, however, the first President courted those who could surround him with dazzling prodigality and ceremonies bordering on the extravagance and pomp of the courts of Europe. Who were present at Lady Washington's Friday evening entertainments which history relates were the occasions when assembled "all the beauty, talent, and social distinction the little capital could bring together"? Who were the elegant throng of belles with their hair high on their heads, rustling in gowns of satin and taffeta, and accosted by beaux bepowdered and decked out as brilliantly as beetles"? The German Palatines or Scotch Highlanders, purchasers of farms on which a quit-rent had to be paid to the ruling nabobs, surely were not there.

In forming the State of New York after the Declaration of Independence John Jay was made chairman of the committee to draft the Constitution.

In March 1777, Jay presented the constitution he and his colleagues had drafted. "It provided for a government by the people, but the aristocratic ideas still prevalent and embodied in Jay's declaration that the men who owned the country ought to govern it, appeared in a property qualification for the ballot which restricted the right of suffrage."—(Tuckerman's Life of General Schuyler.) The convention appointed John Jay, Chief Justice; Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor; Robert Yates and John S. Hobart, judges of the Supreme Court; and Egbert Benson, Attorney-General. The Governorship alone was thrown open to popular election by the land owners. George Clinton was chosen Governor and Pierre Van Cortlandt, Lieutenant Governor. All of these were large land owners.

So we see that it was the land kings that fought the Revolution, that wrote the Declaration of Independence, that drafted the Constitution brim full of monarchialism and the powers to protect land-vested interests.

After the Revolution New York witnessed the wholesale grabbing of the Tory lands and controversies over them. A strong policy of confiscation had been enforced against the loyalists. In the Mohawk valley "only one third of the inhabitants remained when peace was declared. A meeting at Fort Plain declared that the persons who went away or were banished because of their Tory sympathies, "shall not live in this district on any pretense whatever. Other rural districts took similar action. The Sons of Liberty called a meeting in New York City and advised all Tories to leave town inside of five days. The Legislature in 1784 passed an act disfranchising all who had adhered to the British government during the war. Soldiers who were in the American army took up their land bounties. Baron Steuben received a quarter of a township from the legislature for his services. Purchasers of large tracts began to adopt the plan of selling farms to hardy pioneers who would break roads and start homesteads to add value to the adjacent wilderness, although the rule was only to grant leases.

The commonwealth treated its vast domain with reckless prodigality. In 1791 a law was passed with a view to attract settlers, authorizing the commissioners of land office to sell any of the public lands at their own discretion. These commissioners were Governor Clinton, Lewis A. Scott, Aaron Burr, Girard Baucker, and Peter T. Curtenius. They sold 5,542,173 acres for \$1,030,433; and of this vast domain Alexander McComb secured 3,635,200 acres. For much of this only eight pence an acre was paid. The Governor was charged with having an interest in some of these purchases, but McComb made affidavit that Clinton had no interest in them. A legislative investigation was ordered but the commissioners were sustained by a vote of 35 to 20. This scandal is one of thousands to show how our land system will tempt men in office to abuse a public trust.

It is difficult to get a full history of the land deals of this region famous for its exploitation. The historian truly says: "The imperial domain of New York was improvidently administered from the first. The vast estates secured by the Patroons under the Dutch were so located as to become very

valuable as population grew. The grants by the English Royal Governors to themselves and their favorites included more of the choice lands. Speculation by these large landowners and by others caused them to seize vast tracts for small consideration, but under the name of purchase. The Indians gave up without knowing the consequences." "By a grant from King George III, Sir William Johnson added to his former possessions a domain which made him, next to William Penn, the owner of the most extensive estate on this continent." At the close of the Revolution, the state owned over 7,000,000 acres out of 30,476,800 acres in the state, while the population was then but 233,000. Thus it can be seen that land monopoly in New York was an early factor interrupting development. The evils of the concentration of lands in a few hands were many; the benefits were to individuals. The Patroons insisted upon their rights to feudal service and the permanent title to the farms which they permitted others to work. The Lords of Manors preferred to lease their lands and sold grudgingly. Thus the vast tracts occupied by industrious and thrifty farmers, increased in value by cultivation, improvement, and by the growth of population. Tenants on long leases were in a worse condition; they had no title to the houses they had built or to the farms they had cultivated; they were bound by a feudal tenure on which by the merest technicality the landlord might enter into possession and the laws would give to him the fruits of their labor.

In 1812 an effort was made in the legislature to limit the claims of the Patroons and to define the rights of their tenants, but it came to nothing. The irritation continued and was aggravated from year to year, not simply with reference to lands held under feudal tenure, but to leases and contracts and mortgages on estates held by absolute ownership without recognizing any superior to whom any duty is due, or what is known as alloidal tenure.

In 1836 the people of Chautauqua County were disturbed by rumors that the liens given by them to the Holland Land Company were to be enforced. When they heard this they went to the land office of the company in a mob and destroyed its records. A threatened attack on the land office in Batavia was prevented by arms.

The landlord difficulties were more grave on the Van Rensselaer estate. It covered 1,136 square miles comprising nearly all of Albany, Van Rensselaer, and Columbia counties. In 1839 a dispute arose over the back rents between the farmers on the estate and the two sons who had just come into possession as heirs. Their father had allowed the rents to accumulate on account of hard times and the poorness of some of the farms. The back rents amounted to \$400,000. The Will gave the eastern portion to William and the western, to Stephen. The back rents were to apply to the payments of the father's debts. This meant the early collection of these rents. But that would work a hardship on the farmers. To secure the money the sons tried to enforce their right to one fourth of the sales of products in case the farmers tried to avoid payment of the rent. This created much excitement among the tenants. A mass meeting was held which appointed a committee to visit

Stephen and adjust the matter equitably. But, as usual with the landholding class, he refused to see them, and by letter declined to sell the lands and made no offer to settle on any other terms than an immediate payment of the rent. This produced a widespread resentment and a general determination to resist the collection of all rents. During the summer writs of ejectment were sued out in the supreme court and given to the Sheriff to serve on the tenants in Albany County. A few were served, but the under sheriff was warned not to proceed in his work, and that night his horse and wagon were injured so he could not use them.

In December the Sheriff with 500 armed men set out for Reidville where he found the road blocked by 1500 of the farmers who forced him to withdraw. Governor Seward, later in Lincoln's cabinet, was asked for troops, but he instructed the sheriff to sue out attachments for contempt and warrants for persons who resisted him. But these the Sheriff was unable to serve. Then the Governor ordered the Troy and Albany militia to go with the Sheriff to serve the warrants. They were also met by 500 horsemen who blocked the way. These and more troops overawed the mob and the Sheriff served his writs and made his arrests. But all this did not settle the dispute. The Governor in his message suggested legislation to meet this situation and said very truly, "The tenures by which the tenants held their farms were regarded as inconsistent with modern institutions. They had become odious to those who held them, were unfavorable to agricultural improvements, and were opposed to a sound policy." A commission was appointed by the legislature to adjust this rent difficulty. After a long series of hearings, both sides making certain recommendations to which the tenants assented and the landlords refused to be bound by, efforts were suspended without gaining a single point. The legislature took no further action and the agitation went on steadily, resulting in more disorder and bloodshed.

Governor Wright, who followed Seward, made the rent-war a topic of discussion in his message of 1845, reciting that organized bands disguised as savages and bearing arms, had defied the officers of the law and interfered with its execution; that lives of unoffending citizens had been sacrificed. He declared that the sympathies of the people favored the commutation of rents and fee-simple titles, but that the present duty was the assertion of the power of the State to preserve order. He recommended the enactment of severe laws to prevent and punish agrarian outrages, and they were promptly enacted. Of course this was done by the landholders in the legislature who did not wish to yield to the demands of the farmers in their rights to the use of the earth for fear that they too would lose the privilege of taking rent without labor. In spite of all this severe class legislation, violence and riots were repeated and a Sheriff killed. Governor Wright issued a proclamation of warning, and then called out the militia in sufficient force to put down the disturbances. Many arrests were made, over fifty convicted and imprisoned, and two sentenced to death. These last two were commuted to life imprisonment. Then in 1846, the Governor recommended the taxation of incomes

from rent and the limitations of leases to five or ten years. Next the grievances of the tenants were carried into politics and the Constitutional Convention of 1846 set limits to leases and definitely abolished all feudal tenures. The anti-renters in 1846 gave their support to John Young for Governor. After his election, he said public policy would be served by mercy to those imprisoned. He therefore gave full pardon to all the tenants imprisoned and also recommended that the State should bring suits to test the validity of the titles of the big landlords.

Private litigation was abundant and was attended with many aggravating incidents. The Court of Appeals in 1852 held that no agreement could make the tenants pay rent in case of transferring titles in fee-simple, and therefore that all reservations of quarter-sales were illegal and void. This decision went far to sustain the position of the tenants, and practically ended the anti-rent movement. Here are thirteen years of warfare over an injustice that can be traced back to the system instituted by the Holland Lords. And the injustice does not end here. Even today a large part of the residents of Albany are paying rent to the heirs of the Van Rensselaers. They will not sell their property, hence users of those lots are compelled to pay rent on present values. Is this condition of ownership clogging the wheels of progress or not? Why did not Massachusetts have a rent-war? The riddle is easy. The most stupid can answer it. Everyone had enough land to make a comfortable living without paying rent. Everyone was his own landlord. Everyone was a lord proprietor, the owner of his home.

Turning back, let us review the most conspicuous land monopolist in New York's history. In November, 1783, shortly after the close of the Revolution, a German youth of twenty years, son of a butcher, had earned fifteen guineas in England in his brother's piano factory and was now ready to sail for the New World. When within a day's journey of the American shore the vessel bearing this youth became ice-bound and remained so for two months. But this seeming bad luck was the turning point to the future of this young man. On this same vessel was a German fur dealer who imparted freely to this youth the secrets of the craft. The young man became thoroughly imbued with the idea of embarking in the fur business as soon as he could get some practical experience. His vessel landed at Baltimore in March, and he proceeded to New York by land to see his brother Henry Astor. This brother had preceded John Jacob Astor several years and was getting rich in trading in cattle and in the butcher business. Young John Jacob was not long in finding a place with a Quaker furrier where he worked two years till he mastered a knowledge of the business and laid up a little money. By 1786, with the aid of his brother, he began the fur business for himself. He bought, cured, beat, packed, and sold his skins. He made excursions into the country, buying skins from house to house. He soon made his first shipment to London, going himself and getting acquainted with the dealers he was to trade with in the future. At the same time he became the New York agents for his brother's pianos made in London. On return, he swung out a

sign bearing the words, "Furs and Pianos." His fur business in a few years spread all over New York State and the great lakes. By 1796 he figured in the City Directory as "Fur Merchant, 149 Broadway." He had neither expensive tastes nor wasteful vices. "His luxuries were a pipe, a glass of beer, a game of draughts, a ride on horseback, and the theatre."

At that day the fur trade was exceedingly profitable. When a beaver skin bought in western New York for a dollar's worth of trinkets could be sold in London for six dollars, and those six dollars could be invested in English cloth and cutlery and sold in New York for ten dollars, it may be readily seen how rapidly profits grew. No sooner had he laid by enough money, than he fitted out a vessel to import tea. At this early date the tea business paid enormous profits. Tea that cost 37 cents a pound in China paid a duty of 75 cents a pound. An ordinary cargo of \$200,000 paid a duty of \$400,000, making the cargo after it passed our custom-house worth \$600,000. The profit also was at least 50 per cent of the original cost, or \$100,000. This added to the \$600,000 made the cargo worth \$700,000. At that time to those who could furnish a good bond, the Government gave importers from nine to eighteen months to pay duty on imports. Thus "the East India merchant, after his ship had made one voyage, had the use of government capital to the extent of \$400,000 on an ordinary cargo of a China-ship." This \$400,000 was enough to send two more vessels to China which could make two trips within eighteen months, thus giving the owner the use of four times \$400,000 before he had to pay the first cargo's duty. Is this not a striking example of government paternalism? By paying a dollar and thirty cents a pound for this tea, did it raise the wages of the poor man or offer "protection" to him against the "pauper labor of Europe"? Did it stop the influx of thousands of foreign pauper emigrants to bid for the jobs of the American laborer at lower wages? Did it? Has a tariff tax ever been one of justice to the greatest number? Has it not always been a system of taxation by which the few fatten at the expense of the many?

We have all heard much of the closeness or rather the meanness of this remarkable man. Truth compels us to admit that he was not generous except to his own kindred. "To get all he could, and to keep nearly all that he got—those were the laws of his being."—(James Parton, *Famous Americans*). Such is the comment on John Jacob Astor by the historian. He once tried to make his best captain pay \$500 for a chronometer which he had authorized the captain to buy for one of his vessels, claiming he had promised to pay it. The captain resigned. But at a later time when Astor was about to lose \$700,000 worth of property in China, this captain was appealed to by him to go to China to save this property. He went, and "by a series of bold, prompt, and skillful measures" rescued it and made it yield a profit. Mr. Astor acknowledged the value of the services with a show of gratitude, "but he not only did not compensate him for his services, but he did not even reimburse the small sum of money which the captain had expended in performing those services." Astor was then worth ten millions. Other instances of this same trait of character are recorded by his biographers.

The reader may ask, "Did the fur and tea business make Astor so absurdly and enormously rich?" A careful inspection of his history shows conclusively that the great bulk of his riches were attained through his real estate manipulations. Few successful men gain a single million by legitimate commerce or trade. But this indomitable little German managed, in the course of sixty years, to accumulate \$20,000,000, of which, probably not more than two or three millions were the fruit of his mercantile pursuits. "It was his sagacity in investing his profits that made him the richest man in America. When he first trod the streets of New York in 1784, the city was a snug, leafy place of 25,000 inhabitants situated at the extremity of the island, mostly below Cortlandt Street. In 1800 when he began to have money to invest, the city had more than doubled in population and had advanced nearly a mile up the island. Now, Astor was a shrewd calculator of the future. No reason appeared why New York should not repeat this doubling game and this mile of extension every fifteen years. He acted upon this supposition and fell into the habit of buying lands and lots just beyond the verge of the city. One little anecdote will show the wisdom of this proceeding. He sold a lot in the vicinity of Wall street, about the year 1810 for \$8,000 which was supposed to be somewhat under value. The purchaser, after the papers were signed seemed disposed to chuckle over his bargain. "Why, Mr. Astor," said he, "in a few years this lot will be worth \$12,000." "Very true," replied Astor, "but now you shall see what I will do with the money. With eight thousand dollars I buy eighty lots above Canal Street. By the time your lot is worth \$12,000, my eighty lots will be worth \$80,000," which proved to be a fact.

His purchase of the Richmond Hill estate of Aaron Burr was a case in point. He bought the 160 acres at \$1,000 an acre, and in twelve years the land was worth \$1,500 a lot. In the course of time the island was dotted all over with Astor land,—to such an extent that the whole income of his estate for fifty years could be invested in new houses without buying any more land. "His land speculations," says Parton, "were by no means confined to the little island of Manhattan. Aged readers cannot have forgotten the most celebrated of all his operations of this kind, by which he acquired a legal title to one third of Putnam county, New York. It was a tract of 51,102 acres, being a part of the estate of Roger Morris and Mary, his wife. By adhering to the King of England during the Revolutionary war, they forfeited this estate to the State of New York. They fled to England and the State sold their lands in small parcels to honest Whig farmers. In 1809, more than 700 families were living on this land and relying upon the titles which the State had given. Mr. Astor discovered that Roger and Mary Morris possessed only a life interest in this estate, and that, therefore, it was only that life interest which the State could legally confiscate. The moment Roger and Mary Morris ceased to live, this property would fall to their heirs with all the improvements thereon. After a most thorough examination of the papers by the leading counsel of the day, Mr. Astor bought the rights of the heirs, in 1809, for 20,000 pounds sterling, or about \$100,000. At that time Roger

Morris was no more; and Mary was nearly eighty. She lingered, however, for some years, and it was not till after the peace of 1815 that the claims of Mr. Astor were pressed. When at length the great millionaire stretched out his land to pluck this large ripe fruit, the consternation of the farmers living on the land may well be imagined. A great clamor arose against him. "Upon first rumor of his claim in 1814, commissioners were appointed by the legislature to inquire into it. These gentlemen finding the claim more formidable than had been suspected, asked Mr. Astor for what sum he would compromise. The lands were valued at \$667,000, but Astor replied that he would sell his claim for \$300,000. The offer was not accepted, and the affair lingered. In 1818 Mary Morris being at the point of death and the farmers being in constant dread of ejectment, the commissioners were again appointed to look into the matter. Again Mr. Astor was asked upon what terms he would compromise. He replied January 19, 1819, in part thus: "In 1814 a similar proposition was made to me by the State, when I offered to compromise for the sum of \$300,000, which considering the value of the property in question, was thought very reasonable; and at the present time the property being more valuable than it was in 1814, I am willing to receive the amount I then stated, with interest on the same." The legislature were not yet ready to compromise. It was not till 1827 that a test of the case was made before a jury in a trial. The most eminent counsel were employed on the part of the State,—Daniel Webster and Martin Van Buren among them. Astor's cause was entrusted to Emmet, Ogden, and others. The efforts of the array of counsel employed by the State were exerted in vain to find a flaw in the paper upon which Astor's claim mainly rested. Mr. Webster's speech on this occasion betrays both that he had no case and that he knew he had not. "It is a claim for lands," said he, "not in their wild and forest state, but for land the intrinsic value of which is mingled with the labor expended upon them. It is no every-day purchase, for it extends over towns and counties, and almost takes in a degree of latitude. It is a stupendous speculation. The individual who now claims it has not succeeded to it by inheritance; he has not attained it as he did that vast wealth which no one less envies him than I do, by fair and honest exertions in commercial enterprise, but by speculation, by purchasing the forlorn hope of the heirs of a family driven from their country by a bill of attainder. By the defendants, on the contrary, the lands in question are held as a patrimony. They have labored for years to improve them. The rugged hills had grown green under their cultivation before a question was raised as to the integrity of their titles." A line of argument such as this would appeal powerfully to a jury of farmers. Its effect, however, was destroyed by the single observation of one of the opposing counsel: "Mr. Astor bought this property confiding in the justice of the State of New York, firmly believing that in the litigation of his claim his rights would be maintained."

The historian says, 'It is creditable to the administration of justice in New York, and creditable to the very institution of trial by jury, that

Mr. Astor's most unpopular and even odious cause was triumphant." But he does not say a word to discredit the system of land tenure which made it possible for a lynx-eyed old German to step in with his millions and take advantage through a faulty title not only of 700 families who in all justice were entitled to these lands, but also of a State which instead of being the sovereign authority to adjust differences between its subjects, must suppliantly yield to the power of land sovereignty.

But the Astor estate is illustrative of the astounding economic phenomena that menaces both the stability of government and the solidarity of society. It is the tremendous increases of values to lands in centers of large populations. Lots that were worth but a few thousand in John Jacob's time are now worth upwards of five millions of dollars, and the end no one dares to predict. On and on and on these values are climbing as each ocean liner disgorges its thousands of land-hunting emigrants. In a letter to the writer in 1908, President Purdy of the Tax Commission of New York city says: "The highest price said to have been paid for a piece of property in the City of New York was that for the southeast corner of Wall Street and Broadway, which sold for about seven hundred dollars a square foot." At that price a lot 50 by 150 feet in that location is worth \$5,250,000. Assuming that this lot was of the same value as the one sold by Mr. Astor on Wall Street in 1810 for \$8,000, in the 98 years that have lapsed to 1908 this lot has been gaining by the influx of population at the rate of \$53,490 per year, or 668 per cent. per annum. This is the river of wealth that has been flowing into the pockets of such owners as the Astors on their lucky investments on Manhattan Island. Not only has the owner of these New York city lots received all this gain to his holdings made by the community, but also has been receiving enormous rents raised at the end of each leasing period on the increased valuation. By this rapidly multiplying process, the few who bought there first have been able to realize such an enormous income that they have outrun all later buyers in increasing their holdings till it is estimated that now the city is owned by two per cent of its population. A system that works such an injustice to the teeming millions who are utterly helpless and have no hope of ever being able to acquire land in this and other metropolitan cities, is one based on no higher moral law than piracy or highway robbery. The masses make the values to land, and by our system, the few holders control values and wax enormously rich.

"The American city," says Brand Whitlock, "is a modern economic phenomenon, in its rise and growth and development the last wonder of the world. In 1790 but 3.3 per cent of the whole American population dwelt in cities. In 1830 the percentage had grown to 6.7, in 1860 to 16.1 per cent, and with the industrial impulse that followed the Civil War, populations increased so rapidly that today 40 percent of our people live in the cities." And he says, "In the present century it is estimated that New York and Chicago must ultimately shelter populations of nearly 50,000,000, with corresponding increases in smaller towns." With this estimate before us,

what will be the income to the holder of the Wall Street lot whose value is now \$5,250,000, when New York shelters 25,000,000 people? That will be over five times the present population and of course the lot will be over five times its present value and will yield as many times its present income in ground rent. Counting this rent at four per cent of the valuation, which is low, the present income on the Wall Street lot is \$210,000 annually. Five times that is \$1,050,000. It would require a building with a thousand rooms on such a lot to bring the rent to \$1,005 a year for each room just to pay rent on the ground and not allow anything for the rent on the building itself. These figures border on the ridiculous and should excite in the present generation an interest coupled with alarm, an interest that should cause a widespread demand to lay the axe of the law at the root of this evil tree.

In the report of the Commissioners of Taxes and Assessments of New York City for the year ending September 30, 1907, the following almost astounding comparisons are made: "The value of land today in the city of New York is so enormous that it is hard to realize its amounts without comparisons. The assessed value of land alone exclusive of improvements in the City of New York is greater than the assessed value of all the real estate, improvements included, in the State of Pennsylvania, and nearly twice as great as the value of all the real estate, including improvements, in the State of New York outside of the city. The assessed value of the land of six square miles of Manhattan in the neighborhood of Central Park is greater than the assessed value of all the real estate of the State of Missouri." From this it must follow that the American people must pay as much rent for the use of six square miles of the less valued portion of that island as the whole people of Missouri pay for the use of the 68,735 square miles in their State.

This same report shows that this property of such tremendous value is gradually gravitating into fewer and fewer hands. On page 62 is a table which shows that in 1899 the "number of pieces assessed" was 113,127; in 1903, 106,783; in 1907, 100,368. In less than ten years the number of separate owners grew 12,759 less. On page 56 of the same report we find that the assessment valuation for all of Manhattan Island for 1906 was \$4,105,352,281; for 1907, \$4,391,970,951, or an increase of \$286,618,670 in one year. This is \$13,028,121 increase in value on an average for each square mile, and on every lot in the city on an average of \$3,392. Is this not getting rich by magic? Simply eat and sleep 365 days and draw nearly ten dollars a day on one lot with no outlay, aside from the nominal taxes. Buy a lot for a few thousand, go to sleep thirty or forty years and wake up twice a millionaire. That is earning money, isn't it? Are we going to let this ruinous process go on till we reach the "Hooligan" state in England, the serf condition in Russia, or the peasant degradation in Ireland? No end is more sure, if this pernicious system is continued. There are signs of its rapid approach now. The population on Manhattan Island is concentrating more and more. In 1907 there was a population of 100,492 to each square mile on an average, while on the dense East Side the number piled up and wedged in reached the staggering

figure of 400,000 to the square mile. What must be the appalling condition of human beings living in such a relation to the earth from which all must draw their living? Think of the superlative advantage which the middleman holds over the supplies that must daily reach this desperate multitude. Think of the constant bidding for jobs and the consequent lowering of wages because of the fierce competition. Think of the tenements wreaking with "the fetid air, contagious diseases, suffocating heat in summer, sunless rooms, and nerve-wracking brawls and shrieks from the struggling mass. Think of 'promiscuous mixing of all ages and sexes in a single room—thus breaking down the barriers of modesty and conducing to the corruption of the young, and occasionally to revolting crimes.'"—(Robert Hunter, *Poverty*). Think of the exhaustion and inability to work brought on by hunger, rags, sickness, long hours in sweat-shops, sleeping in sub-cellar with thirty or forty unfortunates in poisonous air, and all forms of debauchery. Think of the pauperism, crime, immorality, sexual perversion, drunkenness, and many other forms of degradation caused and abetted by this indecent overcrowding. Think of the children that come into the world amid such vile surroundings, the appalling infant death-rate, and the wild gangs they form which roam the streets and whose play, as Hunter says, is to steal, to destroy, even to kill. Probably no other city in the world has so many dark rooms and other unsanitary conditions as New York. Over 300,000 families live in interior rooms in which there is never a ray of sunlight. In the First Ward, near the Battery, fourteen times as many people die from tuberculosis, in proportion to population, as in a certain ward adjoining Central Park.

All of our large cities have a vagrant, drifting class forming the vice districts, or slums. Here we find a most promiscuous mass of wretched humanity. There is no family. All except the immigrant who is there by necessity, are single men and women. The children are often illegitimate. Here are the cigarette, morphine, and opium fiends, the hobo, the dull-witted, degraded negro, and the petty sneak thief. Here flourish the saloon with its free hot lunches, barrel-houses with free whisky, dime museums with immoral pictures and exaggerated monstrosities, brothels, and low lodging houses, dens and dives of the vilest kind.

But the poverty slum is not the only sign of a demoralizing social system. The very cause that produces a slum of the poor in all its hideous aspects is father to another social offspring with as many and alarming characteristics. It is the slum of the over-rich; of a debauched aristocracy. While this slum is devoid of the rags, filth and high death rate of the poverty slum, yet it is equally as deep in moral degeneracy and perversion as its social relative. The districts in which this slum flourishes are not so well defined, nor so glaringly under the public eye. Yet while under cover and behind silken tapestry, enough has crept into the lime-light of the public gaze and scrutiny of the careful observer to know that this slum is filled with the degeneracy of a profligate and flagrantly vile set of spendthrifts and violators of every moral and statute law. Here is the dry-rot of leisure and idleness; here dwell the

parasites of production. Their regard for all men outside their exclusive ranks is solely for exploitation, for more wealth, for passion, for a round of pleasure without end. Altruria is not in their geography; nor is there a flower of sympathy in their garden of revelry. Their philosophy is that some were born for a life of ease, to have and to spend, while the commonality were born for a life of work, want and worry.

(The End.)

THE LATIFUNDIUM.

By **BALDOMERO ARGENTE.**

(Translated for The Single Tax Review by M. J. Stewart.)

[The accomplished translator of this article seems to have sacrificed to literalness something of euphony—something perhaps of clearness. Many of the English phrases that render faithfully the Spanish of the original will strike the reader of the **REVIEW** as obscure, and many others as unusual. But little or no attempt has been made by the editor to alter the translator's phraseology which is allowed to stand.—Editor **SINGLE TAX REVIEW.**]

On the occasion of the debates which took place in the Senate (of Spain) about a year ago on the bill to abolish municipal import duties upon food-stuffs, the president of the Ministerial Council sketched the general lines of the rules which should direct the action of Spanish liberalism in economic affairs, recognizing that in this field there are substantial differences between the conservative and liberal parties—whether in regard to the freedom of trade and commerce, or in regard to the continuance of the idea of property on its progressive evolution, resisted throughout the centuries by the conservative elements and won by the democratic factors, which has to adjust itself to the alterations in juridical ideas and in social conditions. In the exposition of these duties of liberalism in relation to economics Senor Canalejas pronounced a word, alluded to an evil for whose denunciation the time was ripe—the latifundium, the “great estate.”

Canalejas was the first militant Spanish politician of the present day to discuss as a most urgent problem of our country the depopulation by the existence of great estates, and who threw into the Parliamentary arena the

[**TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.**—This is a good specimen of the work of the accomplished translator of “Protection or Free Trade?”; who is as anxious to win over support from organizations outside our ranks as he is firm in upholding the Single Tax faith in its purity against all opponents. There are not six countries in all the world with more Croasdale Single Taxers today than Spain: but of all these there are none of more use today than the three or four who at the outset decided to abolish the sin of land monopoly in their beloved country. Of these, Baldomero Argente is only one of the best known, and consumed as ever by the spirit of Garrison the Abolitionist.—**M. J. STEWART.**]

agrarian problem as an unescapable matter of debate, as an unforgettable preoccupation of the Liberal forces and governments. That was some years ago. Most politicians sneered then. A Radical would tell you that a bomb had been fired at a cloud-bank. Others said it was a mere "catchword" of Canalejas to treat of the subject, arguing that with the actual membership of Parliament one could not undo certain evils whose remedy could not be the work of the legislator; and that to denounce the existence of immense properties, waste or half cultivated, as one of the afflictions of the country was only to rekindle the flames of agrarian demands smouldering in the breasts of propertyless peasants, engendering for the morrow bloody conflicts and the most grave disturbances. Moderate Radicals and blind patriots! They voluntarily close their eyes to the problem of problems at the core of social life, to the social evil without whose remedy all other solutions and political reforms are useless, adjectival, superficial. Just as the earth sustains and nourishes us, the agrarian problem is the cement of every problem, political and social alike. Today no one sneers when there is talk of this assumption. The ideas that Canalejas, Minister of Agitation, promoted have marched on. But how slowly they progress! There yet requires much effort before the problem, seen only partially by the policy that today directs the Liberal party, presents itself in its naked reality before the blind ruling class that leads our nation to destruction.

When the dust of various questions that now disturb our mind and trouble us will have settled down, when our ideas of social reform and of political rivalry shall have acquired the logical vigor and broad strength that now is wanting for lack of study of realities and keeping to a bookish sociological dilettantism, this indisputable and primary truth will be recognized—all the Spanish problems, like all the social problems, like all historical phenomena and movements, reduce themselves in the end to the problem of the agrarian regimen, and to that of the land in the towns, two aspects of the same question.

Because the two questions, twin brothers, are the origin of a parasitic class, of an excessive extortion from the producer, and of a progressive reduction in the productive employment of capital; with all the consequences that for the ethical atmosphere, for the love of culture, for political harmony, for the health of the race,—in a word, for the physiological and the spiritual, flow therefrom.

These affirmations are the rigorously scientific deductions from this other: all the structure, material and moral, of a society is formed upon its economic constitution; and the base, the root of the modern economic constitution, is the exclusive appropriation of all the land, cultivable or capable of use, of a country—appropriation which, giving origin to monopoly rent determines all the other effects of the capitalist economy. It is not my intention, nor would the natural dimensions of this work permit me, to explain fully this thesis. Those who desire further enlightenment I refer to the two admirable works of Achille Loria, "*Analisi de lla propietà capitalista*," and "*La consti-*

tusione economica moderna"; in these two they will find more light upon the fundamental problems of the age than in all the rut-worn lucubrations, now being shattered in Europe, that our governors and titular sociologists can get together.

I desire only to signify and indicate the bond between the Spanish Liberals and the agrarian reform movement which is rising in every cultivated country and even found feeble expression at the IX International Congress of Agriculture, which met in Madrid. They, by the lips of the responsible head, announced the necessity of careful consideration as to great estates. The last International Congress of Agriculture, in the midst of other matters of less importance, strictly technical, had to fall again into the same statement, because there is no other without opposing their own interests than this theme of the agrarian regimen in whatever direction is made the search of the social investigator. Doubtless, the deliberations of the Congress gave no actual positive result: in this matter the last Congress like its eight predecessors has led to an equal "blind-alley." But it is not right to shelter much hope or to have much faith in results of these International Congresses of Agriculture. That the agrarian constitution decides the poverty or the prosperity of a countryside no one can doubt. In Spain who could discuss it looking at the ruin of Andalucia and the relative flourishing state of Valencia and Vizcaya, and comparing their contrasted agrarian situation? But the clearness of the ruling idea has not passed as yet into our country, nor indeed into Europe, England excluded. In Spain one discusses as yet the effective existence of the great estate even to its beneficial or pernicious influence upon agricultural production. In 1905 was called together under the patronage of the King a gathering to formulate a memorial on the agrarian problem in Andalucia. The authorities under presidency of Premier Moret were enthusiastic as to the results of the meeting. It was kind: I have read many of these memorials, rich in dates, poor in reasoning, so poor in logic as to produce a feeling of pain. And, no doubt, the problem is so clear that to see it dimly in the words of these directing gentry lets filter into the soul a suspicion that powerful influences are employed to darken counsel. Whoever looks honestly to first principles must see in this question the definite idea, "Poverty, the misery of the cultivator." In this destitution of the cultivators originate methods of farming which destroy fertility, the reduced employment of capital, meagre and reduced wages, cunning evasions of duty—a number of aspects of the one central cause.

But to escape from all this, how many are the tortuous solutions! That which prevailed at the meeting was "Increased production." It was seemingly congruous, and this without doubt attracted the superficial attention of the authorities. Studied carefully, it is utterly incongruous. "Increase production!" Between whom is the produce of the soil of Andalucia divided? Between the landlord, the enterprising cultivator, and the laborer. On whom does the burden of misery fall? Primarily on the farmer, from whom it reaches the laborer. To whom would go the greater production? Without any manner

of doubt the increased product would raise the rent paid, and, in consequence, would fall into the hands of the landlord, not into those of the farmer. And as it is his poverty and not that of the rent owner which constitutes the problem the remedy is therefore not congruous with the evil. It would form a *partial* solution in districts where the predominant type of cultivation is direct, by the owner; and besides *partial* it would be transitory, for the elevation of the amount produced determines an elevation of rent sufficient to stimulate absenteeism. It would be a *complete* solution in certain portions of Zamora and Leon, where still survive the communal landowning and the triennial division of the fields among the neighbors. But in Andalusia the rule is tenancy and subtenancy, in some parts for the space of a year. This custom of land exploitation aggregates and depopulates them inevitably: because the law of "economy of labor," which rules all social functionings, incites both the landlords and the farmers to seek the "largest product" with the "minimum outlay of capital," falling finally into the formation of these *latifundia* which are the pure formula of this vicious agrarian economics.

This solution: to increase the productiveness of the land, is demanded at every Congress of Agriculture, because it is seductive at the first glance. Its essential defect is attention to production and carelessness as to the distribution of the product—distribution which has in its train the question of returns, and by so much, that of the stimulus by the outlay of capital and labor, the essential feature of the problem. In union with these solutions one hears often of others equally useless. One generally current in party programmes is the organization of agricultural credit; beneficial for the cultivating owner, useless to the cultivating tenant, and in itself foreign to the agrarian economy of a country like ours where eighty per cent of farmers are not owners, or merely so in name. They talk also of the inalienable homestead, the "cottage garden," of German methods of dividing land, of judicial immunity, of the family patrimony, of the hundred shattered formulas that successively have been attempted in legislation in other countries with equal nullity of result.

There is least of all mentioned the true opening for discussion: the distribution of the products. I have here the law of this problem: when the share for rent is or can be proportionally excessive, farming is miserable, exhaustive, and the farmer is poor. Why is there no agrarian problem in Vizcaya and Valencia? Because rents are fixed or almost fixed, and increased production goes in consequence to the benefit of the farmer and not that of the landlord: this leads in agrarian economics to the search for the "greatest product with the greatest outlay of capital and labor"—only not realizing itself fully because of the difficulty and reactive influences of a vicious system of taxation. Common sense, with no necessity for deep study, says that the harmonious answer to a problem that consists of the poverty of the farmer follows in an increase of the proportion participated in by the farmer, who is now in misery, of the total product: for by this method, primarily redeeming him from poverty, there is a further result in the accumulation and outlay

of capital, in the improvement on the property, in the demand for implements, in the reconstruction of his business credit by his own possessions, and by permitting him by the increase of his goods to make the necessary savings, agriculture is reborn and the whole country aggrandized. But then to increase the proportionate share of the farmer in the product there is no other way, it is utterly impossible to conceive of another way, than to lessen the proportionate share of the landlord in the product: that is to say, the rent. If the farmer takes more, it is precisely so much less for the landlord. And how many solutions arise from this fountain, holding with or without knowledge to include this opinion under varying formulas! When one keeps in mind that in speaking of "more" or "less" it is *proportional*, not *quantitative*—that is to say, that the total sum received by the farmer and by the landlord may both be increased if the total product is increased, and the share proportionally taken by each be unaltered; it will be seen that the object is to alter the terms on which the farmer and the landlord begin to share the total product, which is the rate per cent.

This was set out by the great Gladstone, who in speaking of urban misery—the same problem in origin, nature, and law as rural misery—before the "National Liberal Club" (July 29, 1887) explained it in such a manner. Gladstone inserted such an idea of the problem in his laws for Ireland, and these laws—broke down. There is here a misfortune which would invalidate all we have said above, if one does not examine its reason; hence have been drawn the arguments of the defenders of other doctrines.

Gladstone desired to relieve the Irish peasants of the enormous burden of rent that they paid, whose oppression even forced them to emigrate as today our laborers of Andalusia are forced to emigrate. To relieve them, how? By converting them into landlords. The tenants bought the lands from their lords, the State advancing the money. This seems at the first glance very good, not conflicting with the laws of economics. But these facilities to purchase lands had as result the raising of the price of these; and purchase became impossible or was converted into a bargain worse than the payment of the old enormous rents.

The law was altered to escape these abuses; the land was to be valued not at the owner's caprice, but according to the rent paid at so many years' purchase, say 20: the effect of the new law was to worsen the condition of the Irish peasantry, because to increase the capital value of the lands the landlords forced up rents to the highest limit possible.

Here was a capital defect in the economic vision of the question, as there was when certain philanthropic landlords divided their lands among the laborers, which leads to a continual quarrel; as there was in the manifold laws for internal colonization, all utterly useless; as there was in the acquisition of vast estates by a State aided bank, for subdivision, as is practised in Germany. This error lies in forgetfulness that it is not external pressure but internal forces of the social economy that must solve the problem, and it is subject to these forces that we have to act. It has as principle an ignoring

of how great estates (*latifundia*) come into existence; they are the dead parts of organizations which are deadly sick, the exterior signs of an interior evil, and their remedies must operate upon the living organism and act upon its vital and intimate portions.

How does the landlord enjoy an excessive share in the product? In virtue of the law of supply and demand. The farming population demands land. The landlords offer land. From the proportion of one to the other arises the price, the rent; this is the share of the landlord in the product. To decrease it one must act under this law and no matter whatever other roads one follows, even those which seem most natural and direct, they lead to trouble as we have seen in the Irish laws.

In the contention between the farmer who asks for land and the owner who offers land there is an essential vice; the farming population cannot wait, their hunger drives them: the landlords can wait, their lands will increase in value by doing so; they are then in a most unequal position to make contracts. As the farmers cannot wait, they set up among themselves a secondary competition in anticipation for the use of the land; on their side the landlords set up by the similarity of their interests a tacit solidarity that unifies the proportionate share taken in rent. The struggle could not be more unequal, more unjust, and has for effect the degradation of the condition of the farmer, his reduction to misery, to the minimum necessary for bare existence, and the absorption by the proprietor of all the rest of the available product. This is the result of the rule of private property in land. And it may be demonstrated that the wretched condition of the cultivator is the consequence of the power that the landlord retains, to diminish the amount of lands offered, withdrawing them from economic circulation, by the sight of the great amount of land which remains idle alongside of thousands of farmers who are evidently half starved.

The law of supply and demand of land is then vitiated: the offer is voluntary, at the option of the landlord; but not the demand, for the farmer is driven by hunger. While this inequality exists, it will appear also in the proportionate share of product taken by the landlord and the farmer; when the inequality shall disappear, it will disappear also in the sharing, increasing that of the farmer and decreasing that of the landlord, which is what we have to look for.

How can the State influence this abnormality in the supply and demand for land, reestablish equality, and restore to economic laws their free course that they may themselves solve the problem, modifying the land system and reinvigorate a debilitated nation? Very simply: by means of a tax, modifying by this only the basis of the present territorial contribution. This now falls only on the product; and the power which the landlord has to restrict the offer of lands permits him to throw this as well as all the other charges onto the unhappy farmer who pays them indirectly or in the rent. Laying the burden of the territorial contribution on the "productive capacity" of

the land, found infallibly in the value for sale, the tribute falls on lands whether cultivated or not; the landlord would see thus his faculty diminished to restrict the offer of lands, living on the share of those in use while having also to pay the tax on those held idle; these would consequently come on the market, augmenting the amount offered. If the farmer by force of hunger sees himself obliged to ask for land, the landlord by force of his tax would see himself obliged to ask for farmers; the struggle becomes less unfair, those with rent contracts lessen their rents or improve their conditions; the farmer retains more and in consequence accumulates capital; he perfects his methods of farming to increase his returns; he ends at last by acquiring the property of the land he works, divides the great hereditary estates, and breaking up the latifundia repopulates the countryside.

This modest alteration in taxation makes an end of overvaluation of land artificially procured by the landlord, as being the warranty for a higher rent; the decrease in the value of land or rather in the possibility to obtain for land a high monopoly rent will be a death blow to the custom which maintains the latifundia and absenteeism on the one side while forcing emigration upon the other. A sane agrarian economic system would extirpate the cancer that is destroying agriculture; lessening the taxes on cultivated property, because that now idle will share the onus that the other now bears exclusively; remunerating more justly the labor and capital employed in cultivation, and so increasing production; giving in a word new receipts to the treasury, a greater population to the country side, a fruitful market for industries and new sap and vigor in the body and spirit of the nation.

May it seem incredible that such a slight modification of a taxation law should produce such extraordinary social consequences? Without contradiction the sweep of economic forces unloosed by the single reform of the land tax is too clear not to be immediately perceived by anyone understanding by means of logic the effects which may seem marvellous. At the outset of the reform the difference between the present tax and that proposed is very slight; this difference widens rapidly by means of the consequences of this modification as time develops them; as when two trains leave a station at once the rails are but little separated—but mark where these two trains have moved off how they take those who travel by them from one site, these to the North and those to the South. Very modest is the seed from which springs what shall be a mighty tree—how marvellous is the transformation! Not greater is it that a reform in taxation should conduce to a transformation in collective economy. The realization of this change has guided the Budget land taxes, soul and bond of British Liberalism; and without more than containing the principle, without the complete doctrine (a tax direct and in proportion to land value), without other novelty, without reforms of more substance and scope, it is yet said of it with justice that it amounts to a social revolution: that which two years ago was a prophecy facts are swiftly converting into a reality.

SIR GEORGE GREY.*(See Frontispiece.)***By R. A. HOULD.***(Condensed from the Liberator)*

In Auckland on December 21st, 1904, there was unveiled a monument to Sir George Grey, one of the great leaders of the people, who in some sense may be called the Father of New Zealand, certainly that country's most impressive figure. On the western panel of the Auckland monument may be read these words: "Soldier, statesman, lover of his fellow-men, whose wisdom, eloquence, and strong personality gave to the people of this colony a large measure of the liberties they now possess."

Sir George Grey was above all an idealist, a dreamer of those dreams which "grow realities to earnest men." He lived, mentally, in and for a future, which has no charm for the materialistic money-grubbers of the present. His ideas were not those of the "ruling classes," neither here nor at home, and therefore he was never liked by so-called "respectable" people. As a young ensign in the 83rd Regiment, stationed with the English garrison in Ireland, it was his painful duty to support the civil power in plundering the wretched peasants of their earnings for the benefit of alien landlords and an alien church. His very soul revolted at the injustice he was compelled to witness and assist in. On some such occasion he had to report on the circumstances to his commanding officer, and sent in a frank account of the event as it appeared to him. This the commanding officer did not desire, and he returned the report to the writer with a request that it should be made *formal*. "Sir," was young Grey's reply, "I have stated just what happened, and I should wish, with your permission, to abide by my report" (see James Milne's "Romance of a Pro-Consul," p. 30). No willing tool of tyranny was he, and this may account for the readiness of the authorities to release him from such distasteful work, and to grant him leave to go and explore Western Australia.

In a passage curiously recalling another in which Henry George describes his own reflections while walking the deck of a vessel in mid ocean on a clear moonlight night, Mr. W. L. Rees in his "Life and Times of Sir George Grey" quotes the latter as saying years after: "I saw enough there (in Ireland) to give a bias to my mind for ever as to the necessity for change and reform. It was really from a desire to find relief for that misery that I went to Australia. In all my walks on deck, on my first voyage, my mind was filled with the thought of what misery there was in the world, the hope there was in the new lands, and the greatness of the work of attempting to do something for the hopeless poor. The effort to get lands, made by single individuals, seemed to me a wrong to humanity. To prevent such a monopoly in the new

countries has been my task ever since. Even in the case of the missionaries I found the same desire for selfish gain. Sent out by the contributions of many whose gifts involved self-denial, I found them living in good houses, enjoying a competence and an assured position, with pensions for their wives and children. It seemed to me a dreadful thing that they should have come out on purpose to gain great estates for themselves and their families, and to use their influence over the natives—and the influence which a missionary has over a converted native can scarcely be imagined—to make them agree to all this; and my heart sank still more when I found the missionaries, as a class, opposing with all their power, and with bitter persecution, all those who dared to make a stand for fair dealing—to uphold those principles of eternal justice which the missionaries themselves were sent to teach.”

On March 1, 1890, Henry George passed through Auckland on his way to Australia in the *Mariposa*. We take the following extracts from the *Herald* of March 3, 1890:—“Upon his arrival his first step was to pay a visit to Sir George Grey, out at Mr. Seymour George’s, in Parnell. Henry George and Sir George Grey have corresponded for many years, and being thus, in a sense, old friends, they were much pleased to see one another, especially as, to Sir George Grey, the visit was quite unexpected.” At eleven o’clock representatives of the Anti-Poverty Society, and kindred organizations, assembled at the Star Hotel, Albert Street, to present an address of welcome to Henry George. Among those present were Sir George Grey, Rev. E. H. Gulliver, and many others. The proceedings were fully reported in the *Herald* of 3rd March, 1890, and from it we take the following remarks with which Henry George closed his reply to the address:—“What we aim at is simply the culmination of Christianity. It is simply the carrying into effect of the golden rule. It is simply the bringing on earth of that kingdom of righteousness for which the Master told His disciples to pray, and therefore, to work. . . . It is no mere dream of dreamers. It is no mere imagining of a crank, or cranks. We believe it is possible to abolish involuntary poverty. We believe it is possible to bring about a state of society in which there will be work for all, leisure for all, abundant opportunities for development for all, because we believe God is good, because we believe that His laws do not support injustice, that they are such as will give their fullest development to all reasonable human hopes and aspirations; and here in New Zealand, as there in the United States, or still more in the old country, the man who is working in this cause is working, not merely for his own children, not merely for his own community, but for the whole Anglo-Saxon race, and not only for the Anglo-Saxon race, but for the whole world; and in that spirit of fraternity (taking Mr. Gulliver’s hand) which binds us all together, whether under the North Star or the Southern Cross, I thank you all.”

Mr. Gulliver asked permission to add a few words to what he had already said. He had presented the address as president of the Anti-Poverty Society, but he could not forget that there stood amongst them one whom he might call an uncrowned king—one who towered above them all—and who, therefore,

if he might so say, should have had the honor of presenting the address. He referred, of course, to Sir George Grey. He had been a tower of strength to their society, and years before it was started Sir George Grey's name had been intimately connected with the movement in which they all took such a deep interest.

Sir George Grey said:—"Mr. George is, I may say, an old friend of mine. I have corresponded with him for years, and I have to thank him for many ideas. I have to thank him also for a copy of his first work, 'Progress and Poverty,' and that has been my companion for years."

Henry George said: "Nothing could gratify me more than this opportunity of paying my respects to Sir George Grey, and there is nothing in which I feel more honored than in the presence of that man. He has been a little in advance of his time. Ten years ago he gave you what would have made you the leading English-speaking community in the whole world—the root and beginning of the Single Tax. But it was too early. Though the seed was sown, the ground had not been prepared, but I trust he may still live to see that seed springing up and growing into a tree to overshadow the whole earth. Whether he does or not is a matter, however, of little moment. When it is his time to go, he will know that the work he has done has not been useless work. It matters not now who dies, time and the tides are with us. Our enemies serve us only a little less than our friends. The only thing we fear is being ignored, and the day for that is past."

If anything were needed to show that Sir George Grey was a freeholder in the Single Tax sense, and not in the sense that Mr. Massey would have people believe, it is furnished by the address presented by the Anti-Poverty Society to Mr. Arthur Withy, when that gentleman was leaving for England in May, 1892, which concludes thus:

" You are returning to Europe at a time when the institutions of the past are tottering; at a time when the long reign of feudalism* has

*The following note, appended to the Society's copy of the address, shows that Sir George Gray was careful not to sign what he did not approve. The address had to be re-written because he disapproved of one word.

" 'Feudalism' was substituted for the word 'iniquity' at the request of Sir George Gray, before he signed the address, as he considered the land question in England had arisen slowly in the lapse of centuries of feudal conditions, and was, in that sense, less 'iniquitous' than its wanton introduction into this Colony."

In 1893 Sir George returned to England, where five years later he died. "Give the people of New Zealand my love, and may God have you in His keeping," was his last message. He sent it by his friend, our Premier, (Mr. Seddon) and there, beneath the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, where lie the ashes of so many other of England's worthies, amid the misery and magnificence of mighty London.

Under the Cross of Gold
That shines over city and river,
There shall be rest for ever
Among the wise and bold.

become intolerable, and the eyes of the millions are watching for the dawn of a brighter day.

"Knowing the ruin that the hydra-headed iniquity of land monopoly has wrought in a few short years in this fair land, you go now to witness its baleful work in those old lands where it has so long held sway. But wherever you may be we know that your voice and pen will ever be on the side of justice—simple justice for all mankind; and with hearty good wishes for your health and happiness, and in the hope that you may return ere long with ripened experience to aid us in our struggle for the right,

We are, dear sir, for the Anti-Poverty Society,

G. Grey, President,

Adam Kelly, Vice President."

A REMINISCENCE.

(For the Review.)

A few years ago I met a gentleman who had just returned from a trip to Italy. He was well known to literary fame, an able and interesting writer, a keen critic, well versed in history, literature and philosophy. I congratulated him on his safe return from the old world, and told him with what interest I had read his descriptions of the scenes and conditions he had witnessed, especially the terrible poverty only too evident in that classic land.

"There is one subject, however, which you do not seem to me to view from the right perspective; that is taxation. I would like very much to have a few minutes conversation on the subject," I remarked to him.

"Very good," he replied. "I am home every morning."

I did not wait for a second invitation, but appeared promptly at his beautiful home, surrounded by an extensive lawn, and after the old country fashion, enclosed by a wall.

After the usual greeting, he asked me what I wished to say.

"I want to call your attention to this fact," I replied: "The general population of this continent has doubled every twenty-five years while the urban population has doubled every ten years, till now, some of our cities rival the largest cities of the old world. If, therefore, one of my ancestors had acquired a few acres of land in New York a century ago, with every increase in the population he could claim from the occupants a greater and greater rental, and if that land had come as an inheritance to me, I could collect a thousand dollars ground rent daily for the occupation of each acre, provided the land was well situated. Now, if the same conditions continue another century, it must eventuate in this: those who produce nothing will get nearly everything, while those who produce everything will receive almost nothing."

"But," he replied, "you call the landowners thieves and robbers."

"I beg your pardon, professor, you never heard me use such an expression, and you ought to know that I never would use such language. The land owner is not to blame, it is the system that is wrong."

"Well," he said, "I heard one of your advocates use that language."

"What have I to do with that?" I replied. "The very best cause may be damaged by bad advocacy."

With that he reached to get a copy of "Progress and Poverty" which was lying on the table near by.

I knew his old tricks in controversy; therefore I determined not to be caught that way, so I remarked: "Never mind Henry George; he had his own method of arguing. I have come here to call your attention to a tremendous fact."

"I am glad to see that you are repudiating your leader," he remarked. "But do you intend to take every kind of unearned increment? The unearned increment on wheat as well as on land?"

"The unearned increment on wheat," I exclaimed, "All the wheat in the world will be consumed in less than a couple of years, while the land of the city of London was there when Caesar invaded Britain, and the value has continued all these intervening centuries, and is higher today than ever it was before."

"But, how are you going to distinguish between the value of the land and the value of the buildings," he inquired? "It is only where you have buildings that the land has any value."

"In a certain sense," I replied, "you are correct. It is in the cities that the value rises to the highest figures, and we cannot have cities without buildings; but there is not an hour in the day that the real estate agents, the inspectors of loan companies and insurance companies as well as the assessors of the city are not distinguishing between the value of the land and the value of the buildings."

"Well, but what does all this amount to? The value of the land is a mere trifle."

"Excuse me, professor," I replied, "Some years ago a man left this country with a pack on his back, peddling nick-nacks, till he reached a small settlement called Chicago. There he bought two hundred acres of land for a hundred dollars. Within ten years he sold one hundred acres to a railroad company for a hundred thousand dollars. The other hundred he kept for his children and children's children, and there is not an acre in that estate today that is worth less than a million dollars, a total of a hundred million dollars, if not five times that amount,—an income of five million dollars yearly. Surely you should hardly call that a trifle."

"Oh, well," he replied, "We find just such differences in nature. There is the mountain and there is the mole hill, the lofty tree and the shrub."

I cannot describe the peculiar feeling with which I looked at him. Was

I talking to an anatomy without a soul? Was this a being destitute of moral judgment? I felt that I could continue the conversation no longer.

"Well, professor," I replied, "Let me call your attention to this fact: There is not a builder who lays a brick, but we increase his taxation for so doing, and there is not a woman who stitches a garment, but we add to her taxes for every stitch she draws."

That professor was a man of great benevolence, devoting much of his time and his fortune for the welfare of the unfortunate. In his writings he had denounced the vices of plutocracy; but he had his mental limitations.

The gentleman was the well known writer, Goldwin Smith.

W. A. DOUGLASS.

LORD FAT PURSE.

My lord Fat Purse was a very good man,
 He had houses and lands galore;
 And with each new day he had some new plan
 For aiding the needy and poor.
 He gave to the churches; he gave to the homes;
 He gave to the tramp by the way,
 Yet the terrible curse in the land grew worse,
 And the poor grew poorer each day.

My lord Fat Purse was troubled and sad,
 That his thought and toil seemed vain.
 "But I do what I can," said this very good man,
 "To ease the want and the pain.
 'Tis the will of heaven that some shall be rich
 And many be poor, I see—
 I can do no more than give from the store
 That a just God gives to me."

Yet acres and acres of fertile soil
 Lie idle under the skies,
 While my shrewd lord waits and holds his estates
 'Till prices in land shall rise.
 Deep in the breast of those acres broad
 Which are selfishly grasped by one,
 Lies wealth for many—free gifts of God,
 Like the wind and the rain and the sun.

Food in the ocean and food in the soil—
 Free gifts from a hand Divine.
 And who dare hinder the fisher's toil
 Or say, "Lo, the sea is mine."
 Ah, my lord Fat Purse, no wonder the curse
 Of poverty hangs like a pall,
 When you hold by fraud the lands which God
 Has meant for the use of all.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.



HON. HENRY GEORGE, JR.
Re-elected to Congress, 21st N. Y. Dist.



JOSEPH McCARTHY
One of the New Men of Spokane, Wash.
(See page 35)

SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

WE have been beaten in Oregon and Missouri, and the Local Option Measure though close is apparently lost in California. We will not get the Single Tax this year. In the city of Everett the Single Tax has been carried by a vote of nearly two to one. Everett is the fourth largest city in Washington, and the result there is perhaps a consequence of the fight in Seattle and the educational forces set in motion by the campaign waged in that city. It is a decisive victory.

NOR is the vote in Missouri, while disappointing, the least bit disheartening. The St. Louis vote for the amendment was 47,628 to 64,778 against. It is a defeat, it is true, but one the friends of the opposition will not care to crow much over. Its leaders may well say, with Napoleon (though the story is older than Napoleon), "One more such victory as this and we are lost." And indeed, as a result of a first campaign it is probably much better than we had any reason to look for.

AND after all, what is this movement of ours? Is it not the turning point in civilization? Does it not mean a new heaven and a new earth? Are these builded in a day?—have we but to say "Presto!" and lo, the thing is accomplished! If

there are any who think so, if there are those who imagine that this movement of ours is so easy of victory, they may be Single Taxers, but they have little comprehension of how tremendous is the change involved. It is because of its momentous character that the forces that oppose us are more powerful, more difficult of overthrow, than confronted either the British free traders of 60 and more years ago, or the abolitionists of our own country, or the women suffragists of our day? These forces are ignorance, prejudice, habits of thought and customs, entrenched interests. Will they yield easily? They never have. But they yield nevertheless. Nothing can stop this movement. It may be halted for a time but the next step will carry it nearer the goal.

READ the report of the Boston Conference, and note the spirit that animated it. It promises well for the future.

THROUGHOUT the country many notable victories have been attained by Single Taxers. Henry George, Jr., is re-elected by a handsome plurality; Warren Worth Bailey will go to Congress from Johnstown, Pa., and another Single Taxer, Wm. Gordon from Cleveland, keeps them company, and Bob Bremner is elected to Congress from Passaic. There will be perhaps, a dozen avowed Single Taxers in Congress

THE indictment of Daniel Kiefer for using a Congressman's frank, that of Henry George, Jr.—to send literature through the mails has been undertaken for the purpose of testing the franking laws. It is held that the sale of this literature—Protection or Free Trade, originally delivered in the House of Representatives and thus a part of the Congressional Record—constitutes the real violation of the franking privilege. It is fortunate that the occasion must now give rise to a court decision which will set the matter at rest. As for Mr. Kiefer he is not worried.

THE New York Public Library has announced its willingness to receive and

station in some appropriate place the bust of Henry George. At present there are no modern busts of any kind in the New York Public Library and it is significant of the trend of the times that the man whose election to the mayoralty of New York was feared as a calamity should now find place in one of the foremost of the city's institutions. The bust is the life-like work of the late son of the prophet, Richard F. George. The desire is to make this a popular presentation.

Out of a special edition of 40,000 of George L. Rusby's admirable little pamphlet, "Smaller Profits, Reduced Salaries and Lower Wages," 20,000 have already been disposed of. Single copies of this little booklet may be had for 5 cents with liberal discount for quantities by addressing the Essex Economic Reform Club, 37 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.

TO GAIN victories for the Single Tax we must make more Single Taxers. Concrete examples of the Single Tax will do this. The Vancouver, Edmonton, German and New Zealand numbers present such facts with a history of our movement in these countries. The first three will be mailed in quantities to any addresses for 10 cents a copy, the New Zealand number for 15 cents a copy. Single copies are 25 cents each. Organizations would do well to order quantities of these, and get them in circulation.

TO SUBSCRIBERS whose subscriptions expire with this number notices will be sent. Every subscriber should send in one or more. The Special British and Special Australian Numbers will follow in quick succession.

THE Coburn Library, of Colorado Springs, Colo., is in need of Vols. 1 and 3 of the REVIEW.

THE Library of the University of Missouri at Columbia, Mo., wants Nos. 2 and 4 of Vol. II.

DEATH OF RICHARD GEORGE.

Laid away as he would wish to have been, with no ostentation, and with the floral tributes of that small but devoted circle of friends he called his own, the body of Richard George, youngest son of Henry George, was consigned to the family plot in Greenwood on September 30. His illness had been known only to a few; to others, the great army of his father's followers, the news of his death came as a great and sudden shock.

Richard George had for many years followed the occupation of a sculptor. The impressive tombstone which rises beside his remains in commemoration of his father, is his work. So, too, are the portrait tablets on the building in Union Square, this city, in memory of his father and William Garrison, the Younger. He loved his art and pursued it in the spirit of the artist. He never did, he never could commercialize his calling, so his lot was that of so many of those who follow Beauty to their own material hurt, but at the same time to their own spiritual quickening. In this he was like his father whom he resembled in temperament, and even more in physical characteristics.

Personally, he was one of the most lovable of men. His jest was never ill-humored; to the end he was just the boy grown up. He bubbled over with mental and physical enthusiasms. He was given to curious and ingenious speculation, with which, if one could not always agree, the listener always was quick to sympathise. He was just "Dick" to his friends, and few ever thought of calling him Richard. He viewed life and men tolerantly, with something of his father's breadth of view. In religious belief he was a Swedenborgian.

On hearing of his death, Daniel Kiefer, chairman of the Fels Commission, sent the following telegram from Cincinnati, which will find an echo in the hearts of all his friends:

"The Single Taxers of the nation mourn the loss the movement has sustained in the death of Richard George. Please say as much to the family for Joseph Fels, myself, and the many Single Taxers who will not have the opportunity of expressing

their sympathy. I never saw Richard George without vivid reminders and recollections of his father. They were strikingly alike in appearance as I recall them both."

JOSEPH McCARTHY.

(See portrait.)

Joseph McCarthy was born at Littleport, Iowa, in 1877. In 1896 he was graduated from the Le Mars Normal School at Le Mars, Iowa. After serving one year as principal of schools at Struble, Iowa, he entered the Iowa State University, pursuing a Collegiate Course. While there he was active in literary and forensic work and in 1900 was one of the three students who successfully represented the University in the annual Iowa-Wisconsin University Debate. In 1902 he was graduated from the law department of the University of Denver. Commencing the year following he has continuously practiced law in Spokane, Washington, being a member of the law firm of McCarthy & Edge.

FAREWELL DINNER TO FRANCIS NEILSON.

A farewell dinner was tendered to Hon. Francis Neilson, M. P., by Mr. John T. McRoy, at the Elks Club, 43rd Street, this city, on Tuesday evening, October 8. There were about fifty present.

Mr. Neilson, after a few brief remarks by Mr. McRoy, began by saying: "I do not know where I have met so many warm-hearted friends and where I have enjoyed such cordiality." He then rapidly sketched some interesting incidents in his early life. Referring to his strenuous trip to the West he spoke of having "suped" in a dramatization of Jules Verne's "Round the World in Eighty Days," and later of having been assistant stage manager in a play called *Ninety Days* in which William Gillette had appeared. But he said that his experience in making connections to accomplish what he must in the time allotted in these plays was nothing to what

he had gone through in the last few days. He then told of his visit to Winnipeg, and of his meeting with Mr. Dixon and others. He described the marvelous progress of that city, Saskatoon and Edmonton. He told of the Grain Growers' Association and the force it has become in Canadian political life. He spoke of his meeting with U'Ren in Portland, and the meetings in Oregon that he had addressed. He also told of his visit to St. Louis and other parts of Missouri, and of his arrival in Chicago and the meetings there at the City Club and elsewhere. His intimate and graphic description of his meeting with an uncle in Seattle whom he had not met for many years, and of his having been "on show" for a period in that city with his uncle as the showman, was as interesting as any part of the speech. He concluded with an eloquent expression of thanks for the many kindnesses accorded him during his ten weeks stay in this country, and he promised to come again, bringing with him his wife and daughters.

Mr. Nielson spoke for nearly two hours, and it is a high compliment to our brilliant guest that none present suspected that he had spoken so long.

An interesting feature of the dinner was the reading of imaginary letters by Whidden Graham from British notables.

THE United Labor Party of New Zealand has been endorsed by more than thirty thousand trades unionists. Its principal plank is as follows:

"A land system which shall bring into the most productive use, either by individual undertakings or by public enterprise, all natural resources; shall make absentee ownership and private monopoly in land impossible; shall secure to the landholder all the values created by him and those only (all such values to be exempt from all taxation); and shall secure to the public in an annual tax all values created by the public."

The national organizer of the party is Walter Thomas Mills, at one time an active leader for progress in Portland, and later of Milwaukee, Wis.

CORRESPONDENCE.

REPLY TO GEORGE WHITE.

EDITOR SINGLE TAX REVIEW:

If Mr. George White's article in the last issue is a fair sample of the tangles which beset Single Taxers, it ought to be answered.

After spinning a string of reasoning that would do credit to a socialist, he winds it up into this astounding conundrum: If we assume that the land now in this year 1912 in this country which is at the margin of cultivation is ten bushel land, we may also assume that land in cities is 60,000 bushel land, and we may assume that speculative withholding of usable land exists to the extent of forcing the margin down from thirty bushel land to ten bushel land. We here concede that speculation in land has resulted in cutting down wages at the margin from thirty to ten bushels, or in other words has cut wages two-thirds. Does it follow that city land values are in any similar ratio changed. It does not so appear to me. A change in net return to labor at the margin of twenty bushels will make a change only in same proportion at the most valuable locations in potentiality. The 60,000 bushel land will still bear a rent of 59,980 bushels.

Dear Mr. Editor, whoever thought you could be so mean as to spring that on us? But since you did, and since there is no answering it, please let me make a supplement to it as follows: City land that yields 60,000 bushels of wheat in rent as against 10 at the margin of cultivation is, as we all know, land that keeps a good many people busy, and if a trebling of wages from 10 to 30 bushels of wheat nets them altogether only an aggregate of 20 bushels, how much—hold on, where is that kindergarten multiplication table of his?

It may be well, also, to direct attention to another point which appears to be not well understood. If the margin of cultivation (supposing there be one) is raised, say from 5 to 10, it means, of course, that the general rate of wages is doubled. If the wage is doubled, other things being equal, this means that rent, though nom-

inally unchanged, has its value cut in half, because it will then buy only half the amount of labor, past or present, that it commanded before. Other things being equal, increase of wages is at the expense of the rent, Mr. Editor, and as for interest, that is secondary wages.

But if land is all monopolized and the owners allowed to keep the rent to themselves, then we have a pathological case, a monstrosity, to which sound political economy does not apply. There will then be no "margin of production," none short of the point where the strong maintains life and the weak perish—the cannibals' margin. Through their absolute dominion over the land on and from which all must live, and by the commercial use of the rent, the landowning class has then the economic power—a financial, if you will—to get possession and control of practically all the capital too, and the laborer, denied his right to the land and robbed of the capital his labor produces, becomes reduced to a very small figure. It is this double advantage which the retention of the rent gives to the landowner—enabling him to hold the land without responsibility for its use and to absorb the capital which labor produces—it is this that creates and maintains what the socialists call the capitalistic system. When the landowner becomes accountable to society for the rental value which society produces, he thereby loses not only the motives to hold the land for other purpose than use, but also the power to acquire capital otherwise than by producing it. The laborer will then become both land owner and capitalist to the extent he cares for and his industry and skill entitle him to.

As to the question "How will the Single Tax reduce rent?" it should be enough at this time to say that land values are a matter of population, and prices of supply and demand. When the tax compels speculators to reduce prices until they find buyers, the improvers will bring the value with them from the places they leave behind. This applies to surface values. But there are other kinds of local land values which should be considered as municipal properties.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

—S. TIDEMAN.

CONFIRMS THOROLD ROGERS.

EDITOR OF SINGLE TAX REVIEW:

Houston S. Chamberlain in his brilliant work, "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," lately published by John Lane, London and New York, shows the workman of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was better off than today, that "the agriculturist over nearly the whole of Europe was a freer man, with a more assured existence, than he is today; copyhold was the rule, so that England, for example—today a seat of landlordism—was even in the fifteenth century almost entirely in the hands of hundreds of thousands of farmers who were not only legal owners of their land, but possessed in addition far-reaching free rights to common pastures and woodlands. Since then, all these farmers have been robbed, simply robbed, of their property. Any means of achieving this was good enough. If war did not afford an opportunity for driving them away, existing laws were falsified and new laws were issued by those in authority, to confiscate the estates of the small holders in favor of the great. But not only the farmers, the small landlords had also to be destroyed: that was achieved by a roundabout method: they were ruined by the competition of the greater landlords, and then their estates were bought up."

See detailed account in vol. ii., p. 354. The whole book is most interesting and nearly every page has some arresting thought and eloquent passage, and the number of old-fashioned generally accepted theories or beliefs he shows to be false and untenable are legion.—A. K. VENNING. LOS ANGELES, CAL.

THOSE who eat without perspiration staining their bodies are always ready to cry "confiscation" and "disaster" when the workers and sweaters propose any measure to secure more of the results of toil to the toilers.

The Jeffersonian, of Los Angeles, Cal., has an article on the Single Tax by G. W. Slocomb.

ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT TAKES
ISSUE WITH MR. WHITE.

EDITOR SINGLE TAX REVIEW:

Mr. George White thinks high city rents do not depend upon "difference of potentiality" of sites.* There seems to be but one law of rent. Owners of city sites reap all the benefits of cooperation in production and distribution. A natural advantage leads people to cooperate on a certain site, and the advantages of cooperation are added to the original advantage. The competition of vacant sites, thrown upon the market by a land value tax, might not reduce the rent in cities as it would in rural districts, but other factors would reduce city rents. City laborers would go to the country where they could secure land at small rent or no rent. This would raise wages in the city, which must be at the expense of rent. More buyers in the country, with higher purchasing power, must stimulate distribution at rural points, also at the expense of city trade. Parcels post will stimulate mail order business, which requires less expensive sites. The oldest mail order house in Chicago recently left their Michigan Avenue site for a much cheaper site on the North Branch, before used chiefly for factories. But the site is just as good for getting mail and filling orders. We will learn that freedom of trade, and freedom to use the best methods of production and exchange, will equalize site values; raising the rent line, thereby raising wages and interest at the expense of site rent. While rent cannot enter into price, under any given condition, the lowering of rent, via Single Tax, must lower prices, as the following will prove:

Wheat is worth \$1 per bushel, raised	
on 30 bushel land.....	\$30.00
If raised on 25 bushel land.....	25.00
On 20 bushel land.....	20.00

The price is fixed by the cost on 20 bushel land. Now suppose the 25 bushel land is all held out of use, but is set free by the Single Tax and produces wheat; the cost of wheat is reduced 20 per cent. or to 80 cents, and the rent on the 30

*Mr. White did not say that.—Editor SINGLE TAX REVIEW.

bushel land is reduced from \$10 to \$5, this now being the "difference of potentiality," the 20 land now being vacant.

There are enough city sites, now held vacant, to produce a similar effect in cities. Not a third of the sites of Chicago are used. At some spots one can scarcely see a house.

—C. F. HUNT.

CHICAGO, ILL.

RENTAL VALUE VS. SELLING VALUE.

EDITOR SINGLE TAX REVIEW:

Mr. Bolton Hall may be wrong, and it may be only an academic distinction not worth discussing, whether we assess by one or the other methods—but:

Henry George's great gospel of good news to the world was, that the rent of land belongs to all people and not to the private landlord; that taxation of all kinds is a robbery of the individual and must be abolished; and all public revenues obtained by the community by the collection of rent of land.

If we had all been consistently clamoring for the resumption of rent and abolition of taxation, would the agitation in England have been as fruitless as it has so far been? The main issue being disguised as an attempt to substitute a tax on selling value of land for some other taxes, instead of showing a long suffering people, that they at present pay rent and taxes, while the reform proposed is that they pay *less rent and no taxes*.

Would the Federal Government of Australia have been able to give a setback to our reform by imposing an arbitrary, progressive tax, beginning at a penny in the £ (equal to one cent in 240 cents) on estates worth over £5,000 (roughly, 20,000 of your dollars), if it had always been presented as collection of rents by governments, instead of by (and for) landlords?

If we state our proposals in ambiguous language, we are sure to reap a crop of honest misunderstandings, besides an extra large one of misrepresentations by our opponents.

Had we been preaching the Georgean gospel in unmistakable language, would

every exponent of it require to spend half his time in showing those he endeavored to convince, that "the landlord could not pass it on?"

All who are accustomed to look at truths in the clear light of first principles, lament the doubt and confusion with which enquirers are always confronted, because the simple truths on which our great gospel is founded are obscured by their being presented under misleading names.

—G. R. HARRISON.

250 WORD DEFINITIONS OF THE SINGLE TAX.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club on Sunday evening, October 13, varied its regular programme by having what the management termed an "amatur night," at which the younger element for the most part, together with those who never make public addresses, competed for prizes offered for the best 250 word definition of the Single Tax. A dozen or more competed. The following was judged the best among the men competitors by the committee of award, consisting of Messrs. F. H. Monroe, of Chicago, John Egan, Wm. Ryan, Augustus Weymann, Joseph Dana Miller and Mrs. E. M. Murray. The successful competitor was Mr. Gaston Haxo, a very young man and a recent convert to the cause. It was considered by the judges that he, more than the others, had fulfilled the requirements of a *definition* of rather than an essay on the Single Tax. Mr. Haxo's successful entry follows:

"The purpose of the Single Tax is not merely to change the present system of taxation, but to abolish private ownership of land and land speculation, which are responsible for industrial depressions and the poverty and vice of the century.

"We Single Taxers hold that all men are born with equal rights to life, and since men can only live by using the earth, they must have equal rights to its use, and the land of the country must be the common property of all the people. As it is today the land is held by the few and the rest of us are compelled to use it on their terms, and give to the owners the greater part of

the fruits of our toil for the privilege of existing. The right of private ownership can only apply to things produced by human effort, and that right we regard as sacred. As to land no man made it, but every one must depend upon it for life, and therefore we say that no man has a better right to it than another.

"Land cannot be divided equally; therefore the only way to secure to all the people their share of the common heritage is to make every user of land pay into the public treasury the rent of the land he occupies in the form of a tax, and since this annual value of land will suffice to run city, state and national government, we propose to abolish all other taxes now levied upon the products of labor.

"This will enable the individual to retain the full value of what he produces, while by placing into the public treasury the values which are and only can be created by society, the individual will receive in the form of public benefits the full return for what he has created as a member of the community."

Among the women who competed the first prize was awarded to Miss Lillian O'Neil, whose paper follows:

"The Single Tax is the abolition of all taxes. No part of that which rightfully belongs to any person need be taken to defray public expenses, as the natural and proper method of collecting revenue is the taking of the ground rent from those who hold land to the exclusion of their fellowmen, it being a self-evident truth that one human being has as much right to the use of the earth, the air, and the natural resources as another.

"This plan will free the land, for just as at present when a person rents land from another he pays for no more than he wishes to use, so will it be when in effect, if not in form, the community is the landlord.

"This freeing of the land will solve the problem of the unemployed, and will increase wages, as wages are controlled by the productivity of the best free land, and where large areas of land now held out of use for speculation are under cultivation, the necessities of life will become plentiful and within the reach of all.

"When the community resumes its rights in the land, the slavery we see will disappear, and class hatreds be no more."

NEWS—FOREIGN.

DENMARK.

The Single Tax movement is going steadily forward in Denmark. Both its nominal and political strength are increasing. The daily papers are paying more attention to the movement, and the radical party is taking a stronger position in our direction.

Our small holding societies have now a membership of 40,000. The officers of the national federation sent last Spring an economic-political programme to the local societies for discussion and eventual adoption. It was colored by Single Tax sentiment to a gratifying degree. It is to be regretted that the government has not yet thought fit to propose a measure for the exemption of improvements and the taxation of land values. It is to be regretted, too, that the taxes direct and indirect have become higher. But it should now take notice that this programme was adopted wherever it was voted on. In some cases there was affixed to it a proposal for a graduated tax on incomes and personal property, but this need not worry us.

As a practical measure it is of importance that we secure the separate assessment of land and improvements. This system is now on trial, with some measure of success. Even in the country districts there does not seem to have been any great difficulty. In order to make another and more thorough valuation the radical party has proposed in Parliament a bill giving the Minister of the Interior the authority to make preparations for such a valuation. The Bill was passed unanimously, though with skeptical remarks about its importance from the Socialist and Conservative members. The valuations are to be made this Autumn. This is another step in the direction of taking the tax off improvements. The tax on improvements was introduced in 1903, and has caused general

dissatisfaction among the farmers and business men.

The trial valuations already made show that the landlords possess 80 per cent. of land values, the farmers 62.88, the small holders 35.95, and the house owners 26.25. Who is going to be frightened by the exemption of improvements after this showing? The valuations in Copenhagen have been much criticised as they show only about one fourth ground value, as compared with improvement value. There is obviously something wrong in this valuation, as has been abundantly proved by examples that have been cited.

—ABEL BRINK, Frederickssund, Denmark.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

Mr. Edward McHugh of the United Committee in Great Britain has been here for two weeks, and during that time has addressed twelve meetings. His visit was eagerly looked forward to by the members of the South Australian League, and Mr. McHugh has captivated everyone by his charming manner. In his addresses he was clear and concise, and forcibly presented the Georgian principles to the people. His address at the Commemoration social was very interesting on account of his personal friendship with Henry George. Not only will this visit cause outsiders to think seriously on Single Tax lines, but it will have the effect of inspiring our own workers to greater activity in the cause of true reform. We were all sorry when the time came to wish him good-bye.

The Henry George Social held on August 29th, was a brilliant success. A committee was appointed to attend to the decorations and they did their work well. The place was transformed into a fairy bower. The stage was nicely decorated with lilies, and a photo of Henry George was a prominent attraction. The address was given by Mr. McHugh and was much appreciated. Elocutionary and musical items were nicely rendered, and the evening was brought to a close with dancing and refreshments.

The Purnong Single Tax League consists of an energetic band of workers on the

River Murray. Though the numerical strength of the league is not great, there are no more enthusiastic workers to be found anywhere. This year there was special interest in their social on account of the visit of Mr. McHugh who went there to deliver the address. The drama, "The Story of my Dictatorship," was especially staged for the occasion, and was a great success. Our friends at Purnong are to be complimented on the work they are doing among the farmers on the Murray.

With a view to stimulating interest in land values rating for local government purposes, this league has forwarded literature to every mayor, alderman, councillor and town clerk in South Australia. It is already beginning to bear good fruit; four councils have decided to take polls on the question at the annual elections in December next. Already eight municipalities have adopted land values assessment as their basis for raising local revenue, and we are hopeful that at least another six will come under the operation of the Act next December.

As a proof that the heaven is working, I was invited to deliver an address before the Economic Society at the Adelaide University, on "The Principles of Land Values Taxation." There was about fifty students present, and Professor Mitchell was in the chair. The address was followed by an interesting discussion lasting about two hours, and a cordial invitation was given to me to again visit them.

The federal elections will be held here about next May and things will be very interesting. A clause in the Defence Act makes training compulsory for boys and there is a revolt against this introduction of conscription. A freedom league has been started, and already it has thousands of members who are pledged to demand a repeal of the compulsory clauses of the act. This league will make things very interesting when the elections come on.

The great fight we have in Australia is to beat down protection. The people, chiefly because of the support given by the Labor Party to it, have the idea that a tariff is a good thing for them. We are hammering away to show the fallacy of

so-called protection, and many people are beginning to realize that duties increase the price of commodities and are of no benefit to any one except the manufacturer. At present the Labor Government that claims in a special degree to represent the interest of the workers, raises £15,000,000 a year from customs duties and only £1,400,000 from land values. How they can justify their party is a mystery to all thinking people. The land values tax is progressive in principle, and has an exemption of £5,000 which gives people an opportunity to evade payment of the tax. With a Labor Party in power that had a knowledge of right principles, and having a majority in both Federal houses as they have at present, Australia could be made a paradise for the workers in a very short time, but I am afraid they will miss their chance of doing good, and will be defeated at the next election.

Workers in Australia have been cheered by the good work being done in Great Britain and America.—E. J. CRAIGIE, Secretary. Adelaide, South Australia.

NEW ZEALAND TOWNS AND COUNTIES FOR UNIMPROVED LAND VALUE RATING.

The New Zealand Official Year Book for 1911 shows eighty-nine towns, cities, boroughs, and counties that have adopted the rating on unimproved values since 1898. For reasons which those on the ground are better able to determine the majorities by which such rating were adopted vary greatly. Thus Dannevirke Borough voted in 1907 and recorded 308 votes in favor to 94 against. But the Heathcote Road District rejected the proposal in 1905 by a vote of 403 against to only 135 in favor. Grey Lynn Borough, which was represented in Parliament by Hon. George Fowlds, carried the proposal by a vote of two to one.

The cities where the privileged interests are naturally more entrenched do not present as good a showing as the counties. Thus Auckland City rejected the proposal in 1901 by a vote of 1,697 against to 753 in favor. Christ Church City in 1902

adopted unimproved land value rating by the narrow margin of 596 votes in favor to 512 against.

It may be said that where the vote has been taken to rescind the rating on unimproved values almost without exception substantial and sometimes increased majorities have been recorded in favor of the system. Nothing is more certain than that the method has come to stay. It may be noted also that the growth in the number of towns to be recorded in favor of the system constantly grows. Since the Year Book printed the list to which reference is made other boroughs and counties have fallen in line.

As to Vancouver, it seems that for several years that city in British Columbia has been booming at a rate that has somewhat mystified the less progressive communities south of the British line. The Vancouverites believe that much of their prosperity is due to the fact that several years ago they started in encouraging the building of homes and of factories by gradually lessening the taxes on improvements so that at the present time there are no taxes at all for local purposes on buildings—which seems to stimulate building activity faster than in any other city on the Pacific coast.—N. Y. *Evening Sun*.

NOTHING but the most horrible perversion of humanity and moral justice, under the specious name of political economy, could have blinded men to this truth as to the possession of land—the law of God having connected indissolubly the cultivation of every rood of earth with the maintenance and watchful labor of man. But money, stock, riches by credit, transferable and convertible at will, are under no such obligations, and, unhappily, it is from the selfish, autocratic possession of such property, that our landholders have learned their present theory of trading with that which was never meant to be an object of commerce.—SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

LANDLORDISM is of no benefit to any State or community.

THE CONVERSION OF ABUNASAS.

By FRANK O. ZOCHER.

Translated for the Review from the Esperanto language by A. H. Weller, out of The British Esperantist.

CHAPTER I.

ABUNASAS THE ROBBER.

The French called him a brigand. He called himself "Robber Abunasas, King of the Sahara." As king, acting in kingly manner, he demanded taxes from the travellers who crossed the desert in caravans. These travelers paid, willingly or unwillingly, because when pleasant arguments were not quickly effective Abunasas knew very well how to apply more striking arguments. King Abunasas smilingly pocketed the plunder, most affably and generously gave necessary information and advice to the travellers, and royally dismissed them.

The complaints about these robberies so increased that at last the French Government seriously discussed means for putting an end to them. After long consultations it was decided to send an ambassador to Abunasas with the following official proposal:—"The French Government guarantees a full pardon to Abunasas, and offers him a profitable post on condition that he leaves the Sahara and consents to live in France." To that Abunasas replied as follows:—"To the Most Honorable and Mighty Government of France! I, Abunasas, was born in the Sahara, in the Sahara I live and in the Sahara I will die. I am indeed a true child of the sandy ocean. I love my fatherland, and therefore never and under no circumstances will I consent to live elsewhere. Here exist neither oppressors nor oppressed. My subjects are happy and enjoy the greatest liberty. My fate is interwoven with the fate of my people. With them I am happy, with them I will remain.—Abunasas, King of the Sahara."

This arrogant answer greatly enraged the French government, and they immediately decided to send an army against the outlaw. Nevertheless, between the sending

of an army and the capture of the robber there is a great difference. Abunasas, through his informers, soon learnt of their intention and without delay prepared a splendid welcome for his enemies. During a stormy night Abunasas and his men unexpectedly fell upon the French soldiers, and carried off all their provisions. Now the Frenchmen found themselves in a very critical situation. What was to be done? Without food or water, far from village or town, there remained for them only one way to escape from perishing of hunger and thirst—to humbly beg provisions from the detestable outlaw. Abunasas generously gave them back enough food and water to enable them to reach the nearest French military station. Then, being left in peace by the French, he more comfortably continued his robberies to the great distress of travelers.

Once more complaints grew until the French government were compelled to decide to put an end for ever to the exploits of Abunasas. They sent a larger army against him this time, and, to inspire the fervour of the soldiers, promised a prize of 25,000 francs to those who captured him, dead or alive. Abunasas, hearing of the great honor done to him, meditatively scratched his head, tapped his nose, and finally rubbed his hands together joyfully. He had discovered a means of securing the valuable prize promised by the French Government. Perhaps the reader will ask—"What did Abunasas do to acquire for himself and his companions the desired sum of money?" Possibly you think he gave himself up to the French? If you think so, dear reader, you are indeed a simpleton. Abunasas did nothing of the kind. He knew his clients and was aware that if he gave himself up the French Government would honestly pay him the promised sum, and afterwards, in accordance with French law, have him shot and confiscate all his possessions. No, he simply acted the role of a coward, and always running away, enticed the Frenchmen farther and farther into places dangerous for foreigners. There he constantly attacked them, hindered their attempts to find water, and left them neither sleep nor rest, so that after a short time the French soldiers were

terribly exhausted. One night, during a terrible sand storm, it was easy for the indefatigable Abunasas to capture the whole French army. In order that Abunasas should liberate his captives, the French government paid him 25,000 francs. In the highest good humor he conducted the soldiers to the northern boundary of the Sahara, and right royally bade them farewell, saying: "Do not forget to give my respectful salutations to your rulers."

But Abunasas was becoming an old man, and possibly on that account he began to grow more prudent. After long meditation about the past and the future, he decided to make a practical and honest proposal to the French government. He proposed voluntarily to cease committing robbery on condition that the French government guaranteed to him, legally, officially, and for ever, the indisputable possession of a small, well defined territory lying in the centre of the Sahara. The French government thought this solution of the difficult problem so cheap that it immediately seized the opportunity, and without any delay sent an ambassador with a favorable reply. The most famous lawyers prepared the documents, fully securing to Abunasas all that he required. The Ministers of State subscribed their names and finally the King himself added his royal seal. So ended the reign of Abunasas, and the first chapter of my story.

CHAPTER II.

ABUNASAS THE HONEST.

Naturally the news of this novel change in the character of Abunasas spread with lightning rapidity, not only in France, but over the whole civilized world. The French journals wonderingly and favorably commented on the affair. *La Gazette de la Bourse* in a long article on the front page described Abunasas as "Our wise, honest friend." *Le Temps*, an official journal, named him "Our new friend, our powerful vassal," etc. The Catholic journal *La Croix* published a special edition about the influence of our religion and about the piety and almost saintliness of Abunasas. Only the Socialist papers ridiculed the

whole affair, saying that Abunasas in his old age was a fool. In short everybody seemed to be satisfied, particularly the merchants, who at once began to calculate their future increased profits. But Abunasas had more reason to be satisfied than all the others together. He indeed became an independent landed proprietor, like an autocratic prince in his own little country. Congratulations and good wishes from every country were showered upon him, and the lady members of a Parisian gossip club made proposals of marriage to him—separately and secretly, of course. Abunasas laughed and—did not accept.

The millennium had arrived. Travelers would fearlessly and at their pleasure journey across the Sahara, and be assisted by the advice of the ex-robbers. But in the middle of the desert water is very scarce, and to obtain it travelers naturally visited Abunasas. He received them cordially, enquired about their welfare and the health of their wives and dear children, and—sold water to them at a very high price. The merchants, of course, energetically protested against these new and unexpected taxes, but Abunasas was inflexible. "I, like you," he said, "am a merchant; you sell your goods, I sell mine. Mine are water and fruit." The travellers paid, much against their will, and again complained about the new rogueries of Abunasas. But his contract with the French government was legal and binding. Vested interests must be respected. Honest Abunasas became richer and richer and more and more affable.

But this quiet uneventful life began to displease the ex-king. His high sense of honor, and his increasing years, made a return to his former manner of life impossible, but not being unintelligent Abunasas soon found a way out of his difficulty. He put his estate and his rights into the hands of a financial company, was called its chief director and drew a very big salary, and left the duties of its administration to the sub-directors. Then, in spite of his former patriotic assertion that he would never consent to live away from his fatherland, Abunasas for many years travelled through various European countries, and

finally settled down in Paris. There he died at the age of nearly 100, and his mortal remains were interred in the beautiful cemetery of *Pere La Chaise*.

Dear reader, which Abunasas do you prefer? The robber? Or the Landowner?

SHALL CHINA OUTSTRIP US?

While Americans have been and are still tinkering with laws prohibiting one thing and regulating another in the hope of bettering conditions, the Chinese are preparing to adopt measures of a fundamental character. It is rather galling to our national pride to be outstripped by a nation we have been accustomed to look upon as backward and barbarous. It will be still more galling a few years hence to find the Chinese the most prosperous people on earth while we, who have been in the habit of contemptuously speaking of pauper labor, will still be wondering how to prevent poverty from keeping step with progress. Yet that will certainly be the case if China continues to follow the lead of Sun Yat Sen and America the lead of stand-patters or would-be progressives who think economic evils can be cured by putting trust magnates in jail.—*Mobile (Ala.) Item*.

NEED OF TAX REFORM.

The *Toronto World* is the shouter for a tribe of farm land exploiters who insist that the city shall supply the improvements that enable them to mark up the quotations on their untaxed property. Toronto must face the problem of seeing that the growth of the city benefits the people who stimulate that growth by their expenditures. The metropolitan district of Toronto is ripe for the activity of a Lloyd-George. There must be agitation for tax reform. The city is being educated by a realization of the certainty with which improvements which purport to supply cheap homes for the people work out so as to make it difficult, if not impossible, for these very people to secure cheap homes. The property owners of Toronto should be

assured that the land values which their viaduct and their tubes must create will either be returned to the city in the form of contributions to the cost of these improvements, or will be offered to the community in the form of cheap home sites for the wage-earner.—*Toronto (Ontario) Telegram*.

BETTER REVENUE METHODS THAN TARIFFS.

How can we raise our revenue, if not from a tariff, you will say? That, as Kipling says, is another story. But, just as students of taxation problems are finding that local assessment should not be a basis of taxation for state purpose, so we are finding that tariff duties are not proper sources of revenue for any purpose. The other necessary sources of revenue are easily found if we look for them.

The recent victory of the common people of England in taking an important step toward a system of taxation which shall tax these other sources of revenue instead of the necessities of every day life should enable us to see in what direction true progress lies and that the one important thing at present is to avoid the adoption of the democratic revenue tariff idea.—*Hillsdale (Mich.) Leader*.

A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE SINGLE TAX.

What is the Single Tax and how would it benefit the farmers? The Single Tax is a proposition to have no taxation except that upon land values. Land in the city would be taxed very much more than farm land, of course. Unused land would be taxed as high as used land of like value, the improvements not being taxed. It would benefit the farmer, in that it would provide a tax that could be always located, not an insidious, indirect tax; it would cause many holding lands out of use for speculation, to dispose of them, and so enable the dispossessed to get land. Socialists hold that it is not the full remedy, because it would leave the profit system in existence, yet where it is to go to a refer-

endum, as in Oregon, nearly all Socialists will vote for it, believing it to be a great advance over the present tax system.—*Appeal to Reason*.

NOT A CENT FOR CHARITY.

"I won't give a dollar for charities, while I live or after I am dead," declared Joseph Fels. Mr. Fels is a Jew, a very rich man, a man of fine mental powers, a man intensely interested in the welfare of his fellows, regardless of creed or race. He spends thousands of dollars annually to spread the free land propaganda, known as the Single Tax theory—over the world. "I have something better and more useful than charity to spend money for," he affirms. "I spend it for justice."

He is exactly right—this Jew who loves his ancient people, this American who loves his country, this cosmopolite who loves his fellow-men. If half the stolen millions used to build universities, libraries, hospitals, soup-houses and the like, and half the public and private funds used to maintain organized bureaus of charities were expended in promoting simple justice and a system by which the worker was not robbed by the idler, no one would need charity except the maimed and sick—and help to the feeble and incapacitated is not charity, but simply duty.

We greatly admire Joseph Fels. He is doing more good with his money than all the Rockefellers, Carnegies, Stanfords and other repentant thieves who ever surrendered part of their swag to buy praise from their fellows and a possible mansion in the skies.—Stockton, (Cal.) *Mail*.

LAND THE NATURAL HERITAGE OF THE RACE.

That land is the natural heritage of the human race, that it ought not to be monopolized by a few individuals and that taxation on personal property and taxation on improvements upon real

estate is a tax on enterprise and therefore an obstruction to progress is the fundamental doctrine of the Henry George theory. Nothing would be quite so effective as a means of preventing inflation of real estate values, the holding of real estate for purely speculative purposes, the blowing up of real estate balloons and the inevitable collapses that must follow, as a system of taxation putting the burden of government upon the land itself rather than the improvements upon the land. Under the Single Tax or land tax system, unimproved property would become an intolerable burden. Vacant land would revert to the State because nobody could afford to own heavily taxed non-producing land. To produce, land must be cultivated, or it must have buildings upon it, or there must be wells for oil or gas, or water, or mines for different mineral products. The privately owned unimproved farm would be an impossibility. The privately owned vacant lot growing up in weeds would become a thing of the past.—Enid, (Okla.) *News*.

WHAT THE SINGLE TAX HAS DONE FOR VANCOUVER.

Single Tax has done a great deal for Vancouver. It is turning it from a city of two-story shops into a city of skyscrapers. There are as many big office buildings of the modern type in Vancouver as there are in Toronto. Three years ago there was only one big office building in Vancouver, the Dominion Trust. Now there are a dozen, and two more skyscrapers are going up this summer. Single Tax certainly adds to the appearance of a city when it encourages these lofty assaults on the sky line. These skyscrapers cost a lot of money to build. A lot of money is distributed for material and wages. They rent for \$2.50 a square foot—which is a dollar better than down east—and they are always full up. Even at that the Single Taxers are not satisfied. They say the owners are getting too much revenue, so they want the land tax jogged up.—*The Morning Alberian*, Calgary, Canada.

THE ONLY REFORM THAT GOES DEEP ENOUGH.

Labor legislation does not go deep enough. The only way to raise wages is to destroy privilege. The State must cease giving favors to any, for the State cannot give anything to the few that is not taken from the toil of the many. The way to destroy privilege is by taking from it the power to tax production. The way to take from privilege the power to tax production is to tax out of privilege all it absorbs of production. We can abolish the tariff and that will do some good, but then there will remain other privileges which prevent free trade and free production. There cannot be free trade or free production so long as the fundamental factor of production aside from labor, that is, the land, is kept out of reach of the people. Too bad that starvation and abuse and murder must come before the people themselves can see the truth.—*Times-Union*, Albany, N. Y.

TAXATION.

The strongholds of tradition are being fast invaded by the land tax, and as its inroads increase the reputation of the old methods of merely theoretical equality suffers diminution. The uncollectible personal property tax, that incomparable school of perjury and evasion, becomes day by day a fouler stench in the nostrils of the people; indeed, it is defended now by none save those indoctrinated zealots who set some idol of mere abstract justice or equality above the fortunes and souls of the people, and who raise the insensate cry of "tax-dodging," as if that abuse were not, under the system they support, as inevitable as the procession of the equinoxes. On the other hand, the land tax is insinuating itself by imperceptible degrees into the body politic, whether by discrimination between land values and improvements, or by direct agitation for the Single Tax or for appropriation of the unearned increment. The progress of this crusade is seen more in the measures which are being agitated than in those which have already prevailed; but there is no doubt

whatever of the eventual adoption in many quarters of methods of taxation largely modified by these theories. The destruction of speculative land value is written in the book of projects of progressive democracy, and it will come to pass in substantial degree whether you and I like it or not. Part of the unearned increment will eventually be taken over for public use, and the value of unoccupied land for the purpose of private ownership will be seriously impaired. Besides, as between man and man, who could possibly approach this subject with a fresh and unbiased mind and doubt that the ownership of land for any other purpose than personal or productive use is little less egregious than the ownership of human beings?—Chicago, Ill. *Real Estate News*.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG MEN.

Jesus said: "I come not to bring peace, but a sword."

Oh! when I hear young men today cry out against any and every movement for reform, for greater justice and greater equality, this miserable reproach:

"It hurts business!" I want to cry back; How were the liberties of men, how was the Christian civilization of our people ever won?

Betterment, reformation, the abolition of abuses, the upward progress of mankind is always hard.

Did not the abolitionists hurt business? They brought about that wasting war. Did not Christianity hurt business? Christianity convulsed the Roman Empire.

The symbol of salvation is the sign of suffering—it is the holy Cross.

Reform, progress, justice, liberty is the voice of the Holy Spirit.

These men heard that voice, fifty or more years ago.

Young men of today; listen for the voice of God. Hear the summons to rise up and make a better world.

"So close is nature to our dust,

So near is God to man,

That when the spirit says, Thou must,

The youth replies, I can."

—Pre-Memorial Sermon by Rev. Frederick S. Arnold, Brandon, Vermont.

ACTIVITIES OF THE LAND VALUE TAX PARTY.

The Land Value Tax Party, which is composed of those Single Taxers who believe in independent political action and have the intense courage of their convictions, placed a full ticket in the field in the last election from President to Alderman. Other activities of the party were the printing of a pamphlet dissecting the platforms of the old parties. Any one not having seen this pamphlet may obtain a copy by writing to the headquarters of the Land Value Tax Party, 43 East 22nd Street, New York City. It has been mailed to all Single Taxers whose addresses are obtainable.

The Land Value Tax Party carried on out-door meetings during the campaign just closed, and on Saturday, October 19, Joseph Darling presented the claims of the party at a meeting of the Sunrise Club, in this city.

TRIBUTE TO THE WIFE OF HENRY GEORGE.

But while speaking of Henry George, we ought not to forget the woman, that courageous and self-sacrificing wife, who through good and evil fortune, through poverty and want, cared for and protected the peace of his mind that his strength might not fail. It does not seem possible that even he, genius though he was, could have accomplished the great work he did, without such a helpmate.—"Henry George, A Prince of the World of Thought," by S. Tideman, in *Budkavlen*, Stockholm.

THE higher cost of living helps pay for the big rents and prices idlers and speculators in our large cities get for their lands.

WE have received a pamphlet written by Wells Drury, secretary of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, and well known to our readers, setting forth the attractive features of that city. It is beautifully printed and illustrated.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club held a dinner October 12, on which occasion prominent women defended the platforms of the different parties. About three hundred persons were present. After representatives of four parties had spoken Mrs. E. M. Murray clarified what had gone before in one of the best presentations of the Single Tax philosophy ever heard in this city within the time occupied.

COL. J. H. PENDLETON was in supreme command of the marines at the fight before the fortresses of Masaya, Nicaragua.

JOHN F. WHITE, of Indianapolis, in a recent letter to the REVIEW has these wise words to say: "The cause seems to be moving forward steadily and rationally—as fast as can be substantially held." The words we have italicized deserve to be pondered over.

"TAXATION by Suspicion" is the clever heading to an editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor*, of Boston, dealing with the operation of the personal property tax in New York.

A DINNER was given to Hon. Francis Neilson and a score of New York Single Taxers during his stay in this city and before his visit to the West, by John J. Murphy, at the National Arts Club, in this city.

CANADA continues to take forward steps. Now it is Hamilton, Ontario, which places itself on record as favorable to the proposition to give municipalities the power to exempt improvements in part, at least, and to assess land at its full market value. Mayor Lees said that whenever he went to a Single Tax meeting and heard the debates it seemed to him that the Single Taxers had the best of the argument.

WALTER F. COOLING is the latest ambitious spirit who attempts to improve on

Henry George and the Single Tax. *The Real Estate News*, of Chicago, Ill., prints two pages of argument to prove that the unlimited Single Tax will destroy the selling value of agricultural lands and increase the selling value of city lots. Well, well!

Collier's Weekly of September 14, contains a quite lengthy article, entitled, "The Spread of Single Tax in Western Canada. How Henry George's Theories are Working out in Western Provinces."

THE local paper of Parkersburg, West Virginia, thus comments on that well known Single Taxer, W. I. Boreman: "Bill has many remedies and is generous in offering them, but the one that is the best of all, and which, he truly believes will cure every and any old thing, is the Single Tax. If he seems to wander off after new hobbies, it is not because he has forsaken the great conviction that fills and thrills his soul. It is merely to lead in a round-about way back to the tax theory of Henry George. And there we find him standing firm and militant this morning. There is nothing wrong that Single Tax will not right. All right, Bill, have it your way. The floor is yours and go to it. In Missouri, they are to vote on a Single Tax amendment to their constitution. If it passes, we shall soon see how your tax medicine works. In the meantime, Bill, as they say in Webster county, when they get affectionate, "gol darn yer old hide, we like yer" as much as any of our good friends who patronize our mail box."

The American Citizen, an illustrated magazine, the aim of which is to "break down the barriers of prejudice by educating ninety million of people of America to the real status of the Jew," has in its December number a plea for the Single Tax by Joseph Fels under the title "How to Eliminate Prejudice." The magazine is published at 145 West 45th Street, New York City.

LARGELY through the efforts of Lawrence Henry, a veteran Single Taxer of 1886

who has lost nothing of his old enthusiasm and capacity for hard work, the Albany Central Federation of Labor has placed a bust of Henry George in the Education Building of the Capitol. The bust is of stone, but will be replaced by one of bronze.

JAMES P. CADMAN writes an informing paper on New Zealand for the *Baptist Standard* published in Chicago.

AMONG the recent out of town visitors to this office were Hon. Francis Neilson, of England, Ex Bailie Burt of Glasgow and Mr. Fred. C. Powell, of Adelaide. Mr. Powell was here on business. He is the father of Royden Powell whose welcome visit of two years ago will be well remembered.

THE report of the John Crerar library of Chicago for 1911 shows that that library has nearly 300,000 volumes of scientific works. Of these 10,000, or 3½ per cent., relate to political economy.

The report shows that out of a total recorded use of 140,000 volumes, 8,000 of these, or 6 per cent., were works on political economy. This indicates a demand for works on political economy nearly as great as for the other scientific works, in proportion to the volumes on hand, an encouraging sign of interest in this subject.

IF you have an acre that no one would pay taxes upon for the possession of it, then it is worth very little. You cannot give it away. Farmers in remote sections of the State have a great deal of such land. If a million people would gladly accept it as a gift, the acre has enormous values. An acre of land in the heart of New York City is worth from thirty to sixty millions.

SPECIAL privilege is never ready to endorse any proposal to abolish it. The slave owners of the South always found some great moral difficulty in the way of any abolition proposal. It is so now with any fundamental attack on the grafters and big land speculators. No law that can be proposed that amounts to anything receives any encouragement from them.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
JOSEPH FELS FUND COMMISSION
AND (UNOFFICIAL) SINGLE TAX
CONFERENCE.

At Boston, in the meeting hall of the Twentieth Century Club, on the morning of November 29, Mr. Daniel Kiefer called to order the delegates to the Advisory Conference of the Fels Commission, and Mr. Louis F. Post stated the purposes of the Conference.

Dr. Charles S. Millett, of Brockton, was chosen chairman; Prof. Carroll W. Doton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, vice chairman, and Reginald Mott Hull, of Cambridge, secretary, on the motion of Mr. L. J. Johnson.

It was moved by Mr. Post that the programme adopted at the informal meeting be the order of procedure and this motion was adopted.

Mr. Kiefer read his report of what had been done by the Commission during the year. Mr. Kiefer also read report of the receipts and expenditures, and Mr. Post reported for the *Public* and Mr. Miller for the *SINGLE TAX REVIEW*.

Hon. John F. Fitzgerald, Mayor of Boston, was then introduced. He said that he himself was the publisher of a weekly paper, and knew the trials of a publisher. He expressed the wish that Andrew Carnegie might be present, to be relieved of some of his surplus cash. He spoke of the increased land values in the dry goods district of Boston, and said that much of this land had doubled in value without the owner doing a thing to cause such increase. "Conditions like this," continued the Mayor, "exist everywhere in the world." He concluded with the advocacy of a transfer tax such as prevails in Frankfort and other German cities. "Most men do not want to discuss the Single Tax. They think it is an illusion. When men are interested in tariffs, trusts, and the many questions before the people at election time, the consideration that ought to be paid to this question, is overlooked. Yet a beginning might be made by introducing the transfer tax. As mayor of the city, I am glad to welcome you here."

Hon. Robert Baker moved a rising vote

of thanks to the Mayor, and three cheers were given.

Mr. Danziger reported for the Press Bureau, announcing that 700 papers were being supplied with matter on free trade and the Single Tax.

Mr. B. Dupont addressed the conference. He said, "I don't want the Single Tax in itself. I want the abolition of every law on the statute books that permits one man to steal from another. Come out in the open and say that we want to abolish legalized theft—and that is all there is in Single Tax."

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Mr. Frank H. Thomas, of Cambridge, called the meeting to order, saying that he was not familiar with the work that was being done, but the aim of which had his approval. Then he was assured that whatever Prof. Thompson and Governor Garvin advocated must be all right, and he hoped to be in full harmony with it.

Mr. Daniel Kiefer read report from California.

Mr. R. L. Scott spoke at some length of the movement in Canada. The referendum vote for the Single Tax in Victoria carried by nearly five to one. All of the revenue in the city of Edmonton is raised by a tax on land values. The Premier of the province prevented the taking of referendum in Winnipeg, saying that we had a system that had come down to us through a period of five hundred years. We have had the Single Tax in rural communities in Canada for a period of twenty years. Farm improvements are not taxed. Saskatchewan has had the system of exemption for a number of years. Both the Conservative and Liberal leaders are for it. Premier Scott has come out within the last few months in favor of the Initiative and Referendum, and promises that a bill will be introduced this session. He said that the people would make mistakes, but that they had the right to make mistakes. A bill was introduced into the legislature of the province of Alberta making the adoption of the Single Tax mandatory. We have an advantage in Northwestern Canada because we have the farmers with us. We owe a great deal to the leaders of

the Farmers' movement. They have some forty thousand members, these Grain Growers' Associations, and an organ which is edited by a Single Taxer.

Prof. Thompson here introduced a set of resolutions which recounted the work of the Commission. It advised that the Jos. Fels Fund Commission be continued, that at the end of two years or sooner at its discretion, it call another advisory conference, that the Commission continue to assist efforts to apply the Single Tax through direct political action upon measures before legislative bodies or before the people by popular initiative or referendum petition, that it continue to expend portions of its fund in promoting measures for the increase of peoples power in government, especially the initiative and referendum, and protecting such measures where they may be threatened. It was also recommended that the work of the Commission with reference to the distribution of Single Tax literature of a general and abstract character be continued. On the motion of Mr. Hall these resolutions were made a regular order of business for Friday morning. Mr. Alexander Law introduced a set of resolutions from the Tenants' Union of New York City which were referred to the Commission.

Mr. S. R. Fuller, of Boston, now spoke of the movement in France where he has been a resident for a number of years. "The movement is taking a strong hold in Paris and promises to extend its influence throughout France. We are trying the experiment of civilization. Athens tried it, Rome tried it, Venice tried it, and we have tried it here in these United States. But all these experiments have failed because such civilization has not been founded on a natural law. Mr. George was the Darwin of the natural social order, and that was the message he gave us. Friends of the Conference, I bring you from France that spirit of comradeship between those whose aim it is to bring civilization to the world without end."

Mr. Kiefer here read a letter from Oregon signed by F. E. Coulter and others severely criticising the conduct of the campaign in Oregon, to which Mr. U'Ren replied at some length. Mr. U'Ren denied

the statement that he had tried to keep down the discussion of the Single Tax. "But I did try to confine it to the specific measure before the people. In this I failed. Those who voted for the measure did so because they believed in the Henry George philosophy. Those who voted against it, many of them, voted that way because they did not understand it, because they were afraid, or because they thought it too soon." Mr. U'Ren announced that whatever was done hereafter would be done absolutely along the Henry George lines. "Our mistake was in thinking that we could make Single Taxers too soon. As Charlie Ingersoll said, you cannot make a three year old steer in ten minutes. We tried to do it in Oregon, in a two years campaign. But we will do it yet." Mr. U'Ren then defended the Graduated Tax, which was the specific measure urged by the leaders of the movement in the State of Oregon. He thought the people were scared, but did not think they could be scared again. The cry of "wolf" had been raised, and might be raised a second time, but they "could not do it a third time without producing the wolf." The victory that we will win in another campaign will be based upon a knowledge of our principles.

Mr. Kiefer now announced that Dr. Hill, Herbert Bigleow and H. Martin Williams had entered the hall. There was loud cheering.

Dr. Eggleston spoke briefly for Oregon, and Mr. J. W. Bengough, of Toronto, told of the street meetings, and said that the crowds addressed showed interest and exemplary patience, "so that I almost felt that I was engaged in a reputable calling even though the *Portland Oregonian* called me a crank cartoonist who was degrading an honorable profession." Mr. Bengough read a parody on James Whitcomb Riley's Little Orphant Annie, which threw his hearers into spasms of laughter.

FRIDAY EVENING SESSION.

Mr. S. L. Moser speaking for Missouri said that we did not get 87,000 votes out of a total of 580,000 for the amendment in that State. But he was not discouraged. The fight had its small beginnings in 1909;

the real fight began in 1911. "We got an organization together. We had men of influence and prominence in business affairs. The first pronouncements of the press were favorable. We found in the beginning that it was not hard to get signatures to the petition by volunteer work. But the enemy got busy. The measure was condemned in the platform of the two parties, and when the Bull Moose party was organized its candidate for governor declared against it, though it is unquestionably true that a majority of the rank and file of that party looked upon it favorably. Then in addition to all this the first favorable attitude of the press was changed to the cry of confiscation. But it is a question if this cry can be successfully raised again. We have in Missouri a Farmers Educational Co-operative Association. A leader of this organization told me that if we could get together some figures backed with a sound moral reason we might hope to win. Most of those with whom I have talked are in favor of continuing the fight, and are of the opinion that we ought not to allow this first set-back to retire us from activity." Mr. Moser referred to a class of work which he thought would be the most effective in Missouri, and that is the personal appeal. He told the conference of the adverse conditions that they had to contend against, one of which were the threats used by those who possess the power that comes from land ownership. Thus in one county of Missouri 81 per cent. of the people are tenants, and the threat of increased rents was used with tremendous effect.

Dr. Hill, also speaking for Missouri, said, "The cause of this defeat may well be looked into. The opponents of the measure were able to stir up prejudice by assertions that the campaign was being financed outside the State. They showed that Henry George had taught the confiscation into the public treasury of the value of land." Dr. Hill thought that the only power to which appeal could successfully be made was the moral force.

Mr. John Z. White also spoke of conditions in Missouri, urging that those who

appealed exclusively either to the moral impulses of men or to their motives of self-interest were doomed to failure. He showed that farm lands have increased enormously in population and that the farmers want the unearned increment. And this is the reason they voted against the Single Tax. The farmers were the political power of Missouri, and the farmers have been favored by politicians and legislatures. We do not know personally of all counties, but from his knowledge of the situation farm lands are under-assessed from 2 to 5 times in proportion to city land. We must be in a position to answer the questions that affect individuals. We can tell them how the application of our principles will affect counties, but must be able to answer as to how they will affect the individual, and until we are in a position to meet questions of this kind we cannot win victories. We win "near" victories in the cities because we are in a position to know things in the cities. But in the country districts that knowledge is wanting. We do not know, and until we do know we will not get the farmers' votes.

Mr. Black, of Kansas City, announced his unwillingness to add anything to what has been said by Messrs Hill, White and Moser, but he declared himself more hopeful than he was a year ago. "I am not going to add to what has been said. But one thing we have done if we have done nothing more—we have checked land speculation. You have heard of what we were up against. Let me add to the testimony. In one county an advertisement appeared announcing a mass meeting against the amendments, signed by all the opposing candidates. And we were cheated in the final count. In one county 600 more votes were recorded against the amendments than there were voters. Just across the river from Kansas City in Clay County, an old Bourbon County, if you please, they raised the United States flag for the first time since the war. Pike County has never taken the trouble to do it, but said they would go through fire and water for the country, would actually fight to prevent the Single Tax coming.

But we know that when the patient has recovered from hysteria he is much more amenable to reason."

Herbert S. Bigelow said there was a good Single Taxer in Columbus who took his customers to the mill to see the chips fly. We have seen the chips fly in Oregon and Missouri as they have never flown before in the whole history of the Single Tax movement. Referring to his own State he said that Ohio had lived for years under a constitution that was as much outgrown as the stage coach. Mr. Bigelow recounted at some length the movements of the progressives for the election of radical delegates to the Ohio Constitutional convention. In answer to a question from Mr. Leubuscher Mr. Bigelow said that they had preserved the right to use the I and R to get a constitutional amendment for the Single Tax. They had sacrificed nothing.

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION.

Mr. Chas. W. Doton called the meeting to order and introduced Mr. E. W. Doty, of the Manufacturers Appraisal Company, of Cleveland, who spoke of the Somers System, and its adoption in Houston, Texas.

Ex-Governor Garvin urged the claims of Rhode Island as a fighting ground, and asked that these be considered by the Commission. He said that any town in the State had the right to ask the legislature to exempt personal property and improvements. It is the custom in Rhode Island to allow a town to do what it wants to do.

Congressman George told of the work he had been able to accomplish in Congress as a member of the sub-committee on taxation of the District of Columbia Committee, in the presentation of a bill along our lines for the capital city. In answer to a question of John J. Murphy Mr. George explained the provision of that bill.

Mr. Post now proposed that the resolutions introduced by Prof. Johnson be considered, together with the incorporation of the 1890 Single Tax platform in those resolutions. The debate that now ensued was participated in by Messrs Hall, Stephens, Judge Edward Osgood Brown,

John J. Murphy, W. S. U'Ren, Jackson H. Ralston and many others. The division here was the old one between the advanced individualist Single Taxers represented by Messrs Hall and Stephens, and the opposing view held by Post and others. It revolved around the words "controlled and managed" referring to natural monopolies in the 1890 platform and the explanatory clause in the resolutions which read as follows:

"By the terms "controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned," as used in the above platform, this Conference means what it understands the Conference of 1890 to have meant, namely, in the terms of the present time, "public ownership and operation."

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Conference convened at 2:30, and the public monopoly paragraph together with the explanatory clause was again taken up. The debate was vigorous but more or less unsatisfactory, owing to the academic nature of the question. It resulted in the final adoption of the resolutions with the exception of the explanatory clause which leaves the language of the platform of 1890 as originally drafted, urging that public monopolies be "controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned."

It may be said that the following paragraph of the resolutions was also the subject of debate, but was finally adopted. It seemed to many present that the statement was entirely unauthorized by the facts:

"When this Commission was organized, in 1909, there was no general discussion of the Single Tax in the United States. Apart from the sporadic work of a few public speakers and clubs, a limited distribution of literature, and occasional indirect and obscure efforts at securing favorable consideration from legislative bodies, the movement appeared to have but little life in this country. To those within it the future seemed as one of mere academic interest, in so far as it was generally considered at all. This condition changed with the advent of the Commission."

The resolutions now being disposed of Mr. Fels addressed the Conference. Mr. Fels complained that he had not been backed up in his efforts. There are many Single Taxers in the United States able to put up \$100,000, but they don't.

Mr. John J. Murphy, of New York, spoke briefly, advocating a plan of referendum for suggestions as to methods of work by the Commission, and in reply to a question of Mr. Fels whether this should include all Single Taxers or only contributors to the Fund, said that in his opinion, only the contributors. Mr. Murphy said his object was to secure expressions of opinion as to what propaganda methods should be supplemented to the political programme of the Commission.

After a short address by A. B. Farmer of Toronto, the Third (unofficial) Single Tax Conference in connection with the Fels Fund Commission finally adjourned for the banquet which followed an hour later.

THE BANQUET.

The dinner at Ford Hall was attended by nearly five hundred persons, perhaps. At this writing we have no means of knowing the exact number, but it was an audience remarkable for its character, and representative of the best intelligence of Boston. Prof. L. J. Johnson introduced John J. Murphy, of New York, as Toastmaster. The Chairman announced that the Land Song would be sung, which was done by all present standing, and the voices rang out with fine spirit. The speakers were Hon. W. S. U'Ren, S. R. Fuller, Grace Isabel Colbron, J. W. Bengough, Jos. Fels, Congressman Henry George, and Herbert Bigelow. The best part of the entertainment were the chalk talks by J. W. Bengough, whose inimitable "asides" while engaged in the work of drawing with colored chalks his wonderfully illustrative cartoon caused constant laughter. It must have been to the non-Single Taxers present a revelation of the truth of our principles conveyed in fable.

The banquet of Saturday night was followed on Sunday afternoon by an address from Herbert Bigelow at the Majestic Theater on the Single Tax. The

hall was crowded, and the address was well received.

A final meeting was held at the Twentieth Century Club on Sunday evening, and those present listened to an address from R. L. Scott on the movement in Canada and an explanation of the spiritual side of the Single Tax.

A PARTIAL LIST OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE FELS FUND AND (UNOFFICIAL) SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE.

Following is the list of persons who had arrived at the Conference on Friday afternoon. A number arrived later, but the names of these have not been forwarded the REVIEW as promised by a good friend, and we present this incomplete and rather partial list.

Massachusetts—John S. Coxman, Boston; Franklin E. Smith, Chicopee; Rev. W. A. Wood, West Upton; Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston; Edwin A. Hallit, Dorchester; S. Richard Fuller, Boston; Henry A. Waters, Salem; Mary J. Jacques, Arlington; Reginald Mott Hull, Cambridge; Wilford Warren, Boston; Fred A. Moore, Attleboro; Benjamin F. Ellery, Annisquam; Henry W. Pinkham, Boston; Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge; Mary D. H. Prang, Roxbury; C. M. Stow, Boston; Mayor John F. Fitzgerald; John O'Callahan, Boston; John R. Nichols, Cambridge; Jerome A. Johnson, Cambridge; James R. Livingston, Winchester; Jane Dearborn Mills, Jamaica Plains; C. B. Fillebrown, Boston; R. B. Capon, Newtonville; Florence Burleigh, Springfield; Eliza Stowe Twitchell, Wollaston; Andrew H. Paton, Danvers; Geo. F. Hall, Worcester; Dale G. Greeley, Cambridge; John S. Crossman, Boston; Sophia E. Haven, Boston; Mrs. G. Henrietta Blake, Boston; Harlan P. Kelsey, Salem; Robert H. Schulz, Dedham; Dr. P. W. Goldsby, Warwick; Alice Stone Blackwell, Dorchester; R. M. Cushman, Dorchester; Seth H. Howes, Southboro; W. L. Crossman, Boston; William Rogers Lord, Dover; Frank Grant, Westfield; Obert Sletter, Cambridge; Chas S. Hillel, Brockton.

Pennsylvania—Mark. F. Roberts, Pittsburg; R. F. Devine, Erie; Henry J. Eckert, Monica; W. D. George, Pittsburg; Hon. Warren Worth Bailey, Johnstown; Joseph Fels, Philadelphia; Charles R. Eckert, Beaver; James B. Ellery, Beaver; Mary Fels, Philadelphia; A. H. Swope, Johnstown.

Chicago, Ill.—Louis F. Post, A. P. Canning, Dr. C. L. Logan, Stoughton Cooley, Wiley W. Mills, Otto Cullman and wife, Theodore J. Amberg, John Z. White, Judge Edward Osgood Brown, Mary Wilmarth Brown.

New York City—Bolton Hall, Wm. J. Blech, Joseph Dana Miller, Robert L. Hale, Geo. R. Macey, W. A. Somers, F. C. Leubuscher, Hon. Robert Baker, Gertrude A. Baker, Alexander Law, C. H. Mann, E. H. Underhill, John T. McRoy, Chas. T. Root, Aurelia Lange Leubuscher, Amy Mali Hicks, Grace Isabel Colbron, Mrs. E. H. Murray.

Missouri—William A. Black, Kansas City; Dr. William P. Hill, St. Louis; S. L. Moser.

Ohio—E. W. Doty, Cleveland; Arthur H. Guild, Cleveland; Rosa Kiefer, Cincinnati.

Maine—Edwin P. Wentworth, Portland; S. E. Kittredge; Christopher, M. Gallup, Skowhegan; Kingsbury B. Piper, Fairfield; Katherine A. Wood, Portland.

Rhode Island—Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale; Florence Garvin, Lonsdale.

New Hampshire—Geo. H. Duncan, East Jaffrey; Helen P. Duncan, East Jaffrey; Chas. Hardon, Contoocook; Chas. C. Davis, Contoocook.

From other States—Charlotte O. Schetter, Orange, N. J.; A. Romberg, Cambridge, Mass.; W. G. Eggleston, Portland, Oregon; Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, D. C.; B. Marcus, Montreal, Canada; Robert L. Scott, Winnipeg, Canada; J. W. Bengough, Toronto, Canada; Louis A. Bregger, Bangor, Maine; Geo. A. Briggs and wife, Elkhart, Ind.; B. Du Pont, Gresselli, Del.; Charles H. Ingersoll, So. Orange, N. J.; Mary Boies Ely, Greenwich, Conn.; W. S. U'Ren, Oregon City, Ore.; Robert Standen, London, Eng.; Eleanor Bond Ingersoll, So. Orange, N. J.; Mary D. Hussey, M. D., East Orange, N. J.; Western Starr, Westover, Md.; Arthur P. Davis, Washington, D. C.

GEORGISM.

(From *El Comercio*, daily paper of Manila, September 5, 1912), and translated for the SINGLE TAX REVIEW.

The studious and notable Spanish writer, Baldomero Argente, has published in Madrid the book which has been announced, "Henry George, his life and his work."

Of this work I do not know any more than the title, which has been announced in *El Imparcial*, and which our readers already know from its having been copied in these columns. Although the Madrid paper praises very much the work of Argente and appears to consider the illustrious Madrid councillor as the author of the eloquent paragraphs which he transcribes, I have to remark that the greater part of them are copied absolutely and literally from the fundamental work of the great North American sociologist in the work entitled *Progress and Poverty*, as anyone may verify who possesses the Spanish translation of this admirable work, published in Barcelona in 1893, which is the best we have, for the translation of Sempere is rather deficient. Nearly all the paragraphs which *El Imparcial* gives us are literally copies from Chapter III of Book X, entitled "The Law of Human Progress," and the rest are inspired by other passages from the master and adorned by his own ideas. So that the richness of ideas and the lofty eloquence so much admired in this admirable chapter are the diction and ideological vigor of the "prophet of San Francisco."

As I have not yet read the work of Argente, I will not try to judge it, nor detract from the merit which without doubt it has in common with all the works of this industrious and well informed author. I will only offer this observation to explain the commentary of *El Imparcial*, which does not appear to me very explicit. Among its editors, or among those connected with the paper, are many who are very well informed on sociology and who might very well speak clearly in this work of spreading the doctrines of Georgism.

The doctrines of Henry George have been extending rapidly through the entire

civilized world in the thirty years since the first publication of the famous work, "Progress and Poverty," which has been called the "modern bible." In the United States, in Canada, in Australia, Japan, and in all Europe, the partisans of Georgism, the Single Taxers or modern physiocrats as they are called in the Latin countries, are becoming every day more numerous. The Henry George Leagues, the German Bund der Bodenreformer and the thousand Georgian societies are working without rest for the nationalization of the land, which is considered, like the dream of a Utopian, about to become some day a reality and a great conquest in human progress. England, since the decisive victories obtained there in the last few years by the modern spirit, appears to be preparing, by the valuation of British land which is progressing steadily, for the possibility of the application of Georgism.

In Spain, besides Argente, who has translated the master's work called "Protection or Free Trade?" and who is an enthusiastic and indefatigable propagandist of Georgism, we have also Antonio Albendin, of polished literary style, who, with other young followers, is attentively following the universal movement which is forwarding the doctrines of the true founder of modern democracy.

But a few days ago, on the 2nd of September, there was held in Europe the annual celebration of the modern physiocrats. Last year this celebration was particularly memorable in Denmark, where the Georgian party is powerful. Henry George was born on September 2, 1839.

Without prejudice, and as information on the present state of things for those who do not know them, I will try to give an impartial but somewhat superficial summary of the ideas of Henry George, who was without any doubt guided in his great work by a sentiment profoundly Christian and an immense love for humanity.

The work in which the North American thinker set forth his whole great conception of economic life, his diaphanous vision of social ills and his remedy, was, as I have said, that entitled "Progress and Poverty," a work which has reached more editions

in English than any other book excepting the Bible. All the clear and solid thought of Henry George, all his deep feeling, is expressed in this great book, without overlooking the smallest wheel or the most hidden law of the social mechanism.

According to Henry George the cause of the increasing augmentation of poverty (which unfortunately apparently could not be remedied before he wrote) is exactly the incessant increase in material progress. The greater the progress, the greater the poverty—but it must be distinctly remembered, that modern poverty, the worst of all, is that created by the necessities, day by day more complicated, of advancing civilization. "The connection between progress and poverty," he says, "is the dark and obscure question of our times."

The desire of suffering humanity to find a cure for its ills by studying their origin has attributed, according to the various systems and economic doctrines, to many causes this increase of poverty in the most civilized nations, such as excess of population, excess of consumption, excess of production, machinery, the relaxation of moral restraints, alcoholism, etc., etc. Henry George says that these ills follow from the increase of material progress combined with the existing false relations between the three factors of production, Land, Labor and Capital.

"In the midst," he says, "of a country which realizes the conditions to which every civilized country aspires, of a country which advances in the scale of material progress; in the measure in which the population grows more dense and the more intimate the correspondence with the rest of the world and the constant use of machines which economize labor, making possible the greatest economies in the production and exchange of wealth, not only in the aggregate but in relation to the number of inhabitants, there also poverty takes on its blackest aspect." "Filth, misery and vice increase in the measure that the village grows to be a city."

This law which associates so rigidly material progress with poverty, which augments necessity with the elevation of wealth, is that which the author searches

for in studying the true relations between the factors in the production of wealth, the base of all material progress. And in searching for this solution he makes no use of the dry deductive system of Adam Smith, nor the dry logic of the economists who followed, but based his deductions upon human nature, because, although political economy is as exact a science as geometry, according to the economists, it is the most strictly and intimately united with the life and necessities of nations and individuals. From this springs the spirit, so intensely human, of justice, of Christian charity and equality which illuminates the whole doctrine of Henry George.

The three factors of production are Land, Labor and Capital, and that part of the product which is destined to the second of these factors is denominated Wages. Wages are, then, the reward belonging to labor, as distinguished from the return for the use of capital and the part which goes to the owner for the use of the land.

These are the terms which George studies and establishes. Land includes all the materials, forces and natural conveniences and everything which nature offers freely to man. Labor is human force employed in producing wealth, and Capital is the fund or tools employed as auxiliary in production. From the enunciation of these terms it will be seen to follow that George gave a signification to Wages that was different and distinct from that accepted by all the economists who preceded him. He was the first who, defining the true functions of Capital, affirmed that Wages do not proceed from Capital but from the product of Labor, by which they are paid—a theory now universally admitted, and a theory which totally destroyed the old idea of production which affirmed that wages depended upon the relation between the number of workers and the amount of capital invested in enterprise, or, in other words, that wages proceeded from capital.

This theory, which gave a new orientation to economists, presented in a plane completely distinct the relation between

Capital and Labor, of which we will speak in another article.—PALMERIN.

OREGON NEWS LETTER.

SOME DETAILS OF THE FIGHT—THE NEED OF FIELD WORK—IN SPITE OF DEFEAT IN THIS, THE FIRST BATTLE, MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

Did we have a Single Tax campaign in Oregon?

We most certainly did.

It was a Bull Run; both sides scared and both ready to run. The Single Taxers "retreated in good order." The war went on.

The Big Business Beast of Oregon knows he was in a fight. He knows there is going to be another fight, and he cannot be sneaked up on in the future. He will fight anything that looks like a step in the right direction.

For the first time the people of the State were aroused and the Single Tax led as a State issue. It surpassed the interest in the presidential election, and called out more strenuous opposition than equal suffrage. We were beaten on the State Wide Graduated Single Tax amendment fully $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and on the Multnomah county measure by nearly two to one. The repeal of the Home Rule Tax amendment so far as that feature of it was concerned was effected by the most strenuous and concentrated efforts of the Beast. No lie, no subterfuge, no effort, literary, personal, psychological was neglected to effect this repeal because the Beast realized that "to TRY it meant to buy it," as the horse dealers say. The repeal was carried by about 7,000.

Equal suffrage was defeated six times in Oregon, and carried the seventh.

Against us was any amount of money and the best of talent, and a prostituted press with but a few honorable exceptions. The appeal against the Single Tax was made by scaring the people rather than convincing them. We neglected, so it seems to me, the personal and field work and relied almost entirely until the last

three months of the campaign on literature. The literature was ably written, thorough and exhaustive, but the enemy got right out in the field with scores and probably hundreds of well paid "jay-walkers" (possibly an Australian term) who went from house to house and town to town scaring the people and giving the most lurid accounts of the effects of taking taxes off improvements. Not a woman or man was missed and the bugaboos exhibited were fearfully and wonderfully made. The people were confused, doubts and suspicions were created, and the vote of NO was given because in thousands of instances it was absolutely impossible to ascertain the claims of the Single Taxers. Requests for speakers could not be granted. The enemy had \$100 to our \$1, and a ton of literature gotten up by expert advertising writers and word-twisters to every pound we could issue. The railway mail clerks were swamped with the yellow-backed stuff purporting to tell the "Truth About the Single Tax." It was left at the door by hand, passed out from every hotel waiting room and saloon, handed out at church meetings and given away generously by "jay-walkers" at every country home. The night before election literally millions of little cards and slips bearing the legend "To Kill Single Tax vote 308, 365, 379," were strewn all around the election booths. This alone must have cost as much as we spent in a month.

J. W. Bengough, the philosophical and devoted cartoonist, gave splendid service for three and a half months, drawing his striking crayons. Street speaking was kept up from a wagon every evening and every noon when possible. Enormous crowds listened and took literature. An immense amount of seed was sown that will yet blossom forth in results.

The accredited organ of plutocracy in Oregon gave us fully \$50,000 in free advertising that should be made to bear returns in the future.

Some campaigning in the outside towns was done by Bengough, F. E. Coulter and H. D. Wagon. President E. S. J. McAllister made one street speech and four or five in Coos county in the southwestern part of the State. A few volunteer

speakers got out in other parts of the State for local work, but not many. W. S. U'Ren held a series of five debates with the manager of the anti-Single Tax campaign, and made a number of speeches in various parts of the State.

In Portland H. D. Wagon, Paul Turner, W. P. Wagon and the writer made hundreds of speeches and short talks. M. L. Dowling helped in this work often. We found that the eyes of the people were obscured with the "sky-scraper," the railroad train and the auto, while the diamond necklace glittered so that they could not see at all at times, and the "million dollars in the bank" simply deadened their understanding. Meanwhile the opposition poured schrapnel into us from the skyscraper, and the owners of these very things raked us with machine guns.

On the 14th about 35 Single Taxers met and talked over the next campaign. A strong spirit of confidence was manifested, and more harmony than was expected. It was realized that mistakes had been made and that the lessons were valuable. There are 25,000 men in Oregon who cannot be scared, bulldozed, mystified, stampeded. They can be organized, but they have not been. They can be set to work for some practical measure of advance. They are to be relied upon. To abandon them to the wolves would be great folly, in my opinion. The greatest mistake is procrastination and delay. It takes time for ideas to grow into votes, and time to plant them.

A temporary campaign committee was elected with Miss C. Herman as chairman, for we have equal suffrage in Oregon.

Oregon is not peopled by radicals, but the hearts of the people are honest, and we must appeal to their intellects through their hearts. Efforts are being made to submit another measure in the near future, along some lines that will unite the different factions. Perhaps we may leave the owners of skyscrapers and railroads, diamonds and automobiles, to fight their own battles and do no fighting for them ourselves. One department store proprietor whose establishment was used as an awful example contributed

\$1,000 to defeat H. D. Wagon for assessor, and undoubtedly more to defeat the Single Tax. There were others.

The advancement in tax legislation made in four years in Oregon is (1) abolition of the poll tax; (2) abolition of all taxation on household furniture; (3) probable carrying by very close vote of a measure to allow different rates of taxes on different classes of property; (4) stopping of tax laws being passed by legislatures with the "emergency clause," which clause prevented the referendum. These steps are inch-steps, but they are steps wrung from the opposition in spite of all they could do to keep the laws as they were. With a solid, local organization and a measure that would afford still further and more positive relief from taxes on labor values, the Single Taxers and tax reformers can compel further concessions and attain one outpost after another until the Port Arthur of the Beast has capitulated. The next regiment will now step forward.

We have relieved 60,000 men of the poll tax; we have struck \$12,000,000 of labor-made values off the tax rolls; we have provoked the people to thinking. They will think some more if we keep them at it.—ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

THE postmaster of Portland pays about \$85 in taxes on a lot where he resides. Next to him is an empty lot of the same value and size that pays about \$3.50. The P. M. has valuable and commendable improvements. The speculator has some stumps. Every year the lot grows more valuable without any labor. Every year the improvements decrease in value unless labor is added. To require that each of these lots pay \$4.75 to \$7 in taxes would encourage the use of both. The thousands of vacant lots held by speculators in our suburbs would take up the taxes now levied on the home owners and home users and renters.

Good roads mean better land values, and better roads mean ten dollars' profit to the land speculator to one that the farmer ever gets.

TO FRIENDS OF THE CAUSE, NOTICE!

Mr. Joseph Fels announces that his contribution to the cause for the current year is conditioned upon the friends of the movement elsewhere putting up a like sum. He will give no greater amount than is subscribed from other sources, but this he will match dollar for dollar.

CONGRESSMAN GEORGE'S CAMPAIGN.

The campaign of Henry George, Jr. for Congress this year lacked the spectacular feature of two years ago. As the result was a foregone conclusion there was not the same interest manifested in his candidacy.

Mr. George received 13,488 votes; his Bull Moose opponent, 8,378 and the Republican candidate, 5,194. Mr. George thus lacked 84 of a majority. It is of interest to know that the candidate led both the presidential and gubernatorial nominees of his party in 54 out of the 77 election districts comprising his Congressional district. Some of this may be accounted for by the vote of the colored brother. There are 4,500 negro voters in the district, and of these 85 per cent. voted the Bull Moose ticket. Many "scratched" for George.

The campaign was conducted efficiently and with spirit. The secretary, Joseph H. Newman, in charge of headquarters, deserves not a little credit for the outcome. John H. Scully was Chairman of the Campaign Committee and F. C. Leubuscher was its treasurer. Among those who spoke at the George meetings were Oscar Geiger, John Moody, August Weymann, Wm. Ryan, John Jerome Rooney, Peter Aiken, W. B. Vernam, Hon. Robt. Baker and others.

The campaign was waged on a clean cut tariff issue, nor did Mr. George disguise the fact that he was a free trader and Single Taxer, avowing his intention in answer to "hecklers" of going much further than President-elect Wilson proposes to travel.

CALIFORNIA NEWS LETTER.

At the recent election, a measure was brought before the voters of California by means of an initiative petition with more than 50,000 signatures, which was to permit counties, cities, towns, districts, and townships, by a majority vote of the people, to fix their own systems of taxation for local purposes. This would not affect the State Revenues in any way.

This measure was supported by the Single Taxers because of the opportunity which it would allow for the various communities to exempt personal property and improvements from taxation. The amendment had the support of such non-partisan bodies as the League of California Municipalities, the State Federation of Labor and the Commonwealth Club. It was indorsed by the Democratic and Socialist State Conventions and was supported by prominent Republican and Progressive leaders, though the State Platforms of the Republican and Progressive parties made no mention of the amendment. The Labor Council of the leading cities of the State gave the measure their active support and it was indorsed by the City Councils of many of the leading municipalities including Alameda, Tulare, Anaheim, San Bernardino, Alviso, Mountain View, Whittier, Burlingame, Calistoga, Palo Alto and others. The press comment on the amendment was prevailingly favorable.

Up to within three weeks of the election, the amendment seemed sure of passage, but about the middle of October the opposition suddenly became very active and having apparently unlimited funds, the opponents of the measure were able to send literature and speakers broadcast throughout the State, denouncing the amendment as an attack on California's prosperity. Large paid advertisements were placed in the papers up and down the State.

The opposition to the amendment was financed and managed by the State Realty Federation. Contributions were levied upon real estate firms and the real estate men were instructed to send letters to all their clients, urging the defeat of the

amendment. The real estate journals of the State gleefully announce since the election that it was the Real Estate Interests that defeated the amendment.

The proponents of the amendment were supplied with very limited funds and were forced to confine their propaganda work almost entirely to the cities. The city of San Francisco gave a majority of about 10,000 in favor of the amendment. The city of Los Angeles nearly 7,000 and other cities gave heavy affirmative votes. The vote in the country districts was generally adverse.

At this date, November 18, with the official returns as yet incomplete, the amendment seems to have failed of passage by something over 20,000 votes.

From a standpoint of the Single Tax, the vote is very gratifying. The amendment was not advanced as a Single Tax measure, but it was opposed as such, and the voters, 150,000 or more in number, who voted for it, showed by so voting that they were not afraid of the Single Tax.

We know where we stand now and within the next two years we hope to conduct such a campaign of education, that our next tax reform proposition will sweep the State.—CLARENCE E. TODD, San Francisco, Calif.

AN interesting dinner of the Manhattan Single Tax Club was held at Kalil's, Saturday, November 16.

Hon. George L. Record spoke in explanation of his position as a "Bull Mooser." Among the other speakers were Amy Mali Hicks, Charlotte Schetter, John Sherwin Crosby, and Joseph Fels. There were about 300 present and 22 new members were enrolled. Chester C. Platt, Governor-elect Sulzer's secretary, was among the guests.

REMEMBER we have thousands of the Vancouver, Edmonton and German numbers to be had for ten cents a copy in quantities.

Is EVERY Single Taxer in your city a subscriber to the REVIEW? Ask of those you meet.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

A letter from A. C. Pleydell to Mr. Daniel Kiefer has been brought to our notice in which the former says that he did not submit a criticism of the Fels Commission for publication in these columns for fear of embarrassing the editor. Mr. Pleydell is under a misapprehension. Any criticism of Single Tax activities made by Mr. Pleydell, or any sincere friend of the movement, will be editorially considered for publication. We reserve the right to modify any personalities that we may think out of place, or to reject a communication wholly on that score. But the REVIEW is an open forum for the discussion of Single Tax principles and policies. If it were not so it would have little reason for being.

LAND VALUES CONFERENCE IN LONDON.

Under the auspices of the United Committee a Conference to promote the Taxation and Rating of Land Values was held in Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, October 7th. Over 600 delegates representing different associations—County Councils, Town Councils, Borough Councils, Urban District Councils, Small Holdings Societies, Co-operative Societies, Town Planning and Housing Associations, Trade Unions, Denominational Societies, Liberal Associations, Temperance Societies, and other public bodies—were present, and there was also a large number of visitors.

THE following letter has been received by the secretary of the Manhattan Single Tax Club in response to a message of condolence from the club to Governor Garvin on the recent tragic drowning of his daughter at Lonsdale, R. I. on November 22:

MY DEAR MR. UNDERHILL:

Please inform the members of the Manhattan Single Tax Club how deeply I appreciate its action at this time of trial. It is much to know that we are all akin in the great moments of life.

Let me add that grief though poignant will not release me from the performance of the duties which devolve upon me as a Single Taxer. On Saturday, and perhaps on Friday, I hope to meet members of your organization at the Conference in Boston.

Yours with gratitude,
(Signed) Lucius F. C. Garvin.

MORE NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS.

It was not a good year for tax reform, and it was defeated in Louisiana as well as in Missouri, Oregon, and California. But this difference exists between this war of ours and others—that the enemy never captures anything and we hold all the ground we gain. In the battle between Truth and the forces that oppose it Truth never sounds a retreat.

"THINKLETS," Rev. Chas. Hardon's department in the Concord *Patriot*, contains many paragraphs of interest to Single Taxers.

MR. JAMES MACGREGOR, of New York, now in Canada, has made a number of speeches in Toronto, of which the Toronto *Globe* duly apprises us.

JOHN CAIRNS was candidate for representative in South Manchester, Conn., and made a bold and vigorous contest on the principle of the Single Tax.

THE November number of the *National Magazine* contains an article which reprints C. B. Fillebrown's Catechism in full.

B. MARCUSE, of 328 Wood Avenue, Westmount, Quebec, Canada, announces that he has disposed of his interest in the Canadian Asbestos Co., and that he is open for an engagement to take charge of any agency for the sale of goods in the Canadian market.

EDWARD F. DUNNE, governor-elect of Illinois, was a recent visitor to the Man-

hattan Single Tax Club, and gave an interesting talk.

CANADIAN cities are advertising their advantages in the way of exemption of improvements from taxation as a reason why people should take up their residence in these places. Lethbridge and Medicine Hat are among the smaller cities that believe these advantages will attract settlers.

THE annual meeting of the Manitoba League for the taxation of land values was notable for a large attendance and some excellent speeches, and very gratifying reports of work accomplished. We note that among the speakers was James R. Brown, of New York.

As AN interesting piece of Canadian news it may be mentioned that the Canadian Manufacturers Association has endorsed the principle of land value taxation.

PETER McNAUGHT is the newly elected president of the Sydney Single Tax League. The Henry George Anniversary was held in Sydney, on September 12, and among those present was Edward McHugh, who made the commemorative address. We shall have Mr. McHugh in the United States ere long.

THE report of Committee on Taxation for Bergen County, N. J., makes many important recommendations. Mr. George White, of Hackensack, served on this committee. Most of the suggested administrative reforms are part of the practice of the New York Tax board.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW withdraws as candidate for speaker, but will be floor leader of the Ohio House of Representatives. Mr. Bigelow was elected to the legislature by a large majority.

A REPORT on the irregularities and inequalities of County Taxation in Alameda County, California, from Hugh Craig, says: "The increased land value was created by the community, and should be a community asset, available for community

requirements, to be drawn upon as the municipality may desire for public purposes, hence taxation should be borne exclusively by land values."

J. O'D. DERRICK, in the *Derry Journal*, Ireland, quoting the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam, to the effect that it was with anxiety and regret the Archbishop learned that "responsible statesmen belonging to the present government were talking of the imposition of a general land tax on agricultural land", sets right the venerable church dignitary, and quotes Archbishop Nulty and Father McGlynn.

JOHN ATTERBURY SMITH, the well known architect of New York, says in an interview in the *Sunday Times* of October 27:

"The model tenement is not only itself too high priced for the poor to live in," he said, "its presence in a neighborhood raises the rents of inferior dwellings in that neighborhood, and makes the housing problem for poor families one point worse than it is at present; and let alone it is bad enough."

HERBERT QUICK writes: "Congratulation to U'Ren and the Oregon fellows. The spirit they show will surely win in the end, and win at the only point where winning is worth while. *That is after public opinion has been formed.*" The italics are ours.

SINGLE TAX carried every ward in Everett, Washington. The vote was 3,400 to 1,780 against.

THE adoption of the Single Tax by the city of Everett, Washington will not be allowed to stand without a fight. The question of its constitutionality has already been raised, and an injunction is anticipated.

"ONLY the Beginning" is the comment of the Johnstown (Pa.) *Democrat* on the outcome of the fight in Missouri and it adds, "It was just in proportion as the propaganda had reached the people and as the new system had been understood that it found support."

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

AMONG the pamphlets received this bi-month are "The Outlines of Lectures on Taxation," by Louis F. Post, revised and illustrated with colored plates. This is the fourth edition of this work of 145 pages, and is sold for thirty cents. Copies may be obtained of the Public, Ellsworth Building, Chicago, Ill.

The Edwin Burgess "Letters on Taxation" is a closely printed pamphlet of 35 pages containing the letters of this now famous journeyman tailor, first published in the *Racine Advocate*, in 1859-1860, in advocacy of what has in our day come to be known as the Single Tax. They are the remarkable products of a largely self-educated man who had caught more than a fleeting vision of the truth we hold to-day. They are written in a style that recalls Cobbett, and are worth while preserving in the form here given to them, both for their intrinsic merit and their historic interest. For their publication we are indebted to two present Racine advocates of the Single Tax, Hyland Raymond and William S. Buffham. The pamphlet is prefaced by a brief but interesting sketch of this remarkable man. It may be secured by sending 15 cents to William S. Buffham, Racine, Wisc.

"Adam Black, Miner, His Letters to His Son Jim," by Albert Dawson, is a little work published by the *Daily Herald* of Adelaide, Australia, and consists of witty and familiar letters of a father to his son in advocacy of free trade and the taxation of land values. The vernacular is racy, and the argument is convincing.

A pamphlet of 159 pages is entitled "Glackamas County Assessments and Taxes," and has been prepared by W. G. Eggleston and W. S. U'Ren. It is prefaced by a reply to Chas. H. Shields, who is managing the Oregon anti-Single Tax League, and is a forcible plea for the graduated Single Tax voted on in November, fortified by example and illustration.

"The Tale of a Million Dollars and Why He Left Town," is a forcible and clever little leaflet illustrated by J. W. Bengough, and written by the indefatigable A. D. Cridge.

Land Value Tax Party

Headquarters: 43 E. 22nd Street
New York City

Resolution Adopted by Convention May 21, 1910.

We extend our greetings and good wishes to the insurgents, independents and new idea members of the Democratic and Republican parties (many of the same being Land Value Taxers) knowing that party conditions will drive them together into the formation of a new, Anti-Privilege party. We appreciate the work for the Land Value Tax done by politically unorganized and unorganizable Land Value Tax authors and orators, reminding them that Henry George twice, when party machines were bankrupt of ideas and principles, headed independent movements to force the old parties into Land Value Tax lines; and we agree with them that when, if ever, one of the old parties espouses the cause of Land Reform, its leaders proclaiming, like David Lloyd-George that they are enlisted for the utter destruction eventually of Land Monopoly —*then, and then only, will we combine our forces with the forces of that party.*

We stand against the mere aggregation together of radicals of opposite opinions, like Socialists and Land Value Taxers. It is in the interest of truth that a sharp antithesis and a lively debate be created between the collectivist and the individualist schools of thought. The mere passing silently from industrial freedom to industrial feudalism is against the interests of all schools of *earnest social reformers.*"

We invite the co-operation of all those earnest Land Value Taxers who are willing to express their belief in the common ownership of land by voting for candidates who stand openly on the platform of this party; and who present the issue during campaigns and invite the votes of the people because they are pledged to the interests of the Land Value Tax.

The best propaganda is a vote for our candidates and an effort to induce others to vote for them.

Make the Land Value Tax a political issue!

Literature, 10 cents on receipt of stamps.