

# The SINGLE TAX

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF TAXING LAND VALUES.

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## HENRY GEORGE.—1839-1897.

For such as he can lend—they borrow  
not  
Glory from those who made the  
world their prey;  
And he is gathered to the kings of  
thought,  
Who waged contention with their  
times' decay;  
And of the past are all that cannot  
pass away.

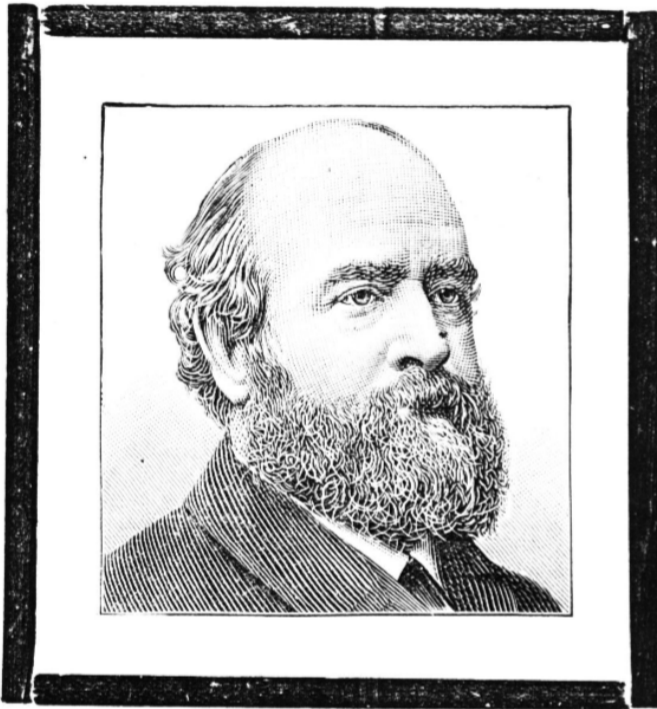
Shelley.

George is dead!

One of the cleverest and most observant of our local Town Councillors has said that there are not more than twelve or thirteen genuine Single Tax men in Glasgow, all told. I have sometimes confuted this. Yet, not until the last three weeks have I had any idea of how many people there were walking our streets who had a warm recollection of, and a high esteem for Henry George. Here and there throughout the city, everywhere I have gone, I have met men who, after a word or two of salutation, have paused and then said to me, "George is dead!" and then paused again. Somehow or other it always seemed to me as if they were speaking of the death of some mutual close relation.

Our editor has asked me to write him an article on George. But, as he intends in this number to make large extracts from the opinions of the press on George, to reprint several lengthy articles from various sources, along with a full life from the pen of a close personal friend of the dead man, nothing seems to be left for me but to say some words for myself and for Glasgow.

On his mother's side, George was descended from a Glasgow family—though once in a speech in the City Hall he said that he was not proud of his connection with a city in which so much poverty existed side by side with so much wealth. It was also in the City Hall of Glasgow, on the 17th March, 1882, that he delivered, under Irish auspices, his first lecture in Great Britain. On the evening following, he was one of the speakers at another meeting, under the auspices of the then "Democratic Association." That was when he was over 40 years of age, after he had passed through all his early struggles, after the publication of "Progress and Poverty," and after he had been arrested under "Buck-shot Forster's" regime as a suspect in Ireland while acting as special Irish correspondent for Patrick Ford's New York paper. But it was while he was still quite an unknown man to the world at large. Within a very short time, however, he had shot into wonderful prominence on both sides of the Atlantic as the founder of an entirely new school of political economy, and as a brilliant writer and orator, and an uncompromising and untiring land agitator. His subsequent visits to Scotland resembled triumphal marches through the country, great crowds flocking to hear him in all the towns in which he spoke—marches which were made all the more triumphal by the derisive howls of the press, and the violent anathemas of nearly all who were in place and power. For "Henry Georgeism"



—it was some years before the term "Single Tax" became generally adopted—was, in the opinion of most politicians, and other respectable people, only another name for robbery and plunder, and reckless folly and wrong. Even the ordinary land agitators fought shy of him or openly denounced him—eternally explaining that they had no sympathy with his absurd and wicked schemes. I can dimly remember attending a great Highland Crofter meeting in the City Hall in 1884, at which George's name was hissed. Although when, a few months later, he made his tour through the Highlands and met the Highland people themselves face to face, he was everywhere received by them as a very prophet.

His second visit to Scotland took place in 1884, in the early months of which year he addressed a meeting in the City Hall of Glasgow, which was packed to the door, and at the close of which the Scottish Land Restoration League was formed. The lecture then delivered has, under the name of "Scotland and Scotsmen," been printed and reprinted in pamphlet form, and sold by the million. Immediately afterwards he addressed large audiences in various other halls of the city and in all the towns of Scotland; and in the winter of 1884-85 he made another similar lecturing tour. It was on a Sunday evening in the early part of the latter year that he delivered his lecture on "Moses," in the St. Andrew's Hall, under the auspices of the then "Sunday Society."

In 1886 George fought as candidate for the mayoralty of New York, and in 1888 flung himself into the presidential struggle on the side of Cleveland and Free Trade. All that time his Scotch friends were kept closely in touch with his thoughts and actions, not only by one or two works as they were published, but also through the medium of his then weekly paper,

*The Standard*, which used to come in considerable parcels to Glasgow. Towards the end of 1888 he was back in this country, bringing with him his wife and his daughters. On this occasion he made a very lengthy tour through both England and Scotland. Among his numerous other engagements were two special visits to Bridgeton—the one to deliver a public lecture, and the other on Saturday, 27th April, 1889—to be present at a complimentary dinner given in his honour in the Bridgeton Cross Public Hall, when an illuminated address was presented to him. After the dinner, as will be remembered, he paid a visit to the Bridgeton Workingmen's Club, and to the rooms of the Bridgeton Liberal Association in Duncan Street. To the library of the Club George presented volumes of his three principal works—"Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," and "Protection or Free Trade," with these words:—

"I have a sincere admiration for this institution, and I would like to see similar clubs established everywhere. I give you a little testimonial of my appreciation in the shape of three volumes, which cost me a great deal of hard work, and which, I believe, are well worthy of a place in your library, and well worthy of your reading. They treat, not of questions of party politics, but of these great fundamental questions which concern every one of us—questions of work, questions of wages, questions of why it is—that most important of all questions—that all over the world the labouring class seems to be the poor class, whereas we all know that labour is the producer of all wealth."

On the evening following, Sunday, 28th April, 1889, George delivered a sermon in the City Hall, under the auspices of the "Henry George Institute," his text being taken from Matthew vi. 10—"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth." This sermon has also been printed and reprinted, and sold by the million, in this country, in the United States, and in the British Colonies.

In the summer of 1889 George paid a visit to Paris to attend an International Convention of Land Reformers in connection with the Paris Exhibition of that year, when, among many continental reformers of all schools, he met several aged representatives of the "new physiocrats" of '48. This was, I believe, the only occasion on which he took any active part in any meetings or convocations outside the English-speaking world, as he knew no language but English. A few months later he set out on a lengthy tour through the Australasian colonies, going by way of San Francisco and the Pacific, and returning via the Suez Canal. On this trip round the world he was also accompanied by his wife and daughters. It was on his passing through this country on his way home—in August, 1890—that he paid his last visit to Glasgow and to Scotland, when he delivered

OFFICE—56 GEORGE SQUARE, GLASGOW.

one lecture in the City Hall, at which the present Scottish Land Restoration Union was founded.

The next time I saw George was in the year 1894, when I was on a visit to America. Since his death a great deal has been written of the fascinating personality of Henry George, and I shall ever cherish with the fondest recollections the privilege I had of making the short acquaintance of that personality in his own house. He was then living with his wife and daughters on East 19th Street, New York. It did not seem to me to be a very desirable place of residence for a man who was not obliged to keep to any special locality, as it lies almost on the boundary of the business part of the city. Yet George liked to live there, as it was in a central position and kept him closely in touch with the great city and with the centres of Single Tax agitation. Afterwards he removed to Fort Hamilton, far on the other side of Brooklyn—in many respects a much more desirable place of residence.

Even at that time George had been working for a year or two on his latest book.

"It was some of you Scotchmen," he told me, "that wanted me to write a Primer on Political Economy—say for use in schools and colleges. But as soon as I started I saw that I would have to make it something more—a fully argued treatise. And later on I found that it would have to be something even more than that," he said slowly and looking at the ceiling—"a full statement of our whole philosophy."

He explained that he was every now and then being disturbed at the work, on account of pressing invitations to speak in various towns of the Union, and of newspaper and magazine controversies in which he was compelled to take part; but he expected to finish it in the spring of 1895. And he said:—

"As soon as I see it into the publisher's hands I am going to take a trip over to your country for a rest and a change."

"But, he is not to speak at all. It is for a rest he is going," said Mrs. George, with her wifely affection.

"Oh! but," I said, "he will surely speak at least once in each of five or six principal towns. At any rate," I said, "if you cross the ocean at all, you will have to come to Scotland; and if you come to Scotland, you will have to come to Glasgow."

"I will certainly come to Glasgow," he said wartyly—even passionately.

But the spring of 1895 has passed, and the summer, and the autumn, and 1896, and the greater part of 1897, and so much care has been taken with the book that it is not finished yet, and—George is dead! It is understood, however, that the first parts are already in the printer's hands, and that the latter parts are in such a condition that they can easily be put in order and seen through the press by his son.

The question has been asked whether it was not foolish of George to go into the recent mayoralty contest at all, looking to the advice his medical adviser and many of his friends gave him. I hardly think that we in this country are in a position to give a satisfactory opinion on this. It is, in all conscience, difficult enough for us to closely follow the trend of thought at home, even with all the information our newspapers and journals give us. With the meagre and generally one-sided information they give us of popular movements in the United States, or any other foreign country, it is absolutely impossible for us to appreciate, at any moment, the exact position of public affairs there. The observant and enquiring man who goes abroad is always startled to find how absolutely little he knows, with all his reading, of the politics or public feelings of the country he visits. That George himself thought that the contest presented an opportunity for progress that should under no consideration be lost, is certain—doubly certain when we know that he himself was dubious of his surviving it. And few men have studied more closely, or have known better than he, the secrets of "agitation." He understood clearly how a propaganda could be carried on for years, even in an organised and regular way, with little or no seeming progress, for, in general circumstances, the enormous masses of people are quite apathetic towards great causes. But he, too, understood how, every now and then, events

are liable to happen that stir the people to earnest enquiry, or affairs to turn in such a way as to impel these masses to direct their attention eagerly for a time in certain directions; and how, at such times, with vigorous action, blows can be struck within a few months, or even weeks, that tell more than the patient hammering of a decade. The patient hammering is necessary to keep the cause before the listless eyes of the people; but the vigorous blows at such times are also necessary to enable it to bear its due fruit. And George evidently regarded this contest as such an event and such a time. It might kill him; but the telling blows he could deal were worth his death.

These were no doubt some of his feelings in entering on the fight. He knew perfectly well that the great attention he excited in this country in 1884 and 1885 was largely due to the then prominence of the Irish and Highland land questions which were at that time directing the earnest attention of our people to one principal phase of the problem he wished to solve. And when he went to Australia it was with the special object of taking advantage of the prominence of the tariff question there, which was then turning the attention of the Australasian peoples to another phase of the very same problem. But probably George also felt that for some years back he had become too much of a closet philosopher, and had longed for more of that close and direct contact with the people which the platform gives. He knew that men before him had written books, on somewhat similar lines to his, that had dropped almost dead from the press, and had been speedily forgotten. Certainly they were not books comparable to his either in completeness of doctrine and argument, or in direct and simple style of treatment. And, doubtless, his books would in time have brought his doctrines to the front, even although he had never appeared on a platform to explain or defend them. But it would probably have been years and years before his ideas had filtered down to the common people. Hence George took every opportunity of adding the agitator and the orator to the thinker and the writer. Someone has said of Rousseau that he never penned a line or entertained an idea without thinking of the great masses of men; and certainly in this respect Henry George resembled the Genevan vagabond. Unlike some of the other candidates in the late contest, who trusted merely to the strength of organisation and the power of money, and hardly ever addressed a meeting, George spoke three or four times a day. His success at the polling booth would have been a great victory; but the most valuable privilege of the contest was his being permitted to have so many talks to the people. The strong presentiments he apparently had when entering on the fight, and especially the startling words he used when accepting nomination, seem almost to show that he knew that the sands of his life were running out, and felt that his most fitting end was to die on the platform, before the eyes of the masses whom he loved.

Probably the most potent and striking of all George's attributes was his absolute simplicity. He possessed to a very high degree the rare attribute of looking *straight* at things. If you asked him a question, he answered exactly the question you asked. If a compound problem was put before him, he immediately cut it up into its simple parts. If he came to the conclusion that something was right, he would have that done, consequence or no consequence.

This is not the place to discuss George's contributions to Political Economy. That would require a series of articles to itself. But, even if he has done nothing else, he has certainly simplified this whole science. Before George wrote, Political Economy was an abstract, intricate, "dry" subject, that could only be adequately studied by one who had previously undergone some special mental training. Even if George is wrong in every one of his special doctrines, he has at least cut up this intricate science into its simple and easily understood parts. That was no doubt the reason why Professor Beesly took "Progress and Poverty" as a text book for his classes in the early '80's; though he had to drop it when its author became known as a "dangerous demagogue." Of course, the work requires some serious and fixed thought; but that thought is such as any fairly intelligent person can readily apply. I

myself first read it as a hazy-minded youth, lying on the steerage-deck of a West Highland steamer; and it was absolutely my first introduction, not only to Political Economy, but to any similar science. I keenly remember scratching my head at times, and closing the book to look at the sea and think. But I made the necessary effort, and, before ending the thirty-six hours' voyage, the mysteries of a new world of thought had been gradually unfolded to my raw mind. Immediately afterwards I read some of the most abstruse works on the subject, but none of them gave me the slightest difficulty—George had cut the whole thing up into pieces for me.

But besides simplifying the science, he also made it complete and consistent. The total wealth produced is divided into three parts—Rent, Wages, and Interest. Now, all the old economists treat of the distribution of wealth between these three as depending on three distinct and separate laws—one ruling the rise and fall of each of the factors. Hence they were led into hosts of intricacies. But when George turned his simple, straight glance on the matter, he saw that, as they were all per-centages of the one thing—the total wealth produced—what affects the per-centage of the one must affect the per-centage of one or both of the others. If the per-centage of one rises, the per-centage of one or both of the others must fall; and if the per-centage of one falls, the per-centage of one or both of the others must rise. Hence he found that the proportions of all must depend on the one thing,

#### THE "MARGIN OF CULTIVATION."

How this discovery in economic science helped him to solve the great problem he set out to solve—why poverty keeps pace with the numerous improvements of progress—we all know. The importance he attaches to land tenure in man's social and industrial arrangements is largely derived from this conclusion, and from his keen recognition of the simple, axiomatic truth that land—in its economic sense—is the ultimate and absolute source of all wealth and the sole workshop of the world.

It has been said that George will be remembered as essentially a one-book author. If this is so, it is just because he unfolded his whole philosophy in "Progress and Poverty." His other works—so far as we yet have them—are just exemplifications and illustrations of the doctrines there adduced. It is therefore wrong to say, as has been said in several quarters, that he exhausted himself in his first great work. It was simply because he found that he had exhausted neither himself nor his subject that he issued the others. "Social Problems" is a more popular and minute examination of several matters at which he could only hastily glance in such a work as "Progress and Poverty." No doubt many will think "Protection or Free Trade" the best ordered and most convincing of his works. In it he carefully cuts up the Tariff question into little bits, takes it all to pieces, and so simplifies it, just as he does with the science of Political Economy and the Social Problem in "Progress and Poverty." "The Condition of Labour," and "A Perplexed Philosopher," are controversial works. His fine English style, always clear and simple, often sensuous and passionate, and especially his amazing wealth of analogy and illustration, and the absolute simplicity of his analogies and illustrations, greatly adds to the readableness of his books.

George is dead! and it has been said that, like Moses, he died without entering the promised land. But I cannot conceive that he ever supposed he would live to see his principles put fully into practice. Yet he has lived to see many things. His influence on economic science has not always been acknowledged, yet it has already been great. It would not be difficult to compile a nice little list of once famous doctrines, besides the celebrated one of the "Wages Fund," which, 20 years ago, were always being thrown like wet blankets over every discussion that took place between capitalists and labourers for instance, or the landed and the landless, which have gradually been dropped since he wrote, and which are scarcely heard of now, or for which, at least, no reputed scientific economist would now contend.

And he did live long enough to live down many a personal slander, many an opprobrious epithet. During his early visits to this country

**Ask all Candidates for Municipal and Parliamentary Honours this Question—**



a few of the terms freely used about his philosophy and himself in the daily and weekly press, and in magazine articles and reviews alike were:—"immoral doctrines;" "the incredible absurdity of his reasoning;" "the gigantic fraud recommended by Mr. George;" "It is not so much the dishonesty or violence of such teaching that strikes us most, but its unutterable meanness;" "a dangerous demagogue;" "the apostle of plunder;" "a man utterly conscienceless;" "a man who is not the least shocked by consequences which abolish the decalogue and deny the primary obligations both of public and private morality;" "the world has never seen such a preacher of unrighteousness as Mr. Henry George." Later on he was charged over the world with plagiarism on the most tremendous scale. It was even said that "Progress and Poverty" had been copied almost word for word from previously published books. Now, he is ead. And, since his death, I have carefully gone over all the press notices of him, both in British and American journals, that I can possibly lay my hands on. Many take occasion to say that they disagree with him; but in doing so they are perfectly fair. The old personal opprobrium has disappeared. I pick the following from some of the journals which declare themselves most opposed to his principles:—"an able man;" "a fair man;" "an honest man;" "a straight man;" "a good man;" "an acute and far-seeing economist;" "a pure and high-minded reformer;" "one of the greatest and most upright figures of our century;" "the grasp and power of his intellect was only surpassed by the fairness of his methods, the single-mindedness of his motives, and the loftiness of his purpose." Only in one or two corners have I been able to find anything else. In its leader of 30th October last, the *Glasgow Herald*, for instance, tentatively referred to him as an "adventurer."

Nor is this all. It is not even most. For he has also lived to see, in the spread of the agitation for the Taxation of Land Values, some part, more or less, of his "policy of plunder" adopted into the programmes of one of the great political parties in every one, at least, of the English-speaking countries and Colonies of the world. The *Glasgow Herald* may still speak of him as an "adventurer," but his shadow has for some years back been haunting the Glasgow Municipal Buildings. And in the laws of New Zealand and of New South Wales, the thin end of the "Single Tax" wedge has already actually been inserted, and the people there have been so satisfied with this that they are even now crying loudly for more of the wedge. The latest act passed in New Zealand for the Taxation of Land Values has come so close up to George's principles that George himself could hardly have bettered the wording of it except to make it take all land values.

In a word, if Henry George has not lived long enough to eat of the ripened fruit, he has at least seen that fruit fast forming on the tree. As a reformer he has, in many ways, fully realised the promise of Whittier:—

Yet do thy work; it shall succeed  
In thine or in another's day;  
And if denied the victor's meed  
Thou shalt not lack the toiler's pay.

But what effect will his death have on the cause with which he was identified, and for which he lived—and died? Mr. Stead, answering this question in the "Review of Reviews," says:—

"His sudden death, occurring in such circumstances, will probably give a fillip to the propaganda which is associated with his name. But a living dog, says the proverb, is better than a dead lion, and the Single Taxmen in every English-speaking world realise only too keenly the blow which has been dealt the cause by the removal of its leader."

With all respect, I think that Mr. Stead should have been one of the last men to have dragged in this worldly proverb on such an occasion. For surely he should know that the history of the progress of mankind is filled with instances which belie the proverb. How many great causes have only begun to conquer when assailed by martyrdom? How many great movements have only been consecrated by the death of their founders? Christianity itself, as Henry George was fond of pointing out, was only so consecrated.

Yet again. A would-be tyrant of France tried to filch from the people the liberties of France. For days a band of devoted orators

went around the capital and the provinces, explaining, urging, exhorting the people to resist. But the people were quite apathetic; they did not seem to care for their liberties. One evening, however, a poor unknown man, who had attended one of the little resisting meetings in Paris, was, in a scuffle, shot dead by the soldiery; and that night his body was carried by torch-light round the city. A few hours later the workmen of Paris had poured in thousands from their homes in the faubourgs, had captured several stands of arms, had thrown down cabs, carts, and omnibuses, and torn up the paving stones to throw barricades across the streets, and were eagerly preparing to capture the Hotel de Ville, and to drive the soldiers from the city, and the treacherous dynasty from the land. In this case a dead dog proved better than many living lions.

And John Brown of Harper's Ferry—living—could shelter a few fugitive slaves, and defend them for a time against their pursuers. But John Brown of Harper's Ferry—dead—marched, as the battle-song says, at the head of every regiment that was formed shortly afterwards in the North, and his name was shouted as a battle-cry by tens of thousands of stalwart men who had sworn to put an end to the curse of negro slavery in the United States:—

"We have read this fateful sentence writ in rows of burnished steel,  
As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal."

Let the hero born of woman crush this serpent with his heel,  
Since God is marching on."

And to die for truth has as often been the ideal as to live for truth. It was so with the anti-slavery men:—

"In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,

With a halo in His bosom to transfigure you and me;  
As he died to make men holy, so we die to make men free,

As we go marching on."

I do not wish to make odious comparisons between movemens of different kinds, nor between other men who have died for truth, and Henry George. I only wish to point out how narrow is the proverb which Mr. Stead cites. For every case has its own circumstances, and, looking to all the circumstances of this, I do not think that George's death will have much effect on the movement at all. Certainly George himself was no fatalist. He did not think that the triumph of his principles was absolutely bound to come. Again and again he said that it would only come if men willed it and worked for its coming; for it was an essential part of his creed that man, though an effect, was also a cause, though a creature was also a creator. In George the cause has certainly lost a valuable worker. But perhaps the fillip of which Mr. Stead speaks may counterbalance this loss. As the founder of the movement, we have not lost him. George was only temporarily a political leader; permanently and essentially he was a great thinker. He was not even director of the Single Tax propaganda, although he was its spiritual head. This was his body; that was his soul—and it is only his body that we have lost. His thoughts and his spirit are still left to us in his books and in his memory, and will be left to those after us. It is no doubt owing to this feeling that there has been so little grief among the Single Tax men—only a little emotion when they thought of him as a man.

"A living dog is better than a dead lion." Faugh! What does Shelley say?—

The splendours of the firmament of time  
May be eclipsed, but are extinguished not;  
Like stars to their appointed height they climb,  
And death is a low mist that cannot blot  
The brightness it may veil. When lofty thought  
Lifts a young heart above its mortal lair,  
And love and life contend in it for what  
Shall be its earthly doom, the dead live there,  
And move like winds of light on dark and stormy air.

NORMAN M'LENNAN.

### The Bradford Conference.

We direct the attention of our readers to the Conference on the Taxation of Land Values, to be held at Bradford, on 4th January, 1898. Those intending to be present might communicate with the various secretaries, as per advertisement in another column.

## Tributes to George.

BISHOP POTTER DECLARES GEORGE LOVED AND STROVE TO SERVE HIS FELLOW MEN.

Mrs. Henry George.—May I offer you my sincere sympathy in view of the great sorrow that has come to you. Your husband and I were both pupils of the late Dr. George Emlon Hare, in Philadelphia, and I remember very well, as a boy, his father's book store, in which he first developed his love for reading. But he did more than read; he thought, and he loved and strove to serve his fellow men. There were many questions concerning which we did not see alike, but there was none in connection with which he did not reveal himself as a faultless and upright man in every best personal characteristic, an example to his fellow men. May God comfort you and yours in your great bereavement prays  
HENRY C. POTTER.

FATHER M'GLYNN SAYS GEORGE DIED BATTLING FOR PRINCIPLES HE LOVED.

To the Editor of the Journal.

Henry George died a martyr. He fell on the battlefield, just as he would have chosen to die had it been left to him to decide. He went down with his face to the enemy, battling for principles that were dearer to him than life.

I have known him long and intimately, and have enjoyed the opportunity of studying the man, his high motives and his splendid character. He had earned from me a close friendship and a profound admiration. I officiated at the marriage of his daughter Jemale, and performed the last sad rites when she was laid to rest. I was bound to Henry George by the deepest ties, and now, when my heart is bursting, I can give but feeble expression to the tribute I would pay his memory.

He was unquestionably one of the greatest and most remarkable men that America has produced, and death came to him as it did to Abraham Lincoln, at a time when his ability was recognised universally, and when he was about to accomplish the crowning effort of his life. After the first shock of it is over, we may be able to see that there was a higher Providence in his death than we can now understand. His loveable personality, his rare genius for political philosophy and economy, his indefatigable and successful study and search for political and economic truth, set him quite apart from all other men of his time.

I do not think that it is merely the enthusiastic language of a devoted friend to say that as the providence of God raised up a Washington to be the father of his country, and endowed him with such gifts, and gave him such experiences that we might well believe that without them the Republic would not have been achieved, as in a similar crisis the rare gifts and character of a Lincoln were so plainly Providential, that none but men with little faith in God could doubt that he had been prepared for and sent upon a mission by the Father in heaven, and I have no hesitation in saying that Henry George, by his extraordinary gifts and career, showed that he was marked out by the Providence of God to be a foremost leader and teacher in the work of emancipation of the masses of men everywhere, from an industrial slavery, to often worse and more galling than mere chattel slavery, and to hasten the coming and to perpetuate the duration, not merely of a larger and more perfect American Union of States, but of the commonwealth or United States of the World.

If the wondrously beautiful philosophy of Henry George shall not be accepted in practice, later generations of Americans, if not our own generation, will surely be doomed to see the oppression of the masses, brutalised by their poverty and enthrallment, rise up to a vengeance, and perhaps one unwise, and abhorrent measures for the righting of their wrongs, that on a larger scale, amid much greater numbers of men, might more than repeat the horrors of the French Revolution.

I myself am not a politician; I am a clergyman, and, I hope, not lacking in humanity and patriotism, and what I have said, and my attitude towards Mr. George, so far from being inconsistent with my religion, are largely dictated by my religion itself, namely, the religion of "Him who felt compassion for the multitude, and who taught us to labour and to

"Are you in favour of Taxing Land Values?"

pray for the coming upon earth of a kingdom of peace and perfect justice and brotherhood, which He did not disdain to call the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth." EDWARD M'GLYNN.

"HE DIED A MARTYR'S DEATH," SAYS DR. NEWTON.

Garden City, N.Y., Oct. 29, 1897.

Mrs. Henry George, Union Square Hotel.—My deep sympathy is with you in this crushing blow. I loved him. Truly, he died a martyr's death. The blood of martyrs is the seed of liberty.

R. HEBER NEWTON.

"HE KNEW ALL ECONOMICS," SAYS THOS. G. SHEARMAN.

To the Editor of the Journal.

I have known Mr. George for sixteen years. I was one of his closest and dearest friends. It was through the invitation of myself and two other of his friends and admirers that Mr. George came to Brooklyn to make his first speech in that city. At that time I was not familiar with his theories, but since then I have become convinced that he knew more of economics than any other man in the country. On all questions on which he and students of statistics and books differed, the results showed that they were wrong and Henry George right.

Not only was Mr. George one of the most disinterested and unselfish men I ever knew, but one of the most pure-minded. He was a man of generous impulses and a fixed nature. He was always absorbed in considering the welfare of his fellow men, especially among the poorer classes, the world over. He never grew morbid in pondering over these things. To him it was a matter of no concern what he had to eat or what he had to wear, and he craved not for luxury where he himself was concerned.

Henry George thoroughly believed in government by the people, and he hated every form of aristocracy in government, whether founded on birth or on money. But he was entirely free from that small jealousy which leads so many to dislike those who have had superior advantages. He never begrudged any man his wealth if honestly gained, and he believed that men could gain great wealth honestly; but his own personal sympathies were, nevertheless, with the poor. He was a man of real genius, having wonderful intuition on many economic questions. On points where there were no statistics which he knew of, he would reach wonderfully correct conclusions, which statistics afterwards proved correct. He took pleasure in having his work praised, not because the praise was given to him, but because it showed that his work had done good.

The hold which Henry George was gradually acquiring upon the people was far deeper than the world in general, especially the intellectual world, imagined. No philosopher since the days of Robert Jefferson ever gained such a hold upon the people as did Henry George, and if he only had the health and vigour to carry on his work, his influence would have rivalled that of Jefferson: but his health had been poor for a number of years, and I doubt if it had ever been strong. He was entirely unfit to stand this campaign, and I told him in advance that I would not support him as I did not want to have even that part of the share in causing his death. I had a strong impression that the campaign would be fatal to him, although I expected that the excitement would tide him over till after election day.

His death, however, seems an ideal one. He had done his work, and by this campaign had renewed and expanded his hold on the masses, and he died at just the moment when his death was likely to make the profoundest impression and do the most good for the cause he had so much at heart.

So far from Henry George being a Socialist, he was the ablest and most effective opponent Socialism has ever met. No answer to Socialism can ever be made which does not offer a full remedy for the monster wrongs under which the people suffer, and Henry George was the first man to offer any suggestion to show a way which will at once give relief to poverty and preserve sacredly every honest right to property. Whether his solution is right or not is not now important to consider, but I will say that it is the only solution to the dark social problem now threatening us which has ever been made outside of Socialism. THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

"A DEATH AS IN A BATTLE," SAYS DR. ABBOTT.

Says Dr. Lyman Abbott:—I had known Henry George for twenty years—ever since the publication of "Progress and Poverty," at which time I first became acquainted with him. His broad sympathies, his courage of conviction, his unselfish devotion to what he believed to be truth, his spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice, attached him deeply to all who knew him.

I can well understand the enthusiasm of the loyalty of those who followed him, although his radicalism was so great that I never could enrol myself among his followers. It will be very strange if those who did so enrol themselves will not be stunned by the shock of his sudden death. But such a death appears to me to be like that of a captain in a battle. Those who followed him must close up the ranks, go on with the battle, and wait until it is finished before they indulge in personal sorrow.

BRYAN'S TESTIMONY.

Cleveland, Ohio, Oct., 29.

To the Editor of the Journal, New York.

You can quote me as saying the following of Henry George:—

Henry George was a philosopher. Men choose their avocations. Some end their energies toward money-making, and find their delight in accumulating wealth. Some are ambitious for the honours of public life, and weary their energies in the excitements and routine duties of office.

Some turn their attention to scientific investigation, but George was essentially a reformer in the social and political world. He studied diseases of the body politic, as a physician studies diseases of the human system. Having found a disease, he searched for a remedy with sincere enthusiasm.

All new legislation is experimental, and only experiment can determine whether the Single Tax is a real remedy. That Mr. George had implicit faith in his remedy no one who knew him will doubt. He was as guileless as a child, and as earnest as a martyr. His heart and his mind worked in perfect harmony, the former devising, the latter defending schemes for the public weal.

Such lives contribute much to civilisation. Out of the clash of ideas comes truth; out of the comparison of and experiment with theories, comes progress. When a man like George dies, the world is reminded anew that usefulness is the test of greatness. How cheap the life of the mere money grabber seems when compared with the life of Henry George. The wise man was right; a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favour rather than silver or gold.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

COUNT TOLSTOI AGREES WITH HENRY GEORGE.

I agree with Henry George.

Henry George has formulated the next article in the programme of the Progressionist Liberals of the world.

He indicated the next step to be taken.

I admire his spirit, which was so Christian; his style, which was so clear; and his metaphors, which were so striking.

Landlords may be expropriated without dishonesty, without compensation, as matter of principle.

As a question of fact, I think compensation might facilitate the necessary change.

It will come, I suppose, as emancipation came.

A sense of the shamefulness of the private ownership of land will grow.

Someone will write an "Uncle Tom's Cabin" about it.

There will be agitation. Then it will come.

His ideas will spread: nay, they are spreading.

*The remarkable thing about this cable message from Count Tolstoi is, that the great Russian reformer for the first time explicitly accepts Mr. George's land theories and substitutes them for his own.*—New York Journal.

EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND WROTE:—

I have always regarded Henry George as a man of honest and sincere convictions, and have ever held a high opinion of him. Throughout his life he proved himself a man whose character was above reproach, and I am sincerely sorry to learn of his sudden demise.

WHAT THE FINANCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION SAYS:—

At a special meeting of the Council of this Association, on the 8th November, the following resolution was moved by the President, and seconded by Mr. Thomas Crosfield, Vice-President, and carried unanimously:—

"That the Council of the Financial Reform Association having heard with deep sorrow of the death of Mr. Henry George in the midst of his struggle for the good government of New York, would tender their sincere sympathy with Mrs. George and family in their bereavement; and would express their high appreciation of the work of Mr. George in the cause of Freedom of Trade, Justice in Taxation and in everything tending to promote peace and goodwill among nations. The close connection between the Association and Mr. George during the past ten years has enabled them to admire him, not only as an eloquent speaker and writer, but especially as a man of spotless integrity of character, and thorough sympathy with the poor and oppressed over the world."

THE FINANCIAL REFORMER SAYS:—

By his death the world has sustained a great loss. It is not merely the loss of a clear thinker, or of the man whose great heart throbbed in sympathy with misery and distress all over the world. It is not the loss of the charming, poetic writer, or of the eloquent orator, but of the man who united all these qualities in himself. Such men are rare through out the centuries; and, generally, it is only after their death that they are appreciated and we find out that "we have been entertaining angels unawares." His death was the death he would have desired of all others. He died in harness, fighting the battle of the oppressed. It was on

THE 30TH NOVEMBER, 1888,

that Mr. George first spoke from the platform of this Association. He addressed a large meeting in the Rotunda Lecture Hall, Liverpool. He had been, previous to his visit to this country, doing all he could for Grover Cleveland and Free Trade in the United States. At that time Mr. George was regarded as a dangerous demagogue by many who were, of course, absolutely ignorant of what his doctrines really were. But the members of the Council of the Financial Reform Association were not frightened as to what some might think, and gave a cordial welcome to the man who had done so much for the cause of Free Trade. In our address to Mr. George we pointed out how the lines upon which he proceeded and those of this Association were converging. In his speech he referred to this:—"You say our lines have been converging: if we have aimed at truth they must needs converge." From that time to this the relations between Mr. George and the Council of the Financial Reform Association have been of the most cordial nature.

Bryce's Tribute to George.

I recollect few things more tragic (writes Prof. James Bryce to a London paper) than Henry George's death at this moment, and am heartily sorry that the world has lost him. I knew him a little and respected him a great deal. He was not only a man of remarkable literary power, but a very sincere and earnest man, who left a most favourable personal impression on my mind ever since the time, now more than ten years ago, when he breakfasted with me, and talked over California and New York affairs. It seemed to me that he never quite got justice in this country.

The world owes him a debt of gratitude.

The death of Henry George has brought deep grief to Single Taxers everywhere. The gentle and lovable nature of the man had endeared him to all who enjoyed the privilege of knowing him. It is no overstrained eulogy to say that none knew him but to love him. But myriads of men and women throughout the civilised world, who never saw or heard him, mourn his death as deeply and as sincerely as if they had been his warmest and closest personal friends. It is doubtful if any man who ever lived has succeeded in a lifetime of fifty eight years in enshrining himself in so many human hearts as Henry George has. It is certain that he has during the past nineteen years more deeply influenced the thought of his time than any other man of his generation. The world owes him a debt of gratitude for the light he has thrown upon the problems of the time which appear so dark and threatening to the ordinary mind.

SERVE THE CAUSE BY HANDING THE PAPER TO A FRIEND.



And that light is only just beginning to shine. Its dawn will grow brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

The expressions of kindness and respect so generally evoked by his death show that the character of the man and the value of his labours are widely known and appreciated. His sudden death at the post of duty, battling for the right, has drawn to the movement an amount of public attention which no other event could have done. Henry George is dead, but the great movement which he inaugurated, the cause he loved so well, still lives and will continue to live and grow until the kingdom of justice comes and God's will shall "be done on earth as it is in Heaven."—*Joseph Legget in the "San Francisco Examiner."*

#### His Name will be held Sacred.

Henry George is dead, but he has kindled a flame which can never be extinguished as long as the earth remains. As long as the human soul yearns for liberty, founded upon justice, and enthroned in love, for that social order promised in the prayer, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven," Henry George's name will be held sacred. He proclaimed to the world a profoundly religious philosophy, a sublime truth, full of hope and cheer for the heavy laden and oppressed. And therein lay his marvellous power over the hearts and minds of men. Under his master touch the Christianity which Christ taught has been quickened; a faith that was dead in millions of lives has been revived.

The effect of the revelation upon himself and upon his followers is best described by those eloquent words in the concluding chapter of "Progress and Poverty"—

"I have in this enquiry followed the course of my own thought. When, in mind, I set out on it, I had no theory to support, no conclusions to prove. Only, when I first realised the squalid misery of a great city, it appalled and tormented me, and would not let me rest for thinking of what caused it and how it could be cured.

"But out of this enquiry has come to me something I did not think to find, and a faith that was dead revived.

"The yearning for a future life is natural and deep. It grows with intellectual growth, and perhaps none really feel it more than those who have begun to see how great is the universe and how infinite are the vistas which every advance in knowledge opens before us—vistas which require nothing short of eternity to explore.

*National Single Taxer.*

#### What He Taught.

This, and this alone, I contend for—that he who makes should have; that he who saves should enjoy. I ask on behalf of the poor nothing whatever that properly belongs to the rich.—*Henry George.*

#### Why He Fought.

He who will hear, to him the clarions of the battle call. How they call, and call, and call, till the heart swells that hears them! Strong soul and high endeavour, the world needs them now.—*Henry George.*

#### Reminiscences by Mr. Michael Davitt, M.P.

I have heard of the death of Henry George (writes Michael Davitt in the *London Chronicle*) with the deepest sorrow. He was one of my dearest friends. His simple but great qualities endeared him to all who had the privilege of his intimacy. I have never met a man more absolutely devoted to principle than George. He resembled Kossuth in his steadfast and unflinching loyalty to one great idea. This idea was the pole-star of his action in whatever movement he helped by his powerful advocacy or in anything he wrote in furtherance of a cause. And his honesty was as absolutely manifest in all he did or said, as his writings are eloquent with the ring of sterling sincerity and conviction.

No other reformer of this century has held so unique a position as George has occupied in the English-speaking world. Greater men there have been, of course, within the circumscribed bounds of nations as political leaders and statesmen. But George was neither a statesman nor a politician, and yet not alone in his own country but here in Great Britain and in Ireland

and away at the Antipodes, he evoked an enthusiasm for the great principle he stood for such as no other man of the century has called into existence without the accessories of party machinery or the platform of a Parliament. This, in a measure, was due to the great truth embodied in his propaganda of land nationalisation and to the remedy which that reform offers for the major social evils arising out of a society founded upon our Governments manipulated by monopoly. But such a reform had been preached long before the advent of "the Prophet of San Francisco." Fintain Lalor in Ireland, and Ernest Jones in England, had in their day ably advocated the same doctrine of "the land for the people," but without creating any movement of any moment to carry the principle into the domain of practical politics.

#### MAGNETIC POWER.

George's personality helped the cause almost as much as his books. He possessed the magnetic faculty of creating disciples wherever he went. Men rallied to the reform he so eloquently pleaded for, because he inspired them with his own high ideals and with the intensity of his devotion to the cause of suffering humanity. There was a charm of individuality about him which only true and transparently honest natures carry with them into their labours for a beneficent end. George was essentially the economic apostle of the poor and disinherited. No man ever united more loveable gifts with brighter talents in unselfish devotion to a world-wide movement for the betterment of labouring mankind than he whose loss will be mourned by millions of sorrowing friends and followers throughout the world to-morrow.

#### ARRESTED AS A SUSPECT

I first met George in New York in 1880. It was in the office of the *Irish World*. I had read "Progress and Poverty" crossing the prairies from San Francisco, and I recollect having urged the gifted author on meeting him to bring out a cheap edition in London as soon as possible. This, he told me, he had already resolved upon doing. He was deeply interested in the Land League agitation which was then in progress, and readily accepted from Mr. Patrick Ford a commission to go to Ireland as special commissioner for his paper. It was his first visit to Europe. Hew as only a short time in Ireland until poor Mr. Forster's bungling gave George his first experience of English rule and first taste of popularity. He was "reasonably suspected" of being in Loughrea, County Galway, in 1881, for some illegal end, was arrested on orders from Dublin Castle, and locked up for the night. Possibly the bewildered Chief Secretary had never heard of the author of "Progress and Poverty," and only knew of him as the special correspondent of the *Irish World*. The immediate outcry raised in America and by some of the English papers caused an instant release of the "suspect." George never bore any ill-will towards the late Mr. Forster over the incident at Loughrea. He usually referred to it afterwards as an amusing experience.

#### "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

The arrest had one good effect. It made George's name and book known to hundreds of thousands who had probably never heard of either before. The sale of "Progress and Poverty" was phenomenal on this side of the Atlantic. No book on so dry a subject as political economy ever before achieved such a success. The author made no profit out of it. Another man less lost in the labour of inculcating a principle would have made a fortune out of the enormous demand there was for the work. George cared only for the good which he believed his book was destined to do. He was always indifferent as to the monetary value of his labours. An English admirer, knowing he was a poor man with a wife and family to support, handed him a cheque one day in my hotel here in London. The late Mr. William Saunders was present. George looked at the cheque and without a moment's hesitation handed it to Mr. Saunders, with the remark, "This will help to 'spread the light' here in Great Britain." The cheque was for £1,000.

#### A SAD PROPHECY.

One of his first appearances before an English audience was at St. James's Hall, London, in 1882. Mr. Labouchere, M.P., was in the chair.

George had been much exercised in his mind for a week previous to the meeting about appearing in evening dress. He had never before donned that badge of society servitude, and he assented to the infliction with a very bad grace. Those who urged him to conform to this usage were horrified to see him step on to the platform in a pair of heavy unpolished shoes, with the bottoms of his dress pants turned up as if in defiance of the laws of custom. He was heedless of personal appearance, and had always the heartiest laugh at himself when some thoughtless mishap of this kind excited merriment among his intimate friends. He invariably impressed you as a man who had lost himself in his work, and was careful only to see that no personal care should stand in the way of that work being well done.

His son told me in New York, in May last, that the father's health was not satisfactory. Knowing this, my reply to a question put to me a fortnight ago by an American journalist, as to what I thought of George's candidature for the mayoralty of Greater New York, turns out to have been sadly prophetic. I answered, "I think it will kill him."

#### A Personal Picture.

##### HENRY GEORGE AT HOME.

There is an interesting picture of Henry George in an interview which Mr. C. H. Meltzer contributes to the *New York Criterion* for October. The author of "Progress and Poverty" was at his home at Fort Hamilton, which is a little distance out from New York. This was the man Mr. Meltzer found:—

"A short, spare figure, topped by a large intellectual head. A lofty forehead, bald save for a fringe of what was once bright reddish hair, now streaked with paler tints. A long, strong, slightly curving nose, sure index to a vigorous and determined character. Blue, earnest, and abstracted eyes, which now and then flash with observant interest through the projecting spectacles. A bushy beard, a heavy, thick moustache; not wholly hiding the firm outline of a mouth that tells of will and resolute force. Below the eyes, and bordering the nose, deep, patient furrows, lines of care and thought and suffering. The ears are ugly—large and long, and oddly shaped. And they are set at an unusually wide angle, as though straining to catch every faintest sound of the great human tragedy."

Then as to his manner, it was retiring, yet not shy:—

"And when he talks or thinks most earnestly he lifts his head high, as if taking counsel not with earth but heaven. It does not surprise me after observing this, to find that though some brand him as an Anarchist and hint at atheism, he believes in an all-guiling heavenly Providence."

Mrs. George, a pleasant, self-possessed, and unaffected lady in the forties, showed the visitor over her husband's two studies. The first was a plain room—plain and a trifle dreary, as George himself perhaps thought, since he did most of his work in the other. Here is a description of it:—

"Spartan simplicity marks this study. The walls are white. The roof is rather low. Abundant light streams in from a broad window looking down upon the road and from two smaller side windows. The centre of the room is occupied by a small, narrow, and exceedingly inadequate flat desk, littered all over with manuscript. Letters and pamphlets, in admired disorder, are strewn here and there among the loose sheets of what I take to be Mr. George's coming *magnum opus*. On open bookshelves round the walls are ranged some hundreds of plainly and cheaply bound volumes, chiefly works on political economy."

#### Scottish Land Restoration Union. SOCIAL MEETING.

*A Social Gathering of the members and friends of the Scottish Land Restoration Union will be held in the Mid City Hall, 37 Albion Street, Glasgow, on Friday 10th December, 1897—Ex Bailie Burt, President, will occupy the chair. Tea will be served at 7.30 p.m. A Single Tax of 1s. 3d. will be levied for each ticket. Write to the Secretary, 56 George Square, Glasgow, if you intend being present.*

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### HENRY GEORGE.

"No greater honour can be given to any man than to stand for the honest democracy. I would not refuse, if I died for it! What count a few years? What can a man do better or nobler than doing something for his country, for his nation, for his age?"—*From the Speech of Henry George, accepting his nomination, 5th October, 1897.*

Henry George is dead. What shall we say? How difficult is such a task. His genius, his work, to which he was so devoted, his character, his charming personality, come crowding in upon us even as we attempt to write.

For his work we owe him an everlasting debt of gratitude. He has given Single Taxers their conception of political duty; he has called them into a living bond of union to work and hope for the emancipation of the race from poverty. This was his ideal and his aim. He was gifted to give the world a great truth, and it was his life's work to explain it that the people might understand and accept the glad tidings. The truth he made so clear that the poverty which accompanied progress was because of human institutions, and not because of the niggardliness of nature, came like a revelation to men. A new hope sprung up among those who saw and believed, and Mr. George in a short time found faithful followers wherever he went prepared to take up "The Cross of the New Crusade."

Henry George traced social evils to their origin—property in land. Other men before him had done this, but he made it clear. In his early manhood he wondered why progress did not extirpate poverty; and was struck with the fact that poverty not only remained, but that it kept pace with progress, and he set himself the task of knowing why. He searched diligently for the cause, and in his efforts he found the remedy also. He gave his discovery in "Progress and Poverty," and in subsequent works, and in the press and on the platform he advocated it with brilliancy and with such persistent effort, that he won for himself a name and a fame that will live through all time.

The remedy he proposed is accepted by men wherever the English tongue is spoken, and in many other countries; and in the Australian Colonies and in New Zealand a first instalment has already been secured. This first step in the Taxation of Land Values gained in so short a time is a decided victory, which is due in a great measure to the personal services of Henry George. He went among the Australian people like an inspired prophet, and made his proposals clear to them. He showed by voice and pen how easily the Taxation of Land Values could be adopted when men willed that it should. The seed fell on good ground. Last year New Zealand passed an Act for the Taxation of Land

Values that might have been drafted by Henry George; and on October of this year the Premier of New South Wales told the Parliament there that the *new Free Trade policy and the Land Value Tax of last year had established sound prosperity in that Colony.*

We are told, to-day, by a goodly proportion of the press in Britain that Henry George was not successful, and that his views which attracted so much attention at first are now almost forgotten. But this same press have to acknowledge, day by day, in their columns how his ideas are progressing. The "Daily News," the great representative Liberal organ, is the chief of these sinners. It hurriedly sets Mr. George aside as a Socialist, and says, at the same time, "that the Liberal party, when next in power, will carry through the Taxation of Land Values. Comment is needless here.

There is a volume of sentiment now in Britain in favour of this reform, advocated by the ardent disciples Henry George has called into action, that tells in no uncertain way how victorious he is. He kept the faith and fought a good fight, and he has won. True, he has not lived to enter the land of promise, but he lived to see it in the distance. How glorious, too, was his death. How like the man. He was called by the advancing democracy to take the lead in a crusade on their behalf. He knew it meant death.

"Tell me," he said to Dr. Levenson, "if I accept, what is the worst that is likely to happen to me?" "I replied," said his doctor, "since you ask me, you have a right to be told; most probably it will be fatal." He then said: "You mean that it may kill me. Dr. Kelly says the same thing, only more positive. He says it will certainly kill me. But I have got to die some time, and how can I die better than serving humanity? Besides, so dying would do more for the cause than anything that otherwise I might be able to do in the rest of my life."

He freely offered himself up a sacrifice for the sake of the cause he lived to serve. What mattered it to him that he might live a few more years, if by dying now he could do more for the cause. The world is better, to-day, because of Henry George. This is not now realised, except by those who knew him, and who apprehend his teaching. But they are sufficient to carry on the work he so well begun. In his death they but see "the soul of a conqueror passing." Success? Never was man more successful. He was "a thinker let loose by God on this planet; one of those star souls that dwindle, not with distance, but, glowing with the radiance of essential truth, hold their light while institutions and languages and creeds change and pass."

### The Scottish Liberal Conference.

We heartily congratulate the Liberals of Scotland in giving the Taxation of Land Values a foremost place on their programme. It will advance the cause of Liberalism. The delegates were unanimous in their approval. The most honoured man at the Conference was HARRY S. MURRAY; and he was honoured because of his efforts in bringing the question to the front both by voice and pen. But there is room and more than room yet for others to assist in this work. Many of the delegates present confessed that, while they approved of the Taxation of Land Values, they had never before heard it so well explained. It can also be said of many of the constituencies, that they require it explained.

THE RANK AND FILE  
of the Liberal Party want a gospel. They want something that will stir the public mind on behalf of Liberalism; and it was clearly shewn in the discussion at the Conference that the hopes of the representative men were centered in this "New Tax." This question is winning. It has come to stay till it is embodied in legislation. The ratepayers have got their eyes fixed on the unearned increment of land as a just source of taxation; and no political party can stay the volume of thought making in that direction. If the Liberal Party, who have determined to take sides with this thought, encourage and stimulate its growth, then there is nothing surer than that it will carry them in the near future into power, with the confidence of the people. But if this is to be achieved,

THE LIBERALS MUST WORK;  
they must educate and agitate in favour of this reform; they must show the people the justice of it and show how it will, by destroying land monopoly, bring comfort and sweetness into their lives.

Let the representative Liberals who favour the Taxation of Land Values follow the example of Mr. Murray, and they will awaken an enthusiasm on behalf of their party, such as Cobden awakened in his day when he struck some of the fetters from off the trade and industry of the country. The people have forgotten Cobden's work. As in his day, they are poor and degraded, and hard pressed. They do not feel the good effects of free trade in exchange now, and in their ignorance they are

BLINDLY STRIVING FOR RESTRICTIONS  
on trade and commerce. They are being taught by ignorant leaders that it is by restrictions on trade that relief from poverty and degradation can be found. It is the duty of the Liberal party to show them a new hope in the destruction of land monopoly. The Taxation of Land Values will do this. What else can? Anything else that is done to better the condition of the people can only find expression in higher land values, and in stiffening the monopoly of the land—the source of all trade.

Meantime we are well pleased with the Dundee conference resolution. The pulse of Scottish Liberalism was felt on the Taxation of Land Values, and we are satisfied that the question will advance in such healthy surroundings. The representatives of Liberalism are on our side. Through them the battle will be fought. The leaders alone are laggard; but they will come all right in the end, protesting, no doubt, that they always favoured the reform, and only waited the opportunity and the power to give effect to it.

### English Land Restoration League.

BRADFORD DISTRICT BRANCH  
ANNUAL REPORT.

In presenting their first Annual Report the Committee feel themselves warranted in expressing the opinion that the work of the first year of the existence of this branch of the English Land Restoration League has justified its formation, and gives assurance to the hope that still better work will be accomplished in the near future. At the present time the most pressing work is educational; and to this end the Committee have directed the activities of the Society mainly to the giving of lectures and the distribution of literature bearing on the subject of Land Reform.



## LITERATURE.

Upwards of 12,000 leaflets, pamphlets, books, etc., have been given away in different parts of the district. Special advantage was taken of the presence of the Penhryn Quarrymen's Choir, at whose well-attended meetings a special pamphlet, "The Moral of Penhrynism," issued and supplied gratuitously by the parent Society, were distributed in large numbers. A specially large assortment of pamphlets has now been stocked, so it is hoped even more will be distributed during the ensuing year. In this most useful work every member of the Branch can and should assist: for gratuitous distribution, all books and leaflets are supplied to members at a little over cost price.

## LECTURES.

About thirty lectures have been delivered during the year by various speakers on behalf of the League, and about twenty more have been arranged for the coming winter. The Committee have been specially gratified by the increasing demand for the speakers of the League by some of the more active Liberal and Independent Labour Party Clubs.

## PRESS PROPAGANDA.

This has not been so actively sustained as could be desired, though numerous letters bearing on the subject of the Taxation of Land Values have from time to time appeared in the columns of the leading local daily paper, the *Bradford Observer*. The Committee would direct the attention of members to the advisability of increasing the circulation in this district of the *Single Tax*, the official organ of our brother reformers of the Scottish Land Restoration Union, a paper conducted in a manner that should recommend it to every land reformer in Great Britain.

## MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

Recognising the necessity to secure adherents to our principles on every local Board, the committee formulated the following test questions to be submitted to every candidate for Municipal honours:—

1. Will you support a petition to Parliament for giving powers to Municipal Corporations to levy rates for local purposes on land values, whether the land be occupied or vacant?

2. Will you resist all proposals for the sale of land which is now, or may hereafter be, in the possession of the Town Council; and advocate instead the letting of all such land on perpetual leases, at rents subject to periodical revision, and thus secure to the community any future unearned increment?

Our adherents in any one Ward may not as yet be sufficiently numerous to determine elections, but they can and should always influence them. The circulation of the leaflet containing these questions has done much to increase the number of inquirers into the object and proposed methods of the League.

Mr. W. P. Byles, one of the Vice-Presidents of this League, at the last moment consented to contest, in the interests of the Progressive Party, one of the most important Wards in this town. Unfortunately, despite the efforts of an enthusiastic body of workers, including many of our members, he was not victorious, but his bold advocacy of our principles, as applicable to the raising of Municipal revenues, must prove of material assistance to our cause.

In connection herewith it may be well to point out that during the past year over sixty Boards of Guardians in England and Wales have passed the following resolution:—

"That in the opinion of this Board a great anomaly exists in the fact that ground landlords are exempt from any liability to contribute towards local taxation on ground rents, royalties, and wayleaves, and that in justice to those who are already heavily burdened, and in order that local government may be carried out more thoroughly and efficiently, this question should be dealt with by Parliament at an early date."

Moreover, sixty-three local Boards—including the Town Councils of Sunderland, Lowestoft, West Ham, Swindon, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, Devonport, Ryde, Ventnor, and the County Council of Anglesey—after passing this resolution, have petitioned Parliament to pass a measure to enable them to assess all such incomes to all local and parochial rates.

In Scotland, thanks chiefly to the untiring efforts of the Scottish Land Restoration Union, sixty-two assessing authorities, consisting of seven Town Councils, eight Police Burghs, one

County Council, and forty-six Parish Councils, have intimated their approval of the principle of making land values the basis of local taxation, and their willingness to join with Glasgow in seeking the necessary powers from Parliament to give effect to it.

## FINANCIAL POSITION.

The operations of every Society such as ours are only limited by the funds at its disposal. Hence, while thanking members and friends for their liberal support during the past, the Committee urgently and confidently appeal for even greater financial support during the coming year. Projects are almost continually coming under their notice which they would gladly entertain but for the "eternal lack of pence." From the accompanying Balance Sheet it will be seen that the total revenue of the Society, including sales of literature, etc., has amounted to £19 15s.; expenditure, £19 14s.; balance on hand, 1s.; besides which, however, there is the stock of books, pamphlets, etc., to the value of at least £5 10s.

## CONFERENCE ON THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

The Committee would call attention to the above Conference which, at the request of numerous friends of the movement in different parts of Great Britain, they have decided to convene for Tuesday, 4th January, 1898, at 10.30 a.m., at the Central Hall, Manchester Road, Bradford. A large number of gentlemen have already promised to attend, and delegates are expected, not only from many kindred societies, but from a large number of local bodies in different parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Donations towards the expenses would be welcomed by the Hon. Secy., Mr. L. H. Berens, Wheatley Road, Ilkley.

## THE PROGRESS OF OUR MOVEMENT.

The Land Question contains within itself the Labour Question and the Social Question: on its equitable solution the permanent well-being and prosperity of the people of a country mainly depend. No country can claim to have its laws and institutions based on the eternal and immutable principles of freedom and equity, unless they recognise and enforce the equal rights of all to the use of the land. For as the great land reformer of the seventeenth century, Jerrard Winstanley, expressed it, "True commonwealth's freedom lies in the free enjoyment of the earth." These great truths form the basis of our movement; to-day they are everywhere being proclaimed, and rapidly gaining in adherents. Moreover, that this great and fundamental question can be satisfactorily, thoroughly, and equitably solved by the simple method of the Taxation of Land Values, is, thanks to the inspiring writings of Henry George, daily becoming more generally recognised in every community where the masses of the people have a voice in determining the political destinies of the country. From America, Canada, New Zealand, Australasia, Germany, even from Japan, we receive good tidings of the progress of our cause. The question is, in fact, being rapidly brought into the field of practical politics, and seems destined to form the rallying cry of all the various elements of the Progressive Party in its continuous struggle against privilege and monopoly.

## THE LAND.

as Carlyle expresses it, "is Mother of us all; nourishes, shelters, gladdens, lovingly enriches us all: in how many ways, from our first wakening to our last sleep on her blessed mother-bosom, does she, as with blessed mother-arms, enfold us all?" The land is the great natural and national storehouse whence, by labour, everything essential to existence and well-being can be derived. Hence, if all have equal rights to life, all must have equal rights to the use of land.

## LAND VALUES

are created by the presence, necessities, and united activities of the whole population. They are due, not to artificial, but to natural causes; they spring into existence wherever a community of men settle down, and will be high or low according to the numbers and activities of the people. Remove, say, half the population of London to South Africa, and you will reduce the value of the land of London, and proportionately increase the value of the land of South Africa. By the same right as the individual can claim anything due to his industry

or activity, the community as a whole can base their claim to be secured what is due to their presence and activities, the value of the land it occupies. For centuries this value has been allowed to flow into the coffers of a privileged class; it is now proposed that it should gradually be allowed to revert to its rightful owners, to those who create it. By

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, and the concurrent abolition of taxes on industry, this most necessary and equitable reform can gradually be accomplished, without real injury to any and with real benefit to all. Injustice really profits no one; Justice blesses all within its sway.

## ITS EFFECTS.

The Taxation of Land Values, moreover, is not only just in its incidence, but beneficial in its effects. Falling on all land according to its value, whether occupied or unoccupied, used or vacant, it would tend to break down land monopoly, that fruitful source of social ills, to reduce rents, to increase earnings, decrease pauperism, and solve, once and for ever, the question of the unemployed.

It is to forward these great ends that we would urge our members to renewed exertions and increased activity.

## In Memoriam, Henry George.

In conclusion, your Committee would fain say a few words in the vain endeavour to express their sense of the irreparable loss this League, as every other kindred Society throughout the civilised world, has sustained in the death of their great leader, the Apostle of Freedom and Justice, HENRY GEORGE. Like the brave warriors of old, he died in harness; died, as he had lived, in the very front of the great battle against Monopoly and Oppression. His mission, however, may be said to have been accomplished; for it was his mission to proclaim to the world, not only the source of the ills under which our civilisation groans, but also a simple, equitable and effective means by which they could be remedied; and right nobly has he fulfilled his task. Our leader has fallen, but the cause, to which he devoted and sacrificed his life, still lives, and will continue to live until its great end is fulfilled—until equal opportunities to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are secured to all. HENRY GEORGE has been taken from us, but his death, like his words written and spoken, should only inspire every Social Reformer to still greater efforts on behalf of the sacred cause he loved so well, served so nobly, and died to serve. Of him, indeed, above all men of the present century, it may be truly said:—

"He hath but joined the choir invisible  
Of those immortal dead who live again  
In minds made better by their presence: live  
In pulses stirred to generosity,  
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn  
For miserable aims that end in self,  
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,  
And with their mild persistence urge men's search  
To vaster issues.  
So to live is heaven."

The following letter has been forwarded to Mrs. Henry George from the Bradford District Branch of the English Land Restoration League:—

DEAR MADAM,—On behalf of this Association we beg to offer you and your family our heartfelt sympathy in the great and irreparable loss you have sustained.

To us, as to all Land Reformers throughout the civilised world, your noble husband was as a beacon-light, illuming our way, and inspiring our efforts on behalf of Humanity and Freedom, on behalf of that sacred Cause he loved so well, served so devotedly, and died to serve. To him, in truth, his life was "but a little holding, lent to do a mighty labour;" and right manfully has he performed his task.

In all future generations the name of Henry George will be loved and revered, as it is to day, by every true friend of Freedom and Justice. For the fire he has lighted at such a sacrifice will, we are assured, never be quenched until its work is done—until equal rights to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness are, in fact as well as in name, secured to all.

To you, dear madam, the constant and devoted help-mate in all his labours, this knowledge will bring, we trust, some little consolation, and assist you to bear your great sorrow with fortitude and resignation.

With all good wishes for the future well-being of yourself and family.—Yours sincerely,

LEWIS H. BERENS, Secy.

### The Cause lives on.

BY ARTHUR WITHY.

But truth shall conquer at the last,  
For round and round we run;  
And ever the right comes uppermost,  
And ever is justice done.

—Charles Mackay.

Our great leader is dead, but the cause lives on, and as sure as that cause is just, so sure will the victory be. Great though the shock of Henry George's death, therefore, no sure Single Taxer need be dismayed. The war against wrong once set afoot none can stay the fight till truth and right prove victorious. Though he who sounded the clarion call to arms be stricken, we, Single Taxers, should not be down-hearted nor dismayed. We must fight on, fight on to the end, adopting as our motto the lines of Ella Wheeler Wilcox—

Keep on with your weary battle  
Against triumphant might,  
No question is ever settled  
Until it is settled right.

As far as we have seen, the press as a whole has referred in considerate, if not in sympathetic terms to the loss of our great leader. One or two of the ultra Tory papers have, however, been unable to resist the temptation of a final fling.

For blank ignorance or hardy mendacity—or, more probably, a combination of the two—the italicised portion of the following extract from the *Daily Graphic* of October 30th would be hard to beat:—

To Englishmen, Mr. Henry George, whose feverish life has so suddenly ended, is principally known as the author of "Progress and Poverty." It is no exaggeration to say that this book took England, or at any rate Radical England by storm. The contrast between the daily growing triumphs of civilisation and the alleged daily growing poverty of the masses was so skilfully drawn, so brilliantly illustrated with taking phrases and telling metaphors, that for a moment normally hard-headed men were carried away and became convinced that the world could only be saved by unadulterated Henry Georgism. Having made his reputation by this book, Mr. George not long after visited this country and conducted a most successful lecture campaign, expounding his doctrines with a vigour which won him crowds of adherents. He came again and again, but the charm gradually wore off. His semi-religious rhetoric padded out with the assumption that Mr. George had private knowledge of the intentions of the Creator, was, after all, a poor substitute for hard facts and close reasoning. *Without much difficulty his critics were able to show that his premises were false, that his reasoning was loose, that his conclusions were ridiculous; and gradually the bubble was burst, and Henry Georgism ceased even to captivate the multitude.* The idea that poverty and crime and disease could be banished from the world by the imposition of a tax of 20s. in the £ on the rent of land was too extravagant to last for many years in English minds.

To those who know the actual legislative progress that has been made by the Henry George principle in the Dominion of Canada and in our Australian Colonies; to those who are aware of the substantial progress the Single Tax has made among the masses in this country, as evidenced by such hard facts as the repeated declarations of the Trades' Congresses in favour of the Taxation of Land Values, the petitions to Parliament from 140 local authorities in England and Wales and 62 in Scotland in favour of local rating of ground values, and the embodiment of the taxation and rating of land values in the Liberal programme, coupled in the recent declaration by the *Daily News* that the next Liberal Government will carry them into effect; to those, in short, who have accurate knowledge of the subject the above is simply laughable.

As for the statement that "without much difficulty his critics were able to show that his premises were false, that his reasoning was loose, that his conclusions were ridiculous," where are the critics, and where the criticisms? The Duke of Argyll essayed, some years ago, to break a lance with Henry George in the *Nineteenth Century*, but we have not heard that the Liberty and Property Defence League has yet reproduced as a telling pamphlet his Grace's article, "The Prophet of San Francisco" side by side with Henry George's reply thereto, entitled "The Reduction to Iniquity;" but such a reprint has been issued by the Henry Georgeites, and under the title of "The Peer and the Prophet" has proved to be an invaluable addition to our campaign literature. In his "Social Statics," Chapter ix., on "The Right to the use of the Earth," Mr. Herbert Spencer asserted the fundamental principle of the Single Tax—the equal rights of all to the bounties of nature. It is true that in his more

recent work, "Justice," Mr. Spencer has endeavoured to refute his own arguments; but so weak is the attempted refutation that, as the result of a correspondence in the *Daily Chronicle*, August to October, 1894, between Mr. Fred. Verinder (Secretary of the English Land Restoration League) and Mr. Herbert Spencer, the English Land Restoration League issued a pamphlet entitled "Mr. Herbert Spencer on the Land Question" in which Chapter ix. of "Social Statics" is reprinted in full, while in parallel columns are given extracts from "Justice" selected by Mr. Herbert Spencer himself. Nothing could be more conclusive than this. But perhaps the *Daily Graphic* can bring forward critics of greater caliber than Herbert Spencer and the Duke of Argyll. If so the Liberty and Property Defence League will give them a right hearty welcome, though it would even then hardly take the risk of printing side by side its champion's criticisms and the Single Tax reply thereto.

As to the "semi-religious rhetoric, padded out with the assumption that Mr. George had private knowledge of the intentions of the Creator," the *Daily Graphic*, we take it, does not question the existence of a Creator. To deny that would be atheism; but to assert that the Creator is not just—to assert that He favours the few at the expense of the many—to assert that millions of His "children of men" have no right on God's earth except such right as they may obtain by rent or purchase from the favoured few—that surely would be worse than atheism.

Carlyle also was a seer and a prophet; Carlyle also indulged in "semi-religious rhetoric;" Carlyle also believed in a Creator, and in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice. In his "Past and Present" Single Taxers may to-day find much comfort. "Foolish men," says Carlyle, "imagine that because judgment for an evil thing is many times delayed, there is no justice, but an accidental one, here below. Judgment for an evil thing is many times delayed some day or two, some century or two, but it is sure as life, it is sure as death! In the centre of the world-whirlwind, verily now as in the oldest days dwells and speaks a God. The great soul of the world is just. . . . Oceans of horse hair, continents of parchment, and learned-sergeant eloquence, were it continued till the learned tongue wore itself small in the indefatigable learned mouth, cannot make unjust just. . . . In this God's world, with its wild-whirling eddies and mad foam oceans, where men and nations perish as if without law, and judgment for an unjust thing is sternly delayed, dost thou think that there is, therefore, no justice? It is what the fool hath said in his heart. . . . Await the issue. In all battles, if you await the issue, each fighter has prospered according to his right. His right and his might, at the close of the account, were one and the same. He has fought with all his might, and in exact proportion to all his right he has prevailed. His very death is no victory over him. He dies, indeed; but his work lives, very truly lives. A heroic Wallace, quartered on the scaffold, cannot hinder that his Scotland became, one day, a part of England; but he does hinder that it became, on tyrannous unfair terms, a part of it; commands still, as with a God's voice, from his old Valhalla and Temple of the Brave, that there be a just real union as of brother and brother, not a false and merely semblant one as of slave and master. . . . Fight on thou brave true heart, and falter not, through dark fortune and through bright. The cause thou fightest for, so far as it is true, no further, yet precisely so far, is very sure of victory. The falsehood alone of it will be conquered, will be abolished as it ought to be; but the truth of it is part of nature's own laws, co-operates with the world's eternal tendencies, and cannot be conquered."

We must, therefore, fight on, fight on and falter not. "For properly," says Carlyle, "as many men as there are in a nation who can withal see heaven's invisible justice, and know it to be on earth also omnipotent, so many men are there who stand between a nation and perdition. So many and no more." It behoves us, then, to be up and doing. It behoves us to remember that, though our great leader is dead, the cause still lives on and has even more need than before of our earnest, self-sacrificing support.

### Letter to Mrs. George from Scottish Land Restoration Union.

56 GEORGE SQUARE, GLASGOW.

DEAR MRS. GEORGE.—At a meeting of the Executive of the Scottish Land Restoration Union, held here on Tuesday, 23rd November—ex-Bailie Peter Burt, President, in the chair—the following resolution was adopted, a copy of which I was requested to send to you:—

"That we, the Executive of the Scottish Land Restoration Union, express our deep sorrow at the death of Henry George, the founder and teacher of our faith, in the midst of his struggle for the good government of his native land. We desire to express our sincerest sympathy with Mrs. George and family in their great bereavement; with the United States of America, in the loss of one of its purest and brightest citizens; and with mankind, in the loss of one of its most gifted and devoted servants."

It is beyond my power to explain to you and your family how we sympathise with you in your great loss.

As you know, Mr. George had, in Glasgow, friends who loved him for his own sake. For his work we feel that we owe him much that we prize in life, and all that we prize in our conception of political duty. He has called us into common hope and action. We are together because of him. We lament his untimely death; we were looking forward so much to seeing him again. But though this cannot be, yet he will always be with us a living inspiration to continue the work he so well begun and maintained on behalf of peace and righteousness on earth. We are encouraged by his unselfish devotion, and we shall strive to bring the cause he so faithfully served, and for which he so unconditionally offered up his life to a successful issue. All over the world it is the same. He has brought hosts of men and women to the service of the truth, and in them his work will be a living, pulsing force, till the principles he enunciated are embodied in the laws, and find expression in the institutions of the civilised world. We are gratified to know that he lived to see his views so apprehended and appreciated, and to feel that it was but a question of time when his dream of "Peace, health, salvation universal, would be the realisation, and the lack of it the dream." We feel sure that this thought—that his life's work in his own day achieved such an unbounded measure of success—will solace you in your hour of grief. "Though dead he yet liveth," and will live through all time.

We send you our fraternal greetings, and we pray you will always remember us as your warmest and most sincere friends.

I am, on behalf of our Executive,  
Yours respectfully,

JOHN PAUL, Secy.

### Gems from Henry George.

To persist in a wrong, to refuse to undo it, is always to become involved in other wrongs.

It is around the standard of duty, rather than around the standard of self-interest, that men must rally to win the rights of man.

Private ownership of land is the nether millstone. Material progress is the upper millstone. Between them, with an increasing pressure, the working classes are being ground.

With want destroyed, with greed changed to noble passions, with the fraternity that is born of equality taking the place of the jealousy and fear which now array men against each other, with mental power loosened by conditions which give to the humblest comfort and leisure, who shall measure the heights to which our civilisation may soar?

The sentiment to which I would appeal is not envy, nor yet self-interest, but that nobler sentiment which found strong, though rude, expression in that battle-hymn which rang through the land when a great wrong was going down in blood:—

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,  
With a glory in his bosom to transfigure you and me,  
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free.

And what is there for which life gives us opportunity that can be compared with the effort to do what we may, be it ever so little, to improve social conditions, and enable other lives to reach fuller nobler development? Old John Brown, dying the death of a felon, launched into eternity with pinioned arms and the kiss of the slave child on his lips—was not his a greater life and a grander death than though his years had been given to self-seeking? Did he not take with him more than the man who grabs for wealth and leaves his millions? Envy the rich! Who that realises that he must some day wake up in the beyond can envy those who spend their strength to gather what they cannot use here and cannot take away? The only thing certain to any of us is death. "Like the swallow darting through thy hall: such, O King, is the life of man." We come from where we know not; and we go—who shall say? Impenetrable darkness behind, and gathering shades before. What, when our time comes, does it matter whether we have fared daintily or not, whether we have worn soft raiment or not, whether we leave a great fortune or nothing at all, whether we shall have reaped honours or been despised, have been counted learned or ignorant—as compared with how we may have used that talent which has been entrusted to us for the Master's service? What shall it matter, when eyeballs glaze and ears grow dull, if out of the darkness may stretch a hand, and into the silence may come a voice:—

"Well done thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things; I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."



### Scottish Liberals and the Taxation of Land Values.

A FOREMOST PLACE IN THE LIBERAL PROGRAMME.

A special meeting of the General Council of the Scottish Liberal Association was held at Dundee, in the City Assembly Rooms, on Friday, 26th November, at 10.30 a.m. The chair was occupied by Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart., M.P., chairman of the Council.

Councillor Henry S. Murray, Galashiels, moved the following resolution:

That whereas the land question lies at the root of the social problem: that land monopoly, which is directly caused by the value of land being exempt from taxation, forces labour into involuntary idleness, and thus creates an unemployed class; and whereas the value of land is created by the presence, industry, and growth of the people, this conference is of opinion that the Taxation of Land Values should occupy a foremost place in the programme of the Liberal party, to be dealt with at the earliest possible moment by—(1) the abolition of the breakfast table duties—the duties on tea, coffee, cocoa, dried fruits, &c.; (2) the substitution of a direct tax on the value of land apart from improvements; (3) reform of the Valuation Acts to provide for the separate scheduling in the valuation returns of the values of land and the values of improvements, with a view to separate assessment, &c.

Mr. Murray said he thought it was the Liberal party that had to deal with the social problem. Previous to the general election, they had a great social programme brought forward by the other side, of which Mr. Chamberlain said that, while it might do some good, it would certainly do no harm. (Laughter.) The impression existed amongst a great many working men that the Liberal leaders were inclined to shirk these questions—that they were difficult to deal with—and therefore he attributed any support which the so-called Independent Labour Party was receiving among the working class to what he might call the want of earnestness in the Liberal leaders in taking up what they considered to be the fundamental problem of the future. (Hear, hear.) If they wanted to gain the support of the body of the people, they must take up these questions which concerned the people most. And what was the greatest concern of working men? It was that they have constant employment at good wages, and be enabled to provide for those who were dependent upon them in decency and with some degree of comfort.

#### WHAT DID THIS RESOLUTION MEAN?

It meant that the land question was at the bottom of this matter of employment. The land was the great and only source of employment. (Hear, hear.) It was directly on the land as to agriculture, or indirectly in working up the produce of the land into the various forms of wealth, which constituted the real source of employment. Could any man say that the land was used for that purpose—that the land was viewed in the light of a source of employment for the people? Certainly not. Instead of being a source of employment and support for the people, it had been turned into a rent-producing machine, to put money into the pockets of idle monopolists. Looking at the Highlands of Scotland, could any man with honesty say that these Highlands were used in the interest and for the benefit of the people? Certainly not. In great part they had been turned into a waste for the sporting purposes of idlers and aristocrats, who went there to enjoy selfish sport, and who had

#### DRIVEN THE PEOPLE AWAY

to make room for wild beasts. Turning to the towns, could any man say, with the slightest approach to the truth, that the land there was used in the interest and for the benefit of the people? Rather it was used as a lever, and held at high monopoly price, to enable certain monopolists to levy blackmail upon the industries of the people. (Hear, hear.) In that manner the results of industry, instead of going to increase the wages of the people, went to increase the rent of the land. If these results of industry were to go into the pockets of the working people in the shape of wages, there would follow a general increase of comfort without the slightest attempt at labour agitation. The wages would rise spontaneously. He believed the Duke of Buccleuch was descended from a Border reiver—(laughter)—who in times of violence used to levy blackmail on all those who came within

his reach; but he ventured to say that the

#### DEPREDEATIONS OF THAT BOLD BORDER CHIEF

were as dust in the balance compared to the blackmail which, under the sanction of the law, his present descendant was enabled to levy on the industries of the people. (Applause.) Of course, the Duke of Buccleuch was not to blame for that. It was the law that allowed it. The remedy was merely this—that they demand that a tax be placed on the land, which should be in proportion to its value, and which should exempt all improvements. (Applause.) They held that improvements were not a legitimate object of taxation. They contended that taxation should be levied on land, irrespective of improvements, and, therefore, he thought that if the Liberal party was not going to be a sham in the future, it would be forced to take this question up. If it wished to gain the full support of the people, it must take up some question involving some great and just principle; it must bring forward a great question, marking a distinct cleavage from the Tory party. (Applause.)

Ex Bailie Burt, Glasgow, seconded, and held out as one advantage that such dissenters from the Liberal Party as left it because it was thought to be backward on the subject, might be induced to reunite. (Applause.) This question was coming to the front, and would be pushed forward by the ratepayers and reformers of the country. Nothing permanent could be achieved until land monopoly was destroyed; and the Taxation of Land Values would, by overthrowing land monopoly, solve the social problem. (Applause.)

#### A LANDED PROPRIETOR'S VIEWS.

Mr. Burnett, of Kemnay, said he was "dead against" the terms of the resolution. He was a landed proprietor. He was not a sporting landowner. He abhorred and detested the principles of sporting gentlemen. (Laughter.) But the use of a thing was different from the abuse of it, and it would not do to argue against a principle because it was abused. He admitted that the landowning system was certainly abused by the mass of the landlords around them. They were given up to the detestable practice of killing wild animals, which he considered could only bring them back to a state of barbarism. It was altogether contrary to the principles of civilisation. As proprietors, their duty was to be as kind and conciliatory to their people as they possibly could. They had an advantage over the squires of England, for the landlords of Scotland were a sort of subordinate kings. (Great laughter.) Their duty, as he had said, was to cultivate the interests of their dependants as far as they could, and these interests would be far better served, not by the abolition of the system, but by the conducting of it upon principles consonant with the tenets of Christianity.

The Chairman remarked that the best interpretation he could put upon Mr. Burnett's speech was that he moved the previous question.

Mr. Burnett—Certainly, I move the previous question.

There was, however, no seconder, and the motion was unanimously passed.

Two resolutions on the same subject and to the same effect, from the Blackfriars and Hutchesontown Association, and the St. Rollox Association, were withdrawn.

Mr. John Paul, Glasgow, then moved a resolution from the Glasgow Central Liberal Association in precisely the same terms as that of the Galashiels Association, except that it proposed to give the Taxation of Land Values the foremost place in the Liberal Programme. If the Liberals were in earnest on this subject it ought to have such a position on their programme, and should be given effect to by the first Liberal Administration in its first or second Budget.

Mr. D. M'Lardy, Glasgow, seconded.

Mr. A. L. Brown submitted that the Galashiels' proposal was preferable, and moved accordingly.

Mr. Edward Adam, advocate, Edinburgh, in seconding, said that if the subject once had a place on the programme it would soon take the foremost.

Mr. Paul and Mr. M'Lardy agreed to withdraw their amendment, and the Galashiels' resolution was unanimously adopted.

### New Zealand Leads the Way.

THE GOVERNMENT VALUATION OF LAND ACT, 1896.—CLEAR, COMPREHENSIVE, AND TO THE POINT.

This is the "short title" of an important Act which provides for the "periodical valuation of all landed properties in the colony." The Act is brief, containing only 19 short sections, and the first general valuation will date from 30th June, 1897. The vital clause is the fifth, which provides that the valuation roll shall set forth in respect of each separate property the following particulars:—

1. The name of the occupier and owner within the meaning of the Rating Act, 1894.
2. The area of the land, as also the description thereof by section and block, and whether urban, suburban, or rural; the number and nature of the buildings thereon, and the total capital value thereof.
3. The nature and total capital value of all improvements other than buildings.
4. The total capital value of the whole property.
5. The unimproved value of the land, being the difference between the total capital value of the whole property and the total capital value of all buildings and other improvements as aforesaid.

The colony has been divided into a large number of "local districts," for each of which a valuer has been appointed. The local districts are grouped into "divisions," for each of which a supervising valuer is appointed to superintend the work under the control of the Valuer-General.

Clause 9 provides that—

The general valuation roll, so long as it continues in force, shall be the standard roll from which the valuation rolls of all local authorities having rating powers and rating on the capital or on the unimproved value shall be framed.

Every district valuation is to be kept open for public inspection without fee.

Single Taxers will at once recognise the magnitude and vast importance of the work thus undertaken by our Government, embracing as it does the entire area of New Zealand.

An elaborate "Memorandum for Valuers" has been issued, the opening paragraph of which states that—

Under the above Act a valuation of all land in New Zealand is to be made. All land owned by private individuals, by the Crown, by natives, and by local authorities, education boards, school commissioners, churches, corporations, companies, and societies of all kinds, whether exempt from, or subject to, taxation or rates, will consequently be valued.

Improvements are defined as including "houses and buildings, fencing, planting, draining of land, clearing from timber, scrub or fern, laying down in grass or pasture, and any other improvements whatsoever, the benefit of which is unexhausted at the time of valuation.

The following quotations from this important "Memorandum of Valuers" will show how clearly our Government has grasped the significance of the "unimproved value":—

The ascertainment of the capital value of land, and of its component parts, viz., the value of improvements (if any) and the unimproved value is, of course, the work to which everything else is subsidiary. In no case must the valuers permit their judgment to be overruled by owners or lessees, nor, for any reason whatever, be induced to place on any land values higher or lower than, in their judgment, it can fairly be estimated to be worth; nor must valuers allow themselves to be influenced by any existing valuations, whether for land tax, local rating, or otherwise, nor because an owner, from sentimental or other reasons, may not desire to part with his land except at an unduly high figure.

#### "CAPITAL VALUE"

means the value for which the fee simple of land, with all improvements thereon (if any), could be purchased for cash at a bona fide sale in the open market.—The opinion that the true value of land must be proportionate to the annual yield from its working is accurate only when the land is well managed, and used to its best advantage. Very valuable land may yield no return, but it cannot on that account be said to be worth little or nothing.—A grave error into which some valuers in the past have fallen has been to quote different valuations for the same property, according to the purpose for which the valuation was required.

#### THERE CAN ONLY BE ONE TRUE VALUE

of any land.—The value of improvements is their value at the date of valuation, not the original cost; and, as the valuation will be tested to a certain extent by the accuracy of the valuation of improvements, it will be necessary to exercise the greatest precision and care in making it. Unimproved value means the capital value of land as herein defined, less the value of all improvements thereon. It will be seen, therefore, that "unimproved value" does not mean "prairie value."—The value of improvements, plus the unimproved value, must, in accordance with this definition, always equal the capital value. No valuation will be accepted as correct which does not conform to this rule.—It should be seen that the unimproved valuation (i.e., the value remaining after deducting the value of improvements from the capital value) is equal to a fair value for the

READ THE APPEAL TO LAND REFORMERS.

land without improvements; that is, for unimproved land of a similar character, in a like situation.

The confusion of the two elements of value has always been the chief obstacle to land reform, and the N.Z. Government, in thus comprehensively and categorically tabulating the national wealth, and showing in parallel columns how much is created by individual labour, and how much is claimed by unjust privilege, has rendered a most important service to the cause of human freedom.

There are—

#### SOME OPPOBENTS OF THE SINGLE TAX

who contend that it is impossible to assess the value of land apart from that of improvements. Well, in New Zealand and others of our colonies the "impossible" has been accomplished and the above digest of the Act of 1896 shows how it is done. Had we a similar Act for the United Kingdom, and were the valuation of land apart from improvements once made, the deadly parallel would be so manifest, the iniquity of land monopoly would stand out in such lurid light against the black background of the English slums, that the people would at once wake to action and enforce the principle that the fruits of individual labour belong to the individual and that the community created land values belong to the people as a whole and should no longer be appropriated to their own uses by a privileged few.

R. A. H.

Auckland, N.Z.

### Sketch of a Great Life.

*Henry George's Eventful Career Written by a Close Friend and Admirer.*

The following biographical sketch of Henry George is the latest and perhaps the most complete yet written. It was prepared at the beginning of the recent mayoralty campaign by Arthur M'Ewen, of the New York *Journal* editorial staff. Mr. M'Ewen became acquainted with Mr. George during the latter's early struggles in California and is a zealous Single Taxer. The sketch follows:—

Henry George is a brain-made man. To his own good head he owes the world-wide celebrity he enjoys as a thinker. No man could be less indebted for fame to extraneous circumstances. He began life poor, worked hard and humbly with his hands for a livelihood through many years, worked as hard for many more as a newspaper reporter and editorial writer, and emerged from obscurity as the man he is without any aid from schools, and conquered the respectful attention of serious men throughout the earth by sheer force of his intellectual ability.

Henry George is proof that genius means character as well as mind—that the word connotes courage, persistence and splendid self-confidence, as well as superior brains. Without these qualities in notable measure the gifted author of "Progress and Poverty" would have been known only as a thoughtful journalist, one of a class. In him and his career it is demonstrated that genius is the power to think clearly, to see things as they are, plus the personal energy to compel a hearing despite the opposing external conditions that condemn to oblivion the mute, inglorious Miltons whose fire is quenched by the waters of adversity.

Henry George the thinker, who has challenged the received political economy, which explains and approves poverty for the many and wealth for the few, and brought the science over to the side of protest, justice and humanity, is known to millions; but Henry George the man is known best as he is to that small circle in which his daily life is passed, and to which the strange story of his struggling youth and early manhood is familiar. He is the same man now at the height of his fame as he was when a sailor before the mast—a man as lovable on his personal sides as he is admirable for the strength and charity of his mind.

I first saw him in San Francisco in 1873. He was standing in his shirt sleeves, hatless, in the sunshine of Montgomery Street, expostulating indignantly with a policeman who had been maltreating a drunken and resisting prisoner. From the window of the editorial room of his paper, the *Evening Post*, he had seen the club descend and the blood follow. In an instant he was down stairs and out on the sidewalk.

"I'll run you in too," bullied the policeman.

"I'll run myself in," said George. "Take your man to the station, and I'll go with you and make a complaint against you for your brutality."

And that was what was done, a crowd going along and applauding the slight little man with the red beard and spectacles.

That was Henry George all over. Nature has made him so that it is his instinct to draw his sword on behalf of the weak and against the strong who are in the wrong. The same instinct, the same generous impulse that moved him to interpose between a clubbing policeman and senseless drunkard, impelled him to write "Progress and Poverty," and to stand forth in the world's arena as the champion of the right of common men to work and live for themselves and not for the benefit of the cleverer or luckier few.

Poverty is not a thing that Henry George has studied from afar off. He knows what the lot of the poor is, because it has been his own. Though it is no longer necessary for him to drudge, his understanding of and sympathy with the drudging many is as keen, as vivid, as when a new pair of shoes for one of his children was a more pressing problem than the social conditions that impose a life sentence of hard labour upon the mass of his fellow creatures.

In his home at Fort Hamilton he gave me the other night the narrative of his life. Here it is in his own words:—

#### SCHOOLBOY AND SAILOR.

"I was born in Philadelphia on Sept. 2, 1839. I was the oldest son of eight children. After going to a little private school for children I was sent to the public schools. Then I attended the Protestant Episcopal Academy, and I guess I was in some sort of fashion a colleague of Bishop Potter. My father, R. S. H. George, was an Episcopal book publisher, and I early acquired a taste for reading in his store. The Episcopal Academy did not please me, so I went to High School where at thirteen I was graduated at the head of my class.

"Leaving school, I went to work as an office boy in a crockery importing house. When fourteen years old I went to sea—shipped from New York as boy aboard the 'Hindoo,' sailing for London. Thence we went to Melbourne, thence to Calcutta, and from there back to New York. It took about fourteen months, I think, for the voyage. My taste for the sea came naturally for my grandfather was a sea captain. When my father consented to my going, which he did reluctantly, he told his friend with whom I sailed to make it hard for me, so that I would be glad to stay home. Leaving the sea, I began to learn the printing business, but after a while I shipped again—this time as an ordinary seaman. There were only four of us in the watch. The captain was a straight sort of man and very just; for after a trip to Boston and New Bedford, where we took a load of coke, I know that he astonished me by paying me off as an able seaman. It was the highest compliment ever paid me, and I asked him how it was. He said I had done as much work as anybody and ought to be paid just as much. I had told him when I applied for a berth that I could handle the sails and steer. He seemed to doubt it, and said, 'You can't steer this schooner.' But I did steer her. The sea was very rough and the schooner rolled and pitched, the waves often dashing over the wheel."

#### ROUGHING IN CALIFORNIA.

Mr. George worked his way around the Horn to California as a sailor before the mast in 1858. The Fraser River gold excitement was at its height, but before he could get to the mines the boom had subsided. He returned from Victoria B.C. to San Francisco in the steerage. There he did what work he could get as a printer, and got a job in a rice mill. Borrowing \$20 he made his way to Sacramento. "It was then," he relates, "that I came pretty nearly getting hungry. I slept in a stable and other places." He was saved from going to sea again by getting work as a compositor on a weekly paper, and on reaching his majority became a member of the Typographical Union. Presently he was one of three to start a little evening paper.

"It was then I came nearly starving to death. The war had begun and things were

unsettled. We slept in bunks in the office and set our own type and got pretty much all our own news, though we had a reporter. He desired to enlist, but as all California volunteers were being used to garrison Pacific ports, he held back, as everybody believed the war would be over before the journey could be made to the East. He stuck by the paper. "And I came close to starvation. I had no shoes to wear and scarcely any clothing. So I went to 'subbing' on the other papers.

#### MARRIED ON LESS THAN NOTHING

"I was then acquainted with the girl I married. She was a California girl of Australian birth, an orphan and a pretty strong Catholic, while I was an Episcopalian. I was very much attached to her, and the sentiment was mutual. There was a kind of understanding between us that we should get married.

"I had got into a sort of unpleasantness with my wife's people for which I was entirely to blame, as I see it now. Being a boy, I did not look at things in the right light. Having had a quarrel with the girl's uncle, I concluded to make her my wife and end it. We were married in 1861. I was then twenty-two and she eighteen. I was very poor, but when I talked the matter over with the young lady she said she was willing to begin life with me regardless of our poverty. I remember I borrowed some clothes to be married in—a vest and necktie—and went to a lady I knew and got credit for two weeks' board for myself and wife. No license was required in those days. I think a license would have delayed the ceremony. I raised \$5 to pay for a carriage, and in this I took my shipmate, Ike Trump, to the house, knocked at the door, and the girl came out with her things in a bag. We bundled her into the carriage and went off to the preacher's house and got married. He was the Rev. S. D. Simonds, a Methodist. Then we drove to the place where I had arranged for board, where we had one room. I remember we had a good wedding supper at a miner's restaurant. The wedding ring was my wife's grandmother's. Ike Trump was asked his name by the clergyman and he answered, 'I. Trump.' 'This is a serious matter,' said the clergyman solemnly. 'Give me your name?' 'I. Trump,' Ike the witness responded, with equal solemnity. All but the preacher roared with laughter, and he joined in when the joke was explained. We could not be married by a priest, as it was a runaway match and in Advent. Inquiries might have been made and the ceremony put off. But shortly afterward the marriage was sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church at Sacramento, the Rev. Father Gallagher giving the blessing. My wife being a Catholic, I, of course, wished to satisfy her conscience.

#### A HARD BATTLE FOR A LIVING.

"I was now a married man, with a wife who believed in me and said she was ready to do her part. I got up early the morning after our marriage and went out to look for work. I secured a place to set type on the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*. I was at work at six o'clock next morning. But I must have more work. I went to the office of the *Alta California* and got a job there, and had to work till two o'clock in the morning. Then I was up early for duty on the evening paper. It was hard lines for me, but I kept on 'subbing' as a printer. I went and hired a place from a friend where we could live cheaper—I think we had a room for ourselves. A friend met me, and, hearing that I had just got married, asked me to go to Sacramento to work on the *Union*. At that time it was a remarkable paper, the strongest published in the West."

For some years Mr. George continued to work as a printer in San Francisco and Sacramento. Then he became a partner in a job office. A dry season came; beggars appeared in California for the first time. Flour went up to \$15 a barrel. "We were very hard up, but finally got some job printing to do for a man who paid us in corn meal and potatoes. The milkman took his pay in billheads. My family lived on fifty cents a day, and we never ran in debt." Meantime, the eldest son, Harry, and the second son, Richard, now the sculptor, had been born.

**Our Natural Storehouse, the Land, is Locked.**



## GOING TO FIGHT MAXIMILIAN.

The life and death struggle of the American Republic gave Napoleon an opportunity to send an army into Mexico for the establishment of Maximilian on a throne in that country. The struggle of the Mexican patriots against this crime maintained by Juarez, excited strong sympathy in the countries adjacent to Mexico, and ardently desirous to strike a blow for the republic, I got into a proposed expedition to help them. I was to be the first lieutenant in a company commanded by an Indian fighter named Burn, with an acquaintance of mine, a newspaper man, Barry, as major, and Hungerford (afterwards father-in-law of John W. Mackay, the millionaire) as colonel. We swore in a good many men, and after making an arrangement with the *Alta California* to pay my wife for letters from me, which I thought would give her some kind of a living, we went down to make a start in a vessel which should be secretly provided. We gathered in a hall in the early evening, but hour after hour passed without our receiving the order to start. Finally, at daylight the next day we were told where the vessel was, and we made for her. We found the old vessel, 'Brontes,' short of provisions and equipment for such a company. She had 10,000 American condemned rifles and half-a-dozen saddles for equipment, and a few casks of water. We had hardly reached her before a revenue cutter dropped anchor and blocked the way. This ended our expedition. The Federal authorities had shut their eyes as long as possible, but they could do so no longer.

"Among the crowd who were going down with us, and who would have been little less than a crowd of pirates if we had got down there, were some who hatched a scheme to seize a French transport, and I believe to capture one of the Pacific Mail steamers which then left for Panama twice a month with shipments of gold from California to New York. This got wind, and some half-dozen or so were arrested and put on trial for intended piracy. This was the Brontes expedition, which led to the charge in some San Francisco papers, when I ran for Mayor of New York in 1886, that I had been engaged in a piratical expedition. It is the nearest I ever came to engaging in war, and I will never forget the willingness with which my wife, with her two little children, agreed to my leaving her on an expedition that I knew could have had no possible good end. She was always equal to any emergency, every hardship. I was concerned, too, with a newspaper man who was to be a captain in the expedition in the establishment of the Monroe League. We swore in men on a bare sword and the flag of Mexico. The expedition was designed to help the Mexican patriots, and it was afterwards to help General Ochoa, Governor of Chihuahua, in the same way that the Brontes expedition had been got up to help Placido Davaga, with which Sam Branna, the reputed California millionaire, was concerned in furnishing money for separate Mexican Bonds.

## HE BEGINS TO WRITE.

"While a compositor on the San Francisco *Bulletin*, in 1865, I did my first writing. I wrote a communication for a paper called, I think, the *Evening Journal*, on which I had formerly set type, I slipped the article into the letter-box. What I wrote was on the political situation, and I signed a *nom de plume*. The editor evidently liked it, for he published it. I know it looked very well in print—very nice to me. Later I sent an article to the *Alta California* as a communication. It was printed as an editorial. They found out who wrote it and asked me to come on the staff. Finally I became an assistant reporter on the *Times*. About this time Lincoln was assassinated, and it affected me very much. I wrote an article on the subject and it was praised. I was conscious that I could write, and I followed with some special articles about the effect of the death of Lincoln on San Francisco. I was now recognised as a writer, and they sent me down the country to report a horse race at an agricultural fair. Later I made another trip into that part of the country, getting subscriptions for the *Weekly Journal*, and I also took along a lot of clothes-wringers to peddle. Shortly after I returned to San Francisco the paper died.

"Work getting short again, I returned to Sacramento to work on a contract for State

printing. We received \$5 a day. When the Legislature adjourned there was no work to do, and having saved up a little money I invested in some copper mines located near Butte. But they soon fizzled out. I went to the Sacramento *Union* again as a 'sub.' Returning to San Francisco I handed the manager of the *Times* an editorial article on the completion of the laying of the Russian telegraph. It was printed immediately, and gave great satisfaction. They offered me a place as news editor, and I wrote some editorials. Things were moving quickly on the new paper. Noah Brooks was made managing editor. When he went east on a business trip he was succeeded by Dr. Gunn, the United States revenue collector for that district, while I became the editorial writer of the *Times*.

"I had not thought of political economy up to that day. I was early in life an ardent Republican of the stalwart kind, and I had imbibed all the ideas that went with the creed. I was a radical protectionist, believed thoroughly in protection for American industries, going so far as to look on the destruction of American vessels as having the incidental advantage of greatly increasing the protection of Californian industry by making it more difficult for goods to come in. Owing to the increased rates for freights and insurance, I regarded the ravages of the Shenandoah and the Alabama privateers as by no means unmitigated evils.

"One night in Sacramento I went with a friend to a debating society, and there heard a young fellow of great ability, William H. Mills, the present land agent of the Central Pacific railroad. He delivered a speech in favour of protection. I was a protectionist when he began, but when he got through I was a free trader. When they asked me what I thought of it, I told them that if what he said was true it seemed to me that the country which was the hardest to get at must be the best country to live in; and that, instead of merely putting duties on things brought from abroad, we ought to put them on things brought from anywhere, and that fires and wars and impediments to trade and navigation were the very best things to levy on.

"After that I became a free trader and have been one ever since. I am an absolute free trader, believing in no tariff at all. I hadn't thought of revenue then, and I hadn't thought of the land question.

"While on the *Times* I discussed a number of interesting things, editorially, questions of financial policy and fiscal legislation, and was rapidly becoming disgusted with the Republican party. I left the *Times* and went to the *Chronicle*, then just starting as a daily paper, to be the managing editor; but I did not like the management of the *Chronicle*, and left it after three weeks' experience."

He was asked to go east to secure the Associated Press dispatches, by the San Francisco *Herald*, and came by pony express across the continent. Not only did the Associated Press refuse to let the *Herald* in, but the Western Union raised to a prohibitive point the rate for special dispatches. "I made a vigorous protest against the injustice of this, which was published in full by the New York *Herald*, but it was ineffectual. Mr. Olcott, the President of the Western Union, told me, in response to my protest, there was no use in discussing the question of right or wrong; that they had the power and were bound to exercise it; and that if I did not like the prices they charged, I could build a telegraph across the continent for myself.

"During this time I made the acquaintance of John Russell Young, who was then managing editor of the *Tribune*, a friendship which I have ever since retained. In 1869 I wrote for him an article going over the Chinese question, the first upon that subject, I think, ever printed on the Atlantic coast. This excited a good deal of attention, especially on the Pacific coast, and brought me a letter from John Stuart Mill speaking very highly of the manner in which the subject had been treated. I opposed the free entrance of the Chinese, a position which I still retain and which has been treated more thoroughly in an article from me published in Lord's Cyclopaedia. In the *Tribune* article I took my political economy from John Stuart Mill. It was the first time I had made any

investigation of what political economy had to say on the subject of wages, and I adopted unquestioningly the doctrine of the relation between wages and capital laid down by him. But while in New York, which even at that time presented in its contrasts of luxury and want something that was absolutely appalling to a man from the freer West who is not hardened to it and sees it for the first time, I was very much affected by it. I felt that there must be some reason for this growth of poverty with a progress that is so marked wherever one sees the growth of the city from the rude village. The explanation that I got in the accredited works of political economy which are based on the Malthusian theory did not satisfy me, and I determined to search it out for myself and never rest until I had found it.

"I left the East in 1869 to go back to California, bearing the commission from Mr. Young to act as a correspondent of the *Tribune*, which his successor promptly repealed. Soon after my return to California the *Herald* failed. After doing a little work at typesetting, I accepted a place as editor of a small paper in Oakland, a suburb of San Francisco. I was there but a few months when I was asked by Governor Haight, of California, to come to Sacramento to take charge of what was then the principal Democratic organ at the capital, the *Sacramento Recorder*. I accepted the position. They made a stock company and gave me one-fourth of the shares, besides a salary."

The Central Pacific Railroad, "then being completed and entering on its career of corruption and oppression," bought the paper, and Mr. George retired. He became the California agent of a new press association, a rival of the Associated Press. Meantime he employed his pen in pamphleteering in behalf of Governor Haight and the Democratic party.

## HE CONCEIVES "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

"And what had most aroused me in my visit to the East was the growth of poverty, which always accompanies industrial progress. While editing a paper in Oakland, and after long thought, it all came upon me like a revelation. I had taken a horse and gone for a ride, and, absorbed in my own thoughts, had driven him into the hills until he panted for breath. Stopping for rest, I asked a passing teamster, for want of something else to say, what land was worth there. He pointed to some cows grazing off so far that they looked like mice, and said:—'I don't know exactly, but there is a man over there who will sell some land for a thousand dollars an acre.'

"Like a flash it came upon me there was the reason. With the growth of population land grows in value, and the men who work it must pay more for the privilege. I turned back, amid quiet thought. The perception that then came to me has been with me ever since.

"In 1871 I wrote a pamphlet entitled 'Our Land and Land Policy, National and State.' In this I set forth the idea which I have since maintained—the idea that the value of land belongs to the whole community, and that all revenues should be raised by taxes upon it. I sold of this book probably a thousand copies at a good price, but feeling that I should go to greater length and more thoroughly into this question I refrained from sending it east. There cannot now be more than a few copies in existence."

With two partners, both printers, he started, in 1872, the San Francisco *Evening Post*, the first penny paper on the Pacific coast. It was a success—so great a success that it was purchased by an ambitious journalist. Without George, however, the *Post* ran down rapidly, and the purchaser, within a few months, sold it back to George and Hinton for a nominal price. The press facilities prevented the further growth of the paper. "Thereupon John P. Jones, then elected United States Senator from Nevada, sought an introduction to me, and declared himself very much interested in such a paper, offering to furnish us, on our own notes, money enough to buy the best press obtainable." Mr. Hinton bought in New York a Bullock press, the first web perfecting press seen in California.

"Feeling that we now had facilities for rapid circulation, and that we should be making a mistake not to improve it, we concluded to establish a morning paper, the *Ledger*, which

**The Single Tax is the Key to Open it.**

we did in August, 1875. This was done on an expensive scale. It was a small daily paper, and for the first time in journalism we issued an illustrated Sunday paper. We disdained asking for advertisements, and filled all the pages with reading matter until advertisements should seek us. A few days after it started, Ralston, the manager of the Bank of California, committed suicide, and the bank suspended payment. An intense local money panic followed, during which it became impossible to collect money, and we had to suspend the *Ledger* in a very short time. While we were thus embarrassed, John P. Jones demanded his money, the money which he had loaned us, or that the paper which we had made should be surrendered to him. I felt like fighting, and a short article in the paper would have ended all hopes of getting anything from it, but my partner finally pleaded with me on our duty of providing for the employees, who were our friends, and tired out with the fight. I finally succumbed, and, without a cent of compensation, gave over the paper to the representative of Senator Jones."

#### HE WRITES HIS GREAT WORK.

Mr. George desired the leisure necessary to write his since famous "Progress and Poverty," and procured from Governor Irwin, whom he had been instrumental in electing, an appointment as inspector of gas meters in San Francisco. The work was light, and the income enough for support. Believing Tilden to be a free trader, he stumped the State for him, and wrote some articles which drew wide notice. Later, in opposition to the adoption of the new *State Constitution*, he started a little weekly called the *State*, which, with the aid of a few friends, he wrote himself. "I stopped it without losing any money, something which I always felt proud of, for it is harder to stop a paper than to start one." He delivered the Fourth of July oration in 1877—a speech on "The American Republic; its Dangers and Possibilities"—and learned that to read an address is not nearly so effective as to speak without manuscript, a lesson he never forgot.

"My book, finally entitled 'Progress and Poverty,' was finished about August, 1879, and I sent the manuscript copy east, asking a friend, Mr. Hallidie, an associate director in the Free Public Library that had been started in San Francisco, to see about its publication. He submitted it, but no one would touch it. My old partner, Mr. Hinton, who had got himself a printing office, thereupon said that he had faith enough in anything I should do to make the plates, and I put the manuscript into his hands, and the first plates were printed in the fall of that year, I closely supervising it and doing some little composition myself. I then brought it out in an author's edition, of which I sold to friends at the rate of \$3 a copy, enough to pay for the cost of printing. I then sent some copies without binding to publishers both in America and in England, offering to put the plates at their disposal for printing. I received but one acceptance, that of Appleton & Co., who had been previously seen by Mr. Hallidie. They offered to take it and bring it out in January, 1880. I accepted this, and Appleton & Co. published the book in the following year."

#### HIS CAREER ABROAD.

In 1880 Mr. George left California and reached New York, which has ever since been his home. By that time about a thousand copies of "Progress and Poverty" had been sold. In 1881-3 he wrote letters from Ireland and England to the *Irish World*, delivering addresses in the principal cities and towns. In 1881 an English edition of "Progress and Poverty" was issued. A sixpenny edition followed, and had an extraordinary sale, whereupon the *London Times*, came out with a page review, saying that the book of the Californian economist, hitherto unnoticed by the English press, could no longer be ignored. The supplies of the booksellers were exhausted in a single day, and the entire world soon became acquainted with "Progress and Poverty."

Mr. George continued to write in advocacy of his land theory. Late in 1883 he received an invitation from the Land Reform Union of England again to visit that country. He was received at a great meeting in St. James's Hall, Henry Labouchere presiding. "Then," relates

Mr. George, "I spoke in the principal towns in England, and had large audiences, always hostile at first, but I conquered them all easily, with the exception of that at Oxford, the seat of learning, where I sat on the stage and could not hear myself think. The Oxford students were determined to disturb the meeting, although Max Muller was my host and presided.

In 1884 "Protection or Free Trade" was written and the manuscript lost; then it had to be written all over again. In the same year, on the invitation of the Scottish Land Restoration League, Mr. George made his third trip abroad, addressing great audiences throughout Scotland. "All the landlords were hostile, but the poor people and workers everywhere turned out to hear my lectures."

After the election of 1886, when he made his splendid run for mayor, Mr. George started his Single Tax paper, the *Standard*, with whose history and the M'Glynn controversy Single Taxers were familiar. Two visits to England, in 1888 and 1889, followed, and in 1890 he made a tour of Australia by way of San Francisco, which city of his early struggles rose to meet him. At Sydney he was received by the mayor and other public officials at 8 o'clock in the morning in a pouring rain. He made over a hundred addresses in Australia. His progress was a continuous ovation, the streets being frequently blockaded. Sir George Gray, of New Zealand, wished him to repeat his speeches in that colony, but Mr. George longed for home, and returned by way of the Suez Canal, getting a remarkably cordial reception in New York.

"Progress and Poverty" has been translated into French, German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese and Chinese. Mr. George's other books are:—"The Land Question," "Protection or Free Trade," "The Condition of Labour—an Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII.," "A Perplexed Philosopher," being an examination of Mr. Herbert Spencer's various utterances on the land question, with some incidental reference to his synthetic philosophy, "Property in Land," a passage at arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George.

The acceptance of the nomination for mayor has interrupted Mr. George in what he believes will be his most exhaustive and greatest work, "The Science of Political Economy."

#### THE PHILOSOPHER AT HOME.

Henry George lives in a beautiful home, amid his books, with the wife of his youth and his children around him. His home at Fort Hamilton is open always to his friends, who are many and close, and it is a shrine to visitors from the ends of the earth. The not infrequent disappointment of strangers at their first meeting with the author of "Progress and Poverty," and the leader of the mighty propaganda for industrial and social reform, is one of Mr. George's sources of amusement, for nature has given him a quick sense of humour.

"Good heavens," the expression of the reverend pilgrim often says, "I thought you were a great man, but now I've seen you!"

Physically Mr. George is not an imposing personage. He is under five feet six, and it is only his noble head and fine face that save him from insignificance. His manner is without a trace of pose or self-consciousness. He is always himself, and his ingenuousness, which he carries into politics, is first the despair and then the inspiration of his advisers.

You forget all about Henry George's want of inches when you know him and hear him talk. Then he grows large and you small. His talk is his honest thought, and it is his honest thought that has made the world receive him as one of its great men. Always he seizes upon the heart of his subject, and it is the directness of his mind, grasping the essential things intuitively, and waving away the incidental, that gives value and charm to his luminous conversation. What most other men come at by hard intellectual striving, he sees without effort—which is to say that he is different from most other men in being a man of genius.

#### HIS DEATH.

In a special article written for the *New York Journal* on October 30th, Mr. M'Ewen says:—"Henry George has died for his cause as truly as if a bullet had pierced his heart in actual battle.

"How absolute his devotion was to his cause can be comprehended only by those who are capable of understanding the high plane upon which Henry George lived. To him the advancement of the ideas for which he stood before mankind was everything; his personal interest nothing. He knew himself to be the leader in a great movement which has enlisted the minds and hearts of multitudes of men throughout the civilized world. To divorce progress from poverty, to rescue humanity from the social conditions which condemn the majority to ignorance, drudgery, and misery, to secure for every being who comes into the world opportunity for a life with sunshine in it—this great problem absorbed him as selfish pursuits absorb lesser men.

"To millions his writings have been a revelation of hope, and to all the believing generous an inspiration to altruistic action. To small minds, and base minds, and hard minds, Henry George was and is as incomprehensible as to men of cold heart and cynical temper. His enthusiasm was not an emotion, but the steady force of a great brain's mature thought, and of a sense of right that was the informing spirit of a noble nature.

"This is not eulogy but the sober truth. Often I have seen him wholly innocent of the desire to strive for pre-eminence, dominate companies of clever men, and win not alone their admiration for his powers of mind, but their veneration for his character. Not long before he decided to take the nomination which has killed him, Mr. George met at dinner a number of his friends for consultation, and the political situation was debated in all its aspects, he taking but a small part in the talk. Towards the end he spoke, and everything that was incidental was ignored—thrown aside as a vessel's bow toss away the water.

"The one thing to be considered," he said, going to the point as he always did, "is whether my cause needs me or not—I live for that. If it calls for my health, or my life, I am ready to make the sacrifice." He meant it wholly, and uttered it without a trace of pose.

"A great man has fallen. How great he was his countrymen in general do not yet realise. Dead, Henry George will not inspire in respectable ignorance those terrors which genius ever has for mediocrity, and the timid who hold pens will find the courage now to write the truth of Henry George and his sane and beneficial philosophy. "Progress and Poverty" stands, and will endure, and be more widely and less hostilely read than before. Henry George did a noble work in the world. He has died nobly, and lived nobly. In the sacrifices of others who aim, with slenderer gifts than were his, at what he aimed—the bringing upon earth of Lincoln's ideal government of, by, and for the people, the democracy of Thomas Jefferson."

## A CONFERENCE

ON

### The Taxation of Land Values

WILL BE HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF  
THE ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE,  
THE SCOTTISH LAND RESTORATION UNION,

AND THE  
FINANCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION,  
TUESDAY, 4th JANUARY, 1898, at 10.30 a.m.,

AT THE  
CENTRAL HALL, Manchester Road,  
BRADFORD.

For particulars apply to

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