

November—December, 1925

Land and Freedom B

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Life and Work of Henry George

G. S. Godfrey

America,
Yesterday, To-Day and To-Morrow

Antonio Bastida

Youngstown Campaign Victorious

George Edwards

Single Tax Debated in Australian Senate

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full Rent of Land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs, and so would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

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Current Comment

THOSE who doubt the progress of the Henry George movement must be blind to a number of significant happenings. Under the new public works law all idle land in the Cuban Republic will pay a tax. This is the first time in the history of the Republic, it is stated, that taxes have been assessed on idle land. Over 40,000 lots in the city of Havana will be affected as will thousands of acres throughout the country.

NEW ORLEANS has begun the most elaborate project yet planned by the city. It contemplates the development of the shores of Lake Pontchartrain and the reclamation of new lands from the lake, these lands to include public parks and parkways. The idea is to make the project pay for itself by the sale or lease of these lands to the public. No additional taxes will be needed. The cost of the enterprise will be \$27,000,000 and it is calculated that it will result in placing on the assessment rolls of the city property to the value of \$100,000,000.

THIS is an illustration of how such public improvements add to the value of land. Its lease rather than its sale would provide a continuing fund for the successful prosecution of the project without the issuance of bonds and without a penny of taxation. New Orleans is to be congratulated on going as far as she has. It is indicative of a growing tendency in our direction which should reassure our friends that the cause is making real progress in ways to which public attention is not sufficiently directed.

WHILE on this subject it is also interesting to note the extent to which systems of land tenure in Europe have been changed since the war. That these changes have not taken the right direction, that they are halting and insufficient, is true, but they are nevertheless very significant as indicating an awakening sense of the importance of the land question. Here are a few examples: In Latvia the people expropriated the landlords and took over the control of all waste mineral and forest lands and divided the cultivable lands into small privately owned farms. In Czecho Slovakia in 1918 much agricultural land was expropriated and apportioned to the peasants. We know something of what happened in Denmark from the careful study of the legislation in that country printed in LAND AND FREEDOM from Grace Isabel Colbron. In

Hungary 8,000 acres of arable land have been allotted to 250,000 cultivators. In Poland public bodies were ordered to take over all uncultivated lands and dispose of them by auction or contract. In Roumania a system of limited holdings was set up. In that country, as a result of this policy, land held by large landholders fell from 20,000,000 to 5,000,000 acres, and that of small owners increased from 30,000,000 to 45,000,000 acres. Sweden has also adopted a policy of limitation of large estates. All of which involves an overturn of centuries of laws and customs.

THE National Council of Congregational Churches at Washington which was addressed by President Coolidge and continued in convention for nine days, adopted a set of resolutions which aroused some very animated and even angry debate. Some Western papers printed headlines as follows: "Congregational Church Endorses Single Tax Plan," which would be highly important if true.

BUT we have to regret that no such definite action was taken. The resolutions embody endorsements of the minimum wage, arbitration in labor disputes, and the right of workers to organize. They also declare against child labor. But the resolutions which seem to have misled some of our Western contemporaries, were the following:

"A frank abandonment of all efforts to secure income, or any reward which does not come from a real service, and the recognition that all ownership is a social trust involving Christian administration for the good of all, and that the unlimited exercise of the right of private ownership is socially undesirable." Another resolution read thus: "That the farmer shall have access to the land he works on such terms as will ensure him personal freedom and economic encouragement."

THESE resolutions sponsored by the "progressive" element of the Council called forth violent opposition. Opponents said it was a creed "inspired by Karl Marx and Henry George." One delegate called out, "Are we living in Moscow or the civilized United States?" Roger W. Babson, well known writer and statistician, commented as follows (and we commend the courage of the state ment):

"I was greatly disturbed by an earlier speaker who said that if we adopted this creed we would offend some manufacturers and lose some funds," he said,

"It was the most unchristian and most un-congregational statement ever made in any congregational council. Whatever we do, we must do from the Christian point of view, and not out of regard for what some manufacturers who are donors, will say."

WHILE it is to be regretted that the Council did not endorse the Single Tax plan, as reported in Western newspapers, the resolutions quoted are at least a symptom that leaders of Christian denominations are more and more beginning to examine into the question of earned and unearned incomes. That they are ready to declare that "the farmer shall have access to the land he works on such terms as will ensure him personal freedom," shows they are hot on the trail that can lead only to one end. That is perhaps all we can ask or hope for at this time.

THE discussion on the prevalence of crime and the cures for it still continues. Hardly anybody treats of fundamentals. A definitely clear note is sounded, however, in a letter in the N. Y. *World* from Martin M'Mix, who says: "After making all due allowance for heredity and original sin, social injustice remains the prime originating cause of law-breaking. Laws permitting private appropriation of the means of production close the door of opportunity to millions who are compelled to compete with one another for a livelihood."

THE immense contrast between wealth and poverty, the sense of injustice that moves almost unconsciously in ill-regulated and unintelligent minds, are the primary causes of crime, of course. Mr. Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for mayor in the recent election, summed it up in a letter to the *World*: "In a city where two thirds of the people are forced to live in utterly unsuitable homes one woman can afford to have the staggering sum of \$683,000 locked up in jewels. For these gee-gaws, only to be distinguished from glass or paste imitation by the expert, somebody has spent what it would take the average decent worker of New York at the present rate of wages some three and a half centuries to earn. Is it any wonder that men grow up in our streets who would rather take a chance of theft of such luxuries than of making a living by hard work?"

IF this disparity in possessions were a *natural* disparity, if it followed the *equitable* laws of distribution, were rewards based on intellectual differences, or differences of actual earning power, then we could deal with the criminal as we now deal with him. But as the matter stands, and as conditions are, the criminal is the victim of society. Society must first free its own skirts before it can adequately appraise the delinquency of the individual. When itself is the Great Criminal it comes into court as a discredited witness against every thief, burglar and gunman in the community.

WE are choosing our words with care. We are sensible of the fact that many readers may shy at this candid judgment. But think a minute. The child born tonight in the slums of many of our great cities is born without a right to live. He must buy such right of some individual. Every inch of land is pre-empted. He must compete with others for the right to work. All the resources of the earth are in private hands. The great natural revenues that arise from the activities of society, the values swollen to enormous proportions, flow into private pockets. Land, the heritage of mankind, is treated as a commodity to be bought and sold and speculated in. The child born into the world is a trespasser on the earth, the land of which has been parcelled out to a few individuals and their descendants in fee simple forever.

UNTIL Society shows a disposition to question the existence of this wrong, until it shall penitently avow the initial crime that is provocative of much of the crime of which it complains, it cannot deal justly with the criminal. For it will not recognize the harvest of its own garnering. Millionaire and plutocrat, pauper and thief—Society makes them all. For the little that remains of hereditary inclination to vice and crime, is after all negligible. The offspring of the mutineers and murderers of the Bounty established on the island of Pitcairn a God-fearing, humane and civilized community which for successive generations was the wonder of visiting mariners. The island community was founded upon what Henry George declared the natural law of human progress—"association in equality." For civilized society obeys the same laws as the Pitcairn Island community, which was but the duplication in miniature of the greater world that lay beyond its pleasant hills and wide blue waters.

HENRY GEORGE meant equality of opportunity, not, of course, equality of fortune. Men will differ in their earning ability, though, as Mr. George has also pointed out, no such difference exists in reality as would be indicated by differences of possessions in modern society. It is easy enough, fatally easy, to indicate the vice of envy of those more fortunate as the motive leading to crimes against property. But a far stronger motive is the sense of injustice. If Society ignores the fundamental laws of social justice it breeds criminals and cannot justly complain. If it recognizes as lawful those methods which contravene fair dealing and the right of *meum* and *tuum*, it must encourage the same indifference to the moral code on the part of the individual. If it enacts laws destructive of the real rights of property it cannot ask of the individual any clearer conception of these rights. Granted that the criminal may not justify his conduct by a reference to what Society has done. Yet neither can Society grow righteously indignant at the criminal. For the latter, too, has an indictment ready—and terrible it is in its ac-

cusations which future generations will be better able to appraise in all their tragic significance!

Taxing Wealth, Poverty or Privilege?

THE slogan of an organization working for the reform of American municipal, state and national systems of taxation is: "Why Tax Wealth"? Since in its generally accepted meaning wealth is an abundance of useful things, of which everyone desires as much as they can possibly obtain, the obvious answer is that its production should be encouraged, and that in so far as taxes on productive industry increase costs of manufacture, or taxes on moneyed capital tend to discourage its accumulation or investment, they operate to diminish the total output of labor and its ally, capital, and to that extent injuriously affect the common welfare. As all taxes, however levied, must ultimately be paid in labor products or services, the use of money obscuring the fact that when a check is drawn in payment of a tax the taxing power is given a title to a portion of the created wealth, it is manifest that the total tax burden on a community represents just so much human effort diverted from its natural channels into other courses. Of these many are absolutely necessary; often highly desirable, while some may fairly be classed as of doubtful value to the taxpayers. In any case the essential fact remains that taxation, as now generally imposed, takes from the annual wealth production a share estimated at more than 10 per cent. of its total.

Conceding the necessity for taxes, at least until that happy time predicted by the idealists who foresee an ultimate social order in which the expenses of governments shall be met by voluntary contributions of the citizens best able to pay, and admitting the soundness of objections to the policy of taxing wealth, there will inevitably be asked the further question "Why Tax Poverty?"

In this retort to the query as to taxing wealth, it may be inferred that those asking it assume that if taxation is lifted from the rich (those possessing large amounts of property) the burden will necessarily fall upon the much larger number who have few possessions. As a matter of fact, there is in the United States no clear line that can be drawn between riches and poverty. There is a small number of persons who own great fortunes; a somewhat larger number who have little or no property of any kind, and the great majority that, while not rich, would scorn classification as poor. The alternative, therefore, is not that of taxing wealth or poverty, but of so adjusting tax methods that each citizen shall contribute to the various public expenditures in proportion to the benefits of government received. As now imposed, practically all taxes add to the cost of goods or services, and are thus passed on to the great body of consumers. Taxes on banking and other capital are charged over in the shape of higher interest

rates, resulting in higher priced dwelling and other rentals.

Various industrial and commercial associations are engaged in making surveys of the existing tax situation, with a view to urging the enactment of legislation designed to remedy some of the most glaring defects. It might be profitable for them to consider whether the solution may not be found in taking for public revenues, accretions of those values attaching to land which are due to the business activities of the people as a whole, and thus relieving industry and consumption of their present tax burdens.

Making Consumption Equal Production

THE action of the principal textile industries of New England, in reducing the wages of their operatives 10 per cent. because of insufficient markets for their products at prices based upon previous wage schedules, shows that despite conditions that should be favorable for industrial expansion, American manufacturers are faced with the problem of finding adequate markets for their surplus output. The productive powers of most lines of manufacturing industry have been so largely developed during the past decade that if operated to their full capacity the mills and factories can produce far more goods than the domestic market can under present conditions absorb. Part of this excess production will find an outlet in the export trade, but even in what are termed the "world markets," the capacity to buy is limited by the ability of foreign consumers to pay for imported goods, and while better organization of international selling agencies may increase exports, there is still the difficulty of paying for the exported articles except in products that will compete with those of domestic production. This latter condition involves problems of lower foreign wage scales, and the "dumping" of exports at prices below those charged in domestic consumption, showing that a solution of the "overproduction" problem cannot be found in an increased export trade.

Neither would it appear that a general policy of wage reductions in the United States would effect a permanent remedy for unsatisfactory trade conditions. With each reduction in wages must necessarily come reduced purchasing power on the part of millions of factory operatives, who already complain that because of the higher prices of staple farm products, and the maintenance of war-period dwelling rents, the high cost of living equals the higher wages they have been receiving. Under the trade-union rules that govern so many workers longer factory hours would seem to be impracticable, as their suggestion will meet with the objection that since many industries now are working on part time only, a longer working day would merely result in fewer work days each week. The fundamental of the problem is: how to increase domestic consumption, and the field is one to which the thought

and energies of economists, bankers and statesmen must be directed, if prosperity is to be maintained.

How to Read Progress and Poverty

WE have lately listened to an argument from an old time Single Taxer to the effect that so far as the mass of people are concerned, they cannot be reached by *Progress and Poverty*. To the average man it is not a readable book—not one that they can be induced to read for the great truth taught therein.

"Consider," says the proponent of this argument, "that the reader opens the book at the chapters on Malthus. No matter now if Mr. George has successfully demolished the Malthusian theory, as thinking men believe he has. The reader will turn these pages bewildered as to what this has to do with the rights of man to the use of the earth, which is true even if Malthus was right. He must wade through the questionable chapters on Interest—and here again he will wonder what that has to do with the fact that mankind is shut out from the use of the earth. He will lay down the book and say, 'Yes, Henry George was a very great man, no doubt, and a great writer, too, perhaps, but he is beyond me. He has compelled me to read so much of matters not concerned with what his followers tell me I ought to believe that I haven't the time to master it. I cannot follow him through the Malthusian and Interest chapters to an end which may be very desirable in itself, but which do not seem to lead me to the desired goal.'"

This, as near as we can recall it, is the language of our friend. It is an argument that could be urged against many books that require intelligence for their comprehension. It is an indictment of the average mentality. In a measure it is largely true. Of the 110,000,000 comprising the population of the United States there are doubtless no more than 100,000 or 200,000 men and women capable of thoroughly comprehending *Progress and Poverty*. There are nearly one hundred million persons capable of understanding that the rent of land should be taken by government for the people. A child may be made to understand that. Shall we therefore discard *Progress and Poverty* for some more simplified statement of the principle taken perhaps from that work, with all the other chapters omitted?

The question loses sight of a great truth which we wonder our friend has not stumbled over, for it lies straight in his path. Outside of the theory of interest, in which it seems to us even Henry George was weak, it has made more Single Taxers than any other instrumentality. No epitome of the work, no plain statement of the principles that Henry George strove to teach, has ever been presented half so effectively anywhere.

Look around us. The disciples of the Georgian philosophy who are still with us got their inspiration from this

book. What our friend ignores is this: The thinking man of a community counts for one hundred at least of the members of that community. If he gets the truth that is in *Progress and Poverty* he goes out and tells it to others in his own language. He tells it in language with which his neighbors are familiar. We fancy our friend will say, Why not tell it in this language in a little book that will make the meaning clear? The answer is that language is a variable medium. There is no assurance that such a book would be read, or if read would make the kind of disciple that would go out and preach it effectively. Personality counts for much more than we credit it with. The people of a community may be profoundly affected by the argument that Jonathan Jones, Esquire, long an honored resident of the town, believes in the doctrines of Henry George, though they could not be induced to read of these in the works themselves.

This may seem like an indictment of democracy, but it isn't. Men are affected by the beliefs of others. To the degree that men of healthy sensibilities and fine sympathies respond to the convictions that radiate from the exceptional spirits of a community, will a great truth find its way. Mankind is thus constituted. What Matthew Arnold called the "saving remnant" is the really governing remnant, intellectually and spiritually. Social institutions are responsive to these influences; they are the medium of social changes. What we call the progress of truth is not the voluntary yielding to the logic of a principle on the part of the majority, but rather by its involuntary acceptance by the majority in obedience to influences of which they are in great part unconscious. To make more and more believers in our doctrines among men who will derive their chief inspiration from the fountain head is to multiply the influences at work that will assure the ultimate acceptance of our principles by a voting majority. To this end we can do no better work than in seeing that the works of Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* especially, are kept before the public.

And this raises the question which is the subject title of this editorial, *How to Read Progress and Poverty*. The question is an important one. We think that it is answered in the following letter from the editor of the *Coshocton (Ohio) Tribune*, addressed to a young friend about to leave the *Tribune* staff to fill a post on a newspaper in a larger city. We commend the letter for the beauty of its English and the fine spirit that informs it. Its author is Fred S. Wallace.

My Dear Kenneth:

I had in mind one of two gifts for you at the time of your leaving the editorial force of the *Tribune*. One was a million dollars; the other this paper bound book. I have decided on the book for two reasons. One is because I unfortunately do not have in hand at this time the million dollars; the other, because I believe the book, properly read, will do you far more good than the money.

I trust you will read the book twice, because it will serve a twofold purpose. You should read it the first

time to catch a glimpse of the prophecy it contains, the vision of a world from which injustice, involuntary poverty and the fear of want will for the first time be banished. Your impression from the first reading will be of a diction so pure, a moral tone so lofty and a purpose so exalted as to make this volume stand among the literary treasures of the race.

You can read it a second time, more slowly, as a scientific treatise on economics. In this reading you can exercise all the analytical powers of the student. From this angle you will find in it reasoning so acute, analysis so searching and logic so convincing as to satisfy completely your every mental process.

As a friend I have tried to help you in divers ways and all the recompense I ask is that sometime you will read this book at least twice. In thus granting the request of a friend you will obtain for yourself a moral tonic which will keep you sweet under the most trying circumstances and an intellectual stimulus which will broaden your mental horizon through life.

The Mayoralty Campaign in Pittsburgh

THE recent election in Pittsburgh resulted in a victory for the Republican candidate with the Non-Partisan party in second place. The latter party is composed of the remnants of the large La Follette vote of a year ago.

The democratic candidate, Prof. Carman C. Johnson, waged the campaign against great odds. He alone among the candidates made his campaign along constructive lines, with the land value tax and proportional representation as the two chief planks in his municipal platform. None of the candidates opposed the graded tax plan.

In one of his speeches, Prof. Johnson spoke as follows:

"By the graded tax law now fully in force in this city, compelling land rather than improvements to carry the big end of the tax burden, we have a start toward full solution. But let us go further. Let us still lighten the burden upon the small property owner. Indeed we might go as far as New York city and exempt all new houses, or even all houses, up to a certain value, from taxation at all for a few years or forever.

Land should carry still more of the tax burden, especially large tracts of land held out of use or required for large estates in the city, or required for unusually profitable business sites. Yes, indeed; take society's own socially produced tax or rent resources right out of the ground here in this city of \$500,000,000 worth of land values, and the small home owner will pay his share of taxes on his small lot and at the same time the large home owner will pay his share of taxes on his larger lot or acreage, and the occupant of a very profitable business corner will pay his share of taxes on his very valuable land site. This is not my invention at all, but I believe in it; and it would get plenty of money for Pittsburgh's governmental needs."

Why They Want Everybody to Economize

"AS I understand it," said the man who was being urged to practise thrift, "your idea is that instead of buying a lot of things that I need I should put my money in the bank."

"That's it. If all you consumers will just cut down on your spending, and start savings accounts, the banks will soon have twice as much money on deposit."

"And what will the banks do with all these deposits?"

"Oh that's easy. They will lend them out to manufacturers, who need more capital to produce more things for the people to buy."

The Ohio State Conference

AS we go to press news reaches us that preparations have been completed for the Ohio State Conference of Single Taxers at Columbus, on December 8.

The object is to form a State organization of the Commonwealth Land Party, though many Single Taxers not members of the party are expected to attend. The putting of a state ticket in the field next year will come under consideration; also a petition for a constitutional amendment.

The excellent vote polled by the Commonwealth Land party at the last election is the stimulating factor. While our readers are aware of the vote cast for Virgil D. Allen for governor (11,776) they may not know of the excellent showing made by other candidates: Jaspar Shuman for Secretary of State, 10,604; W. O. Blase, for Lieut.-Governor, 11,906; Mary S. Fraser, for Attorney General, 12,340.

Two Commonwealth Land party men running without party designation as Judges of the Supreme Court polled a vote as follows: Frank R. Fields, 231,465; and William A. Teutch, 116,599.

These results with the victory in Youngstown have aroused in Ohio Single Taxers the feeling that the time may be ripe for party action throughout the state.

FRENCH syndicalists succeeded in getting a small increase in wages at one point on the coast for the fisher folk, who can hardly afford to eat fish, and the simple people cannot be blamed much if they have faith in the syndicalist orators, who tell them that the way to have plenty is to produce less.

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NOTICE: We are still in need of lists of prospects for circularizing and sampling. Send them in!

Life and Work of Henry George

ADDRESS OF G. H. GODFREY, AT THE HENRY GEORGE COMMEMORATION DINNER,
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, SEPTEMBER 2, 1925

“UNIVERSAL history,” says Thomas Carlyle, “the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones, the modellers, patterns, and in a wide sense the creators of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment of thoughts that dwell in the great men sent into the world—the soul of the whole world’s history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these.”

Carlyle, we know, was a hero-worshipper, but so, indeed, are the vast majority of mankind, and I have no hesitation in saying that most of the men and women gathered here tonight must confess to a fair measure of hero-worship in connection with the grand, heroic personality whose birth we are now commemorating—Henry George, the prophet of San Francisco—as he had been called, and rightly so, for to thousands of men and women his philosophy is a religion, and he himself its prophet, prophet in a more literal sense, for the years but add emphasis to the truth of his teaching and justification to his warnings. “Civilization,” he warns us, “that is not based on justice cannot continue. The eternal laws of the universe forbid it, ruins of dead empires testify, and the witness that is in every soul answers that it cannot be.”

And the injustice of modern civilization—what is it? It is nothing less than the disinheritance of the great mass of humanity. It is the preposterous convention that allows one man to own land upon which others must live and work. How can there be justice when some can command the services of others without rendering a service in return? How can there be justice when the so-called owners of the Earth are able to compel the rest to render tribute to them for permission to live in the world. What justice is there for the citizens of tomorrow when their birthright has been disposed of in advance?

THE EXTRAORDINARY INIQUITY

The Scriptures tell us that the meek shall inherit the Earth, but in modern society it passes to the heirs of the privileged few. Here in Australia, for instance, where the democratic spirit is supposed to be more in the ascendant than elsewhere, 86 per cent. of the inhabitants are trespassers, unless they pay toll to the landlord. Think upon the extraordinary iniquity, nay absurdity of a system that permits a favored few to monopolize nature, this Mother Nature upon whose favors we are so dependent, whose

winty frown sends us shivering, whose life-giving forces dominate our existence. For to own the land is to command these powers. The sun shines, the rain falls, the earth brings forth her verdant pastures and delivers up her treasures, primarily, it would seem, for the landlord.

What is the one great essential—the *sine qua non*—indispensable to every activity carried on upon this globe? It is access to land. And yet, for us this is not a right, but a privilege. It would seem that the gross injustice and absurdity of such a condition of affairs would be apparent to the least observant men, and not require a Henry George to discover it. But the obvious is never apparent. If men would but trust the evidence of their own senses, rather than the voice of authority and the teachings of tradition, the march of real progress would indeed be rapid.

GALILEO

About the year 1632, the young Galileo mounted the leaning tower of Pisa and there before the assembled university dropped two weights, a ball weighing one pound, and another weighing 100 pounds. The multitude saw them fall together, and heard them strike the ground together; some were convinced, but many returned to their rooms, consulted Aristotle, and reading there that the heavier ball should reach the ground first, declared their continued adherence to that doctrine. Even the most spectacular and dramatic demonstration of a great truth is wasted upon people if it conflicts with the accepted belief of their times. No doubt many another before Galileo has seen the truth which he sought to prove, but none had seen it as clearly as he or proclaimed it so fearlessly.

We know that the truth which Henry George demonstrated so convincingly had been seen by others, but who had seen its consequences so clearly, or so eloquently and courageously declared war on this great iniquity? It is the divine courage of the man that most of all evokes our admiration. It was enough to have attacked the most powerful and wealthy institution in society—the very stronghold of privilege itself—for in every country of the civilized world the claims of the landlord have the church to bless them, the law to uphold them, and the army to defend them, and all with a ready acquiescence of the people. To have successfully challenged these claims and denounced this institution under the most favorable conditions would seem to require the heart of a lion and the genius of an intellectual giant. But to have done it under the conditions Henry George had to contend with and well knowing the magnitude of his task was a feat almost incredible.

HE WAS 450 DOLLARS IN DEBT

In September 1877 Henry George at the age of 38 commenced "Progress and Poverty," the work that was afterwards to make him famous throughout the world. At the end of the year he was 450 dollars in debt. The writing of a great book would at least seem to require leisure and freedom from anxiety, but this period was one of grave industrial depression and George had a struggle to keep the wolf from the door. And yet, in spite of this, the work was completed, and the family provided for. But the writing of a book is one thing, its publication another. No publisher could be found for "Progress and Poverty," unless he provided also the plates for it. It is characteristic of the man that he immediately went to work to set the type for it. And so throughout his life whenever a difficulty was encountered it was overcome.

The story of his life as, doubtless, most of you know, is indeed a fascinating and romantic one, and should be read by all who have not done so, for it is as great a source of inspiration as his writings. A friend who knew him well has epitomized it thus: "A Philadelphia boy whose books were men and college the printer's case—a graduate of the university of hard knocks—this printer dipped his pen in life, his words throbbed with sympathy for suffering and thrilled with the logic of truth. Universality is the outstanding characteristic of his genius; breadth of thought and depth of sympathy." As of Shakespeare, so it may be said of Henry George: "He wrote, not for an age, but for all time." His works written from 30 to 50 years ago are as fresh and topical today as when they were first published.

IF THE LAW OF GRAVITATION

Why, then, do his teachings not attract greater attention today? The answer is simple—they are antagonistic to the most powerful interest in every land. As Macaulay says, "If the law of gravitation were opposed to any pecuniary interest there would not be wanting arguments against it." And the most powerful argument used by opponents against the teachings of George is, as Tolstoy remarks, "that which has been used with greatest success against every other irrefutable and self-evident truth," that of hushing it up. "Society," says Tolstoy, "treats ideas that creep in upon its privacy—and such are the ideas of Henry George—as the bee treats noxious grubs; being unable to exterminate them, the bee coats their nest with lime, thus the grub, though not exterminated, is unable to spread further." Indeed, considering the difficulties to be encountered, it is wonderful that the ideas of George should have achieved the substantial practical success that they have.

But if we are not quite satisfied with the rate of progress there is one tendency we must be most careful to avoid, and that is the far too prevalent tendency to blame human nature. Henry George's whole life-work is a protest

against such an idea. Human nature is good enough for him—all it wants is a chance, and for that chance he gave his life. Nor is his beautiful faith in human nature the result of inexperience. Few men had greater opportunities for observing mankind than he. At the age of 18, when he shipped as a boy before the mast on a 500-ton brig on a voyage to Australia and the East, he learned more of human nature on its dingy side than most of us see in a lifetime. That this man, who had no illusions about life, who had mixed with the very dregs of society, as well as with the cream, who tasted much more of life's bitters than its sweets, should yet dedicate his life to improve the material condition of his fellows is a fact that should confound the most crusty cynic.

THE FOUNDATION OF JUSTICE

Surely the fight must be worth while? Surely that confidence is not misplaced? If his appeal, if our appeal fails it will not be on the score of human imperfection: For under whatsoever conditions you find a human being there are certain qualities you may depend upon to turn the scale in favor of justice. In the roughest elements of society there is a sense of justice—there is honor, even among thieves. Play the game, be a sport, as we Australians put it—that is the spirit which will yet save mankind though Empires crumble to the dust. And it is because the philosophy of Henry George is built upon the foundation of justice that it ultimately will win through. To whatsoever the human being produces, to that he hath inalienable right; but to the earth itself, the common heritage of us all, or any portion of it, none can lay individual claim. Until this principle is enshrined in the hearts of men and embodied in human statutes, justice is but a phantom—a myth. But it will win through, and at no very distant date, if sufficient energy is put into the fight.

Henry George has blazed the trail, it is for those that believe in him to broaden it out to a mighty highway, along which mankind may safely march to even more lofty heights. No movement was ever blessed with a greater leader. We have no need to be ashamed of our hero. Few of the so-called great men of the past, or of the present, too, for that matter, but possess some quality, some element of weakness that mars an otherwise great character. We have cases of wonderfully sympathetic poetical natures, who could touch the heart of millions, but whose judgment is not reliable.

A PERFECTLY BALANCED PERSONALITY

We have instances of men whose intellectual greatness is unquestionable, but their sympathies are very narrow, and a selfish personal ambition is the secret of their success. But in George we have that rare combination of great intellectual power and profound depth of feeling—a perfectly balanced personality. The sympathetic qualities of his mind may clearly be seen from the extract

read to you tonight. "Progress and Poverty" is more than a work on political economy, it is a philosophy of society, couched in almost poetical language, with a strong human appeal. But everywhere throughout his work he makes us aware of the keen analytical mind that probes every question to its root. At the beginning of his great work he has placed that beautiful quotation from Marcus Aurelius: "Make for thyself a definition of the thing that is presented to thee, so as to see what kind of a thing it is, in its substance, in its nudity, in its complete entirety, and tell thyself its proper name, and the names of the things of which it has been compounded, and into which it will be resolved." And this behest, which breathes the very spirit of scientific enquiry, he earnestly obeys. It is typical of the practical commonsense of the man that, in order to secure the equal rights of all to the use of the earth, he does not propose that the Government should take over the land and administer it. All that is necessary, he assures us, is to collect the rent in the form of a tax and use it for public purposes, abolishing all other taxes entirely.

HIS VIVID USE OF SIMILE

Nor is George lacking in a sense of humor. His vivid use of simile and metaphor shows this, though often in a somewhat caustic form. Referring to the educated fools that Universities sometimes turn out, he likens them to a monkey with a microscope, or a mule packing a library. Criticising the protectionists' argument that a tariff should be used to encourage infant industry, he says, "All experience shows that the policy of encouragement once begun leads to a scramble in which it is the strong, not the weak, the unscrupulous, not the deserving, that succeed. What are really infant industries have no more chance for governmental encouragement than infant pigs have with full-grown swine about a meal tub." Pointing out that the great public debts have often been incurred by profligate tyrants and unscrupulous Governments, for the very purpose of waging war on the liberties of their own subjects, and emphasising the unreasonableness of expecting the present generation to honor those debts, he says, "It is not the case of asking a man to pay for the debts incurred by his great-grandfather, it is asking him to pay for the rope with which his great-grandfather was hanged, or the faggots with which he was burned." His work abounds in similar vivid passages.

To Henry George's personal charm and power of making friends, all who came in contact with him bear testimony. Dr. Edward McGlynn, one of his closest friends, tells us that he loved the man, and revered him on this side idolatry as much as it was possible; and the large band of earnest friends and supporters express themselves in similar terms. And now, to sum up in a single passage the noble qualities of the life and work of this serene personality, I beg leave to quote the words which George himself used in relation to the Hebrew prophet, Moses: "From first to

last this character is consistent with itself and with the mighty work which is its monument. . . . To dispute about the inspiration of such a man is to dispute about words: from the depths of the unseen such characters draw their strength, from fountains that flow only from the pure in heart must come their wisdom; of something more real than matter, of something higher than the stars, of a light that will endure when suns are dead and gone, such lives tell."

THE FIGHT WILL GO ON

But before concluding, I should like to make a reference to the noble band of workers here and elsewhere who have so staunchly carried the banner which Henry George unfurled some 45 years ago. Most of those present, no doubt, have never met the great leader, but next to this privilege may be placed the good fortune to have associated with some of those who either knew Henry George in the flesh, or can remember the days when his message was first sent throughout the world. For they reflect to us in no small degree the inspiration and influence which they have carried throughout their lives. And I sometimes wonder whether they may not feel on an occasion like this, that after they have gone that influence and inspiration will have departed also, and the movement for social justice perhaps languished. If such a thought should cross their minds, I should like to assure them as a humble representative of a younger generation that the fight will go on as far as we are concerned, till the end.

With superb courage and self-sacrifice have these veterans in the cause fulfilled the trust which the master-mind bequeathed to them, and though they have not sought any reward, it is here,—even here. As the late Lord Morley once said: "A man will be already in no mean paradise, if at the hour of life's sunset, a bright hope can fall upon him, like harmonies of music, that the earth shall still be fair, and the happiness of every breathing creature receive a constant augmentation, when the memory of his poor name and personality has long been blotted out of the brief recollection of men for ever."

ALDERMAN J. R. FIRTH, of Sydney, Australia, spent a day in Cleveland recently, and met E. W. Doty, Peter Witt, and others. He was told: "With you in Australia, the problem is to reduce the number of taxes; in Ohio, the problem is to prevent the real estate boards from imposing several new taxes on the people. The realtors, well organized and confident, are out for blood."

"I DROPPED the worry on the way," says John D. Rockefeller in his birthday poem. Which may mean that Uncle Sam will not get much in the way of inheritance tax.

IN July and August, 55 English Single Taxers succeeded in getting 132 letters or articles published in 18 daily and 13 weekly papers.

Youngstown Campaign Victorious

THE result of the campaign in Youngstown ought to encourage our forces everywhere. It is difficult to overestimate our success. When our campaign was opened the people were apparently hopeless of any effort to fight the occupational tax. This novel form of taxation was passed by the council in 1924, under the emergency clause by which the people were deprived of their right to the use of the referendum. In anticipation of opposition to this unusual tax, harsh, ancient and obsolete methods of enforcement, foreign and repugnant to our traditions, were revived, arrest and imprisonment for non-payment of taxes enforced, the right of trial by jury, the bulwark of our liberties denied, innocent and useful labor made a crime, the constitutional inhibition against the imposition of direct and capitation tax clearly violated and the constitutional provisions, requiring that laws of a general nature shall have a uniform effect, disregarded.

These points were accentuated in our public addresses at our now memorable Moose Hall and other meetings. The appearance of the *Ohio Commonwealth* in which we demanded immediate amendment of the Emergency Clause of the city charter was also a powerful factor; but it remained for the action and decision in the Mill Creek Sewer Case, (in which I had exposed a fund of a half million dollars of delinquent taxes which ever assessment-shirking unfair-advantage-seeking landlords were holding up by injunction), to force the city council to pass a resolution submitting to the voters an amendment to the charter containing the idea that we had advanced, viz., *that no occupational tax or franchise grant should hereafter be passed without consent of the people by referendum*. On election day this amendment was overwhelmingly carried.

As further indicating the change of public opinion a \$900,000.00 bond issue representing the city's quota (a dole to landlords) toward proposed street improvements was signally defeated.

The rapidity of public education on matters of taxation during a political fight is here demonstrated. There has been a decided change in the attitude of the public toward the practice of making large allowances to landlords in cases of street widening and other public improvements. The new view is that the property benefited should bear the burden. Even the law director, with the zeal of a convert, in the Mill Creek Sewer case opposed the disposition of a remittitur of \$17,000.00 which would become a burden upon the general tax-payer and insisted that it should be paid by the property benefited.

Other contemplated raids upon the general tax-payer such as the Meander Creek Dam site, the park extension purchase, the establishment of a sanitary district (on

which there hangs a tale too long to tell at this time) have received decided set-backs from our activities.

In the closing hours of the campaign the astonishing spectacle was presented of every candidate vociferously proclaiming his opposition to the occupational tax and urging the adoption of the amendment—conspicuous among whom were the very councilmen who had originally passed the ordinance but who desired to be re-elected.

It is gratifying also to report that the amendments to the state constitution, aggressively supported by the real estate boards of the state, designed to relieve landlords and diminish the already small rent of land that is now collected by the state, were defeated.

My entrance into the field as a candidate was for the purpose of bringing all these matters prominently before the people and carrying out the policy of party action. Notwithstanding this was a non-partisan campaign I took no pains to avoid my identification with the Commonwealth Land Party, open party nomination being prohibited by the city charter. The present incumbent was re-elected, I running third with a vote of 2,500.

The next phase of the fight is the carrying of the question to the supreme court. Upon arrangement with the law director a stated case will be presented to the court next week from which error proceedings will be prosecuted through to the supreme court.

Summing up we feel that we have been able to tell the big truth to a larger circle and that a decisive battle has been fought and won in the great war for a free earth.

—GEORGE EDWARDS.

New Uses For Brains Every Day

THEY begin to be recognized as one cause of rising land values.

First it was Henry Ford. The hopeful companies founded to exploit his possible purchase of Muscle Shoals openly advertised the Ford ability as a reason for buying adjacent land. But Ford had commercial brains. Now comes the turn of the Intelligentsia pure and simple. Dr. Hamilton Holt has accepted the offered Presidency of Rollins College Winter Park, Fla. And promptly a Florida Real Estate Company runs a striking advertisement to the effect that Dr. Holt's presence and activities in Winter Park will cause land in that vicinity to go up in value. Therefore said company advises the General Public to get in quickly to catch the good things coming.

It is an impressive thought:

Lives of great men all remind us

We can make our own lives great

And departing leave behind us,

Fortunes made in real estate. . . . (by others).

G. I. C.

America Yesterday—Today—Tomorrow

AMERICA! A name but yesterday synonymous with asylum for the oppressed of all nations; where freedom reigned and "a man was a man for a' that."

A land inhabited by a sturdy pioneer race, each individual of which was proud of his ability to hew out a home for himself, and from the bounties of nature provide abundant food for his family.

Men were rude and hardy, society was crude and hearty, and life was a primitive struggle, but the reward was health, strength and contentment. Wealth and poverty were equally unknown and all men were peers.

From this stock sprang our revolutionary forefathers and their logical achievement was a republic; a government based on the consent of the governed, and which guaranteed to all equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"The old order changeth." Today the same land has 110 million inhabitants aided by the inventions of science as exemplified by railroads, motor trucks and plows, the use of steam, and electricity which have so enormously increased the productive power of each individual that it should logically follow all were rich. But it is not so, for, in this land capable of holding 1,000 million people, with resources abundant for their comfortable maintenance, bars are erected against immigrants; gone are the individual homes and clearings; gone are the individual's independence and contentment, and half the population is now congested in cities, with the mass crowding tenements, some called apartments, but in practically all of them abides worry for the future; for, while there are some millionaires, the people as a whole own but little and have food for today only.

The new wine of wealth has been poured recklessly into old bottles; the pressure on the old weaknesses in the construction of society, which in a primitive one was comparatively light, has been intensified, the distribution of wealth is not now based on the value of individual effort, but mostly on the basis of special privilege, and the consequent ferment has produced discontent which finds its expression in labor organizations, the rise and progress of socialism, communism, and the universally growing contempt for existing forms of government and their officials.

Shall we like wise citizens seek out the cause producing these evils and finding it, rectify them; or shall we imitate the old French aristocracy, which ignored the counsels of Turgot and Quesnay, blindly dance and make merry on the eve of the cataclysm and thus make certain its advent?

What is the cause of this discontent and where shall we find it?

Must not we apply to the Professors of Political Economy who, for lo these many years, have studied the laws govern-

ing the production and distribution of wealth? Are they not aware that the true scientific method to pursue for the solution of this great question is to classify effects, analyze them and from them deduce a logical and satisfactory cause?

Do they not know that when this cause is found they can revert to inductive reasoning and intelligently prescribe for society's ills, sure that good causes will produce always like results?

Unfortunately we cannot depend on these professors, for, while they may be intelligent and know the true answers, their bread and butter depends on deference to prevailing public opinion, and though the cause of economic distress has been pointed out to them many times they will remain as mute to it as were the professors resident in the south during the agitation against slavery.

No, as good citizens knowing that our government is based on just principles, knowing that our constitution provides proper methods for the rectification of any defects found in it, it is incumbent on us to use our own reason, aided and stimulated by that of our fellows, to scientifically study and answer these questions ourselves, and then to enact any needed legislation.

Now, as all men desire wealth and all normal men desire to aid also in the production, our inquiry plainly narrows to the field of distribution of wealth.

Why is it that with the enormous increase of wealth, due to improved methods of production and the utilization of discovered resources, the per capita return to the many is so low?

Existing political economy rightly shows that distribution is between the three factors in production, Land, Labor and Capital, and the returns to each are called Rent, Wages and Interest. So far, so good, but the text books hopelessly, if not purposely, overlap the definitions of these terms so that in their arguments one term is often used for another, consequently we must define these terms afresh.

LAND is all physical nature apart from man and his products.

LABOR is man, including all his abilities of hand and brain.

CAPITAL is that portion of wealth devoted to the production of more wealth; the balance of wealth devoted to consumption is not capital, and would be disappear were there no future production—and finally we will define Wealth, the thing distributed, as any material thing produced by man for the satisfaction of his desires; it is never Land or Labor.

These definitions are mutually exclusive and are meant to be so—for, to speak of brains or acquired skill as capital would be to muddle our problem. Brains or acquired talents are attributes of man and pertain to man alone; capital is simply inert matter and apart from man's use and care would rust or melt away.

Having found and clearly defined the factors we can seek now for the laws or customs which produce an unsatisfactory distribution.

Taking a period of time, say fifty years, we will find that rent, wages and interest have all advanced greatly, it being understood that interest in this case means the return to capital used in the production of wealth in its many shapes and not to the return for money loaned which has fallen.

Now, as rent, wages and interest have all increased, it is certain, if the distribution is still unsatisfactory, that the field of inquiry is again narrowed and becomes one of proportion in distribution.

And this immediately is seen to be the case, landlords, laborers and capitalists are all struggling for a larger share in the results of production.

"Why of course!" you say, "we knew this all the time."

Nevertheless it was necessary to clear the ground and establish agreed-upon premises, and now we are prepared to go forward boldly together in our reasoning.

There must be, and there is, a law or custom which gives one of these factors the power to take the lion's share to the disadvantage of the others. Let us question these factors. Labor, on being interviewed, said that he has been oppressed during the ages, even enduring serfdom and slavery, and that as a free man during modern times he has had to form labor unions to secure a living wage. That he receives his wages after he has rendered service but must pay his rent in advance.

The Capitalist reports that in olden times he always operated under the protection of, and paid tribute to some powerful overlord, had to dodge robber barons, etc.; and in modern times finds that strikes, and taxes on his produce, often sweep away all his earnings. That he is paid for his wares on or after delivery, but he pays rent in advance whether he earns a profit or not, and that finally so arduous is his struggle that over 95% of his fellows fail in the long run!

Both Labor and Capital agree that never have they thought of such a thing as striking against the landlord.

The Landlord refuses to be interviewed, he merely says he had nothing to say, that it was nobody's business what he did with his land; he pays his taxes and that settles it!

Analyzing these answers we find that both Labor and Capitalists confess their subjection to the Landlord; they practically admit that they were formerly his slaves, in degree at least, and that even now they willingly pay a certain tribute in advance for permission to engage in production and further than this, willingly take all the risks attending the marketing of their services and produce.

Now we have the real culprit, the landlord, and must seek the cause of his power and on finding it must not hesitate to apply a remedy.

The cause of this power, a natural law enforcing it, sanctified by the custom of generations, is called the law of rent. First clearly enunciated by Ricardo, endorsed by

Mill and properly applied to urban as well as agricultural land by Henry George, is as follows:

"The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use."

This law applies not only to lands deriving their relative value from differences in natural qualities of fertility, of resources such as minerals, forests or waterpower, but also to the land of urban centers where desirability of location gives more startling contrasts in value.

On studying this law it is seen that as increasing population presses back the activities of man to less productive or desirable lands, all lands above that point—which is called the margin of production—secure an increase in their annual premium value, or rent.

Also, as a corollary, it follows that with poorer lands used the general return must be smaller, and that after the increased rent is paid Capital and Labor must be content to divide a relatively smaller net return for their efforts.

Carrying the application of this law forward it is plainly seen that the descendants of Labor and Capital of today will pay a still higher tribute than now, and out of diminished returns; therefore the struggle between Labor and Capital must steadily increase and become fiercer, unless remedied.

In the meantime the landlord may calmly sleep, or travel abroad, sure that without his aid this natural law is working to increase his power and share.

Several remedies for this evil condition have been offered. The Socialists and Communists propose the nationalization of the land and its collective use. The Anarchists, the possession of the land by the user and only when in use. These remedies presuppose an entire change in the form of our government and may be accepted only if a better one cannot be found.

The best remedy is that advocated by the Single Taxers, who declare that while land must be made common property, propose in lieu of the partition of the land, the taxation of its annual rental value yearly into the Government's treasury for the benefit of the whole people.

They point out that the landlord already pays a tax on the value of his land, and all that is needed is to increase the rate high enough to absorb all the rent; that the machinery for doing this is already functioning and that when this is done there will be sufficient public funds to allow the abrogation of all other forms of taxation; further that title deeds need not be questioned and that the landlord can be left in peaceable possession.

One great merit of this system is that its enforcement entails no shock, for all industry now pays the landlord rent, and when it is diverted to the government, and all other taxes are abrogated, industry can save the full amount of these taxes or fines which now burden it. Consequently production will be stimulated immediately and all the public be benefited thereby. But now the landlord wakes up and cries confiscation!

Is this remedy then unjust? Must we still allow the landlord his tribute until we buy him off, particularly when we have found out that all rent is unearned increment?

Let us see, he still has the land and its use to him should be as valuable, at least, as to a tenant after the payment of rent.

"True," he may retort, "but I have lost the rent."

That is so, but rent is a value which attaches to land not due to your efforts but to the presence and productivity of the rest of us.

"Yes," he replies, "but the land is mine and the value which adheres to it is therefore also mine."

Now he certainly has us in a hole unless we can pick a flaw in his title.

Fortunately, that is easy.

According to the Bible the first title to land inhered in God, the creator of it, and He gave it "unto the children of men" with the injunction to "subdue and replenish" it. It was a continuing gift to all the generations of men and not to certain individuals, and had this common estate been intelligently administered for our common benefit, all would have been well.

But man fell from grace into barbarism and it is in the chronicles of man we must look for the forerunner of the modern title deed.

Beginning with the cave man it is seen that he simply appropriated a convenient hole in the ground and the deed which he exhibited to others was his club, the weight and hardness of which secured possession until a heavier and harder one appeared. Passing rapidly on we find land held by the head of the family, next by the head of the tribe and finally by the king or head of the nation.

Possession of the land passed forward and backward between warring tribes and nations, each new assignment being written in blood and exacted by force.

Coming down particularly to the time from which our own titles date we will start with William the Conqueror.

When he invaded England, he parceled out the land taken from the Saxons, to his chiefs as tenants of the crown, binding them in return for these grants to the payment of certain annual dues in produce or services.

The real title to the land was vested in the crown—that is to say, the nation—and this condition continues to be the case up today. For, while the landlords of England, sitting in the House of Lords, made and interpreted the laws pertaining to the tenure of these lands favorably to themselves, they never dared to dispute the right of the crown—or people—to call on them for financial support or services when the nation needed it.

Our titles to land are based on this English law, the ultimate title still vests in the State, as is shown by the law of eminent domain and still further by the undisputed right of the State or people to tax it.

It is seen therefore that the so-called owner of land never was under our laws anything but a tenant of the

crown or State, and that in acquiring land, even under fee simple, he did so acknowledging his duty to pay any tax levied thereon or quit!

We now propose to tax him for the full value of his tenancy, and tomorrow we will exact it, even though he be forced to go to work for a living. What stands in the way? What is it which prevents us from adopting immediately this just and imperatively needed reform? It is an uninformed public opinion. Let us then apply psychology to the problem and let us start again with the time of William the Conqueror, as we did with our deeds.

The landlords of that time were powerful, armed with the powers of high and low justice, the gallows and the the pit, etc., and none too tender a conscience; it was recognized very early that for lesser people to gainsay them was dangerous.

Then was born the knowledge, subconscious at least, of the law of survival of the fittest; then, if not earlier for like reasons, was born the primary law of etiquette—always agree with your neighbor!

"Verily, the moon is made of green cheese."

"Surely kind sir, and how clearly your grace states that fact."

There was born from these psychological laws our race of snobs; who, not being lords sought to attach themselves to the powerful, and, under protection, shine with reflected glory. These noble lords and submissive snobs have long since become dust, but their descendants are multitudinous. The lords have become landlords, still real lords, the snobs, still real snobs, have become Bankers, Manufacturers, Merchants, Brokers, Doctors, Lawyers, Clerks, etc., and the shining badge separating them from the hoi polloi is the white collar!

Saith the landlord, "I will grant you permission to remain on earth and use it at so much per annum."

"Well said, so be it" say the snobs, "and as a mark of our esteem and appreciation for your honorable self and your bounty, we will pay taxes for the maintenance of the State lest the value of your permission be decreased to you."

Is this indictment too severe? Must we be content with mildly quoting: "What fools these mortals be," when in fact we would like to explode into words only printable in dashes and asterisks to convey the contempt they merit for upholding a system which is against their own just rights; a system which nullifies the beneficence of God who furnished the bounties of nature free to man, and which finally, unless revoked, must rend society asunder!

No, this indictment is not too harsh, because imperatively called for, and for the present system which robs we must substitute one which regards honest effort. We must appropriate through taxation to our common use this steadily growing economic rent; we must all pay individually the annual premium of that portion of the common estate which we use. With the annual appropriation by

the Government of this individually unearned increment, all the burdensome taxes and fines now levied on Capital and Labor may be and should be abrogated, leaving their net returns increased; further under this system the undeveloped resources of the country would be opened to them and the demand for their services would be limited only when the wants of a prosperous people were satiated. The steadily increasing expenses of Government would be amply met without friction from this steadily growing national fund; and with the attendant abolition of income taxes, taxes on improvements such as houses, factories, stores, barns, fences, orchards etc., in brief, the total abolition of all taxes now levied on produce and its exchange, all this should encourage the further production of wealth and make sure its equitable distribution.

Tomorrow! With Labor free to go where open opportunity entices it; with Capital free to go where demand calls it; with both free from artificial barriers and fines; with nations, like individuals, finding their best interests rewarded by mutually profitable service, all valid excuses for war would fail.

Political boundaries would tend to become mere jurisdictional areas, roughly delimiting differences in language, domestic habits and customs. Each nation could and would be proud of its own race and culture, but, with the evil restrictions now separating them abolished, with rivalry for the advancement of the arts and sciences established in their stead, the stage would be set for a World Parliament of free men. The vision of a millenium with mankind flowering in peace and plenty would appear nearer.

Let us see that America shall be the first to restore to her people their natural heritage in the land; the first to point out and lead the way to a higher and greater civilization; so that man everywhere shall find faith and courage and march confidently on!

—ANTONIO BASTIDA.

WEALTH in itself is a good, not an evil; but wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, corrupts on one side, and degrades on the other. No chain is stronger than its weakest link, and the ultimate condition of any people must be the condition of its lowest class. If the low are not brought up, the high must be brought down. In the long run, no nation can be freer than its most oppressed, richer than its poorest, wiser than its most ignorant. This is the fiat of the eternal justice that rules the world. It is what the Sphinx says to us as she sitteth in desert sand, while the winged bulls of Niveveh bear witness.

—HENRY GEORGE.

WHATEVER conduces to the equal and inalienable rights of men is good—let us preserve it. Whatever denies or interferes with those equal rights is bad—let us sweep it away.—HENRY GEORGE.

Tax System on Land Values Will Encourage Improvements

RAY ROBSON in *Florida Grower*, Tampa, Fla.

HAVING been, ever since my first acquaintance with Florida, an earnest believer in its possibilities and prospects, it has been with great interest that I have observed the recent nation-wide awakening to its advantages and opportunities for residence or investment. Of equal interest is a consideration of the combination of circumstances which have brought about this awakening.

It has often been pointed out that the adoption of the constitutional amendment prohibiting the levying of income and inheritance taxes has had an obviously important effect in bringing about the so-called "Florida boom."

It seems, however, largely to have escaped attention that there still remains to be taken another step, in harmony with this and its logical complement, which will prove of still greater benefit to Florida and all its citizens.

If it is legitimate and proper to encourage people to come to Florida by agreeing to exempt their wealth, in the form of incomes and inheritances, from taxation, it is surely equally legitimate and proper to exempt also the wealth they use in improving and developing the property they may acquire.

"What then will be left to be taxed?" may be the question asked by those to whom the idea is a new one. But a second thought must convince any one that the land alone of Florida is valuable enough to provide a revenue amply sufficient for all forms of governmental expenditure. And the levying of taxes on land alone would have striking advantages from any point of view over the present plan of taxing all property.

The taxes levied on wealth created by human effort, whether in the form of money, credits, chattels of any kind, or buildings and other improvements, are a direct and definite addition to the cost of these articles, must be paid for by the consumer, and are an important part of the increased cost of living. Taxes levied on land values, however, cannot increase those values, as is well known to students of economics; it would be absurd to think of taxes on land as adding to its value because of increasing cost of production; for land has no cost production. It is not and cannot be produced. It simply exists as a gift of nature.

VALUES BASED ON INCOME

To make this point clearer, let us remember that land values are based upon actual or prospective income that can be derived from the land. If one piece of land will sell for \$15,000 and another for \$30,000 the reason is that it is expected that the income from the second tract after deducting a sufficient amount to cover interest on money invested in building, insurance, upkeep, etc., will be twice as great as the corresponding net income of the first tract. This

net income, in the case of the \$15,000 tract, will be about \$900, at the average rate, six per cent. and the taxes at two per cent. about the average, \$300. If now the tax on land is doubled and amounts to \$600, the net income will be only \$600, and the selling price therefore one-third less, or \$10,000. If the tax is again increased, to \$900, the net income will be reduced to \$300 and the selling price will be only \$3,000. It is clear that in the case of land values the tax is not added to the price, as with all other forms of wealth, but results in reducing the selling price.

Whether such a change in the basis of taxation would be beneficial can hardly be doubted. The heavy taxation necessary in a rapidly growing community means at present a heavy burden on all kinds of productive effort. To tax land values only would result in checking to some extent the abnormal increase in land values.

Two other considerations should also receive attention.

TWO OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Land is the only form of property that is enhanced in value by governmental expenditure. Neither personal property, credits, or buildings are in any way affected. Why then should not land values be the only values to pay for these expenditures?

Further, land speculation is the one evil feature in the development of any commonwealth. The speculator does nothing to aid development. He simply appropriates to himself as much as possible of the increased values which arise as the result of the developments and improvements made by others. Land value taxation will tend to check this appropriation of wealth by a non-producer, and instead take it for the use of the commonwealth, to benefit those whose efforts bring it into existence.

There is still another consideration. Speculation is already hampering the Florida producer. Land is being forced up in price till much of it is too valuable to use for dairying or general agriculture. To check this tendency, nothing can be more effective than a substantial increase in land value taxation to make speculation less profitable, and a decrease in or the entire abolition of taxes on all other property, which will make the production of wealth more profitable.

WOULD BENEFIT FRUIT GROWER

The citrus grower is an especial sufferer under the present system of taxation. When land covered by a well kept citrus grove is worth \$1,000 or more per acre, the taxes are no small item to be deducted from the value of a crop which often shows but small margin of profit. If land values only are taxed, the trees, being an improvement, would be exempt, and the land assessed at its location value, the same as if unimproved. And, while favoring the producer as against the mere speculator, such a reform in taxation would also give a decided advantage to the Florida producer in competition with the producers of California and other states.

In fact, while many of the most thorough students of the tax question believe that the taxing of land values only is the ideal system under any circumstances, there are many reasons why such a system would prove of greater benefit to Florida than to almost any other state or nation.

A Great Libertarian

THE news from England of the death of our old friend, Dr. Montague R. Levenson, occasions surprise not for the fact itself, but that he had so long survived the common fate of man. Ninety-five years is a long time to spend in this vale of tears, especially when one is engaged in a life-long struggle with invincible stupidity, where Nature backs inertia. And yet it is within the truth to argue that the toughness of mental fibre induced by such struggle may be conducive to longevity. Dr. Levenson always knew what he thought on any subject which had occupied his mind and had little toleration for that kind of compromise which proceeds from sycophancy or cowardice. His mental processes bore some resemblance to those of William Lloyd Garrison the Second. If a cause seemed to him right after careful study, it *was* right and he was for it.

He formulated the best brief libertarian axiom which it has been our good fortune to see and strove to have it incorporated in the constitutions of some Western States at the time when they were holding their constitutional conventions. It read as follows:

"Whenever the direct and probable consequences of any action affect only those of full age and sound mind and freely consenting thereto, such act shall be deemed to be outside the domain of law."

Landlordism, protection and vaccination were to him the diabolical trinity which bedeviled a planet otherwise capable of ministering to the well-being of the human race.

His memory will long survive, among those who knew him, as one of the doughtiest champions of the noblest ideals yet visioned by the human mind—the possibility of a reign of Justice. He passed away at Bournemouth, England, September 28th, 1925.

THOSE few thousand white—blue-eyed and blond—Riff farmers, now defending their natural economic and just political rights to the soil of their country, must feel singularly honored when gazing upward, to note the presence—"in the name of a white god"—of those straight shooting American aviators, who wish to steal, maim and destroy the property and lives of these white people.

France did not ask this assistance, nor did the United States offer it. So the motives or ideals of these "freelance" aviators are their own choice and responsibility.

—WALDO J. WERNICKE in *San Francisco News*.

At the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle

CONDUCTED BY E. WYE

THERE is an interesting chapter in Progress and Poverty showing that historically considered private ownership of land has everywhere been super-imposed upon an earlier underlying condition of primitive common rights in the soil. Even today instances are often cropping up of systems of land tenure which to the unprejudiced mind appear to be juster than the elaborated codes of civilization. The late Lord Leverhulme returned to England from a visit to Africa filled with alarm at the freedom of the natives of Kenya and of Nigeria, who, having access to their own communal lands, can not be forced by white employers to be industrial slaves. Free land everywhere makes free men.

If our readers care to see how a modern instance of "the reduction to iniquity" may be brought home to the people of this country, our possession of the Philippines furnishes the means. A book to make one's blood boil with indignation is "The Isles of Fear," by Katherine Mayo, published by Harcourt, Brace and Co. The original stock of the Philippine Islands was Malay. Doubtless up to the time of the appearance of the Spaniards a primitive communal system of land tenure prevailed. With the Spaniards came their lawyers and their formulations of the Roman Law. Private property in land was rigorously established and great estates were parcelled out among the conquistadors, the Friars, and the courtiers of the King in Spain. The Philippines became christianized.

When the Americans took over the Islands and started in to govern them, they bought out the Friars Lands and set up a Homestead Act, so as to give the landless natives a chance to acquire homes. Miss Mayo's book is largely an account of the failure of this well-intentioned proceeding.

The first Land Act was instituted in 1904, the present Act in 1919. In the 15 years of the first Act 19,000 families found homesteads, out of a population of some 10 millions. Under the present Act there is no great rush to the land. From Miss Mayo we learn that there are two outstanding social classes among the Filipinos, the Cacique class and the Tao class. In the Glossary appended to the book we find the following definition for Cacique: "Christian Filipino boss, exploiter of the people." And Tao: "Christian Filipino, the lower of the two classes, variously estimated as from 94% to 99% of the Christian Filipino population."

Before one gets very far in the book one learns that the Cacique is the landlord class and the Tao the peasant or tenant or peon class. Is this sharp division a thing of yesterday? No, it developed and became part of the "mores" of the country during the 300 years of Spanish

rule. If the American Congress or the American administrators in the Islands have ever realized that this condition ought to be remedied they have not moved appreciably in the matter. The Homestead Acts above referred to have proved piffingly inadequate.

Miss Mayo calls the Cacique mestizo class "vultures in the sky"—or else "land hogs." Once a tenant contracts a debt to a landlord he never can escape. A man who owes 800 pesetas now will in five or six years owe 30,000. Under the so-called Enslavement Act or the Peonage law whole families fall into peonage. It provides that peace officers must arrest and bring back for trial tenants who have accepted advances of money or supplies on labor contracts and before the debt is worked out leave the service of the man to whom they have bound themselves. It is common practice in the rice provinces to keep the tenants constantly in debt, so that there is never a time when they cannot be jailed if they quit work or shift to another master—unless the new master, as is often the case, pays their debt and charges it against their account with him.

Truly a lovely state of affairs! This country appears to have accepted a "mandate" for the Philippines—Unhappy day! Our American sense of what progress and civilization consist was put to the acid test when we started out on the primrose path of imperialism and hitched up at the Philippines. The Filipinos want us to get out. After reading Miss Mayo's book it looks as if we might be damned if we do and damned if we don't.

* * * *

For over a hundred years the so-called "mystery" of Aaron Burr has remained unsolved. What did his expedition down the Ohio River signify? Was he, after his indictment in New York following the duel with Hamilton, merely a fugitive, attempting to escape the danger of a trial? Was he so embittered against his country as to harbor traitorous intentions and to seek to put them into execution? Did he purpose making war upon the United States? Was the story of Nolan, the "Man without a Country," as related in the well known tale of Edward Everett Hale, indeed founded on fact? Whence the fantastic dream of an Empire in Mexico, with Burr as Emperor and Theodosia, his beloved daughter, as heiress to the throne? What weight should we give to the outcome of the trial in Richmond? Should we cast aside Burr's admission that he did indeed wish to proceed against the Spanish in Mexico and set up an autonomous district with himself as ruler, but without taking the Southwest with him? Should we belittle the summing up of Chief Justice Marshall to the jury, that "weighing the whole of this testimony, it appears to me to preponderate in favor of

the opinion that the enterprise was really designed against Mexico?" Yes, the whole story is mysterious, elusory, romantic, shot through and through with hatred of Burr's enemies and colored with the adornments of hearsay and legend. No novelist nor dramatist has as yet done it any justice.

The recent appearance of a very able biography of Burr by Samuel H. Wendell and Mead Minnigerode (Putnam's) and the attention the work has attracted in the press, brought the matter up for discussion one night a short time ago at the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle, and Horace Wenzel, who was present, said that just as when you scratch a Russian you get a Tartar so when you scratch the surface of most historical and sociological puzzles you soon arrive at the land question. "*Cherchez le sol: la question du sol c'est la question fondamentale*" And he went on to analyze the problem of Aaron Burr, the main features of which we give to our readers briefly as follows:

"Burr's whole plan was the acme of amateurism and ineptitude. What I think he was driving at was a chance to recoup his fortunes through land speculation. In those days as now land speculation was the easy way to get rich quick. I wouldn't wonder if he expressed his views on this subject to his powerful client John Jacob Astor, and my guess is that Mr. Astor listened with interest to Burr's fairy tales and was perhaps influenced by their possibilities some years later when his own scheme of "Astoria" was undertaken. I am inclined to think that Astor may at first have thought so well of a big land deal as to have made Burr cautious promises of financial aid—but this is not very probable, for Astor was well satisfied with the lessons he had picked up in London, to lay field to field in the heart or outskirts of New York, never to sell but only to make ground leases and await the inevitable rise in values. As for "Astoria," that was about the only mistake Astor ever made. Well, land speculation was in the air. As a lawyer Burr was familiar with the cases that had come before the courts compounded of huge scandals and swindles in which enormous tracts had been stolen from the public lands and fortunes made by trickery and sharp dealing. Besides this he had a feeling for the sensuous delights of the landowner in the mastery the latter has over others. He had experienced something of the sort in his possession of Richmond Hill, his estate in what we now call Greenwich Village, where he and Theodosia kept open house for the distinguished of the land. And with envy and some bitterness he looked upon the landed aristocrats of the Hudson Valley, the patroon families and the lords of the manor the Schuylers and the Van Rensselaers, the Phillipses and the rest, who held their heads so high. Indeed he and Theodosia would show them all some day that the Burrs were their equals in the very realms of landlordism!

"Well, all went pretty well with Burr, in spite of his debts, until the duel with Hamilton and the death of the

latter roused the entire country to its emotional depths and made of Burr an outlaw from his home, with an indictment over his head for murder. It is true that he finished his term as Vice-President with dignity. But immediately thereafter it became apparent to him that something had to be done. And then began his visits to Blennerhassett Island, and the arrangements and engagements, financial and material, for the expedition to Utopia. Blennerhassett, as one to the manor born, so far as the advantages of landlordism were concerned, met Burr's expansive promises and rosy dreams with enthusiasm—which was altered to entire disgust when later on he sued Burr for money advanced. When at length the half dozen Argonauts on their flat-bottomed scow drifted down the Ohio towards the glittering Southwest, did they know where the golden fleece was to be found? Apparently not. The whole story reads like a child's tale. But the beautiful princess in the guise of the old witch or otherwise never showed up to guide and speed the hero on his way. On the contrary, he was everywhere beset with giants and dragons and traitors and enemies, until at length he escaped capture by a fluke and had to wander through the woods, alone and miserable, quite away from the direction of his pictured Empire. This it seems to me," remarked Horace in conclusion, "is about all there was in Burr's great Expedition."

* * * * *

Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, by reason of an important pronouncement he made at the recent Annual Convention of the Federation on the subject of a wage policy has been very much praised and applauded by the conservative press. It is true that Mr. Green in getting away from the earlier demands for a "minimum wage" and going beyond Mr. Gompers' large utterance of "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," as the Ultima Thule of labor's aspirations, gave the editors a bad quarter of an hour until they realized that the orator was safe and sane in his new proposals. Now the *entente cordiale* between labor and capital is likely to be closer than ever before.

Mr. Green points out the fact that the productive forces of industry are vastly greater now than formerly and that they are bound to increase. What is known as "superpower" is at the call of the industrialist and the wonders of invention are aiding him on every hand. Must the wage earner be content to remain supinely satisfied with his present wages while he sees production, (in which he takes a part) forging ahead to the advantage of the "capitalist" manufacturer, the mine "operator" or other large employers of labor? Certainly not, says Mr. Green. The time has come to speak out boldly on this subject: "Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are

progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production." * * Therefore "we urge upon management the elimination of wastes in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher."

Pretty safe and sane, isn't it? How much it resembles those cheesy old pronouncements on the protective tariff: "we favor it in order that manufacturers may be thereby enabled to pay their employees higher wages than in the unprotected industries."

Well, let us be fair. Mr. Green means well. He wants to see prosperity for all. He has a heart. Though, like thousands of others, he shies at the name of Socialist, he is yet a Socialist at heart, which means that his emotions get the better of his thinking apparatus. He loves and he hates but he doesn't ratiocinate. He is a Friend to Humanity. "Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids, ready to fall." "But for my part I never love to meddle with politics, sir." "Lookest for Justice? I will see thee damned first!—

Bolshevist traitor, ready for the gallows

Communist outlaw, or thou, Single Taxer,

Last word of horrors!"

Of course Mr. Green, being a busy man, might and should take a course in "correspondence" economics and learn that be the production of wealth never so greatly multiplied by the advance of machinery and invention and the introduction of "super power," yet the advantages will be reaped by the "owners" of the natural resources of energy at their fountain head, and landowners will wax rich while laborers must struggle to maintain a precarious foothold. Mr. Green should ponder over the propositions advanced by the Commonwealth Land Party, that the earth is the birthright of all mankind, that the rent of land belongs to the people and that the first duty of government is to collect it.

* * * *

When Polonius appears in evening dress of the twentieth century and proceeds to get off that ancient stuff, "Neither a borrower nor a lender be," we in the audience feel like mumbling, "Old man, that might have done as a wise saw for antique Romans or for Danes, but it is no good for us sophisticated moderns!" Neither a borrower nor a lender be—that rule would provoke a pretty state of affairs at the present time, wouldn't it, if it were generally carried out? For how true is it that, as things go, we *must* borrow to pay Paul. If one were asked to describe as tersely as possible the world as it is in essence and in fact one would make no mistake by calling it a world in debt. From the exchequers and treasuries of the greatest nations down to the slim resources of the average man of family, all are head and shoulders over in debt. Budgets fail to balance. Resort must be had to the floating of loans—and whether it is a promise to pay a billion at a whack or ten dollars on the installment plan, the princi-

ple involved is the same. The borrower must have the money. The lender stands ready to accomodate at a price.

Debit and credit, the debtor and the creditor. Have we here an equally balanced twain, a double star which might have swum into the ken of Emerson while writing his essay on Compensation? Not so, unless in the equilibrium of eternal forces we are to justify master and slave, rent lord and serf, conqueror and conquered, executioner and victim. For the debtor is ever the product and the sign of poverty—for him prisons have been built, on him opprobrium has been showered. He is the outcast, he is the broken man, the bankrupt. Our debts are not forgiven, because we never forgive our debtors. The Lord's Prayer is not for our practical, business age.

What a fool's paradise! On the one hand are the lenders of credit compounding their interest until it seems that a far more monstrous accumulation may gather in their hands than was conceived by Eugene Sue in his tale of The Wandering Jew. On the other hand are the borrowers of money, sweating under the load of whatever per cent the market compels and looking to the ultimate consumer to keep their overloaded ship afloat and themselves out of the galleys. On the one hand the bond-lords reinvesting their interest in rent-producing land, and collecting increasing tribute from the public. On the other, the little shop keeper selling his fifty dollar Liberty bond to help him pay his rent and his taxes.

In the arrangement of our debts we indeed go so far as to have a bankruptcy act; we admit the moratorium when we are forced to do so; we heed the pleadings of our war allies and remit a portion from their bond. But where is the Year of Jubilee? Who calls for a clean slate, a fresh start? Who wants the brotherhood of man? A world in debt is a world of inequality—and so aggravated is the situation that everywhere it appears to be getting out of hand.

* * * *

A nation's reaction to revolution has usually been a temporary surprised awakening from long accustomed lethargy, followed by the thrill of a punitive expedition. For, as a rule, revolutions have been unsuccessful, their net result a curt *vae victis!* That row of round heads rotting on London Bridge and the bloody assizes of Judge Jeffreys were the entirely logical outcome of the crimes of the Regicides and of the Duke of Monmouth—just as today the rebels at Damascus have had to take the consequences of their folly in the Street called Straight.

But what is noticeable in history has been the high light that beats about the heads of revolutionaries and the slowness with which the hatred harbored by their opponents fades away. Perhaps it never entirely fades away. Many who are ignorant of the Rights of Man and of what the French Revolution accomplished delight to make children's flesh creep with stories of Robespierre and of the guillotine.

We in this country are apt to magnify the glamor of the American Revolution. It was indeed the first revolution on a large scale that history points to as a success. But its general acceptance in Europe was slow and grudgingly given. With the exception of its effect upon the French it was the source of smouldering embers of hatred for more than three generations. The peculiarities of the Yankee nation afforded the humorists of Europe a choice field and they worked the ground over to the King's taste. Read the travels of Basil Hall and of Mrs. Trollope in these United States in the early nineteenth century or even later and read Dickens' American Notes and see how the uncouth lack of culture in our free and easy life of those days reacted on the critical sense of the visitors. It is sad sport even now to look back and see how Uncle Sam was maligned by the smug caricaturists of Europe.

One of our friends of the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle tells a story of how he proved to the servants of a house he rented in France that we Americans to this day are nothing but wild Indians; and the French servants believed it. On a certain Thanksgiving night, after a dinner as thoroughly American as it was possible to make it, the master of the house, giving the wink to those present, proposed an Indian dance round the table. All rose to the occasion and presently the attention of the servants was attracted by certain moderate whoops, which when their faces appeared at the door, rapidly increased in savage intensity. In Indian file all swung round and round the table, the squaws covering their heads and shoulders with shawls and the braves brandishing knives and spoons, banging on the table and indulging in war-cries alarming to hear. The servants were terrified. They had harbored no idea that we were like those others in America, of whom they had heard from their infancy. For weeks afterwards our friend's family was the talk of the place and referred to with a shrug of the shoulders as those *folles Américains*.

The revolutionists of Russia have been the latest illustration of the principle referred to above, by first undergoing the furious opposition of a whole world in arms against them, and ultimately upon the physical success of the revolution, by being subjected to the most sustained, the most embittered, the most vindictive and the most grotesque series of misrepresentations that the ingenuity of man and the malignity of the devil ever put together with malice aforethought. The Ogre of Corsica was a lamb compared with the unspeakable thing they made of Lenin.

But of course, the whirligig of time brings in its revenges, and sooner perhaps than in any previous revolution the successful leaders of the Russian uprising are taking their places as heroes and saints. Nevertheless for many a day to come humorists and caricaturists will continue to be busy at their expense.

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The library at the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle has recently been enriched by the addition of the new trans-

lation into French of Henry George's masterwork, *Progress and Poverty*. This translation is by P. L. Le Monnier, published by The League for Land Reform, located in Brussels. The League has been established only a couple of years, its organizer and first Secretary having been the late deeply lamented M. Cauwell, a devoted servant to our cause. The propaganda work inaugurated by M. Cauwell continues in the hands of a small group in Brussels, and the appearance of this translation at this time is a monument to their acumen and ability to press forward. The work is a beautiful example of book making, the paper of excellent quality and the printing a delight. It is sold for less than a dollar.

This translation into French appears at an opportune moment. So complete is the mess in which France finds herself today, so problematical the future, that one must think intelligent Frenchmen will welcome the clear call and the straight road proposed by Henry George for the solution of national troubles. The French have been known as a logical, intellectual people. Surely it is time that they gave over their frenzied emotionalism in national affairs and got down to common sense. The financial insanity inherent in the present scheme of their shifty politicians, to tax everybody and everything in order to pull through, is the last word in mental decadence, ineptitude and despair. Welcome then the steady light, the revivifying freshness, the hope and heartening of Henry George's message to the age. Listen to his message, you Frenchmen, who have forgotten in your delirium of revenge, war and imperialism, your own great teachers and philosophers, Rousseau and Voltaire, Quesnay and Turgot, Bastiat and Say.

Tax date trees and they disappear. Tax money and evidences of debt and both mysteriously flee the country. Tax the process of industry and you interfere with trade, raise prices and increase the cost of living. Tax a man's house and his goods and you are guilty of robbery. Learn from Henry George, O Frenchmen, that justice must prevail lest the heavens fall, that the difference between the rent of land and the products of industry must be acknowledged, and that even if the road to freedom is no easy road to travel, yet by every criterion it is safer and saner to lose that half of our present possessions to which we have no moral right than to hang on in our stubbornness till we lose the whole in a cataclysm of destruction.

TURN from principles to facts. Whether as to national strength or national character, whether as to the number of people, or as to their physical or moral health, whether as to the production of wealth, or as to its equitable distribution, the fruits of the primary injustice involved in making the land, on which and from which a whole people must live, the property of but a portion of their number, are everywhere evil and nothing but evil.

—Henry George.

Our British Letter

SOME recent happenings in Britain give one furiously to think. At the moment of writing, twelve members of the Communist Party of Great Britain are on trial for "sedition." They are being prosecuted under the provisions of an Act of 1797, passed by Pitt during the panic that followed the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars in the preceding year. Whether or not they are guilty is a matter for the Court to decide, and as to that we express no opinion. The significant thing about the action of the Government is that although the alleged offences were committed prior to the National Labor Party's Conference at Liverpool in the last week of September, no move was made until after that Conference had, by a majority of 2,100,000 on a card vote, decided to turn down the Communists and to enforce their expulsion from the party. There can be no doubt that this decision gave much encouragement to the reactionaries in the Cabinet who had for long been willing to wound but afraid to strike. They feared to find Labor arrayed against them, but when Labor, which had readily accepted the assistance in its local branches of the Communists, often its most active workers, had repaid that assistance by disowning them in terror lest some of the "respectables" in its Parliamentary party should lose their seats because of the association, the other reactionaries felt that action might safely be taken.

One possible result of this panicky procedure on the part of the Home Secretary will be to direct to the Communist party attention it would never otherwise have received. It is a dying party. From a boasted membership of over 5,000 in its annual report for 1922, it had dwindled down to less than 3,000 by June of this year, when the report presented to its annual conference "deplored the fact that our propaganda did not seem to be catching on with the British working classes." The reason for this failure is not far to seek. One has but to listen to their wild talk to realize how hopeless is the task they have set themselves. It can only be explained by an utter failure to understand the psychology of the said British working classes. If our Tories had the least glimmering of sense they would leave the Communists to talk themselves to death. They were fast doing so, as any impartial observer of their proceedings in the London parks could not fail to discover. If there are any brains in the party these are most effectually concealed from view. Vulgarly, a certain glibness of tongue combined with a reckless ignorance of, or disregard for facts, comprise the stock-in-trade of their speakers; and it is quite common to see persons turning away after a few moments of the kind of talk heard from the platform, making no attempt whatever to conceal their disgust.

That they, or some of them, are motivated by a deep sense of the injustice of present-day conditions is true, but instead of directing their attack upon the cause of that

injustice they scream wildly about a revolution by force, and the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Instinctively the average Britisher is opposed to the idea of a dictatorship, especially if it be foreign. Having long since thrown off the political domination of Rome, he is not now going to submit to dictation from a small hand-full of political adventurers at Moscow. That he may, and does in fact, submit to dictation at the will of a few Land Lords is another matter. He is only dimly conscious of it at the moment, but is fast waking up to this. For this awakening he is in no way indebted to the Communists; on the contrary, their activities all go to draw attention away from this the fundamental dictatorship, and to confuse the minds of the public by want of directness. It is of little use advancing a policy that is entirely destructive. To pull down may be necessary; but the question "What are you going to put in place of the present system?" is not satisfactorily answered by repeating the parrot-phrase, "Dictatorship of the proletariat."

Instead of suppressing Communists, the Government had better direct attention to the evil social conditions which make for the Communist agitator his most fertile soil. It is significant that it is only in the most filthy and depressing of our slums that the "reds" appear to get any hold, and this is not remarkable, for one can well believe that denizens of such plague-spots may argue that no change could be for the worse. In the recent municipal elections in London, it was only in those two Boroughs having particularly bad slums that Labor was able to win a few seats. Here, it is fair to say, the poorest voters have been corrupted by the unemployment "dole" and by poor relief, backed by reckless promises of more "public assistance" should Labor be returned. The tragedy of it all is that Labor held out hopes impossible of realization. It was going to abolish slums, and at the same time reduce the local rates. But there is nothing in its programme to warrant such promises, for it does not go to root causes, nor even in their direction. It is committed to a policy of buying up slum areas and compensating Land Lords, and in view of this it would be just as honest to promise its dupes the moon, for there would be the same chance of delivering the goods.

One thing can be said with certainty, however. The Communist, have been an invaluable asset to the Tory Party. By repeatedly playing upon the fears of the nervous old ladies of both sexes who frequent the clubs of the West, with tales of the coming of the "Red Terror," these dear old souls have been induced to loosen their purse-strings in support of the political machine, and of that other "non-party" organization run by ante-diluvian Brigadier-Generals, and Dames of the Primrose League, the British Fascisti.

This organization of well-meaning but completely duped young persons is founded, so its literature solemnly declares, "to preserve liberty." One is not obliged to be-

lieve this, however, and it would be hard to do so in view of the manner in which these serio-comic Mussolinis comport themselves. Not all wear the "Black Shirt," but many do, and seek to get themselves up to look as Italian as possible. They drill, and go through strange antics. It is, of course, pathetic to regard these persons as they are engaged in preparing to defend the British Empire; they are so serious that one might suppose that the Empire belonged to them. Behind the Fascist and the Communists is the same mistaken idea of Force. Both think to right the world by control, compulsion, dictatorship; and here they are in full agreement with the very people responsible for the present prosecution.

A recent happening would appear to lend color to the view that there exists in Britain one law for the poor and another for the rich. It is unfortunate that this should be so, but Fear is installed in high places, and when that is so Reason is usually dethroned. Certain B. F.'s in the effort to defend the Empire, held up a newspaper delivery van in the early hours of the morning, presented a revolver at the driver and compelled him to dismount and leave his post. The B. F.'s. took possession and drove rapidly away with the 8,000 copies of the *Daily Herald* that were in the van. If they thought to prevent the coming of revolution by holding up "Labor's Only Daily," then they were indeed "B. F.'s," for the *Herald* is much too respectable ever to provoke any reader to action. However, a side-slip led to the van being smashed against the railings of a church, and the papers being strewn along the Strand. Later the four persons responsible were secured and charged with stealing the van and its contents. They pleaded "patriotic motives" and, after the case had gone on a while the Public Prosecutor astonished the magistrate by his "unusual leniency" in withdrawing the charge of theft, and reducing the offense to a common misdemeanour. This resulted in the culprits being "bound over," a mere farce; and now the question is being asked in public, and will be repeated when the House of Commons meets, "What would have happened had the van belonged to the *Morning Post*?"

In the House of Commons, a certain Tory member is most anxious to get a Bill through to deal with the "political levy." Trade unionists, so this gentleman argues, are tyrannised over and compelled to pay to funds of which many do not approve. The *Daily Herald* is wroth over this, and excitedly warns all and sundry to keep hands off the workers' funds. It is not altogether disinterested however, for the contribution from the political funds of the Trade Unions devoted to the support of the *Herald* was raised a year or so back from 1d per member to 3d.

These, and many other indications all point to the struggle of the future centering around the question of "Authority" or "Liberty." In this fight the C. L. P. will have to say with Voltaire, "I disagree with what you say, but I will fight to the death for your right to say it."

Freedom of thought and of expression of opinion is vital. There can be no compromise on this. Much as we detest the opinions of many to whom we are opposed, we shall be prepared to stand with these in defence of their right to hold them. In taking this stand we shall not be departing from our own cause but rather emphasizing it. For all Freedom is bound up with the holding of the land.

Turning to the question with which as, C. L. party men, we are primarily concerned, there are two happenings that call for notice. Mr. Lloyd George has now set forth on his second Land Campaign. Suffice it to say that his proposals are not so drastic as those of his earlier Report of pre-war days. There is nothing whatever for Land Lords to find fault with in his latest. He positively asserts, and quotes pages of legal opinion in support of his view, that they cannot, and do not "own" their lands, and then coolly proposes to secure to them at least 65 per cent. of their present rentals. This is to be an annuity, and in the face of this the secretary of his Committee calmly writes to the press to deny that Mr. George's proposals are "an endowment of Land Lords." That secretary would seem to be able to say anything! At a recent meeting at Manchester, Mr. George gave some indication of the proposals that will be contained in his Urban Report, about to be issued. Here again we were told that the land did not belong to the Land Lords, but their legal rights are to be secured.

Just as the Liberals who follow Lloyd George are being committed to buy back our land, so are those who thought to find greater courage in the leaders of Labor waking up to see that these too, and by a large majority, are committing them to the same unjust policy. The "Land" resolution of the Executive, proposed by Colonel J. C. Wedgwood, M. P., of all persons, commits the Labor Party officially to the Taxation of Land values to provide a fund with which to buy from the Land Lords their land. This is the inevitable outcome of the mistaken policy of compromise. Nothing is ever gained by it. The advocacy of the step-by-step methods has supplied the reactionary leaders of Labor with the one weapon by which to prevent anything drastic being done in regard to land. At the same time, by giving lip service to the principle, they have silenced those who were calling for the taxation of land values. To all such, Labor now points to its programme saying, "Why, it is part of our policy."

The Land Taxers may protest, but of what use will that be? They have been calling for this particular taxation now for forty years; today the Liberals promise it, and Labor says it has long been in favor of the principle, but neither has any intention of implementing the promise. One course alone is clear for all followers of Henry George. They must cease talking of taxation. This is not a fiscal issue at all but an issue involving the right to Life. Let us unite to present it in that light and have done with time-serving and timorous politicians. Their business is

to catch votes, and in that business principles are often an embarrassment. For the C. L. P. in Britain and elsewhere the future is full of hope. The increasing discussion is all our way. The more the people talk about land the sooner will it dawn upon a sufficient number of them that we who demand its immediate restoration without compensation are demanding simple justice. In this fight they who think to defeat us often render very real assistance by provoking thought.—J. W. GRAHAM PEACE.

A Man Sent From God

SUNDAY, OCTOBER THIRTY-FIRST, 1897

THE train stopped in Albany. The old car knocker stood in his accustomed place and said, "Henry George is dead." I only stared for it could not be. "Yes," he repeated slowly, "Henry George died last night." The black headlines in the morning papers told of the passing of the greatest American of our generation, and interest in the bitterest campaign the metropolis ever saw gave way to a contemplation and discussion of the ways of immutable Providence.

I hurried over to Rensselaer to see John Rourk. He seemed dazed but agreed to meet me in New York Sunday morning. I went to the office to get a pass, but John waived all formalities and went down on one of the night freights.

Sunday morning we met and joined the long line of people waiting for a last sight of our leader. We passed the casket slowly. A tired looking great little man, more gray than I had known him, but wearing the serenity that comes only to those who follow the paths of Duty.

Soon after noon a knot of people gathered at the entrance to the Grand Central Palace and we joined them. The streets were soon blocked by crowds that had no chance of admission. The doors were opened for a few moments only, but in those few moments the building was filled.

Jew and gentile; priest, rabbi and presbyter; laborer, artizan, shopkeeper, and capitalist; for of such are the common people.

"There was a man sent from God and his name was Henry George," said Father McGlynn, and the assemblage was no longer a decorous service for the dead but a throng of people acclaiming exultingly the completion of a holy life.

It was not for achievement in arms, or accumulation, or industry, nor even in letters, although he had written the greatest prose poem, but because of a simple and earnest life that gave all to his fellow men.

It was nightfall, and after the service the last journey that we take upon earth. Gradually the vast crowds became a procession of marching people—

"Without sound of music
Or voice of them that wept,
Silently down from the mountain crown
The great procession swept."

Tammany's banners were furled, for the Tiger recognized the passing of the incorruptible, but the Republican banners floated in the nightwind typical of those who say, "I AM," but who too often are not.

In that procession there were few who knew their neighbor. There was only the tread of marching feet, and the thoughts of those who marched. Down Broadway and up the approach to the Brooklyn Bridge. At the entrance, police on either side, droned monotonously, "Break step! break step!" Over the storied river and then we entered the crowds again and saw before us a pyramid of people, the Brooklyn City Hall. The procession vanished and in its place was the people.

Henry George had returned to God.

—P. A. PARKER in *The Forum*.

Third International Conference to Promote the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade

WILL Single Taxers who are looking forward to attending the conference to be held in August 1926 in Copenhagen, Denmark, kindly communicate with me relative to forming a committee which shall represent the American delegation.

A Central Committee, resident in New York, can more easily attend to the practical business matters concerning our part in the conference, questions of transportation and the like, and deal with the foreign committees.

Let us send a fine large delegation that will show the energetic Danish Single Taxers how Henry George's own countrymen appreciate the splendid work they are doing.

To those who know the field, Denmark offers best possibilities for the eventual institution of land value taxation as the law of the country.

—GRACE ISABEL COLBRON,

Care LAND AND FREEDOM, Temporary Chairman.
150 Nassau Street, New York City.

The Benefits of Inventions

HITHERTO it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil if any human being. They have enabled a greater population to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make fortunes. They have increased the comforts of the middle classes. But they have not yet begun to effect those great changes in human destiny, which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish.

TO SUBSCRIBERS: If your subscription has expired send in your renewal. If you do not wish to receive the paper, instruct us by postal card to discontinue.

Lecture Work of George H. Duncan

IN the eight weeks following the middle of September, Mr. George H. Duncan, of Jaffrey, New Hampshire, field lecturer for the Henry George Lecture Association of Chicago, has filled the following engagements:

In Illinois, 1; Kansas, 6; California, 15; Oregon, 6; Washington, 7; British Columbia, 2; Idaho, 4; These lectures have been given under the following auspices: Service clubs, 12; special meetings, 10; city clubs, 6; schools and colleges, 4; forums, 3; state-wide organizations, 3; labor councils, 2; masonic lodge, 1.

In these forty-one engagements, the combined audience has been about 3,000. Newspaper reports so far collected have been considerably more than two full pages with several reports in club papers and other special publications.

The impression formed during the previous Eastern tour has been confirmed that when people can be induced to listen, they are found to be much interested in the question of taxation, while newspaper editors react to the knowledge that their readers are anxious to obtain suggestions for improvement in present methods of taxation.

It is regretfully to be reported that there is practically no organized effort on the part of Single Taxers to secure the enactment of laws in our direction. The Relief Tax Association, with headquarters at Los Angeles, and with Stoughton Cooley as secretary, is preparing to secure a vote in 1926 on an initiated measure to exempt \$2,000.00 of improvement to each taxpayer.

Such men as Henry Ware Allen, of Wichita, Clarence E. Todd and E. R. Zion, of San Francisco, A. H. Sanborn, of Oakland, Jackson H. Ralston, of Palo Alto, C. K. Hale, of Santa Cruz, A. E. Brock, of Salem, Oregon, Wm. S. U'Ren and James J. Sayer, of Portland, Ex-mayor Cotterill, Oliver T. Erickson and W. D. Lane, of Seattle, Dunning, of Boise, and Robert D. Wilson, of Emmett, Idaho, are as firmly fixed in their convictions as ever, but they seem to be somewhat discouraged over the failure of past efforts.

There is an interesting development at Pretty Prairie, Kansas, where F. B. Hamlin has been preaching the doctrine of Henry George, pure and undiluted, in his little shop for years, so that the entire community of about 400 people seems to have been converted. At a school-house meeting one evening, fifty men gathered for discussion for two hours, and practically everyone seemed to be convinced of the correctness of the Single Tax principle.

In Spokane, where William Matthews has been the moving spirit in the People's Forum, which has been holding open discussions weekly during the colder months for over twenty years, the Single Tax has been constantly the guiding principle. The result is a pretty strong sprink-

ling of Single Taxers in that city. Would there were a Fred Hamlin or a Will Matthews in every town and city.

It was interesting at Victoria, B. C. to learn at first hand from men like F. W. Davy and Alderman E. S. Woodward, the truth about the widely heralded "failure" of the Single Tax in that province. It should be noted, particularly, that even now they are in the same position as Pittsburgh, with land taxed 100% and buildings 50%, while many small towns still do not tax improvements. The factors in renewing assessments on improvements after a cessation of several years were (1) A provincial limitation of the tax rate on land at 2% and (2) the world-wide industrial depression following the war.

This subject really deserves more discussion than present space warrants, because a correct apprehension of the causes of British Columbia's retrogression would refute entirely charges that the "Single Tax failed," as well as show other communities how to avoid similar pitfalls.

To E. P. E. Troy, of San Francisco, the movement is indebted for a painstaking investigation of the operation of California's irrigation districts. Here, almost unnoticed, pure Single Tax, for the purposes at hand, is in effect. Briefly summarized, there are 104 districts, comprising four million acres, with 185,000 population, where improvements are untaxed. This subject, too, deserves fuller treatment.

An editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post* of November 14th, in discussing prohibition, used these significant and true words—"While it had the whole-hearted backing of many moral reform groups, the force that finally put it over was economic." The Single Tax is fundamentally a moral issue. To put it actually into effect will require economic pressure. The present demand of the people for community benefits, resulting in taxes burdensome when wrongly applied, is bringing a tremendous economic pressure on productive and distributive business. Just now is an opportune time for all Single Taxers, who know the real solution, to extend their influence in every way possible.

The Liberal Party's Programme

THE Rural Report of the Liberal Land Committee, which forecasts the policy of the British Liberal Party, is what might have been expected—an attempt to dodge the real solution of the land question. Everywhere it hints at the problem only to side-step with uncanny agility. Instead of suggesting the simple remedy, it erects a national bureaucracy of land and survey commissions, tribunals and government departments. Its recommendations are purely socialistic and ignore the Liberal Party's repeated demands for the taxation of land values. It is governmentalism run mad. It is a betrayal of promises made over and over again to the people of the United Kingdom. Like many of the recent speeches of Lloyd

George, it is an example of *suppressio veri*, with phrases that are meant to be comforting and are intended to deceive.

This then is to be the Liberal programme. Our friends of the United Committee perhaps expected to be deceived and the Commonwealth Land party people have all along predicted just what would happen. The difference between the two groups is that the latter have declared definitely that they would have no political partnership in the deception and withdrew to form a party of their own for the collection of the entire rent of land on an appointed date.

This voluminous Report, which concerns itself with rural land opens up the land question for popular discussion. Thus far it is to be welcomed, for there is much in the report that furnishes ammunition to our friends. And they have not been slow to take advantage of it. *Land and Liberty* has opened its guns on the Liberal programme. It has drawn the fire of the Liberal Land Committee. The London *Daily Chronicle* of Nov. 11 in a column article reviews the reply of the Liberal organization to the United Committee and makes extracts from it.

From a letter from John Paul, editor of *Land and Liberty*, we quote the following:

"Lloyd George has certainly given us a bit of an issue this time. His own proposals are doomed to be put into cold storage in due course, but we can pass on Single Tax compliments to the 'Wizard' for the opening he has provided. I only wish we were in a position to take a more imposing part in this engaging publicity campaign, but you can depend upon it we are doing the best we can in the circumstances. We are getting much free space in the press these days. The subject is topical and editors on such occasions as you know are out for suitable 'copy'."

Joseph Silbern timer

ANOTHER old time Single Taxer has passed away in the person of Joseph Silbern timer, once an active member of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, and a speaker and worker for the cause for many years. He had passed the age of three score and ten, though he hardly looked it. He was a frequent visitor at this office, and was a valued friend of the Editor of LAND AND FREEDOM. Every worker for the cause in and around New York knew Joe Silbern timer.

It was curious that he had never quite learned to master the English language and as he spoke rapidly it was often difficult to follow him. But with a pen in hand he was a different creature. He wrote like an angel. The discreet and immaculate pages of the *Evening Post* welcomed his articles, many of which appeared during the last few years. His knowledge of economics and his ability to express himself in writing were not surpassed by any man in the movement. He has left in manuscript a critical

work on Socialism entitled "Marx on Marx," which may soon find a publisher.

Joe Silbern timer will be missed from the circles in which he was long a modest and greatly beloved personality.

Jerome O'Neill

THE death of Jerome O'Neill, better known to his intimates as "Jerry," was announced in our last issue. It came as a shock to many of our readers

Of late he had dropped out of active work for the cause which had enlisted the activities of his earlier years; his hopes had, without adequate reason as it seemed to us, become clouded; his health was not good; he spoke with sorrow of defections of those who had formerly worked with him.

A characteristic of "Jerry" O'Neill was his sterling honesty. This endeared him to Henry George who esteemed him as a friend and listened to, if he did not always follow his advice.

Leonard Tuttle of this city who knew him well writes LAND AND FREEDOM as follows:

"All those who were active in the early days of the Henry George movement knew Jerome (Jerry) O'Neill. He was a close friend of Mr. George and a valued leader in the movement.

He believed that private ownership of land with the consequent private appropriation of land rent was the great fundamental injustice that afflicts humanity. He was not given to trimming or minimizing his statement of belief. He was too honest for that.

He had a highly developed desire for justice which seems to be a rare quality in mankind. He was always genial and pleasant and to know him was a pleasant experience in life.

He will live in the memory of his friends."

MILLIONS of men who would be useful citizens are sitting in demoralizing idleness because they are denied access to the land for which they fought. We turn a deaf ear to those who urge emigration as a remedy. Why should our men emigrate? What is there to hinder them settling on their own land? What, indeed, except the land system under whose dead weight the country is slipping to stagnation? Dire times need drastic remedies. There must be a thorough overhaul of the land system. Land must be unlocked that those may work who will. 'God gave the land for the people' is no less true now than when the Liberal Party made it their battle-cry. Let the people have what is theirs. Let the land be freed.

—John Bull, London, England.

Missionary: "Have you been Christianized?"

Heathen: "Not entirely; they took my land but I still have my clothes."

Australia

DEBATE IN THE AUSTRALIAN SENATE

SENATOR GRANT, of New South Wales, said: For many years we have, unfortunately, for want of locally developed ideas, slavishly followed those which have been in operation in Great Britain and other countries, failing to realize that those ideas have assisted in rapidly producing in Australia precisely the same conditions as those which prevail in those older and more settled countries. The result is that notwithstanding the many ameliorative Acts which have been forced on the statute-book by the Labor party, and in some instances by other parties, unless an alteration takes place we must have here a condition of affairs which will be very much to our discredit. This will be largely due to our method of taxing the people, not in proportion to the value of the land they own, but in proportion to the value of the services they render to the community at large.

In New South Wales, thanks mainly to the efforts of Sir Joseph Carruthers, we have probably the finest system of municipal taxation existing in any part of the world. The result is that today there is no taxation of industries by local bodies in that State. That is a distinct advantage, and is mainly responsible for the continued progress of New South Wales. Such a system must be in operation for many years before it comes into full bearing.

Even at the present day, on account of the difficulty of correctly assessing land, it is almost impossible to make the system fully operative. Local owners of vacant blocks leave nothing undone to prevent the Valuer-General from accurately valuing their properties. In consequence many lands have yet to be valued, and some valuations are so faulty that the owners are escaping their just share of taxation. When those defects are adjusted, and all lands are valued under the same system, the recent progress of New South Wales will be greatly eclipsed. That system of taxation is the main reason why the building trade and allied occupations in that State, and, incidentally, in other parts of the Commonwealth, have been so busy in recent years. The principles underlying municipal taxation in New South Wales are clearly laid down by Henry George in the well-known book on economics, "Progress and Poverty."

Senator Reid: He is not an authority on economics.

Senator J. Grant: Undoubtedly he is. He has completely wiped the floor with John Stuart Mill and other men of the same out-of-date school of economics. Upon the false doctrines formulated by them the taxation of Great Britain has been built up, and Australia has slavishly followed the Old Country's example.

Senator Reid: Henry George is not recognized as an economist.

Senator J. Grant: He is the greatest economist that the world has produced. His principles of taxation are so

clear and logical that nobody can successfully challenge them. I propose to read for the guidance of honorable members what Henry George terms "the canons of taxation," in the hope that they will be prepared in the near future, notwithstanding the possibility of conflict with old-established authorities and vested interests, to advocate them. Henry George wrote in "Progress and Poverty," page 406:—

The best tax by which public revenues can be raised is evidently that which will closest conform to the following conditions:—

- (1) That it bear as lightly as possible upon production—so as least to check the increase of the general fund from which taxes must be paid and the community maintained.
- (2) That it be easily and cheaply collected, and fall as directly as may be upon the ultimate payers—so as to take from the people as little as possible in addition to what it yields to the Government.
- (3) That it be certain—so as to give the least opportunity for tyranny and corruption on the part of officials, and the least temptation to law-breaking and evasion on the part of taxpayers.
- (4) That it bear equally—so as to give no citizen an advantage, or put any at a disadvantage, as compared with others.

Senator Pearce: May I suggest that the honorable senator should not proceed further, but leave that pearl of wisdom unadorned.

Senator J. Grant: I welcome Senator Pearce's correct description of the paragraph I have just read. I daresay that the honorable gentleman could, without great effort, recite the whole of that paragraph from memory. At one time he not only held those views, but was prepared to express and act upon them. Unfortunately, his political associations during recent years have completely submerged his earlier and better views, and he introduces into this Chamber taxation bills of a most complicated character, which will be costly to administer, and in no respect conform to the principles laid down by the late Henry George. No man in the Commonwealth is more anxious to do right than I am, and no man applies himself more closely to the study of those problems which, in my opinion, must be solved before we can bring about those conditions which all desire to see established in the Commonwealth. The fact cannot be gainsaid that, in this country, which some of my colleagues characterise as their own, but in which many thousands of people may live only if they pay the rent regularly every Monday morning, although there is approximately 3,000,000 square miles of territory, it is most difficult for any one to become possessed of a freehold or even a leasehold block.

Sydney Taxes Only Land Value

"SINCE the adoption of the Single Tax seventeen years ago the city of Sydney, New South Wales, has doubled in population and has experienced an unflagging building boom, while other large Australia cities have been left behind. The Single Tax has operated to encourage the development of real estate and to discourage land speculation."

This statement, published in the New York newspapers and credited to James R. Firth, one-time mayor of Sydney and now a member of the Board of Aldermen of the same city, who was in New York last week, aroused our curiosity. We did not know that Sydney had the Single Tax. We had heard of the Single Tax being applied in Western Canada some time prior to the world war, and of its breakdown with the end of the land boom that was claimed to be flourishing under its operation, and investigation had disclosed the fact that the alleged Single Tax had a very short and strong tether attached in the form of a 2 per cent. limit at a time and place where money commanded 8 per cent. interest or more. It was no real test of the Single Tax. This and other alleged trials of the taxation system devised by the late Henry George have made us incredulous of new tales of the same kind.

We learn from Mr. Firth that our suspicions were in part justified. Sydney is *not* living under the Single Tax, but has given a very fair test of Henry George's tax system by raising all municipal revenues by an ad valorem tax on land values. Even the great bridge over Sydney Harbor has been financed by the assessment of all lands deemed within a radius of its benefits.

New South Wales adopted a system called the Single Tax in 1896, but it was emasculated by exemptions and proved unworkable. It gave way in 1908 to a system of local option in tax matters.

Sydney elected to exempt productive business from local taxes and to tax the unearned increment alone. Mr. Firth estimates that the tax absorbs about one-half of the ground rent of the city, and that this has been sufficient to quite discourage the holding of land for a raise. Land is bought when wanted for use, and at very reasonable figures. In New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria the cities have local option in taxation and the system practiced by Sydney is gradually being extended. Under it the tenant pays no taxes on his dwelling, the land value tax paid by the landlord covering all.

Twenty years ago Melbourne was the metropolis of Australia. Today Sydney has that honor by a large majority, her population being 1,100,000 to 750,000 for Melbourne. Her building account last year amounted to \$75,000,000 and that of this year promises to equal or surpass it. This growth has led to no congestion, as the tax has made suburban land cheap and the city has spread out evenly and symmetrically over a vast territory. The

zoning system is well developed, and owners developing lands must submit their plans to the municipal authorities.

The removal of land from the realm of speculation has encouraged investment in productive enterprises, while those who are properly using their landed possession find the one-tax plan quite suited to their needs, and have no desire to revert to the former system.

—STEPHEN BELL in *Commerce and Finance*.

The Schalkenbach Foundation Begins Work

ALTHOUGH the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation has now been in legal existence for over half a year it is still early to expect much of an account of our stewardship. The work of organizing and getting acquainted, as it were, was followed by the summer dispersion so that we have been really functioning for only a couple of months. In that time we have laid out a general plan of procedure, the foremost of which is the endeavor to resell Henry George and his economics to a new generation which has come into being since his death.

In pursuance of this plan we have ordered from Messrs. Doubleday Page & Company a new edition of *Progress and Poverty* complete, a large part of which is to be specially bound for the use of public libraries to which these books will be donated with the compliments of the Foundation, their desire to receive the same having first been obtained. We are also prepared to reprint the abridged edition of *Progress and Poverty* as soon as the first printing is exhausted. We have also contracted for a new edition of the life of Henry George by his son, this work having been out of print for some time past. We have also by a unanimous vote of the Trustees, contributed \$1,000. to aid *Land and Liberty* in keeping the ideas of Henry George before the British public in the present critical period. Further educational plans are under consideration.

—CHARLES T. ROOT, President.

Rent And Transportation

THE inexorable laws of economics assure to the landlord rather than to the public, the ultimate advantage of cheap transportation for multitudes of people. It is considered a valuable privilege to be able at all hours of the day to travel ten or fifteen miles in a swift electric train for five cents, but the value of that privilege is quickly capitalized in the form of rent. Economic rent, equally existent whether the user of land be the owner or tenant, inevitably exacts its tribute on the earnings of labor and capital. It is these into whose bank accounts flow the proceeds of economic rent, an infinitesimal fraction of the population, and not the public at large, who are the real beneficiaries of a five cent fare that does not adequately return the cost of production.—*Commerce and Finance*.

Special Henry George Number of a Southern Magazine

OUT of Greenville, South Carolina, comes a Special Number of *The Libertarian*. The sub-title of this magazine, published monthly at 35 cents per copy, is "A Southern Magazine Upholding the Principles of Liberty."

This special Number comprises nearly one hundred pages, beginning with an Introduction by Ernest Bridges, the editor. The articles are long, but not too long, and are as follows: The Story of Henry George, by Alfred Hines; Memories of Henry George, by Hamlin Garland; George and His Disciples, by Joseph Dana Miller; Free Trade and the Engineer, by Henry H. Hardinge; Is American Liberalism a Betrayal of the Masses, by Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown; and a singularly thorough treatment of the Progress of the Single Tax Movement, by Emil O. Jorgenson. Tolstoy's Great Iniquity is also included.

We cannot praise this Special Number of the Magazine too highly. Our readers should send for copies. It should be widely distributed. No more impressive compilation of the facts regarding Henry George and the movement he led has appeared in any magazine in years. It is a monument to the enterprise of the publisher, H. P. Burbage, and the editor, Ernest Bridges.

A Strong Basis For Land Value Taxation

PROFESSOR Brown takes certain alleged services rendered by citylandowners, among them being "foresight," but concludes that "foresight used to give a service may earn remuneration. Foresight used to obtain something for nothing seems hardly deserving of any special protection" (II, pp. 216, 217). Likewise, conceding that the expected increment in land values formerly aided somewhat in the settlement of the West, he questions whether the benefit of that increment was diffused, but concludes that the important question is, not what occurred in the past, but whether the grandchildren of the settlers are entitled to a permanent unearned increment derived from the earnings of those who came later, especially when the highly valued urban lands of the western cities are considered (II, p. 220.) Income and inheritance taxes may be carried so far as to put a check on saving, but a tax on bare-land values does not check savings—it rather increases the amount of savings in the form of improvements, etc. (II, p. 222). In general, the land values which he would have subjected to the special tax are not agricultural lands but are special sections where pure scarcity on account of the growth of population, and not decreasing productivity on account of the lowering of the margin of cultivation, has increased their values, such as urban lands, mines, and power sites (II, pp. 228, 229). His method of analysis at this point

is quite superior to that of Ricardo and Henry George, since it makes scarcity the central feature and not the reduction of efficiency at the agricultural margin of cultivation. I believe it places the argument for special taxation of bare-land values on stronger and better grounds than those that have hitherto been offered by the followers of the Ricardian analysis.—PROF. JOHN R. COMMONS in *American Economic Review* in notice of Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown's *Economic Science and the Common Welfare*.

Labor Day Talks

LABOR DAY sermons and addresses this year were marked by less pessimism and bitterness than we have sometimes noted. The spirit animating all we have had opportunity to hear and read was excellent and inspiring.

In other respects we could detect no advance. There was still the old, mistaken habit of regarding the labor problem as a question merely of bodies of organized workers on the one side, and of large corporations on the other—or, as most of such orators put it, "the struggle between Capital and Labor."

This leaves utterly outside the great labor problem all of the unorganized who work for employers; it ignores workers who do not hire out to employers, but, as the common saying is, "work for themselves;" it does not touch the unemployed; it does not take the recurring business depressions, or periods of "hard times," into account, when both Labor and Capital seem to be struck by paralysis.

The reason for this is the habit of regarding Labor and Capital as the only factors in production, and of ignoring the third factor—Land. It was not mentioned in any of the addresses we have seen. This failure is, in turn, due to the habit of regarding land as a part of capital—an old and very serious error, which even some college professors of political economy have encouraged.

The factors in the production and distribution of wealth are Land, Labor, Capital. The Labor Day sermon or oration which does not take all three into consideration does not get far; it lacks thoroughness and scientific accuracy; it leaves the big cause of bitterness untouched.

We would not for the world discourage preaching of the Golden Rule. It is good. But to apply the Rule to the industrial situation, it is necessary to bring about just relations of workers to the land and ground rent.

—Lorain (Ohio) *Journal*.

BOOK REVIEW

A MULTITUDE OF WORDS WITHOUT WISDOM

That tall fir trees should be cut down and made into paper, on which to print the rambling notions and puerile suggestions of two persons who think that they have something to say upon an all important question, is one of the economic wastes for which there

probably is no remedy. So long as there are publishers with money to spend in getting out books that have no other reason for existence than the vanity of their authors, good paper and the labor of printers and binders will continue to be wasted on the production of such dreary creations as "Profits," written by William Tru-fant Foster and Waddill Catchings. Possibly the publishers, the Houghton-Mifflin Co., are not to blame for the impertinence of submitting this book as a serious consideration of the problem which it attempts to solve, for it is said to be published for The Pollak Foundation For Economic Research, and presumably was paid for by that institution.

The book has received a great amount of free advertising, through the announcement that a prize of \$5,000.00 will be given to the author of the best adverse criticism of its contents. The requirement that the successful criticism shall be unfavorable was evidently intended to shut out the tribe of writers who perpetuate essays without definite knowledge of their subject, and to limit the competition to the relatively very small number of persons who know that the theories and principles advanced in the book are the perfection of what Professor Huxley termed "clotted nonsense." As a horrible example of how economic problems should not be treated, the book may serve a useful purpose, in showing the deplorable ignorance, and incapacity for reasoning, of writers who seem to believe that they have something valuable to say.

Purporting to be an exhaustive analysis of the condition of the present industrial system, motivated by the universal desire for profits, the book sets out with an inquiry that is unquestionably the most important that confronts the world today. This is: Why must industry so frequently slow down because of "overproduction," when many millions are suffering from "underconsumption"? The author's answer is, that consumer buying lags behind production because industry does not give the consumers enough money to buy the goods produced, and because consumers under the necessity for saving, cannot spend even as much money as they receive. This idea is elaborated through 450 pages, with charts and diagrams, all showing that production constantly tends to exceed the adequate demand for goods.

Will it be believed that the writers follow their weary trail through a maze of unimportant by-paths, and reach their conclusion without once referring to the part played by our present system of land ownership in checking consumption? That they have evidently never heard of Henry George, or that they were afraid to discuss his remedy for alleged overproduction, shows them deplorably ignorant of the greatest contribution ever made to economic science. They announce their indebtedness to such "distinguished economists" as Irving Fisher, Wesley C. Mitchell and Carl Snyder, without however, explaining how these gentlemen became distinguished or entitled to be called economists. That aside, the outstanding feature of the book is its utter failure to even suggest that the principal reason why consumers cannot buy back the value of their product, is that so large a share of production goes to the owners of land who give nothing in return for the wealth extorted from the producers. Had the authors' read the chapter on "Overproduction" in Henry George's "Social Problems," they would, if they are honest, have told the truth as to why with all the wonderful discoveries and inventions that have so greatly increased production, a large percentage of mankind cannot buy the goods they need.

Some idea of the level of intelligence of these writers for the Pollak Foundation may be gathered from their assertion that there are four agents of production: land, capital, labor, and organization. Quite so, and to make bread requires flour, water, labor and dough. If any foolish person thinks that with land and labor he could produce bread without dough, he is not a distinguished economist. "Capital," is defined by the authors as "a fund." They do not say what the fund consists of, but probably used postage stamps, which are used capital, just as truly as money or currency is capital.

The book does contain one reference to the land question that is illuminating as showing what passes for economic wisdom these days.

Discussing profits from earning and profits from owning it is asserted on page 160, that: "When a corporation acquires coal lands, or corner lots or franchises, or water power, and does nothing whatever but hold the property until it can be sold at a higher price, the resultant profits are rewards for the risk incurred merely in owning the property." Yes, yes! The risk that the coal land might burn up; the corner lot be stolen; the water power cease to flow! Surely the owners of anthracite coal lands in Pennsylvania took great risks 100 years ago. Suppose that the bottom of their land had fallen out!

It is only fair to say that the book does challenge the orthodox economists, in so far as recognizing the need for increasing consumptive demand is concerned. But when it comes to discussing remedies there is the weak and childish suggestion that what is needed is a "flow of money" to consumers, sufficient to provide for their savings, and yet enable them to buy all the goods that are actually ready for final consumption. Thus the happy consumer will eat his cake and keep it, and everybody will buy and use everything as fast as it is made, and save up the rest for loaning out to a kind banker, who will lend it to someone who wants to pay interest. And this is economics according to the Pollak Foundation in this year of public school and university education, 1925.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE LAND QUESTION IN THE HISTORY OF GENESEE COUNTY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

You will, I think, be interested in the fact that I have succeeded in getting some Henry George propaganda in the new History of Genesee County, a work of royal octavo just off the press. Judge Lockwood Doty is the editor.

I was asked to furnish a biographical sketch and sent a page about Henry George and his doctrines together with what I have done to popularize them. I said I would pay for it if the matter were admitted.

As Robert Morris was prominently connected with the history of Genesee County I quoted from him (Diplomatic Correspondence, Vol. 12, page 277) and commented on it. I also quoted from your pamphlet on "What has the Single Tax Accomplished?"

Olean, N. Y.

KATHARINE E. BRADLEY

A PERENNIAL PLEASURE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I enjoy your magazine very much. I agree with practically all of its opinions, but whether one does or not, every article is so well written that it is a perennial source of pleasure to read on that account.

West Hartford, Conn.

H. A. BATCHELDER.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

LECTURES will be held every Monday evening during the Winter at the Henry George Forum in this city, 51 East 125th street, corner Madison Avenue. Meetings held in October and November have been addressed by Whidden Graham, Mrs. Helen Hanning and John J. Murphy. The subject of the first address was "Two Kinds of Housing" and of the second, "Rents and their Relation to the Public." Mrs. Hanning is the Chairman of the Housing Committee of the Community Councils. On November 9 Laurence W. Tracy lectured on "The Philosophy of Freedom" and on November 23, Mr. Murphy talked on the "Dubiousness of the Obvious." On November 30, Benjamin W. Berger spoke on Henry George and His Philosophy.

As an instance of the reward of honest toil it is worth mentioning that John W. Neal, chauffeur for King C. Gillette, safety razor magazine, has just sold a lot for \$732,000 which he bought six years ago for \$1,800 at Beverly Hills, Calif.

REV. DILWORTH LUPTON, pastor of the First Unitarian Church at Cleveland, said in a recent sermon, commenting adversely on the exclusion of Saklatvala: "American labor is not inclined toward Bolshevism, but the only safe prophylactic against Bolshevism is industrial justice."

THE Middleton (England) *Guardian* reprinted from LAND AND FREEDOM, under the title of The Law of Rent, the Touchstone and Basis of Economic Science, a column from the department conducted by E. Wye.

BOLTON HALL contributes to *Cooperation* for October an article in which he tells about the colony of Free Acres.

DISCIPLES of Henry George in Adelaide, South Australia, celebrated the birthday of Henry George by a dinner at which there was a gratifying attendance. Mr. A. Cappel, president of the Single Tax League presided and the Commemorative address was made by Mr. Samuel Lindsay. A musical programme and supper followed.

THE *New York World* in a recent series of articles on the emergency rent laws of this city, says, "Rent cuts too deeply into the average family budget." Well, what are you going to do about it?

HAROLD SUDELL, of Chester, Pa., addressed the State Tax Commission at the State Capitol, Harrisburg, in October, on the Single Tax. On the conclusion of his speech he answered a number of questions. These were inquiring and not antagonistic. Judge Reed, father of U. S. Senator Reed, said, "Well, the Single Tax has many good points." The following night the Chairman of the Commission delivered an address telling what they were trying to do with Pennsylvania tax system. The Commission will recommend that in the case of real estate now exempt from taxation only the buildings be exempt and that the land be taxed. In answer to a question as to the reasons for such discrimination, the Chairman said that an idea of this kind was being tried out in Pittsburgh and he thought it was a very good thing to do.

COUNTY AUDITOR JOHN A. ZANGERLE, of Cleveland, advocates the abolition of the tax on credits, household goods and the equipment of factories.

OUR enterprising contemporary, *The Fairhope Courier*, organ of the Fairhope, (Alabama) Single Tax colony, has installed a new linotype machine. The installation is another testimony of the enterprise of the paper and the community.

PETER W. SCHWANDER, of Houston, Texas, is a facile writer of verse whose contributions on various phases of the economic and social problem have found place in LAND AND FREEDOM and the *Commonweal* of London, as well as *Land and Liberty*, *Fairhope Courier* and other Single Tax papers here and abroad.

THE marriage of our old friend August Weymann to Lucile Rausch in Los Angeles, California, occurred October 8th. Many of our readers who knew Mr. Weymann when he was an active member of the Manhattan Single Tax Club will wish him and his young wife long life and happiness.

HON. EDWARD POLAK addressed a long letter to Hon. Clarence Stein, Chairman of the State Housing Commission, which held hearings at the City Hall in this city last month. He advocated as a measure of relief the leasing of lands now owned by the city to those wishing to build and the exemption of these buildings from taxation.

LOS ANGELES celebrated Henry George's birthday by a dinner presided over by Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson. Among the speakers were James A. Robinson, National Organizer of the Commonwealth Land party, A. J. Sammis, W. F. Burgener, N. J. Wright, Mrs. French and others.

LEONARD TUTTLE, of this city, was a recent visitor to Pasadena California, and ran in on James V. Gilloon, who is now living in that city. Both of these gentlemen will be remembered by readers of *Land and Freedom*.

REV. CARL S. PATTON, of Los Angeles, speaking before the Congregational Pastors at Washington gathered from all parts of the country, said: "The economic laws are human; they do not move on mercilessly and quite out of our control, but they can be turned to human welfare and spiritual good."

IN a crushing reply to Mr. H. E. Botsford, who in a communication to the *New York Times* attacked the Single Tax, James R. Brown, president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, contributes to the same "journal of civilization" an explanation of the doctrine of rent which should enlighten those who may be in the dark as to the effect of a tax upon economic rent.

"We will have no reds if we bring equity in the game of life," is the way W. J. Flacy sums up his plea for freedom of speech in a communication to the *Kansas City Star*.

AMONG recent visitors to this office were Chester C. Platt, our much valued correspondent; William F. Withers, once a resident Single Taxer in this city who now makes his home in Los Angeles, and Fred S. Wallace, of Coshocton, Ohio.

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, celebrated Henry George's birthday on September 6 by a dinner at the ranch of W. R. Edwards.

WE learn from the *Standard*, our valued Single Tax contemporary, that George E. Evans, of Pittsburgh, one of the active spirits of the Henry George Club of that city, will arrive in Sydney shortly, where he will meet many of the friends who are members of the Single Tax organization there.

HOLLIS C. JOY, formerly of Boston, now of Los Angeles, sends us an interesting personal letter detailing his trip by auto across the continent.

WE regret to learn that Barney Haughey is in a Denver hospital suffering from what has been diagnosed as cancer of the stomach, which is thought incurable. Haughey has started a controversy by asking that he be put to death if his disease is pronounced incurable. We are sure our readers who know Barney Haughey will be genuinely grieved at his condition and will hope for his recovery.

A MEMORIAL dinner to Robert Schalkenbach was given by the Manhattan Single Tax Club at the Machinery Club, this city, on November 20. Over eighty men and women participated. Among the speakers were Charles T. Root, president of the Schalkenbach Foundation, John J. Murphy, James R. Brown, and Prof. F. W. Roman. Frederic C. Leubuscher presided.

MISS CHARLOTTE SCHETTER and Mrs. Emily Roswell Skeel, have departed for Europe where they will remain until the latter part of next Spring. They will visit England, France and Belgium and will meet the friends of the movement in those countries. There are few women in the movement who reflect more credit on the American group. They are representative of the best we have on this side of the water.

In the *Morning Telegraph*, of Sunday, Nov. 8, the theatrical and sports paper of this city, appeared a two column article by Joseph Dana Miller, detailing the remarkable career of George Hall, otherwise known as George Dare, of the famous Dare family of acrobats. Mr. Hall was a candidate of the Commonwealth Land party for County Clerk. He has performed in every city of Europe and the Western World. He was secretary to Buffalo Bill when Cody made his trip through Europe, and his story is wonderfully interesting. He is a highly intelligent disciple of Henry George and knows the land question, the aspects of which he has seen at close hand in more countries than are known to even the most experienced traveler.

MRS. ALICE M. CAPORN, of Boston, writes: "Glad to subscribe \$5. toward the continued circulation of your inspiring journal."

An article in the *Newark Ledger*, of Sept. 20, by Mr. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, gives an admirable picture of Ireland and conditions in that country from which Mr. Hennessy has only recently returned.

WE are sorry to note the death in St. Louis of Joseph Forshaw, long an active Georgist, and one of the pioneer organizers of the Single Tax League of Missouri. Appropriate resolutions to his memory were passed at the recent meeting of the League.

MR. ALEXANDER PERNOT has every now and then an instructive Single Tax editorial in the columns of the *Daily Calumet*, of Chicago.

A LONG letter appears from our old friend Frank Chodorov in a recent issue of the *Springfield (Mass.) Union* on Land Speculation, with special reference to Florida.

SIMEON STRUNSKY in a review of Fred. Howe's new book, *The Confessions of a Reformer*, asks when Mr. Howe was at work on the Cleveland Tax Commission: "Where did he find the model for his achievement in tax reform assessment in Cleveland? In the work of Lawson Purdy. And who was Mr. Purdy? The most corrupt Tammany governments had retained Mr. Purdy and given him a free hand in working out an honest and equitable assessment of real property."

LAND AND FREEDOM received a great deal of publicity from Charles O'Connor Hennessy's article in last issue, *Dark Days in England*, The Sunday *World* gave it a column and the *Evening World* made it the subject of an editorial, as did the *Emporia Gazette*, of Emporia, Kansas. *Commerce and Finance* gave it a half page. Other papers noted it more briefly.

OUR Argentine friends are using systematically the radio in their propaganda. We note in a recent issue of their League organ that Juan B. Bellagamba, President of the League, was listed broadcast through the Palermo radio station with an address on: "Objections to the Income Tax and advantages of the Single Tax." A fortnight later, Waldmar Prommel, another member of the League, was broadcast with an address on: "The Reason for Poverty."

J. A. BRAILSFORD, the well known writer on Oriental questions, writes to George Fowlds, of New Zealand, from Kobe, Japan, as follows: "What a tragedy it is that the opportunities in every newly-developed land are wasted in the gamble and the strife for unearned increment. It was largely because of the hold of this system that it seemed to me impossible to find a place in journalism in my own country (New Zealand) or Australia. Some country community might have endured my pacificism and even my unorthodox views on 'White Australia' (or White New Zealand), but how they would freeze an opponent of the land gamble."

COUNTY ASSESSOR JOHN A. ZANGERLE of Cleveland, in a newspaper interview regarding why the Ohio tax amendment was defeated at the November election, said: "Some took its sponsors at their word when they proposed to impose additional taxes on intangibles, especially bank deposits. The demand of the hour is to exempt intangibles altogether, or tax them at nominal rates. It failed to permit relief for manufacturers. It retained the tax on household property and farm products and machinery, which tax causes much administration but produces little revenue."

ONE of the busy letter writers of California is Waldo J. Wernicke, of San Francisco, whose communications to many papers are interesting statements of our principles linked up with current happenings.

JACKSON H. RALSTON lectured on Taxation before the Political Club of the Palo Alto Union High School, October 23.

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of LAND AND FREEDOM published Bi-Monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1925. State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Dana Miller, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of LAND AND FREEDOM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher: Single Tax Publishing Co., Inc., 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

Editor: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Managing Editor: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

Business Manager: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

2. That the owners are: Single Tax Publishing Co., Inc., William J. Wallace, Pres.; Oscar H. Geiger, Treas., 150 Nassau Street, New York City. None but Joseph Dana Miller own one per cent. or more of stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholder and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,

Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of September, 1925.

[Seal]

LOUIS D. SCHWARTZ, Notary Public.
New York County