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March—April, 1924

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

W. J. Wallace Appeals to Friends
of the Cause

Why I Am A Member
of the Commonwealth Land Party
By J. C. Lincoln

The Menace of Labor Monopoly
By R. B. Brinsmade

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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Commonwealth Land Party Notes

MR. A. A. WORSLEY, of Tucson, Arizona, has been in a hospital for a number of weeks, but is recovering. If his health remains good he will take care of the Southern end of Arizona in securing Presidential electors and getting on the ballot. Arizona Single Taxers are anxious that he accept the nomination for Governor or U. S. Senator. If his health permits and he will accept he will be a tower of strength, for he is a fine speaker and known from one end of the state to the other.

AT this writing the National Organizer, Mr. James A. Robinson, who has done splendid work in Ohio, is in Michigan, where he is in touch with the leaders in that state. Campaign Secretary Macauley is looking after the East and reports favorably upon conditions in the states visited.

MESSRS. HOLLIS, JOY AND FRANK CHODOROV will do the work in Massachusetts necessary to assure the presence on the ballot of presidential electors for the Commonwealth Land Party ticket. A state ticket may also be placed in nomination.

ANTONIO BASTIDA, now resident in Cuba, writes enthusiastically of the Platform. He says that it is the first that has come up to his expectations and he is heartily pleased with it.

THE chief credit for the splendid Platform which tells our story is due to Oscar Geiger, who worked over it night and day for many an earnest hour. Then there were repeated sessions of the Executive Committee during which the draft of the Platform was subjected to vigorous debate. Then followed its submission to the Platform Committee of the Convention and the discussion that ensued on each separate paragraph. No declaration of our principles ever passed so crucial a test.

THE Platform is now out in neat pamphlet form, with small portraits of the two standard bearers, Wallace and Lincoln. Friends who can use these can help the Campaign Committee by paying two cents each for them. It is the intention of the Committee to issue more as the campaign progresses. It is desirable that copies of it be mailed to every editor, office holder, clergyman, educator and public man in the country. No better work can be done at this time.

MR. A. BOURGEOIS, of Nutley, N. J., is the hard working Treasures of the Executive Committee of the Commonwealth Land Party and attends every meeting of the Executive Committee. Such meetings will take place every Saturday afternoon until the campaign ends, at the party headquarters, 3 East 14th Street, this city.

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No. 2

Current Comment

DR. FRANK CRANE is occasionally a gladness but more often an irritation. In one of his recent articles he says:

The best method of taxation, the one that has the most reason and common sense behind it, is what is known as Single Tax. I do not think, however, that it would be practical to attain Single Tax at present, as our property system is so complicated and the mass of prejudice against this form of tax is at present so great. No matter how sensible and logical a system is we have to take into account the material we have to work with, which is the public mind. And just now the public mind is both incapable and unwilling to consider the arguments of Single Tax.

Perhaps if believers in the Single Tax as the "best method of taxation" would preach it rather than the Sales Tax, which just now is absorbing Dr. Crane's activities, the public mind would be more willing to consider it and maybe adopt it in preference to the sales tax swindle. Why not try preaching what you believe in, Doctor?

THE Philadelphia *Public Ledger* speaking of the Platform of the Commonwealth Land Party says it "sounds like the advertisements on patent medicine bottles—good for what ails you. By this time the world is a little suspicious of political and economic panaceas * * * * * The failure of experiments with these universal cure-alls does not, however, discourage their followers, who go bravely on."

The taking of the rent of land would not provide a cure-all. There would still remain some unsettled questions. But if the land question is not the fundamental question then all thinkers on the social problem are mistaken. If we do not begin with the material universe out of which all wealth is produced and from which all men must live, we are not likely to get far with schemes for social reform. Nothing is easier than to sneer at the Single Tax as a universal cure-all. When Henry George was asked if the Single Tax was a cure for every ill, he replied, "No, but Freedom is." And the taking of the rent of land for public purposes is the first and necessary step on the road to freedom.

EDUCATORS throughout the country have a great respect for Prof. John Dewey, of Columbia University. By many of these he is considered the foremost scholar in America. It is therefore with great pleasure we are per-

mitted to print the following letter addressed to Mr. E. B. Swinney by Prof. Dewey:

"In reply to yours of the 28th, I would state that for many years, ever since first familiarizing myself with the principle of the so-called Single Tax, I have regarded it as both theoretically and practically sound, and an indispensable basis of much needed social reform.

I may add that I am a great admirer of the general social philosophy of Henry George, whose contribution to intellectual thinking about social matters, even quite apart from his practical proposals, does not seem to me to have received the recognition it deserves among thinking people.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN DEWEY

ANOTHER gentleman of distinction in New York City contributes his quota to the misinformation that is now very much in evidence. He is Lewis E. Pierson, President of the Merchants Association, and this is what he says:

"Taxes on land have increased the cost of property on which houses can be built. Taxes on the lumberman and on the brick manufacturer have increased the cost of the floors and walls. Taxes on steel and iron have increased the cost of the metal going into the house. Taxes on the manufacturer of tiles have increased the cost of the roof. Taxes on the manufacturer of plumbing and electrical fixtures have increased the cost of the interior. And whether the man who occupies the house purchases it or rents it he must pay not only for the actual labor and material in the building, but also for an invisible but expensive addition built out of Government taxes."

A simple inquiry into the matter would have acquainted him with the fact that taxes on land are not added to the cost of land, but tend instead to decrease its cost. Seeing the tendency of most of the taxes which he enumerates to increase the cost of the thing taxed, he jumps to the conclusion that this is also true of taxes on land. It is probably an entirely honest conclusion, but Mr. Pierson needs enlightenment.

CONGRESSMAN OSCAR E. KELLER, of all persons in the world, must add to the general confusion in an otherwise excellent speech delivered in the House. He says:

"A tax on inheritances is not a tax upon industry and does not have an injurious effect on business. Instead, it actually will increase business and add more capital for productive purposes by taking money which otherwise would be held by individual heirs or trusteeships, generally in the form of tax-exempt securities, and diffusing it for productive purposes."

It would be hard to crowd more amusing errors in a single sentence.

A RECENT visitor to these shores was Rev. Studdert Kennedy, who is chaplain to Britain's King. The literary chap who makes hurried visits to America and goes away to write books about us, usually composed of mush and hokum, might be spared for a few of the type of Mr. Kennedy. He did not threaten us with a book some time in the future. Instead he had something more important to say, and from a recent interview in the *World* is quoted as saying:

"Our God is the God of everything or He is nothing. He is not the God of the church alone; He is the God of the factory, the skyscraper and the lamp post just as truly as He is the God of the stars. Any one can believe in the God of the stars, but get men to believe in the God of the factory and the mine, and our Christianity will amount to something.

"The church that does not concern itself with men ground down, impoverished, in rags, but only talks of men's souls has no right to exist. The civilization which produces at the top men decaying in selfish luxury and at the bottom men ground down in rags is rotten. It must perish.

"Business men are the apostles of Jesus Christ among the nations, and commerce is either a holy communion or a damnation. Your nation is the strongest in the world. May you lead us aright! The only hope lies in reason, but reason must have a vision as its basis."

And he concluded as follows:

"Let us have one supreme passion, which shall harmonize and unify all our impulses—the passion for humanity. What we need is a passionate humanitarianism which makes men patiently reasonable. What was the secret of Lincoln's glory and power? That he was humanitarian, touched with the fire and passion of God, who believed that men were the children of God."

Pretty good for the King's chaplain! But what is he willing to do about it?

THE CONSUMER'S UNION

ALARMED at the steadily increasing cost of living, the consumers followed the example of the labor unions, and formed organizations for their mutual benefit and protection. By buying food, clothing and other necessities at wholesale prices, and selling to themselves without profit, they found at the end of the first year that they were able to save about twenty-five per cent. of their incomes. This was fortunate, for about that time the Landlords' Union raised rents just twenty-five per cent.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM in *Life*.

WHY should organized labor champion old-age pensions and similar devices? The Bismarcks and Gladstones will give them to us when it is necessary to allay discontent.

The Futility of Side Issues

DURING the land war of the early eighties, which was waged as the result of the efforts of Irish tenants to secure their holdings, the story goes that a certain Irish Peer, entering his club on Pall Mall one morning, was accosted by a member with the remark, "Well, I see they have been taking pot shots at your agent in Connemara again." To which the Peer replied, "If those fellows in Ireland think that they can intimidate *me* by shooting at my agent they are jolly well mistaken." The story illustrates, as well as another, the mental attitude of people who are entrenched in the central and fundamental privilege of land monopoly, towards the efforts made at various times to attack the outlying redoubts of the central fortress.

How many of our associates, during the past forty years, have expended their energy in attempts to reform subsidiary evils in the hope that, when the minor positions fell, they would find their method of approach to the fundamental evil made easier. How many of us thought that Free Trade would be an admirable rallying cry, which would enable us to gather together the forces opposed to special privilege. To how many did the shibboleth, "Municipal Ownership and Operation," seem to promise possibilities worthy of achievement? How many worthy men, whose memories we now revere, thought that they found in electoral reform, whether of elections or primaries, the key to emancipation?

In favor of the proposals of these groups there was much to be said, but their theories were based upon a supposition now demonstrated to be erroneous. They believed public opinion was intelligent enough to declare itself in favor of so obviously correct a policy as the public appropriation of land rent, and that it was only the machinations of the politicians who thereby control the election of candidates and determine their legislative policies, which prevented public opinion from voting as the reformers would have them vote. Now we know that this was nothing but a baseless delusion. We know that on the whole, the elected representatives of the public are more enlightened and intelligent than the average of the voters. We know that the elective representatives do not enact the measures which we think that they should enact, not because they are inherently opposed to them, but because the people had given no expression of any desire of wanting them. Hence it is rather difficult to grow indignant any more over the prostitution of the ballot to partisan desires. Even the case in a New York Assembly District, under our carefully guarded ballot, in which three judicial candidates got three hundred votes apiece on the toll sheet, no more and no less, and none of the other candidates got any, fails to arouse public interest. It may be possible that the election inspectors will be fined or will go to jail; but even this is not certain, because the law, while well intentioned, was so loosely drawn, that it is extremely difficult to bring

any personal guilt home to anyone except possibly the chairman of the local board of elections.

How many ardent supporters has Municipal Ownership and Operation now out of the thousand enthusiasts who marched under its banner in the happy days before Mr. Hearst made the cause his personal property? The ideal has been examined more closely, and it is found to be stuffed with straw, which protrudes from various sections of its anatomy. From being a matter of principle, it has fallen to the low level of expediency.

And what about Free Trade? But one moribund organization even carries the name. Probably the reason why it is so nearly dead is because of the indisputable fact that Great Britain, which came nearer to realizing the free trade ideal than any other country in the world, proved that of itself it could accomplish no miracle for the welfare of the masses. Of course in any strict sense, Great Britain never had Free Trade, but it had a system which did not permit the home manufacturer to increase his prices, because the importer was obliged to pay a heavy fine for the privilege of bringing goods into the country.

In one sense these facts may be regarded as indicating among our growing youth a lack of interest in right and wrong; a lack of ability to become aroused over questions of abstract principle. On the other hand, they but confirm the off-expressed belief of middle-of-the-road Georgists, that no policy is worthy of the expenditure of any energy which does not keep in view the central problem that until the relations of man to Mother Earth are based upon the highest conceptions of justice, all attempts to patch up the social order must of necessity fail.

J. A. H. Hopkins as a Tax Reformer

OUR old and still undaunted friend of the 48ers, Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, is out with a pamphlet on Taxation. An endorsement on the first page by Mr. Wilbur Eastlake says that "this tax brochure should be in every school, college and university not only in this country, but in Canada, Australia and Britain, and in the office room of every United States Senator and Representative in Congress."

With such a recommendation we sat down prepared to be enlightened. The reading of it brought keen disappointment. It is a fine example of loose reasoning. Mr. Hopkins comes to no very definite conclusion on anything. He would retain nearly all the taxes we now have. Even the excess profits tax (which was repealed as a national nuisance, and which he declares worked disadvantageously,) he would nevertheless restore when we have determined what are "normal" profits. Mr. Hopkins has a new method of arriving at this. "Normal profits" would be ascertained "by fixing a fair percentage of the net earnings upon the volume of business transacted," and he seems to

think that this would be analogous to the fixing by many of the states of the rate of interest!

We are familiar with the log-rolling by representatives of special interests before tariff committees when the preparation of tariff schedules is in progress, but here is an opportunity which would develop infinitely greater possibilities when these great industries send expensive legal counsel to appear before committees entrusted with the fixing of "normal" profits. We think our readers will see, too, where the small business man would "get off" under such an arrangement. But of course the suggestion will appeal to every bureaucrat, as adding a million more government officials charged with the duty of investigating "abnormal" profits.

Mr. Hopkins utters a few kind words for the Single Tax, which he says may come to prove the answer to our existing problems. Then he suggests a literal enforcement of present tax laws so that "every taxpayer must declare the value of real estate and personal property (especially stocks and bonds) which he possesses." He even suggests an amendment to the Federal Constitution so that those particular sources of revenue may be used for both federal and state purposes. This amazing non sequitur is a curious method of coming to what Mr. Hopkins has declared may prove to be "the answer to our existing problems," the Single Tax on land values exclusively.

Are Capital and Labor Enemies?

ASPIRING to the high ideal of becoming a journal for the intelligent minority, the *American Mercury* has set forth its aims in an editorial article representing the combined thought of its two thoughtful editors. Hastening to deny the unkind rumor that they are radicals, the editors roar as gently as any reactionary, and announce that they are not opposed to what they term the "the capitalistic system." In this they are in accord with the great unintelligent majority, so it is found necessary to explain that there really are "class barriers" in America, and to brand as a delusion "the doctrine that the interests of capital and labor are identical." This notion, it is asserted, is equivalent to saying that the interests of landlord and tenant, of cat and rat, are identical, a notion that the editors sadly admit permeates all American thinking.

This view of the essential antagonism of interests between capital and labor may not be radical, but it is clearly Socialistic, and is, indeed, the basis of the confused and confusing theories of Karl Marx. According to that exponent of economic determinism, the capitalist, or property owner, is engaged in a ceaseless struggle to exploit labor by robbing it of all its products above what is necessary for the workers' bare existence. Capital is a predatory monster that oppresses labor by forcing it to work for a minimum wage, and uses the surplus wealth wrung from its victims to forge new chains for the wealth-producers. That explains why what he calls "capitalism" is the fundamental on which the

Socialist bases his demand that the State should expropriate and manage all the machinery of production.

It may be expecting too much of the minority intelligentsia that they should know what they are writing about, but they at least should know the meaning of words; what "capital" is, and what are its functions. As universally defined by economists, capital is wealth;—labor products,—devoted to the production of more wealth. To say that the interests of capital are directly opposed to those of labor is saying that the products of labor, when used in making more wealth, are injurious to the producer, or, to take a specific case, that when a farmer exchanges his surplus wheat for capital in the form of a tractor, he is creating an antagonism between himself as a worker, and as owner of a machine. The mere statement of this simple proposition should be enough to show its absurdity, yet it is on such a flimsy contention that there has been constructed the whole Socialist and Communist scheme for reforming society by government ownership and management of industry. Elementary economics will evidently not be a strong part of the *American Mercury's* message.

Why Dwelling Rents are High

FOUR important causes for the scarcity of housing accommodations and high rents in all the large cities are: (1) Foolish tax systems, that fine capital and industry for erecting new buildings, and encourage owners of valuable city lots to hold them idle for speculative purposes; (2) high interest rates on loans for building; (3) high labor costs, forced by the necessity for more wages to meet the higher cost of living; (4) high prices of building materials, due in large part to increased labor costs, higher freight rates and tariff taxes, and to some extent to price-fixing combinations in the industries supplying these materials.

The local tax factor will be eliminated when the wise men who make the laws discover that it is better to encourage industry than speculation in vacant lots. Interest rates will fall when capital becomes more abundant and the opportunities for excessive profits in favored industries become fewer. Labor costs will decline when the workers in the building trades realize that steady employment at fair wages is better than part-time work at higher rates. Lower costs of building materials will come when there is a substantial decline in taxes on railways, lower tariff rates, and the strict enforcement of laws prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade. Until these changes are brought about by an enlightened public sentiment, grumbling over high rents will be among the popular diversions.

THE Agricultural Department of Mexico is dividing up vast landed estates among those who want acreage, supplying seed, agricultural implements and even burros to draw them.

Pity the Poor Realestator!

A WORD TO GOVERNOR SMITH

ECONOMISTS may have the necessary qualifications for statesmanship but they are seldom successful politicians. Conversely hardly any politician is on speaking terms with economics. To be a good politician one must believe in the omnipotence of statute law and deny the existence of natural law. Otherwise one would be embarrassed by the demands of one's constituents to do things which are in their nature impossible. In the politician's lexicon there is no such word as "can't," though it sometimes appears there without the apostrophe.

These near-thoughts are generated by the reading of a message of Governor Smith of New York to the Legislature of that State. He deplores the increasing burden placed upon real estate and suggests that relief for overburdened real estate be provided by an income tax which may be levied by local authorities for local purposes. Hence we may look forward to a time in the not-far-distant future when we shall spend an appreciable part of our valuable time filling up income tax blanks for federal, state and local officials and making our checks or money orders to pay these imposts.

The message is an ominous phenomenon because Governor Smith, while nearly as innocent of economic knowledge as Ivory Soap is from all impurities, is far from being unintelligent. Indeed in common sense he must be ranked high among professional politicians. And he seems to possess a recognition of his identity with the common herd which is rare among men who have climbed so high on the ladder of national notoriety. But when he wanders into the (to him) unexplored wilds of economics, as he does in this case, he becomes hopelessly bogged. And in this respect he is representative of ninety per cent. of his fellow citizens.

This fact makes it all the more important that we should endeavor to point out to Governor Smith, with all due respect, why he is partially right in his diagnosis and totally wrong in his remedy.

He is partly right in saying that the tax on real estate is onerous if not crushing. But he fails to distinguish between the two elements which constitute the composite subject, "real estate," land and the improvements on land, or as we may call them in general, buildings. In so far as a heavy tax burden is placed on buildings, it tends to raise rents, to discourage new construction and to be therefore the most powerful factor in prolonging the crisis due to housing shortage; in so far as the tax upon real estate bears upon land it is wholly beneficial and merely means that the community is getting back some more of the value which it produces itself. In a word, a tax on real estate works two ways, one prejudicial, one beneficial. The prejudicial tax should be reduced or abolished, the beneficial tax should be increased and intensified. If building were

free from taxes and land were taxed up to its earning capacity we would have all the houses necessary.

The effect of state and local income taxes is injurious even to the real estate interests themselves. There is no moral odium attaching to persons, who desire to escape onerous taxation on their incomes, moving into states or communities where the burden is lighter, and all experience shows that such evasions continually occur. As people of large incomes are best able to evade the payment of such a tax, it would normally happen that New York would cease to be the legal domicile of many of its present wealthy citizens. Such a movement would depress realty values, so that, probably, in the long run, the landowner would lose more by falling value than he would gain by reduced taxation.

Then Governor Smith seems to share the delusion that rents would generally be lowered if taxes were reduced. In fact, experience has shown that this is only true in certain cases. During the period from 1900 to 1915 taxes in New York rose continuously without affecting rents, because there was a surplus of houses and it was not until the housing shortage came, which incidentally was not due, to any considerable degree, to taxation, that rents began to rise appreciably. The truth is that the tax upon vacant land in New York is and has been high enough to cause owners to seek buyers and has thus in a great degree offset the effect of high taxes on buildings.

With all due humility, we would suggest to the Governor that he send a message to the Legislature urging the adoption of concurrent resolutions and laws to require that for purposes of taxation the State should require the splitting of real estate into component parts (1) land and (2) buildings and other improvements on land, that land should be taxed as heavily as it can bear and buildings and improvements be taxed not at all or as lightly as possible; for we may have had some burdens imposed on us by the war, which, as they produced no benefit, may have created no land value, and which may therefore for the time being have to be paid by other taxes than land value taxes.

If the Governor would adopt such a policy, the office which he holds would soon become a couch of roses rather than a bed of thorns. He would cease to be confronted by conflicting interests, which almost dismember him and force his conscience into shapes that no well regulated conscience was ever calculated to assume. He would cease being worried over the fact that real estate has had to bear the greatly increased cost of local government. He would know that it ought to, because it gets all the benefit.

In spite of the burdens which appal the Governor, more people seem to be going into real estate for investment purposes than ever before. Every year sees enormous advances in the assessed value of real estate. The handicap has not yet begun to tell appreciably on the speed of the horse. And the more land values rise the more the worker must pay.

We feel quite sure that the Governor could understand all this if he could only take a day off and get his mind down to it. But it is probably a good thing for his political ambition that he hasn't and won't. Even a glimpse of the "Cats" whiskers has a depressing effect upon a man's political fortunes, unless he acts as if he never saw them. We urge upon Governor Smith the sententious wisdom of Governor Ensley, of Tennessee, not because that gentleman was the wisest of Americans, but because having been a Governor his dicta may be presumed to appeal more forcibly to another Governor than would the words of a mere ordinary person. Governor Ensley said, "Don't tax anything of value that would come to you if you do not tax it or that will go away if you do." All "the law and the prophets" on the subject of taxation are contained in these few monosyllables, intelligently apprehended. They should be cast in bronze and imbedded in the walls of all the legislative chambers in the land. That would not prevent the maxim from being disregarded any more than the duplications of the Gettysburg Speech have prevented it from falling to the level of an elocutionary exercise, which causes us to wonder how a mere railsplitter could frame those majestic cadences out of common words. But it might inspire some pensive legislator to investigate the meaning of the simple phrase and then might be built a bridge to span the chasm which now yawns between politics and economics.

The Dismal Science

POLITICAL economy has been called the "dismal science." Perhaps not many know who it was who said it, or where. The author of the phrase is Thomas Carlyle, and it was applied to Social Science, rather than to what is distinctively known as political economy. It occurs in an article contributed by Carlyle to *Frazer's Magazine* of December, 1849, under the objectionable title, "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question." It may be said that Carlyle had a blind side and this was strongly exemplified in his view of the slavery question. But here is the quotation:

"And the social science, not a 'gay science,' but a rueful, which finds the secret of this universe in supply and demand, and reduces the duty of human government to that of letting men alone, is also wonderful. Not a 'gay science,' I should say, like some we have heard of. No, a dreary, desolate and indeed quite abject and distressing one; what we might call, by way of eminence, the dismal science."

"THE large additions to the wealth of this country (England) have gone neither to profit nor to wages, nor yet to the public at large, but to swell a fund ever growing even while its proprietors sleep—the rent roll of the owners of the soil."

PROF. J. E. CAIRNS,
Some Principles of Political Economy.

Letters to a Socialist Friend

II

MY DEAR BOB:—

IN my last letter I dealt with the proneness of the average socialist to think with the heart instead of the head. That seems to me the fault of most socialists. It is admirable to feel with the heart but a perfectly preposterous thing to think with it. Hence the delightful vagueness of their economic theories.

I do not reject entirely the idea of the state, nor the advantages of cooperation. The latter has vast possibilities. I do not care what the ultimate form of society may be. I do not look upon the individualistic philosophy as expounded by Herbert Spencer as the last word on the subject. It seems to me that what can be predicated of the state may be more accurately prefigured in a free society. What the state is in a diseased society, with the corruption and defects that are inseparable in it as a reflex of the corruption and disease in society itself as now constituted, is another matter. The case for the state is not closed, nor are the limits fixed as to what it may safely undertake in a free society. I refuse to repose in a Procrustean bed.

And, after all, I am not concerned about it. As a Single Taxer I want to see men free. They can only be made free by making the earth free. I know then that they will work out their own salvation, political as well as economic. I know, or I think I know, reasoning by precedent and not by analogy, the advantages that flow from freedom. Therefore instead of building an artificial framework for society after the manner of socialists, I would remove the restraints that impede natural processes—the barriers that bar men from the use of the earth, the restrictions that interfere with the equitable distribution of wealth—tariffs, internal taxes and landlord extortion.

I said in my last letter that I would deal in my next with the laws which "make inevitable the breakdown of your social Utopias." Of course, I am referring to that kind of socialism which for the most part builds on present foundations and substitutes the powers of the state for the natural laws which govern distribution.

I have indicated that I consider essential to any reorganization a concept of property that will accord with the nature of society, with ethical perception, and with orderly procedure. This concept, I am convinced, includes the inviolability of property in things produced by human labor. I believe it essential that men shall be permitted to say of many a thing, "This is mine." I think it one of the profoundest instincts of human nature. A limited communism that may be worth while might spring from a universal cheapening of products (and these might include many products) and insensibly relax the claim of ownership and for convenience induce men to voluntarily submit to general participation in their enjoyment. We have nearly reached this point in a few things—matches

and cigarettes, for example. But as a rigid system that should include all products of labor, or products generally, communism is an impossible ideal.

The very idea of property comes from love when it has not in a much smaller degree its springs in human selfishness—that is to say, we want to call something our own that we may give or leave it to those we love, that we may share it, not universally, but with those to whom our affections turn. The socialism that points even slantingly towards communism, or would weaken the idea of property, is in conflict with this primal instinct.

In that we would wrest the idea of Property from its ignoble associations, strengthening rather than weakening it, we Land Restorationists, Georgians, Commonwealthers, whatever we choose to call ourselves, would remove the cause that, above all others, tends to degrade the true concept of Property.

Why do we ask that the rent of land be diverted to the State? Because land rent is communal property, and to permit it to go into private hands is a violation of the true idea of Property. Because the diversion of this common fund from the true purpose it should serve, namely the payment for governmental service, federal, state and local, compels us to levy upon the private property of the many, thus again committing us to the violation of a true right of Property.

Socialists ignore this vital truth, or where they do not ignore it, fail to give it the proper emphasis. Yet the well-being of society is bound up in its consideration. We are called upon to solve the question, What is Property? Not to answer it correctly is to make all property insecure and to play havoc with distribution. If we cannot answer, and by our answer solve it, we shall always have poverty and its resultant evils with us.

We cannot build social utopias, or cooperative communities, and ignore what is at the basis of distribution. We must answer the question, What is Property? The thing we seek to bring about, a better social state, will elude us to the end of the chapter if we do not decide that there is real property in what is correctly defined as wealth, the things produced by human labor, and differs from land in which no justifiable claim of property can be set up. This is the great truth, whether we elect to try it by natural law or by utilitarian tests, in the supreme meaning we attach to the word "truth."

The true law of Property must be understood and established if we would attain equality of distribution in the products of labor. But there are other laws which are associated with it, which the taking of the rent of land would conserve, and which shall be dealt with in my next letter.

—JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

MINNESOTA'S iron ore tax having been declared valid, Minnesota will now tax all of us for the benefit of her land-owners.

The Menace of Labor Monopoly

THE open letter of Editor Miller to Samuel Gompers, published in the REVIEW, was a praiseworthy attempt to open the whole question of the relation of modern labor-unions to social reform. In view of the great interest that Henry George took in the trade-union movements of his time, inspiring some of his most noted essays, such as the "Condition of Labor" and the "Crime of Poverty," and his various political candidacies in New York, it seems advisable for Single Taxers to keep themselves up to date in the policies of trade unionism. As a mining engineer, practising in most states of the Union and in several foreign countries, I have favorable opportunities for the observation of this class of phenomena.

Wages and hours have been the chief concern of the modern labor movement, which may be said to have begun with the legalization in England of trade unions about a century ago. In the simple days of production by hand labor, which prevailed everywhere till the late 18th century, the question of a fair wage was easy to answer, for it was self evident that no worker could hope for a greater wage than the value of his own output. If one cobbler could make two pair of shoes daily while his mate made but one, even an apprentice might calculate that while the first deserved just twice the wages of the other, even the first could not hope for a day's pay larger than the selling price of two pairs of shoes less the cost of the material to make them. But in a modern shoe factory, organized to realize on the economy of machine production by a minute division of labor, the problem of apportioning to each worker his rightful share of the total output is far from simple; to solve it requires both a practical knowledge of shoe-making and intimate acquaintance with political economy and social ethics.

Modern industry is nominally conducted on the competitive system. The price of commodities is fixed by competition between the various producers in the market place, the price of labor is set by the competition between several workmen for the same job. Similarly, the interest on capital is fixed by competition between its owners for the notes of an *entrepreneur*. In the many industries where this basis, of a fair field and no favor for all competitors, actually prevails, the problem of an equitable division of the annual gain between masters and men is greatly simplified. If the owners be allowed the competitive rate of interest on their capital, and the men be granted the competitive rate of wages for each class of work they do, it is clear that any surplus remaining, after making proper allowances for the insurance, depreciation and amortization of the capital, can easily be divided between masters and men on some mutually satisfactory basis wherever both sides are sufficiently intelligent and fair minded. That such is the case has been proved by many profit-

sharing experiments in both Europe and America. Two of the most successful recent examples of such practice have been described: the first is a large cotton-print factory at Wappinger Falls, N. Y. (1), the second is the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Co., of Cleveland, Ohio (2).

Unfortunately for the industrial peace and the attainment of an ideal society, the profits of many enterprises are not limited strictly by free competition, notwithstanding the opinion to the contrary of many superficial economists. Therefore, the Cleveland factory policy of "telling the truth and sharing the profits" has only a limited range as a social palliative, for it is clear that the mere sharing of unearned profits with the workmen will not right the wrongs of those mulcted by such an enterprise. Moreover, the less the profits are earned by industrial efficiency, the less the owners have need for the enthusiastic co-operation of their employees, and the less liable will the former be to make the latter the sharers of their financial secrets.

It is the prevalence of this anachronism—vast quantities of unearned profits in a supposedly competitive society—that has often made the militant labor unions useful and even essential for gaining for the workers some share in the wealth due to improved methods of production. In spite of considerable success in raising the nominal rates of wages for their followers, few labor leaders understand political economy, and they therefore are liable to make impossible demands on employers, or else to gain an increase of wages at the expense of an increase of commodity prices, and thus perhaps injure the workers more in their consuming capacity than they benefit as wage earners. For scrutinizing the possibility of raising wages by union effort, all industries may be divided into six classes: I, universally-competitive; II, nationally-competitive; III, locally-competitive; IV, legally-monopolistic with competitive prices; V, legally monopolistic with monopoly prices; and VI, artificially or illegally monopolistic.

Class I.—Universal competition may be illustrated by cotton-cloth manufacture, in any free-trade country like England, where a world-wide competition keeps the difference between the cost and the selling price of the product so small that the employer has little or no surplus above the necessary cost for his capital and supervision, for by increase of wages, if he raises the selling price of his cloth, he will lose his customers. Unions therefore must increase the daily output of their members if they wish higher wages in this class of industry. As in such an endeavor the financial interests of the employer coincide with those of the men and the community, we have here no natural obstacle either to the introduction of industrial democracy or to the openings of the books to the general public.

Class II.—National competition may be illustrated by woollen-cloth manufacture in any country protecting it from foreign competition by an import duty, like the United States. In this class the possible surplus for rais-

ing wages would be the difference between the existing cost of production, and the foreign price plus transportation and import duty; because a combine of all the employers could advance the selling price of their cloth to this latter sum without danger of losing their home market. As soon as our woolen mills have sufficient capacity to supply the domestic demand, their selling price will be set by competition among themselves and tend to fall below the price of imported cloth. While the status of free competition prevails, our protected manufacturers will have just as much to gain by industrial democracy and no more to fear from their balance-sheets becoming public property than have their counterparts in free-trade England. It is only when they abandon competition and combine so as to fix their price with reference to the protective tariff-wall, that they can acquire an unearned profit, and must needs become autocratic and mysterious, in order to defend themselves from prying labor leaders on the one hand and from tariff-revising statesmen on the other.

Class III.—Local competition is illustrated by the building trades of a city, where the only limit to an advance in the prices for construction is the danger that contractors and workmen will be brought in from a nearby city to do the work. There is therefore a strong temptation for local contractors to form a combine, so as to advance their prices to the natural limit and thus gain an unearned or monopoly profit. Such a combine, in order to better defend itself from underbidding by "scab" contractors and hold-up strikes by labor-leaders, has found it usually advantageous to establish the closed shop and divide its loot with its union workmen. In some cases, especially plumbing, the supply houses are also in the combine and will sell their goods only to its members. Among our big cities, Chicago and San Francisco have been notorious for such building-rings, which have stopped at no means, fair or foul, to maintain this monopoly. As such a ring greatly increases the cost of houses, it means higher rents for everyone, including the workmen, of whom only a small fraction belong to the building unions and get a compensatory wage. As a contractors' combine shares both its profits and its secrets with its workmen, it may be considered as the application of industrial democracy to predacity, the public being the prey.

Class IV.—Legal monopoly with competitive prices is based on the ownership of all classes of land except that of public utilities. In the popular concept, nothing is a monopoly that cannot set the price of its product; but technically, the exclusive possession of natural resources, conferred by land title, represents a monopoly irrespective of the land's relation to commodity markets. (3) Economic rent, or the income arising from the land itself apart from its improvements, is unearned by the individual landowner, for it arises solely from some quality inherent in the valuable land that enables it to yield a residuum after all the necessary costs for the use of labor and capital to

render it productive have been paid. While large areas of privately-owned land are so lean as to be rentless, the superior lands yield an income of economic rent, which comprises the bulk of the wealth engendered by a community working as a social unit. Any enterprise of this class, therefore, which owns superior land and employs many workmen—such as numerous mining and lumber companies—is sure to yield a monopoly profit (rent) which will arouse the cupidity of labor-leaders if they discover its existence. Any share of this profit that a labor-leader can secure for his followers will mean a net increase in wages, since here the profit (rent) is not due to a monopoly price but to the superiority of the productive factor (land) and therefore the cost of commodities is unaffected, be its recipient land-owner or laborer. It is thus to the interests of this class of enterprises, as land-owners, to conceal carefully all details of capitalization and income from their employees; while as producers their interest may lie in the opposite direction so as to improve their labor efficiency by profit sharing. The greater the rent in proportion to the total profit, the more will the former policy outweigh the latter in the practice of an enterprise. As rent is an unearned profit authorized by law, the great land-owners are much less vulnerable to militant unionism than are the illegal monopolists of Class VI. In the United States before the Great War, it was only where the rich landed enterprises employed a large proportion of the voting population and this was well organized—as in the Rocky Mountain mining districts—that they were obligated to pay out any considerable share of their rental profit in the form of higher wages.

Class V.—Legal monopoly with monopolistic prices includes three sub-classes of property: (a) Special lands of limited areas so that the world's price for their product can be fixed by any owner who may have acquired control of the bulk of them, for example, the Diamond Trust of South Africa, the Borax Trust of England, and the Henequen Trust of Yucatan. In countries with a protective tariff it suffices for one owner to acquire control of the domestic lands in order to fix prices independent of national competition, for example, the Aluminum Company of America with its ownership of bauxite deposits. (b) Public utilities such as railways and telegraph, telephone, oil, gas, and electric transmission lines. Here, owing to the franchises required and the cost of duplication, an enterprise can largely fix its own prices for service at whatever "the traffic will bear." This condition prevails except at "competitive points," where two or more enterprises may offer the public the same service, and in countries where the rates charged by public utilities are strictly controlled by charter or by government commission. (c) Patents for invention, as granted by the United States, confer a monopoly for the manufacture and sale of the article upon the grantee, and consequently free the latter from competition in fixing his selling price.

From the above, it is evident that the unearned profits of Sub-classes (a) and (b) proceed partly from the legal advantages conferred by the ownership of superior land (mines or rights of way) and partly from the power of charging prices for the output independent of the natural regulator called competition. In Sub-classes (c) the unearned profit proceeds from the latter power, for any reasonable royalty paid to the inventor should be regarded as merely a fitting reward for his services to society. The relation of labor to the enterprises of Sub-class (a) duplicates its relation to those of Class IV in so far as the unearned profit proceeds from superior land; where such profit proceeds from the enterprise's power to fix prices, any share of this obtained by labor will result in a higher price for the output to the consumer whenever such increase will mean more of an annual income for the owner. The first statement likewise holds true in the case of enterprises of Sub-class (c) owning patent rights; so, in both cases, the gain of the monopolist's workmen may mean a loss for the consumers. The public utilities of Sub-class (b) resemble Sub-class (a) in their relation to labor, and have a relation to the public similar in kind but widely different in degree. On American railways a general increase of wages during the Great War has meant the ruin of thousands of investors in their securities, while should the investors be compensated by a corresponding increase of rates for the service, the public must meet the expense in the form of dearer commodities.

Class VI.—While artificial or illegal monopolies for the purpose of suppressing competition may be formed from enterprises of Class II or III, as already described; the largest and most profitable ones, like the Standard Oil, the Beef Trust, and the United Shoe Machinery Co., have owed their power chiefly to the ownership or control of monopolies of Class V, by which they gain advantages not enjoyed by their rivals. A recent demonstration of this fact is afforded by the surprising number of independent oil refineries that have sprung up in the United States since the pipe-lines of the Standard Oil group were declared to be common carriers a few years ago.

In normal times, artificial monopolies of temporary nature have been features of the commodity exchanges. These "corners" of the market have also depended for success upon secret alliances with the legal monopolies of Class V, through which they enjoyed special favors, usually in transportation. In wheat, the *coups* are commonly made by speculators controlling a string of elevators closely identified with some railway system.

Between 1914 and 1921, the dislocation of production, caused by the Great War, rendered it easy to corner many commodities that formerly were too plentiful to permit of such an operation. This game became so simple and profitable that few merchants could resist the temptation to take a hand and there was coined a new word, "profiteering" to describe it. The hue and cry due to this merciless

mulcting of the consumers drove the politicians nearly frantic, and the profiteers were combatted by remedies as wide apart as jail sentences and overall clubs.

In so far as the unearned profits of enterprises of Class VI are concerned, they accrue regardless of efficiency in labor and there is therefore nothing to be gained directly by the introduction of profit-sharing to balance its cost to the owners, but operating as the latter do in defiance of both the common law against combinations and the Federal Statute against restraint of trade (Sherman Anti-Trust law) many of them realize their political weakness and have been wise enough to pay their workmen the best of going wages so as to avoid strikes and their frequent accompaniment of dangerous investigations of business secrets by meddling politicians.

The above remarks have proved I believe, that labor unions may often increase their members' wages without augmenting either their production or the cost of living. A successful attack on unearned profits by militant unionism will never increase living costs where the profiteers belong to Class IV and seldom do so when they belong to Classes V or VI. Nevertheless, it is evident that the increase of wages gained by labor-unions, through the plunder of monopoly profits, does nothing to abolish the iniquity of private monopoly but merely slightly increases the number of its beneficiaries. Indeed, it tends to aggravate the evil in two ways: first, by enlisting the political support of unionists in defending and extending the plunder of consumers by monopolists as is glaringly visible in the case of tariff favored manufacturers and building contractors; and second, by encouraging the turning of union organizations into selfish labor-monopolies as unscrupulous and predatory as their monopolistic employers.

The most successful modern leaders of the unions are those who best understand how to create and maintain a labor-monopoly and discipline it into a militant organization for use against employers.

For this purpose there are four favored schemes which are: 1, a limitation of the number of apprentices so that only a few favored youths can learn the trade; 2, a high fee for membership so that rural or foreign artisans, already instructed, will find difficulty in entering the city union; and 3, a contract with all employers to establish the "closed shop" so that non-unionists cannot obtain employment; and 4, the prescription of non-unionists as "scabs" as much beyond the pale of decent society as ever were heretics during the sway of the Spanish Inquisition. Like their capitalist models, the labor-monopolists also limit the output. Instead of speeding up production because of high wages, they often follow the policy of slowing down. Thus certain bricklayers who formerly laid 800 bricks a day when getting four dollars are now allowed by their union rules to lay only 500 in return for a double wage. They work on the purely selfish principle of "a maximum of pay for a minimum of work" and the in-

evitable result of this is to make commodities scarce and dear. All this tends to impoverish the bulk of the working classes who are outside of the unions, as well as the millions of the middle class of small farmers and merchants, who must gain their living in a fiercely competitive market.

Not satisfied with their gains as industrial monopolists the American labor-leaders have had much success, since 1914, in fishing in the troubled sea of national war politics. It is said that during this period Samuel Gompers was the only outsider, besides Sec'y Tumulty, who was permitted to visit President Wilson without being announced, and this privilege proved very costly for the federal taxpayer. In the war shipyards the union exactions soon raised the cost of shipbuilding to several times the normal rate. The union loot of the railways began with the passage of the Adamson Bill in December, 1916, which, under the guise of an 8-hour law, raised the wages of train hands by 25%. In 1917, the railways were first federalized and then macadoodled, which meant a year later that the annual average wage had been advanced beyond \$1400 as compared with less than \$700 before the war, while a host of useless employees had been given jobs. In spite of the fact that the macadoodling had been supplemented by a large increase in freight and passengers rates, it caused an annual deficit of more than \$500,000,000 which had to be met by the tax payers. Nevertheless, Gompers was not satisfied and in the spring of 1920 demanded a new railway scale of which the minimum rate for the cheapest section hand would be \$2,500 yearly; but fortunately for the nation, the election results of that autumn scotched this new raid on the treasury.

Having demonstrated, I hope, the damage to free institutions presented by labor unions as now conducted, it remains to inquire: Is there a practical remedy? In reply I can suggest two: one economic and the other political. The economic remedy, the *Single Tax*, (4) will extinguish labor monopoly, not by direct action but by rendering it absurd. It will destroy capitalistic monopolies by cutting off their foundation, the monopoly of natural resources, so that the labor unionists who strive for unearned wages can then only get them by direct plunder of their fellow citizens, as consumers or taxpayers. Moreover, the present political predacity of union leaders cannot long prosper after the inauguration of the second remedy of *Proportional Representation*. (5). Under the present system of geographical representation, each congressman is elected from a single district and he must therefore placate all the organized minorities of his electorate or see his more complaisant opponent get their support and be elected. Under proportional representation, on the contrary, no minority could elect more congressmen than the voters it controlled in proportion to the total. With the new system, therefore, a minority organization like the American Federation of Labor could not longer intimidate a majority of the Congress, as it did in forcing the passage of the Adamson

Bill, for its membership numbers 8% of the total vote and could therefore control only a like part of the nation's representatives. Such a Congress in the future, also might be safely trusted to manage public utilities like railways, efficiently and economically, a thing that could never be expected of a Congress chosen by the present system.

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- 4.—"Principles of Taxation," by C. B. Fillebrown.
- 5.—"Proportional Representation," by J. H. Humphreys

ROBERT BRUCE BRINSMADÉ.

Only Supposedly Deserved

Very little knowledge of conditions is needed to assure Clevelanders that wages are not all that has gone up in connection with the building and owning of homes. Desirable lots cost much more than they did, bringing very good profits to those who bought them several years ago, profits supposedly deserved by reason of shrewdness, tax-paying, selling ability and so on. Lumber, brick, cement, heating apparatus, roofing and other materials come somewhat high, we believe, with deliveries not always satisfactory, but no doubt those concerned can give plausible explanations of all that. Rates of interest on loans to home buyers, requirements as to paying off some of the principal twice a year, even bonuses demanded as fees for renewing mortgages, represent conditions unlike the old and, while doubtless legal, might well be subjects of investigation. Taxes also are higher than formerly and no small part of the home buyer's tribulations.

Mere inquiries or surveys are not perceptibly helpful, at best. If we are to have one in this field, it ought at very least to be trustworthy in sponsorship and unlimited in scope. Publicity apparently intended to put the whole burden on building trades workers is of no use, if only because the public is too well informed to be so deceived.

—*Cleveland News*.

TO appropriate ground rent to public uses by means of taxation (i. e. by the machinery which we now use to levy and collect taxes—Editor) would permit the abolition of all the taxation which now presses so heavily upon labor and capital.—*Social Problems*, by Henry George, page 209. Doubleday Page, edition.

Christian Citizenship

IF one can judge by the Press reports the conference of delegates from various Christian churches on the subject of "Christian Citizenship," which was held in Sydney last Fall, was noteworthy, as so many similar conferences have been, for the complete lack of any proposals for dealing radically with the social problem. That there is a social problem was, of course, admitted, the Rev. A. H. Garnsey, M. A., who presided, declaring at the outset that "Civilization was like a man diseased," and that "poisons were working which would cause ruin and perhaps death," for which, however, "an anti-toxin was provided in the Christian faith."

The first point that strikes one in connection with "Christian Citizenship" is that under present conditions, there is and can be no such thing. Christianity considered in its broadest aspect resolves itself into a belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. The first necessarily implies that the great Father of mankind intended the earth for the sustenance, nourishment, and enjoyment of us all, and not for the exclusive use of a small number of His children, while the second implies that every child coming into the world has an equal right with every other to the natural resources of the earth, without access to which the children must starve. But man-made laws have long enabled the few to appropriate the earth and the natural resources contained therein, to the exclusion of the many, so that today we have the spectacle of 10 per cent. of the population holding all the best lands and thereby controlling the lives and destinies of the remaining 90 per cent.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Mr. J. A. Bland told the conference—what everybody already knows—that most of the evils from which society is suffering might be dispersed if there were a more just distribution of wealth. But he omitted to tell us that the main cause of the unequal distribution of wealth is land monopoly, and that so long as land owners are permitted by law to appropriate the land value, or economic rent, which has been created solely by the community and therefore belongs by right to it and not to the landowners, just so long this unequal distribution of wealth must continue.

There will always be inequalities in the distribution of wealth, since some men will always produce more than others and will consequently be entitled to have more, but over and above this natural inequality is the far greater and unnatural inequality caused by the economic rent going into the pockets of private individuals instead of into those of the community as a whole.

A LAWYER'S FALLACY

Mr. A. B. Piddington, K. C., who was one of the prominent speakers at the conference, has frequently told us that the unequal distribution of wealth may be amended

by allotting wages according to the number of children, forgetting that wages depend not on the size of a man's family but on the value of his product. When the farmer sows his grain nature gives him a return little or big without asking him how many children he has to support. These natural laws, which the lawyers deride, have nevertheless a habit of over-riding and superseding the artificial laws made by men—wise or otherwise. Whatever man-made law may direct, the natural law provides that the product goes to the producer and unless its behests are carried out the penalty will have to be paid. Now the landowner, as such, does not produce, and therefore has no moral claim to any portion of the product, which should be distributed between the worker as wages, the capitalist (if capital is used) as interest, and the community as economic rent.

The trouble is that man has temporarily over-ridden this natural law for the enrichment of the few, and until natural law is allowed to re-assert itself the social problem will never be solved. In the meantime private individuals are called upon to pay for the expenses of government out of their private pockets by income taxes, Custom House taxes, stamp duties, and the thousand and one methods which the government uses to obtain the money which would otherwise have come from the economic rent.

"ARMCHAIR THEORISTS"

Rev. F. T. Walker, leader of the Methodist Men's Movement, said one of the most sensible things of which the press at any rate took note. "We have a glut," he told the conference, "of armchair theorists and manifestoes; what is wanted is to translate into practice the conclusions at which thinkers have arrived." Mr. Walker's pet slogan, by the way, is co-operation, a principle which is essential to the very existence of humanity, which permeates our lives from the cradle to the grave, and without which we could hardly live a single day, but co-operation will never solve the social problem unless it is the co-operation of the whole community for the abolition of land monopoly.

By far the most important and most radical of the conclusions arrived at by these "armchair theorists," the one indeed that has more common sense as well as biblical authority to support it than any other, is that every child that comes into the world has a citizen's right to an equal share in the earth, otherwise the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, in which both Christians and non-Christians believe, would be a farce.

The denial of this right is the fundamental wrong, which is at the root of all other wrongs, and which is the main cause of unemployment and poverty, since the first result of land monopoly is to prevent access to the source of all wealth, and till labor does get access to land, unemployment and poverty, the social problem and social discontent, will always be with us. This is the conclusion to which all "armchair theorists" and thinkers who go to the

root of the problem necessarily arrive. It is so self-evident that it would be waste of time and space to labor it any further. The only question, as Mr. Walker very rightly tells us, is how to translate this principle into practical terms.

THE ONLY SCIENTIFIC WAY.

The difficulty is seemingly so great that it was long regarded as insuperable, but it is insuperable no longer. It is now generally recognized that, while the land itself cannot be cut up and divided so that every child coming into the world shall have an equal share, the site value attaching to land can be so divided, and in N. S. W. and in Queensland at any rate a beginning has been made in the municipal sphere. That is to say, all landowners in Local Government areas in those two States have to hand over to the municipal authorities a certain proportional share of the land value, from which source alone all municipal expenditures are met. The reform has been in operation for a sufficient number of years to enable us to judge, and public opinion is practically unanimous as to the justice and manifold advantages of the method as compared with the penalising of industry and enterprise under the old system.

Extend this reform from the municipal to State and Federal spheres, abolishing all the exemptions and graduations by which the present method of levying the Federal land tax is marred, do away at the same time with the Customs House and income taxation which harasses industry and enterprises and makes living so dear, and you would go far to solve the social problem and to make Christian citizenship a fact of vital significance instead of an unmeaning phrase.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

PERCY R. MEGGY.

From a Popular Novelist

“IN the early days he had homesteaded and sought enough land to make him rich. Now he had only to rent it out to good farmers who liked to work—he didn’t and of this he made no secret.”

“He knew that his father was sometimes called a ‘land-hog’ by the country people, and he himself had begun to feel that it was not right that they should own so much land—to farm, or to rent, or to leave idle as they chose. It was strange that in all the centuries the world had been going, the question of property had not been better adjusted. The people who had it were slaves to it and the people who did not have it were slaves to them.”

—ONE OF OURS, BY WILLA CATHER.

BOOK reviewer roasts Carolyn Wells’ latest detective story because she capitalizes the words “real estate.” But that’s the correct thing in the best circles.

W. J. Wallace Appeals to Friends of the Cause

WHEN the Commonwealth Land Party adopted their platform they certainly intended to make a candid presentation of their beliefs. Some will say that they were more candid than wise in thus taking the public fully into their confidence and running the risk of losing the votes of those who do not desire more than a partial application of our principles.

But the appeal of the party is more especially intended for the great mass of the people, who now have only a vague idea of its purpose, as, until the present campaign, its principles have been disguised under the name “Single Tax.”

This unintentional concealment has not attracted any recruits from the financial world. They realize the peril to their interests involved in our ideas and are, now and forever, unalterably opposed to them.

It is with regret we see that legitimate business enterprises, usefully engaged in the production and distribution of labor products, do not appear to recognize that they should have a position in public respect much superior to interests that merely appropriate to themselves the land that God created and the value of land that is made by the community.

We must consider, however, that useful business, not supported by a monopoly of nature, is essentially competitive and its owners are more dependent on the good will of their customers and others than the owners of city lots, mines, ranches, oil deposits or water power sites. Although useful they are subservient; and a subservient class finds it prudent to conform to the opinions of those who have the power to injure them.

Many useful businesses are partially supported by the ownership of land, and this gives their owners quite an advantage in the present struggle for success. How natural to approve of it without further thought! Yet it intensifies the struggle of all those who are not supported by the advantage and strongly tends to prevent their success.

Social rank, public position, easy tolerance of things as they are, all retard an acceptance of our beliefs.

It is difficult to awake a proper appreciation of their own standing among those who are supporting human society by their enterprise and work. They defer to the loafers and drones, and, seeing their easy life, their eminence and power, merely desire to become one of them.

From the top down financial interests are opposed to us. Big business, which craves any monopoly that will increase its control, is opposed to us. Small business, so dependent on patronage and good will, and with its mind possessed with the thought of obtaining security through privilege, is not, as yet, our friend.

No doubt there are in all of them some independent souls, who are exceptional men and who recognize truth and publicly endorse it. Wherever they are they are worthy of honor.

To whom then does political expediency direct us to turn? Plainly, to the common people. To the great mass of mankind who are without social distinction or financial power. To those who are dependent on their work for a living and who give work for their living.

We must come to them with a plain and clear statement of our principles, show them how unjust it is that men should own the earth to the exclusion of their fellow men. How this private ownership of land enslaves men and is but a continuation, under a different form, of the slavery of the past; how the common ownership of ground rent will give us all an equal interest in the profit of the earth and make every man a freeman; how it will raise wages and encourage small businesses; how it will distribute population away from congested centres and make business follow the population instead of making population follow business; how it will establish our country in justice and remove the jealousy and hatred of people against their neighbors; and how it will bring peace on earth.

We have a wonderful story to tell which is needed now by a distracted world.

Great reforms come from below and are not handed down from above. Too often those who have climbed to influence and power are the last persons from whom any recognition of our principle can be expected. Our movement does not depend on the arrival of a great leader. The leader will arrive when the people are ready to support him. Until then he could not be successfully great. Do not wait for a great leader. Prepare the way for him by your faithfulness and loyalty now.

All Commonwealth Landers should be active politically in the Commonwealth Land Party. The only argument against it is that excuse of laziness, "what's the use."

The party is demonstrating yearly that it is very useful.

We who are familiarizing the people with the idea of voting for the common ownership of land rent, are bringing it more forcibly to their attention this year by the change of name. By voting for the candidates of this party they are, to the best of their ability, demanding their rights instead of frittering away their votes to gratify their prejudices or to indulge their spite.

There may be excuse for others, who do not know how economic problems can be solved, to become excited over the merits of rival Republicans or Democrats, or of the "What is it," party that flourishes in the Northwest, but for those who have a true understanding of the land question other issues seem so unimportant that they become ridiculous.

We do not yet know with what new toy the politicians will amuse us this fall but one suitable to create a condition of intense public excitement will undoubtedly appear.

Attempts to decide our political attachment by our ability to foretell the future should be restricted to mediums and fortune tellers and their credulous dupes. The rest of us will have to depend for political guidance on our conception of what is right.

Who knows, if we stand firm, that the people will not rally round the standard when the hour of their decision comes?

Come with us, all those of you who believe in these principles, and wish to help the people to understand and accept them.

—WILLIAM J. WALLACE
Presidential Candidate
Commonwealth Land Party.

Freedom the Golden Rule

HUMANITY is a social organism having certain well defined functions which must be performed, as a whole, so that each social or individual unit can get all he produces as well as participate in those values that result from his presence and efforts combined with the presence and efforts of thousands and millions of other people who live on the earth.

All persons are interested, primarily, in being well fed, well clothed and well housed, hence, they are naturally interested in the production and distribution of the products of their labor. First, to freely produce they must have free access to land; second, their products must have absolute free entry to any market of the world, so that free markets will be the complement of free land.

Land values are capitalized ground rents. By taxing land values you acquire a portion of the ground rent for public revenue. By gradually increasing the tax on land values you would eventually absorb all of the ground rent. By taxing land values; i. e. capitalized ground rents, heavily, you would destroy the profit of speculative land monopoly, which would tend to force land into actual use and occupation or compel its abandonment by the speculator.

By so doing you would loosen the grip of land monopoly, putting the industrial toiler where he would have free access to the earth.

By so doing you would place him where his chances for self-employment were unlimited, thus making the worker competent to be a free agent in contract.

To be a free contracting agent, the industrial worker must possess abundant chances for self-employment so he can meet the employer contracting agent on equal terms. The employer being forced to meet employee on equal terms, would be compelled to bid against every other buyer of labor, which would result in giving the highest wage to the toiler.

As self-employment is the prime factor in industrial freedom and economic independence, then the opportunity to be his own employer must be so abundant that the

worker can freely choose his occupation at a wage which must be of sufficient amount to induce him to accept it in preference to working for himself. A state of industrial freedom would place all men where they could care for themselves, thus escaping the odium of charity. A tax upon land values would force those who privately own our natural resources to compensate society for its giving such powers into the hands of the few, hence, eventually place all of the burden of government upon those values that are by their very nature a social product.

The prime factor of social progress is the betterment of mankind, hence, every effort to bring humanity into a state of industrial freedom conforming to true economic ideals, involves the right of each citizen to not only enjoy a state of pure industrial independence but where fundamentally the natural law of social progress places each individual where he has land accessible to himself on terms common to all men.

Having free access to land, while it is the first fundamental step in social progress, would not cure our social ills nor bring us into a state of pure freedom. The individual who has free access to land, must, to make his emancipation complete, have as absolute right to send the products of his labor and be as accessible to world wide markets as land is free and accessible to him. The absolute freedom of world wide markets is a necessary complement to land free and accessible to all men on the same common terms. Free land without the complement of absolute free trade with world wide markets would place in the hands of exploiters an undue portion of the product of the toiler, thereby lessening the benefits resulting from free access to the land.

Each individual by having free access to the earth as well as absolute freedom of world wide markets, would enjoy the fruits of all he himself produces. Such a state is one of pure industrial freedom, making it possible to construct a stable society grounded on a natural law of universal brotherhood made up of co-equal and co-related social or individual units.

No man can be exactly just to his fellowman unless he accords to him co-ordinate and co-equal rights to enjoy free access to the earth as well as absolute freedom of world wide markets.

Under real industrial freedom the progress of individuals will be co-equal with that of society, thus giving impulse to every exalted sentiment, opening the way for the most enlightened progress of the human race. In such a state of industrial freedom or economic independence idleness would be unknown, therefore making for true economic co-operation that is so essential to social happiness.

A state of pure industrial freedom would be the fundamental ground work of the golden rule on which could be built social stability, opening the way for lofty spiritual ideals and planting in the hearts of all men a true conception of what is truly righteous and what is truly just as between man and man.

PERRY D. BLAINE

Mr. Wallace to Mr. Mahoney

THE following letter addressed to Mr. Wm. V. Mahoney by W. J. Wallace, candidate for President of the Commonwealth Land Party is self explanatory. It takes a stand with which those who sense the fundamental nature of our problem will agree:

"Referring to your recent letter in which you expressed a desire to appear before the Single Tax Convention in order to present your views as to the advantages of unity among all progressives; we have taken this matter up in the meeting of the Executive Committee and feel it will be necessary to advise you that on account of the peculiar position we hold in relation to the great truth which this Party is organized to push we would not feel justified in permitting you to appear before the conference and address it on that subject. While we realize the benefits of unity, it must be a unity with those of similar purposes to ourselves, not merely an aggregation of various elements animated by diverse and conflicting purposes such as we believe the National Progressive movement would be.

"We have had this condition well illustrated in the meeting of the Committee of Forty-Eight in Chicago in the year 1920, at which time all of those who were dissatisfied with present conditions met together in the effort to see whether they could find some common ground upon which they could unite and to which they could give the weight of their united influence. As the convention progressed it became more and more evident that there was no common ground outside of the socialistic suggestions involving paternalistic government and regulation and control by the government of private industries, and the tendency of this thought is so strongly toward a coalition with the absolutely communistic thought of others that the natural and inevitable consequences followed. The Committee of Forty-Eight went over bodily to the communistic farmer labor party.

"None of these parties have given any thought or consideration to our belief that the earth is the birthright of all mankind and that the rent of land belongs to the people, and we see no evidence in the present situation of any movement in that direction. This concludes the possibility for the present of us joining any such movement. The mere acceptance of our plank which, in view of the general disposition of political elements to accept the plank of any section that might add votes to the aggregation, would not be sufficient to justify us in the belief that it was the intention of such an organization to make the common ownership of land a vital part of the movement.

"If at any time in the future those who now go under the name of Progressives are willing to adopt these views, there should be every reason to believe that our work would then be accomplished and that the duty of laying the Single Tax before the people of the United States and of securing sufficient acceptance of the principle to force it into active political life would be divided among all the elements who were convinced of the truth of this proposition, and the responsibility would not rest exclusively upon us. Until that time arrives we must of necessity act alone. Our hope is that the eyes of the American people will become open to the importance of this issue and that we will soon have the pleasure of welcoming you and other progressives into this great movement."

At the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle

CONDUCTED BY E. WYE

THIS Department from its inception has held that a mere discussion of the Land Question, however widespread, can not be a sufficient sign of its emergence into the field of imminent popular acceptance; nor even can its entry into politics foreshadow any certain vital enthusiasm and welcome on the part of the public. Great upheavals and revolutions in thought are accompanied mainly by agitation of the emotions. There comes a time in the emotional condition of a people when the mass, having undergone great silent changes, is not unlike that seeming chemical equilibrium that needs the presence of a catalytic to set the combination into instantaneous action. It is through art that the emotional find adequate expression; through art all great crises in the history of man have found a large utterance. "Let me but write the songs of a people and I care not who makes the laws" may be a magniloquent phrase—but it comes near to the heart of truth. Therefore, as a sign, this Department awaits the appearance of the Land Question in art. Will it be in our day? Will it come from your Single Taxer, who, while in logic a great critic, is often deficient in the social milk of human kindness? Will it come from the idealist in the socialist camp, who is often a handy writer tho not a very profound thinker? Will it come from your trained professional man of letters who writes so "detachedly" of so many things from his ivory tower? God forbid! Land songs and ballads ought to write themselves. They should reek of the warm earth and be as spontaneous as the music of the sky-lark. They should be the product of no one authenticated poet, but rather should grow and grow like the old sagas, without source and without insincerity—perfect expressions of the inner spirit and emotions of man. When we begin to have land songs and ballads such as these then we may say that the greatest of all Revolutions is at hand.

* * * * *

It was a lovely and heartening sight at the recent National Convention of the Commonwealth Land Party to see the greeting that old Michael Shea gave to his long lost friend, William McCabe. The appearance of Mr. McCabe was unexpected and dramatic—a sort of Hamlet's father's ghost revisiting the glimpses of the moon, yet with a difference too, for like the heroine in *The Mikado*, Mr. McCabe (a Sam Johnson for avoirdupois) might say, "We're very wide awake, the moon and I." One found that during the recesses Mike and Bill had gravitated together like double stars; and lo, the battles of 1886 were rehearsed by the two, one reminding the other and the other reinforcing the first, so that for sheer interest to genuine Single Taxers no converse like this has been heard since

the passing of Henry George. "And do you mind, Bill, how we started that camp at Merriewold Park, with a vague idea and intintion of demonstrating something or other? Let me see, that was in 1890." "No, you're wrong, Mike, it was in 1889, for I was one of the Prospecting Committee, and I know." And again they fell to reminiscing. And as bearing upon this very subject the Conductor places before the readers of this Department the following ballad, written in 1889 and first read before the original Merriewoldians in December of that year.

* * * * *

A Ballad

Read before the
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
of Merriewold City,
A. D. 2001

Now list to me, and I'll unfold
The story as it ran.
The place it was called Merriewold,
The County, Sullivan.

In good old Indian times, they say,
The bear and eke the mink
Were wont to swagger every day
All over Minnisink.

Now in the year two thousand one
What once was but a thorp
Doth one continuous city run
From Black Brook to Mongaup.

Aloft on Ida's noble crest
An Eiffel tower stands—
Nor from its top, to east or west,
Are any vacant lands.

But to the tale. The legends tell
Of three, who sought a land
Far west of where they wont to dwell
On rent-bound Hudson's strand.

These Argonauts brought back a tale,
A tale of golden fleece;
In barter shrewd they might prevail—
Long may their tribe increase!

They'd view'd the land, and breath'd a vow
The land it should be theirs,
For usage full, for then and now,
For them and for their heirs.

What if the wild, unharrow'd waste
Unsett'l'd had remain'd?
What if the wild-cat were unchas'd,
The cat, that's now reclaim'd!

One night a hundred years ago,
So legends tell, I ween,

A band of pilgrims very slow
Those roads to trudge were seen.

Duke Gilman's stronghold in the East
They'd leave at once, they guess'd,
And fearless all of man or beast
Strike boldly to the West.

Where now electric launches ply
The spiky bullhead swam—
The night was dark, they would not try
The bogs of Beaver Dam.

So twice three miles of savage ground
For four long hours they trod,
And slow their pilgrim path they wound
O'er rocks and miry sod.

The way was dark, the night was cold,
Most furious fell the rain,
And some were heard to swear, "For gold
They'd ne'er come there again!"

But *labor vincit omnia*. "See!"
Cried many, "Here we are!"
But oh, what fools we mortals be!
They were not there, by far.

At length the cock crew midnight drear,
The distant watchdog bay'd;
The pilgrims felt a fearful fear,
They fear'd they were betray'd.

They plied the men that lanterns bore,
"Now still how far?" they cried,—
The lantern men, suspecting gore,
Like wise men calmly lied.

Around the walls of Castle Jones
At last the pilgrims turn'd,—
Then warm'd the marrow in their bones,
Their dying hope it burn'd.

They pierc'd an ancient, black pine grove,—
(Where now flit nurses trim,
And park policemen love to rove
Mid infant cherubim.)

They spied a light, they storm'd the gates,
The front stair up they shot:
They'd won the race, they'd down'd the Fates,
But all exclaim'd, "Great Scott!"

For there stood Murray, gaunt and bold,
A hermit in his den,
To welcome them to Merriewold,
And warm their inner men.

The feast was set, the hour was late,
But mirth and spirits pass'd,—
For appetite on brawn doth wait
When long hath been the fast.

That night a hundred years ago
The ancient saw we scan,
That he who ventures, howe'er slow,
Is oft a weary man.

Yet who this ballad once have read,
And for its truth I stand,
Have seen that valiant spirits led
In those old ventures grand.

If now, A. D. two thousand one,
The wight that wishful is

Hath more than half the distance run
And "home" is almost his,

E'en let us drop a gentle tear
For those of bygone days:
If we live now in wealth and cheer
To them belongs the praise!

* * * * *

Very diffidently this Department offers to its readers the following piece of writing bearing on the land question, asking for it a candid and not unsympathetic reading. Its author has striven, as all writers of fiction should do, to furnish entertainment first of all. The moral and the lesson, if there be such, must take care of themselves. Yet the author does not hesitate to count himself an adherent of that school which fears not on occasion to write a novel or a play "with a purpose." The trick is to conceal the purpose and allow the reader or the playgoer to think it all out for himself.

* * * * *

THE WRATH OF LATONA

LAND PLAY IN TWO ACTS AND A PRELUDE

PRELUDE

CHARACTERS

The Goddess Latona
The Oracle of Delphi

SCENE

At Delphi. A deeply shaded grove, in the midst of which glimmers the fabled Rock. Through its crevices issue the divine vapor and the Voice of the Oracle.

Latona enters the grove and, greatly agitated, approaches the rock with outstretched hands.

LATONA. I am Latona. Hear me.

ORACLE. Speak.

LATONA. I scarce can speak. Oh, I faint—

ORACLE. Rest a moment, my daughter. (After a pause) What would you of me?

LATONA. I am with child. I can go no farther.

ORACLE. Strive to calm yourself.

LATONA. I have begged my way. Am I to die disgraced? Has great Zeus, my lord, no power to restore me to my home? Is He overruled?

ORACLE. Nay, daughter, do not assault the ways of Heaven. (A pause) Whence came you?

LATONA. Fleeing I came by distant Tempé and by Thebes. I have wandered many days. Oh, shall I be forgiven and restored?

ORACLE. What seek you here to know?

LATONA. From the cloudy heights of far Olympus have I wandered. The fault, the fault was mine. Yet sweet was his love-making, soft it was as the golden veil that hangs above our palace. Sweet were his words in my ears as the song of birds and his kiss was sweeter than nectar—

ORACLE. Did great Hera then show no pity?

LATONA. Her face was dark as the clouded veil of Heaven. Cruel and implacable she drove me forth. My lord was far away.

ORACLE. But tell me, was not Hera wronged?

LATONA. The King of Heaven wooed me and won my love. I could no otherwise.

ORACLE. And then—

LATONA. She taunted me, reviled me and with cruel words cast me forth — down the steepy sides of high Olympus.

ORACLE. Yea, my daughter, to learn of many things.

LATONA. Upbraiding me with stealing her Lord's love, full time, she said, I should have to learn of many things. Storming she bade me leave her court and go seek adventures on the Earth. She drove me forth. "Go, go," she cried, "and mingle with the wily race of men. Begone and remain away forever!"

ORACLE. And now?

LATONA. And now I wander over the Earth, a suppliant and a dishonored outcast. Oh, bitterly I feel the wrongs I suffer.

ORACLE. Nay, daughter, do not harbor evil thoughts.

LATONA. Sweet is revenge—

ORACLE. Seek not revenge, but understanding.

LATONA. Yet my woes are hard to bear.

ORACLE. Tell me, what have you encountered coming hither?

LATONA. I have shared the food of shepherds and of other lowly folk. They have been kind to me. Generously have they housed me and given me of their fruit and milk and cheese, offering them freely and with no thought of recompense.

ORACLE. Yea, the bounty of the Earth is for all. The gifts of Deméter are free. Only man is crafty; avoid his snares.

LATONA. In the hamlets and villages never have I been refused—I have never known hunger nor thirst.

ORACLE. Think not that these you will escape.

LATONA. Alas, will my punishment then be so great?

ORACLE. By necessity it is ordained.

LATONA. But I have everywhere met with kindness, not rudeness. On my way to Delphi many have showed me the road, even accompanying me part of the time.

ORACLE. Yea, but seeking the nature of men, such a test as this is not sufficient.

LATONA. I was never refused lodging at night when weary after my day's journey I sought succor and refreshment.

ORACLE. Your divine smile of thanks was sufficient. In truth there is good and there is evil among men. You have not encountered the ignorance and the greed of man.

LATONA. Never can man equal the brutality of Tityos, who waylaid me coming hither.

ORACLE. Him your son will slay.

LATONA. The lustful giant! He attempted violence—but a cloud came between us and I escaped.

ORACLE. Your son will avenge you and thereafter pilgrims will journey hither to Delphi in peace.

LATONA. Oh, may I never again meet a monster like Tityos!

ORACLE. After many days and many trials you will turn homeward.

LATONA. Return homeward? Oh, blessed words—

ORACLE. So it is decreed. You are Latona. On Olympus will you dwell forever.

LATONA. Alas, I am Latona. Sprung from the grey and misty brood who ruled the clouded skies before great Zeus gave them war and drove them, gods and giants tho they were, headlong from on high—

ORACLE. But you, Latona—

LATONA. Princess of a vanquished race, once daughter of the mighty tribe of Titans, yet now weak and trembling at this wisp of vapor—

ORACLE. Will be honored and remembered—

LATONA. Remembered, alas, for her unhappy love—

ORACLE. Remembered and honored because the union of Zeus and Latona will bring peace in Heaven: for now have ceased the ancient wars with the giants and Titans.

LATONA. The victory of my lord I rejoice in!

ORACLE. Hera's rage will be forgotten. And in the issue of mighty Zeus and Latona—

LATONA. Blessed be the name of Zeus, my lord!

ORACLE. Will come a wondrous change. Taking Hyperion's place your issue will light the skies; while you will be remembered for the goodness and the wisdom you will teach to men.

LATONA. To men? Shall I also, like my kinsman Prometheus, be a friend to man?

ORACLE. Yea, bringing gifts of wisdom as useful as the fire he gave to man.

LATONA. What I, a feeble woman? Perchance I shall be punished by my lord Zeus even as was Prometheus—

ORACLE. Nay, hear me. The lesson you will teach will be your deliverance. Until that time your sufferings will not cease.

LATONA. Must I wander ever farther and farther away from the homeland of the Dorians and the Achaians?

ORACLE. Even to the distant land of the Ionians, across the fabled sea.

LATONA. Oh, tell me, shall I encounter folk of greater knowledge and with manners even more kindly than those here?

ORACLE. Nay, everywhere are Pandora's gifts to man: Evils shall you find in distant Lycia.

LATONA. Tell me, what words of wisdom, O divine Oracle, shall I teach to men?

ORACLE. Themis and Minerva will inspire your soul.

LATONA. How shall I know?

ORACLE. At the crossways where stands an altar to

Deméter, there will you know.

LATONA. Piously will I bear my growing burden. Willingly will I undergo increasing hardship. But how shall I know the crossways?

ORACLE. A shepherd boy will lead you.

LATONA. And shall I in truth there learn the ways of men and teach them wisdom?

ORACLE. You will also encounter those who will test your strength.

LATONA. Oh, if I fail?

ORACLE. Not so. But first you will encounter the baseness of man.

LATONA. Only Tityos the giant was false.

ORACLE. Not every man is false. The breast of the fruitful Earth is for all—yet some will deny you.

LATONA. What, is there not food in plenty and for all? Oh, may never I nor my unborn babe want for succor.

ORACLE. Yet succor will be denied you. Fainting with thirst a draught of water will be refused you.

LATONA. Woe is me!

ORACLE. Your story will be a lesson to man. After many, many days goodness will cast out evil.

LATONA. And is always the wrong-doer punished?

ORACLE. In mysterious ways. Nemesis is almighty.

LATONA. And do the mighty fall?

ORACLE. When they do overreach their power.

LATONA. Alas, that I, a feeble woman, should be fated for so dangerous a task as awaits me.

ORACLE. You will prove yourself worthy of restoration to your longed-for home.

LATONA. And the babe I bear?

ORACLE. Your offspring will be the double lights of Heaven. In the skies will they dwell forever.

LATONA. Will my lord Zeus receive both them and me?

ORACLE. So has destiny decreed.

LATONA. And where shall I find rest and give them birth?

ORACLE. Cruelly will many turn you away. Weary wanderings await you.

LATONA. Oh, churlish men! Oh, me unhappy!

ORACLE. The islands of the sea will refuse you.

LATONA. O gods of Heaven!

ORACLE. Till reaching Delos, more hospitable than the others, your prayers will be heard and there refuge will be given.

LATONA. Oh, kind after all is the nature of man—

ORACLE. But long will these folk hesitate, consenting to receive you only on condition that you swear by the Styx.

LATONA. I will swear even that oath—

ORACLE. That your son's first shrine shall be erected there and that abundantly he will honor and not despise so barren and unproductive a spot.

LATONA. I will swear it.

ORACLE. But terrible will be the birth-pangs, endur-

ing for nine days and nine nights.

LATONA. Oh, oh, oh.

ORACLE. Yet Themis and Amphitrite will assist. Eileithyia, hastening to Delos, will aid you. The attending goddesses will care for the new-born, wrapping them in fine linen, and Themis will give them nectar and ambrosia.

LATONA. Praise to the Gods!

ORACLE. And Delos will gleam with a golden light.

LATONA. Now all ye deities, give me strength to bear my burdens and my joys to come. O Love, restore me to my lord, the sovereign of the skies.

ORACLE. Restoration awaits you.

LATONA. Oh, may those words be fulfilled.

ORACLE. Doubt not. The good will triumph and the evil-doers be punished.

LATONA. Farewell, O Divine Oracle, farewell.

ORACLE. My daughter, farewell.

The curtain falls.

(To be Continued)

* * * * *

Why I am a Member of the Commonwealth Land Party

VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE LINCOLN GIVES THE REASONS

IT is because this party is the only one that has a scientific programme for the just distribution of wealth. Take a large look at the world and what do we see?

The Creator has supplied the sunlight and air and rain and land that are necessary to the lives of his children.

The mere fact that we are alive gives to each of us an equal right to those things that the Creator has provided for all of us.

The common right of all of us to the sunlight and air is generally recognized. The common right of all of us to the land and such of the rain as now falls on privately owned land is denied. When we remember that all the food we eat and the clothes we wear and the houses we live in must come from the land, it is clear that the denial of the common right to land is the denial of a fundamental right. The Commonwealth Land Party proposes to reassert the right of all of us to what the Creator has provided for all of us. Is it not evident that the hard coal in Eastern Pennsylvania was put there for the use of all of us and not for the benefit of the owners of the legal titles to the ground under which the coal lies? Do any of us doubt that the iron ore and copper in Minnesota and upper Michigan were put there for the benefit of all of us and not for the benefit of the steel companies that hold the titles to the land on which most of the ore lies, or for the benefit of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company that owns the title to the land under which the copper lies? Is it not evident that Niagara Falls belongs to the people of the

U. S. rather than to the individuals that happen to hold title to the land that borders on the falls?

PRIVATE, EXCLUSIVE AND CONTINUOUS POSSESSION OF LAND NECESSARY

It is clear that from a practical standpoint, it is impossible to equally divide the land once a day or once a month or once a year.

It is also evident that continuous, exclusive and private possession of land is necessary to many forms of private property and to the best use of land. No one is going to build a house on a piece of land, unless he is sure that he is going to have undisturbed and undisputed possession of that piece of land. No farmer is going to underdrain his land and rotate his crops and fertilize it so as to make it produce the most in the long run, unless he is sure of exclusive and continuous possession of the land. The difficulty with much of our farming at the present time is that it is done by tenant farmers who do not have continuous possession of the land they are using and so do not get nearly as much out of the land as it is capable of producing.

No one is going to provide the capital necessary to open a mine in the hard coal regions or in the iron region of Minnesota, or the copper bearing lands in upper Michigan, unless those who provide the capital can be sure of undisputed continuous private possession of the land. No one can be expected to invest the millions of dollars required to build power houses and distributing lines at Niagara Falls unless they can be sure of undisturbed possession of the ground they occupy and the water they use.

Private property in land gives the continuous exclusive possession of land necessary to its best use and the programme of the Commonwealth Land Party does not propose to interfere in any way with any land title anywhere. The title of the Stephen Girard Estate to the coal lands of Eastern Pennsylvania would not be questioned. The titles of the steel companies to the lands of Minnesota would stand as they now are.

THE INJUSTICE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN LAND

The Commonwealth Land Party insists that private continuous possession of land is necessary to modern civilization, but it also calls attention to the injustice involved in private property in land. The writer happened to be a director in a bank in Cleveland that bought a lease of a piece of land on Euclid Ave. on which to locate the bank. This land is about half as valuable as the most expensive Euclid Avenue land. The lease taken by the bank calls for the payment of nearly \$1,000.00 a foot per year to the owner of the fee. The actual value of the land is much greater than is indicated by the payment of \$1,000.00 per year per foot, for the lease is appraised at over \$100,000.00.

Is it not clear that the owner of this fee did no more than any of the rest of the 1,000,000 people that live in Cleveland and vicinity to produce this land value? Is it not clear that this \$1,000.00 per foot per year is a payment

for which nothing is received in return? The value of \$1,000.00 per foot per year is created by the people of Cleveland and when it is paid to the owner of the fee, the people of Cleveland who created the value are defrauded to that extent. It will be instructive to follow the history of this piece of ground, for it is typical of what happens to land values in all cities.

When this ground was first used by white people a hundred and twenty years ago, there was no very great injustice involved in making it private property, for there was plenty of unused land. The owner of this piece of ground could not therefore get something for nothing because he held the title to this piece of land. This was part of a farm when it was first settled, and while the land produced bountifully because it was virgin soil, the value of the crop was very small because there was no market for the products.

The number of people in the settlement increased and all the land in the vicinity was taken up and then the presence of the greater number of people created a market for the products of this farm, so that while the farm produced less or no more than when first settled, the value of the products was increased, due to the increased market that in turn was due to the increased population. This increase in the value of the products due to the presence of a greater number of people was reflected in an increased value of the farm as farm land.

ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION

The farm on which I was born thirty miles from Cleveland has experienced this increase in the last 12 or 15 years, the selling value increasing from \$100.00 an acre to \$500.00. As Cleveland grew, the village that at first was located at the mouth of the river two-thirds of a mile away, extended its limits, and this farm came into the market as suitable for sub-division into town lots. The demand for this land for town lots was due solely to the increase in population of the town and the value of about \$100.00 an acre for farm land near a village was increased to about \$1,000.00 an acre by the increase of population when the town had grown large enough to make it possible to use the land for town lots.

As Cleveland grew, the business section which at first was confined to the land near the river, spread uptown and the next big increase in value came when it was evident that the business section was going to grow out Euclid Avenue instead of in some other direction. The growth in this direction enabled the owner of this fee to capitalize the habits of the people of Cleveland and enabled him to obtain \$1,000.00 a foot per year which capitalized at 6 per cent, is over three and a half million dollars an acre.

It is clear that the owners of the fee during the 102 years that have elapsed since Cleveland was settled have not produced this increase from practically nothing to three and a half million per acre, but that this increase was produced by the presence of this increased population. This

ground rent of \$1,000.00. per foot per year produced by the community the Commonwealth Land Party proposes to take for the use of the community.

If land or ground value is land or ground rent capitalized, is it not clear that taking the ground rent will destroy speculative land value? Land values are due to legally created privileges granted to the owner of the land to take for himself ground rent produced by the presence and activity of the community.

If this legal privilege was removed and the ground rent created by the community was taken by the community, there would be no increase in selling value following increase in the population or activities of the community. Therefore, it would not pay to hold land for an increase in value, for there would be no increase.

Moreover, as the community took a greater proportion of the ground rent produced by the community, the amount left for the owner of the fee would decrease.

When all the ground rent produced by the community was taken by the community, there would be no selling value attaching to land. Ground rent and therefore land value is community produced and is therefore common wealth. Therefore, the name Commonwealth Land Party.

WE COULD GET RID OF ALL TAXES

If the community by this system took the ground rent produced by the community, it would not have to take from individuals wealth produced by them individually. This would make possible the abolition of all taxes that are now levied on wealth. To put the matter in a sentence, the Commonwealth Land Party believes that what the community creates as a community should be taken by the community and what the individual produces should belong to the individual.

It is evident that this system would not interfere with the continuous exclusive and private possession of land which is necessary to its best use. On the other hand, it would compel the best use of land, for no one could afford to hold land out of use in any very great amount.

If all land was put to its best use, as it would have to be under this system, the amount of wealth produced would be vastly increased and its distribution would be free from the great injustice involved in the present system of the appropriation by private persons of ground rent produced by the community. Some idea of how great is the injustice of the private appropriation of ground rents may be gained by remembering that land values are at the present time at least equal and are probably greater than the values of all the houses and furniture and manufacturing machinery and railroads and steamships and paved roads and automobiles, or in a word greater than the real wealth of the community.

The injustice of the private appropriation of the community created values involved in our present land system, is the chief cause of the unjust distribution of wealth.

The programme of the Commonwealth Land Party is the only just and scientific solution of the problem.

Therefore—I am a Member of the Commonwealth Land Party.

J. C. LINCOLN.

J. C. Lincoln

NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT COMMONWEALTH LAND PARTY

J. C. LINCOLN was born in Painesville, Ohio, on July 17th, 1866. His father was a Congregational Preacher. His boyhood was spent in a number of states, Michigan, Ohio, New York and Illinois. He entered High School in Painesville, Ohio, in 1881, and 1884 went to Columbus and finished High School there and spent three years at the Ohio State University, taking up a mechanical engineering course with as much electricity in it as he could get, because at this date there was no electrical engineering course as such.

In the Spring of 1888 he entered the employ of the Brush Electric Company in Cleveland and was with them until March of the following year, when he accepted a position in the Shore Electric Railway Company, until the Summer of 1892. At that time The Elliott-Lincoln Electric Company was formed, which had a rather checkered career and passed out of existence in 1894.

In 1895, he started operations under the name of The Lincoln Electric Company, with practically no capital, and the present Lincoln Electric Company has grown in the last 30 years from this beginning. Naturally, his attention has been devoted to electrical and engineering subjects. He is a director of the American Welding Society, a member of the American Institute of Electrical Engineering and a member of the Cleveland Engineering Society.

About the year 1898 or 9, he read for the second or third time—Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" and got the message which it contained. Since then, he has been unceasingly active in the movement.

Mention has been made of Mr. Lincoln's relationship to the martyred president. It is said that General Lincoln of Revolutionary fame and Abraham Lincoln were related. General Lincoln and J. C. Lincoln's grandfather were cousins.

Mr. Lincoln writes us in a recent communication: "Some Single Taxers believe the party movement unwise, but the experience of the last fifty years would indicate that little progress is being made on the lines pursued by the Single Taxers for that period. I hope that the same period that lies ahead of us will show a different record for the activities of the Commonwealth Land Party."

THE party is to be congratulated in securing as its vice-presidential nominee, a Single Taxer so prominently and favorably known as Mr. Lincoln.

NEWS—DOMESTIC

California

JAMES A. HENNESSY, of Oakland, has volunteered to be one of sixty to secure 2000 signatures each to the petitions. The legal number of validated subscriptions now required is 72,265, and the campaign committee are satisfied that they will be quite safe with 100,000. Those in Oakland who may want to get behind Mr. Hennessy in this work can address him at 1228 Goss Street, that city. Workers throughout the state who can assist in this work may communicate with Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson, 707 San Fernando Building, Los Angeles.

Michigan

THE following have been selected as presidential electors for this state at present writing. Six more are to be selected later: Laurence Smith, Detroit; Henry C. L. Forler, Detroit; Wilber Brotherton, Detroit; Alexander S. Diack, Birmingham; Emil Letournean, Redford; Ray Robson, Addison; Mrs. A. Benson, Detroit; and Daniel L. Powell, Jr., Detroit. It is the opinion of the local organization in Detroit that a full state ticket should be nominated in Michigan and steps will be taken to secure desirable nominees for all state officers.

At present writing the national organizer of the Commonwealth Land Party, Mr. James A. Robinson, is in Michigan.

New York

DURING the last two months addresses have been made in the public schools of the city, by Messrs Van Veen, Oscar Geiger and George Lloyd, nine meetings in all. At all of these meetings there was a fair attendance.

The Commonwealth Land Party's candidate, William J. Wallace, spoke at the Civic Club, at the Cooperative League House, and at Wadleigh High School.

On Saturday, April 5 the New York City Single Tax Party at a well attended meeting changed its name to the Commonwealth Land Party to conform to the National party name, and adopted the national platform as its own. Committees for local work were appointed.

Lawrence Tracy was elected chairman of the city committee, and Dr. Joseph Cahoon, secretary.

On Dec. 29, Dr. Hubert Harrison spoke on the Economic Problem before the Commonwealth Land Party Forum; on March 8th Wm. J. Blech spoke, and on March 15 Alfred J. Boulton addressed the Forum.

These Saturday Forum meetings are now conducted at the Cooperative League House, 167 W. 12th Street. All are invited.

Congressman Griffin, of the Bronx, has introduced a bill providing for a federal tax on unused land equivalent to one per cent. of its assessed value.

Mr. Griffin states that this will yield a revenue of \$900,000,000. Hon. Edward Polak, Register of Bronx County, in discussing Congressman Griffin's Bill said that it would act as a balance between the views set forth by Mr. Mellon who claims that adjusted compensation to the ex-service men cannot be paid by government if there is to be any tax reduction, and the views of others who say that a bonus should be paid irrespective of tax reduction, and still others who say that both can be had at the same time.

"Congressman Griffin's Bill," said Mr. Polak, "will not only provide revenue for the payment of the bonus but will yield sufficient revenue to enable the government to get rid of the nuisance taxes that have plagued the people since the armistice."

Ohio

THE Commonwealth Land Party of Ohio have opened headquarters in Cleveland at the Ulmer Building, Room 819. James Bruce Lindsay is campaign secretary.

A full state ticket has been nominated as follows: For Governor, Virgil D. Allen, of Cleveland; for Lieutenant Governor, W. O. Blase, of Youngstown; for Secretary of State, Jaspar Shuman, of Toledo; for Auditor of State, Herbert R. Gill, of Columbus; for Treasurer of State, George Cook, of Cleveland; for Attorney General, Mary S. Fraser, of Cleveland; for Judge of Supreme Court, Frank R. Field, of Youngstown; and for the same office, William A. Teutch, of Cleveland.

The presidential electors of Ohio are as follows: Henry T. Ammon, William Feather, Howard M. Holmes, Henry P. Boynton, Gordon Macklin, J. C. McGregor, J. J. Culbertson, Frank Hillenkamp, Albert Davis, Edmund Vance Cooke, Harry H. Kline, C. R. Swickard, Wilbur B. Lutton, M. C. Yeagle, F. M. Flick, Arthur Morcomb, W. A. Cronenberger, F. E. Cottier, Henry Grothe, Helena M. Munich, Geo. J. Foyer, Herman Bieder, Cyril J. Bath, and John S. Paskins.

Mr. Virgil D. Allen, candidate for Governor, is a well known civil engineer of Cleveland. He was born at Cardington, Ohio, in 1869. He spent his younger days at Columbus. At about 21 he became interested in reform movements, and became a Single Taxer through the efforts of Frank Howe, and joined the Single Tax Club in 1895.

In 1896-7 Mr. Allen was instrumental in organizing the Union Reform Party, running as representative for Franklin County. This party never spread much beyond Ohio and polled about 15,000 at their height. Its efforts were directed to putting over the Initiative and Referendum, and when this idea began to appear in the Democratic platforms about 1900 the Union Reform Party went out of existence.

About 1902 he went to Cleveland where he became a Tom Johnson Democrat and was elected Commissioner of Buildings in which capacity he served under Mayor Newton D. Baker.

Mr. Allen is married and has two children. He is a thorough going Henry George man, is of engaging personality, and a good speaker. The Ohio members of the party are to be congratulated on the selection of such a man to head the ticket. "It's a great year," he says, "and a great opportunity for the New Emancipation under the leadership of Wallace and Lincoln."

Herbert R. Gill, candidate for State Auditor, is president of the Consumers Supply Company of Columbus. Mr. Gill writes: "In my youth I hoped to live to see Single Tax, woman suffrage and Prohibition successful. I thought Single Tax would be first because most important. Now it begins to look as if I were really to see the Henry George philosophy put over, and I am proud to lend myself to this work."

About 20,000 signatures are required to put the presidential electors on the ballot in Ohio. The campaign committee will pay a good price to those securing such signatures and prefers to engage Single Taxers for such work. If this meets the eye of any Ohio Single Taxer who wants to help in this work for pay, he is requested to address the campaign secretary, James Bruce Lindsay, Commonwealth Land Party, Ulmer Building, Cleveland.

Readers of LAND AND FREEDOM will note among the presidential electors and candidates in Ohio the presence of many who were not with the party four years ago.

Oregon

THERE is every prospect that Oregon will again be on the ballot this Fall. But help will be needed.

A meeting on March 24 at the Central Library Hall in Portland was addressed by Mr. Hermann in which the relation of the Teapot Dome scandal to our solution of the treatment of all natural resources was thoroughly aired.

Pennsylvania

THE Henry George Club of Pittsburgh has been organized with a charter membership of thirty, and has elected as officers, M. S. Robinson, President; Ralph E. Smith, Treasurer; P. R. Williams, General Secretary; and F. W. Maguire, Field Secretary.

Treasurer Smith and Secretary Williams are both identified with the present city administration of Mayor William A. Magee, Mr. Smith serving as a police court magistrate and Mr. Williams as a member of the City Board of Assessors, President Robinson is an active member of the Pittsburgh Real Estate Board, being in the real estate mortgage business. Field Secretary Maguire was, for a number of years, Librarian of the Chicago Single Tax Club, but is now located in Pittsburgh, his old home.

The Club is holding regular weekly luncheon meetings every Friday at Kaufmann & Baer's department store. Though there has been no active Single Tax organization in Pittsburgh since the war, there has been a marked revival of interest in the past few months and the club is growing in membership daily. The club is organizing a local speakers' bureau and is already engaged in various propaganda activities. All Single Taxers in the Pittsburgh district are cordially invited to join the club and to participate in the activities of its various committees.

Death of C. J. Buell

THE sudden death of C. J. Buell, of St. Paul, Minnesota, at Fairhope, Ala., on March 4, will cause sorrow to many Single Taxers, to whom he was known for years of work in behalf of the cause. His contributions to papers and publications, his speeches and pamphlets on various phases of the movement, his work for legislative measures looking in our direction, have attracted general attention. Most of the progressive movements in his own state owe their impetus to his zealous advocacy, and he had been an advocate of Georgism since the publication of the first edition of Progress and Poverty.

He was married in 1912 to Miss Irene Lucier, of Fairhope, whom he met during one of his visits to the Single Tax Colony, and for the last year or two Mrs. Buell had remained there in company with their two children who were pupils at Fairhope's famous Organic School, in which Mrs. Buell was greatly interested. She was planning with her husband to return to St. Paul and take up the work there.

Mr. Buell was buried in the Fairhope cemetery. His work has left its impress on the world of thought in which he lived.

Death of Martin Williams

THE death of Colonel H. Martin Williams, at Riverdale, Md., on March 8, at the age of 84, is announced. Mr. Williams was a Single Taxer of long standing and campaigned for Henry George. He was an effective political orator.

He was appointed Reading Clerk in the House of Representatives in 1911, and has been called the best clerk that ever filled that position. He was acquainted with practically every public man of his time.

At the funeral, tributes to his life and services were paid by Hon. Robert Crosser, Hon. Edward Keating, Col. William C. Harlee, Mrs. Louis F. Post, Mr. F. S. Mooney and many others. Mr. John Salmon wrote:

"Well, maybe his labors are just beginning, Who knows? This future state may only be an extension and continuation of the good work he so ably and faithfully

performed here. The world is better because of such men. He strove well and his ideas will finally triumph."

Mr. Williams had been ill since 1922. In the Summer of 1923 he was able to sit up a part of the time and occupy a chair on the porch of his home at Riverdale. But for eight weeks prior to his death he was confined to his bed.

The Riverdale Town Council passed resolutions expressing their sympathy and admiration for their fellow townsman, for he had taken an active part in local matters.

We remember Mr. Williams well in the campaign of 1897. He was an effective speaker, and while his later activities in the democratic party deprived us of his great services—as it did with so many others—we shall recall the time when he was one of the great crusaders for the truth he had learned of Henry George.

Our Change of Name

OUR readers without exception have hailed our change of name with enthusiasm. Mrs. Lucy Durham, of Escondido, California, writes: "It seems to me that your change of name should help your valuable publication, especially here in California where the name Single Tax is objectionable to many who do not understand it."

"I like the new name for the paper and the renamed party is to my way of thinking much more appropriate," says H. Bieder, of Cleveland.

Mrs. August Lewis writes that the new name of the paper seems "most excellent."

John Joseph Lenny, of Washington, D. C. says: "Congratulations on the new name for the party and the Single Tax Review."

"I want to congratulate you on the change of name," writes P. W. Schwander, of Houston, Texas.

A. C. Sittig, of Baltimore, writes: "A new name for the paper has presumably been the desire of your readers for a long time. Personally I am persuaded that the attention of new readers may now be more surely counted on."

Buenos Aires

WE are permitted to extract the following from a letter from Dr. Manuel Herrera Y. Reissig, now stationed at Libson.

"My visit to our Georgist coreligionaries in Buenos Aires was very pleasant indeed. I found them full of enthusiasm, persistent in their noble endeavors on behalf of the common ideals. The Socialist parliamentary group and their numerous followers are fighting valiantly for the same cause.

"You will already have seen that the Ordinance on the Land Tax (free of improvements) for the City of Buenos Aires has been defeated. The defeat however is only temporary, for there is not the slightest doubt as to its early triumph with a crushing majority in Congress and in the Municipality itself."

"I was present at the historic session of the City Council, when the Ordinance was derogated; and it appeared to me that the very opponents were ashamed of their antipatriotic and retrograde gesture."

Our Dwindling Public Domain

THE "tempest in the teapot" (Dome) should remind us that other of our national resources besides oil have been taken from the public by venal or stupid office-holders and handed over to private interests. Take our vast timber-lands, containing enormous mineral deposits, which have been sold out to railroads and private companies, though legally allotted to actual settlers. Upward of 200,000,000 acres of public lands have been given to railroads, and many millions more to timber trusts, "for a song." The Government has recently prosecuted some of these companies and recovered some 3,000,000 acres, a mere drop in the bucket compared to the ocean still held. These lands were purchased at from \$1.25 to \$2.50 per acre and sold anywhere from \$10 to \$100 per acre and more. The law specifically required that the lands should be held for bona fide settlers; but, through specious pretexts, backed by pliant Government officials, the public interests have been ruthlessly ignored.

According to a Government report (The Timber Industry, issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor Jan. 20, 1913) there had been patented to the subsidiaries of the Southern Pacific Company in Oregon and California up to June 30, 1910, no less than 12,180,000 acres of land. * * * The Union Pacific * * * has also secured patent to no less than 19,136,000 acres of land in various States, while there have been patented to the Northern Pacific the enormous total of 32,664,000 acres. This is a total acreage patented to the Northern Pacific and to the several railroads now in the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific system of 68,858,000 acres, or over 107,000 square miles, an area nearly as large as the land area of the six New England States and New York." (Pg. 17.)

The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company and its subsidiaries together with the Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads, control 237,000,000 feet of timber. The Southern Pacific timber grant "stretches practically all the way from Portland, Ore., to Sacramento, Cal., a distance of 682 miles"—a grant thirty miles wide on each side of the roadbed, which a fast train would take thirty-one hours to pass through. (See report, page 16.)

Instead of further "investigating," why not levy a tax of, say, 5 or 10 per cent. on all these holdings at their present market value, which would bring into the Government coffers, at the lower rate, at least \$50,000,000 per annum of much needed revenue? Why seek further for "sources of revenue" when they are lying at our doors, and only need some statesman with backbone sufficient to "go get it"?

W. B. NORTROP, in *N. Y. World*.

The Rural Tragedy of America

ONE day in Mason county, about half way up to the Straits of Mackinaw, I noticed a peculiar wagon approaching from the north. It was built of wood, with closed sides and roof, and canvas flaps at front and rear. There were two glass windows in each side; and the wagon was drawn by a pair of not very smart looking horses. A man and woman and two children were in the conveyance.

Entering into conversation with the man, I found that he was a farmer. He had sold his land down in the state of Indiana, and had gone north into the "cut over" section of Michigan, attracted by the alluring advertisements of a land company. There has been considerable migration of this kind out of the Hoosier state. But this particular farmer had not "bitten;" and he was now on his way south, returning to his home section, where he intended to rent a farm.

When asked why he had refused to purchase, after having come such a long distance on a tour of investigation he said that in the first place, his suspicions had been aroused, as he entered the "cut over" region, by passing other farmers on their way back. These farmers told him that they had not been able to make both ends meet. But the man had kept on, determined to see the country and learn about conditions by first hand inquiry. On reaching the territory, he had met land agents who were expecting him, and who produced a contract, asking him to sign on the dotted line.

A little figuring, however, showed the prospective buyer, that the interest on the purchase price, plus taxes, plus freight rates on shipping his product to market, would not leave the right kind of margin for bringing up his family according to the American standard of living. Consequently, much to the disgust of the land agents, our farmer refused to have anything to do with the "proposition." I was glad to meet a farmer who really understood something about the land problem.

As long as these lands lie vacant and uncultivated, they are only taxed on a low-value basis. But the prospective farmer is asked to buy the land on a much higher valuation; and then, when he goes ahead and improves the land, he is immediately penalized by a heavy tax on his productive capital, assessed at a far higher rate than that levied on the land in its vacant or uncultivated condition. Under these circumstances, one agricultural "sucker" after another has taken a farm, and made payments on it for a season or so; and then the property has gone back to the land company, which pockets the former's payments and then "sells" the land to another victim.

This is a "close-up" view of the rural tragedy of America. Farmers leave the more populous and thickly settled regions because the present system of land tenure and taxation forces them out; and then when they reach the frontier they find themselves face to face with the same system

which favors the speculator and investor, but ruins the real producer, who actually does the work of farming. It is only a matter of time when this problem will give America as much concern as did the question of human slavery two generations ago.

LOUIS WALLIS in the *Evangelical Herald*

Thoughts From Our Better Classes

"THIS slump in business is just what I expected, with all these thrift campaigns. People aren't buying half as much goods as they would if these penny-savers would leave them alone."

"The trouble with Wall Street is that people are spending so much money for motor cars, and all sorts of things they don't need, that they can't buy stocks."

"What this country needs is a sales tax on everything that people buy, something that will put up prices to the consumers and make 'em more economical."

"There's got to be a deflation in wages before we can get prices down to where the consumers will loosen up and buy on a big scale."

Taxes That Cannot be Shifted

ALEXANDER HAMILTON rightly said taxes must be based on land or labor production.

As the expenditure of all tax money is reflected in the price of land, land is the true basis of taxation. And, as the late President Harding wisely advised, it is a tax that cannot be shifted.

Therefore the tax relief program offered by the bills introduced by Congressman Oscar Keller should become law, as—

It abolishes all nuisance taxes.

It justly discriminates between "earned" and "un-earned" incomes.

The inheritance tax is temperate.

The tax on the privilege of holding land and natural resources is just and moderate and will stimulate production.

It is a tax that cannot be shifted.

This program will presumably relieve productive business of about \$1,250,000 annually, and last, but by no means least, relieve the people of three or four times as much in inflated living costs.

These bills should become law in the interest of equality of opportunities and equal distribution of burdens.

W. E. JACKSON in *Philadelphia Record*

THE large additions to the wealth of the country have gone neither to profits nor to wages, nor yet to the public at large, but to swell a fund ever growing, even while its proprietors sleep—the rent-rolls of the owners of the soil.—

Prof. J. E. Cairn.

Observations of a Pessimist

WHEN one converses with some of the educated and so-called intelligent people, or reads what some of them write in magazines and newspapers, he can not help wondering if sound clear thinking is not becoming a lost art. Whatever else education may do, it does not teach people to think. It is probable that most Single Taxers have frequently thought just what Thomas Carlyle says in one of his essays, "The Diamond Necklace":

"But so few are thinkers? Ay, Reader, so few think; there is the rub! Not one in the thousand has the smallest turn for thinking; only passive dreaming and hearsaying, and active babbling by rote. Of the eyes that men do glare withal so few can see. Thus is the world become such a fearful confused Treadmill; and each man's task has got entangled in his neighbor's, and pulls it awry; and the Spirit of Blindness, Falsehood and Distraction, justly named the Devil, continually maintains himself among us. . . ."

It has always been thus, but what seems like such an enigma in this day and age is that so many men who would seem to be qualified by education, training and experience to think along varied lines, broadly and intelligently, are able to think only in narrow grooves. On a few subjects their thoughts are of value. Away from these, their thoughts are queer, warped, grotesque. * * * * *

There is a certain scholarly gentleman whose syndicated essays on commonsense subjects appear in many of the leading daily papers, and whose editorials set in their eye-attracting and attention-holding lines of 10-point bold faced type are to be found in each of a number of daily papers and monthly magazines. On matters of theology, philosophy and kindred subjects he is an authority. But when he expresses his views on taxation, as in the following article, he dispenses with logic and consistency and gives a demonstration of some queer thinking and defective reasoning. The following is just a part of one of his commonsense(?) essays clipped from a metropolitan daily paper.

"The best method of taxation, the one that has the most reason behind it, is what is known as Single Tax. I do not think however, that it would be practical to attain Single Tax at present, as our property system is so complicated and the mass of prejudice against this form of tax is at present so great. No matter how sensible and logical a system is we have to take into account the material we have to work with, which is the public mind. And just now the public mind is both incapable and unwilling to consider the arguments of Single Tax.

"But while the Single Tax, which is taxation at the point of production, is impractical, there is a form of taxation at the other end or the point of consumption, which is entirely feasible. I mean the sales tax.

"The sales tax would levy the entire tax upon the ultimate consumer.....Such a tax would be simple, easily collected and entirely just.

"Under the present system of taxation the government, which should assist business, really impedes, obstructs and annoys business. Instead of helping the prosperity of the country it is injuring it."

The rest of the article is taken up with a criticism of the present income tax. In conclusion he says:

"Let the tax be at one end or the other, either at the point of consumption or at the point of production."

The author of the foregoing "solution to the tax-riddle" has made so many errors that it might be easier to point out where he is right than where he is wrong. How does he arrive at the conclusion that the Single Tax is a tax at the point of production? Since when did landlords produce anything by merely holding land and appropriating the rent therefrom? Two things the author should do: look up in the dictionary the meaning of the word production, and study more about what the Single Tax actually is.

The learned gentleman lacks the courage of his convictions. He admits that the Single Tax "is the best method of taxation," yet he fears that it is not practical on account of the public mind. One who is at all familiar with the Bible can recall that it was largely the public mind of that period, steeped in ignorance and prejudice, which caused Pontius Pilate not to release Jesus, but allowed him to be crucified. Pilate evidently thought it would not be practical to release Jesus.

... "Our property system is so complicated and the mass of prejudice against this form of tax is at present so great," he asserts. In this he is right. Our property system is complicated. Since it is so, because not enough effort has been expended to eliminate some of the complications, is that any reason why it should remain so? And the reason why there is so much prejudice against the Single Tax is because many people are ignorant and misinformed. There are men everywhere like the distinguished author; they believe in the Single Tax and they have the opportunity to influence others, but they will not advocate or work for that which they believe to be right. He speaks of the incapability and the unwillingness of the public mind, as if the public mind were utterly hopeless. Apparently he believes that since it is, it is better not to try to enlighten or improve it.

It is quite unnecessary to take the time or space here to point out the fallacies of his arguments in favor of a sales tax. The readers of this magazine are already familiar with the viciousness and the injustices of the sales tax.

His conclusion is perhaps one of the weakest parts of his dissertation. He insists that taxation should be either at the point of production or at the point of consumption. As if there were no other source left. If the government took the full rent of land neither production nor consumption would be taxed.

By the time this appears in print the widely heralded and much discussed Bok Peace Plan will have been smothered under a mass of later news, such as Washington governmental scandals, discoveries of oil in high political offices, rumors of another war; and forgotten by a large per cent of the people. It will not matter much however, as only a comparatively few gave any serious thought to the plan.

As a commonsense, workable plan to provide permanent world peace, the one which was awarded the \$100,000 and declared the best, is as practicable and has about as much value as the often discussed scheme for extracting gold from sea water. Both are possible, but not feasible.

In the January-February number of *LAND AND FREEDOM* on page 5, in the platform of the Commonwealth Land Party, one reads these words:

"War and strife, now and always due to economic maladjustment, would disappear with the elimination of private ownership of land, which has ever been the basis and the cause of all the world's economic troubles."

This paragraph contains the fundamentals, the foundation for a worth-while peace plan, whose only fault is its simplicity, and simplicity is something which would naturally eliminate it from the consideration of professional peace-plan juries. Unfortunately, there is much in our modern life which is unacceptable because of its simplicity.

L. R. WADE.

The Common Right to Air

THE Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce has reported favorably on the bill of Senator Howell, of Nebraska, relating to radio communication.

The Bill declares that ether is the inalienable possession of the people and the government. Privileges to enjoy the use of the ether may be granted for terms not to exceed two years. The Bill aims to prevent the monopoly of the air.

This is a revolutionary and radical assault upon private property. Daniel Webster declared that a legal title to land extended to the center of the earth and as high as the heavens, or words to that effect. The possession of the air is claimed by the Landlord as his legal right.

Senator Howell is treading on dangerous ground. If one natural element like the air is the inalienable possession of the people, what about the other natural element, land? If air is common property, wherefor not land?

The *New York Times* seems to scent the danger. It questions if the senators know what the mysterious element, ether, is anyhow, and calls physics to its support. "Ether," says the *Times*, "is a hypothetical medium of extreme tenacity and elasticity supposed to be diffused through all space (as well as among the molecules of which solid bodies are composed) and to be the medium of the transmission of light and heat."

That's the talk! Quote a lot of words at 'em. Try the same thing on the fellows who talk about land being the inalienable possession of the people. What is "land" anyway? Something only a little less tenuous than air.

Enemies of the Farmer

THIS publication has from time to time devoted considerable space to discussions of the present conditions in the great agricultural industry of the United States, which, firmly rooted as it is in the soil, is suffering from a nationwide depression causing great hardships to the working farmers. It is highly important that advocates of Land Reform should clearly understand the farmer's situation, since to the plea for free land to the user as a solution of social and economic problems the invariable rejoinder is: "Look at our farmers; they have land, yet the great majority of them are poor, deeply in debt, and hardly able to get a bare living" It is needless to say that this is not a refutation of the claim that with free land available to all who wished to work upon it involuntary poverty would disappear, but it does mislead the unthinking into believing that access to land would not effect any improvement in social conditions.

What the real causes of agricultural depression are we have frequently stated; the essential facts being that through our present system of privilege the farmers are robbed of so large a part of the products of their labor that they have been impoverished. How this robbery is affected is well known to all students of the problem, yet the farmers themselves seem to have no inkling of the truth, and expend their energies in vain attempts to secure relief through fantastic schemes for government loans, or Socialistic plans for controlling production and prices of farm crops. What is practically the only channel through which they can be released so as to put before them the plain truths that will free them from their intolerable bondage,—the farm journals of the country, are blind leaders of the blind. Circulating by the millions these farm papers are as a rule, mere advertising sheets, whose policy is controlled by the advertisers. There are not in the United States today, half-a-dozen farm journals that dare to tell the truth, even though they know it. Cowardly ignorant and foolish, they are in reality barriers against knowledge of the only way in which the farmers can become prosperous. The most urgent need of the American farmer is a fearless and intelligent farm press, that will tell its readers that the way to help the farmers is to take the burdens of taxation off their backs, and destroy the system of privilege that is slowly crushing them.

WHILE we prate of the rights of man there are already among us thousands and thousands who find it difficult to assert the first of natural rights—the right to earn an honest living; thousands who from time to time must accept of degrading charity or starve.—HENRY GEORGE.

"'THOU shalt not steal.' It is theft, it is robbery that is producing poverty and disease and vice and crime among us. It is by virtue of laws that we uphold; and he who does not raise his voice against that crime is an accessory."—HENRY GEORGE.

A CITY with vision would start reform by learning and changing conditions that produce criminals. It would study the effects of improper and congested housing on the moral health of the next generation. It would make sure that every child within its boundaries had proper educational advantages.—*N. Y. World*

TO TAX OR NOT TO TAX

To tax or not to tax—that is the question.
 Let every one, therefore, weigh this suggestion—
 And one point let him clearly understand—
 All taxes shift, except the tax on land.
 The products of the factory and the field
 Must bear all charges, yet a profit yield:
 For otherwise production must suspend,
 Until Demand revives, and prices mend.
 The tax on Industry, then, is a fraud
 That robs consumers, and should be outlawed.
 But when you lay your taxes on the land,
 A different situation is at hand.
 For here Supply is fixed; let taxes press
 However hard, Earth's surface is not less.
 And when the taxes pinch, Demand must yield
 And force the speculator from the field.
 Whatever else is false, this Truth must stand,
 Taxes can never stimulate Demand.
 And he shall learn, whose zeal this light bedims,
 That markets govern prices and not whims.
 And thus this Single Tax, though strange to tell,
 Will lower living costs, and land as well;
 Will set Trade free, and Industry arouse,
 Absorb the unemployed, the homeless house.
 But where's the prophet whose prime eloquence
 Shall teach the people this plain common sense?

P. W. SCHWANDER.

BOOK NOTICES

Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* has been abridged to about one third of the original. The title page tells us that it is "authorized" by Anna George de Mille, to whom, aided by Louis Post, Stoughton Cooley, Frederick C. Howe and John Moody we are to credit the abridgement.

Before this work appeared we heard some disquieting rumors. It was openly boasted that the "high brow stuff," whatever that might mean, was to be omitted in the new edition. The gentleman making this statement evidently spoke without authorization. That much at least is demonstrated by the book itself.

For though we have not had the time to compare the abridgement with the original, page by page, such superficial comparison as we have been enabled to make has established the impression that there has been no attempt to minimize the fundamental tenets and that the most radical of Henry George's statements have been retained. Only in the footnotes has there been any attempt to "soften the blow." Read in connection with the words of Henry George himself, who had little stomach for artful verbal compromise, these footnotes will do no harm.

Harcourt, Brace, and Company, New York City, are the publishers, and the price of the work is \$1. —J. D. M.

AT LAST—A BOOK FOR THE FARMERS.

Herbert Quick has added to his great public services as a writer a book entitled "The Real Trouble With the Farmers." The price is \$2. and Bobbs-Merrill Company are the publishers.

We must here express our regret that a book—certainly the best book ever printed in America concerning itself with an analysis of the farmer's ills, his "real trouble" and the remedy, should not be placed on the market at a lower price. We are reassured, however, on this score by intimation from the publishers that a cheaper edition is contemplated. Surely with a book of this kind, destined for a large circulation among the class of the population to whom it is addressed, it is poor business policy not to put the book forth at the lowest possible cost to the purchaser. But Bobbs-Merrill Company know the publishing trade and can be trusted to look after it.

First of all we must commend the admirable English of this book. In short, crisp sentences Mr. Quick tells the story. It is the work of a farmer writing for farmers, by one who knows also how to convey his thoughts, a writer who has learned his great skill in the art of writing by a succession of very notable books, more than one of them arousing if not wholly confirming the anticipation that here at last was the "great American novel."

The opening chapter is entitled "Agriculture in its Agony." Here is a statement of the farmer's actual condition. Our author shows how little has been done to relieve it by farm loans, terminal grain markets, and the empty political victories of the Farm Bloc. He tells us that the farmer is coming to refer to these with contempt and even bitterness. He is passing through a period in which he is being gradually disillusioned. But he is as far as ever from realizing the solution.

It is not easy to quote and at the same time do justice to the work so packed with information as to real conditions. But from the first chapter we extract the following:

"Secretary Wallace is quoted in the *New York Times* as having said of the many farmers in fifteen corn and wheat producing states, on an average of over five per cent. had lost their farms through foreclosure or bankruptcy, while nearly four per cent. had turned their farms over to their creditors without legal process, making a total of about eight and five tenths per cent. *In addition more than fifteen per cent were in fact bankrupt, but were holding on through leniency of their creditors.* This makes a total of over twenty-three per cent. of the farmers in these fifteen of our richest states who are lost to farming except as tenants. In view of the fact that in many of these states it takes from eighteen months to three years for the creditor to get title through foreclosure proceedings, and of the quite natural horror which any good man feels as to including in these figures any which can by the exercise of hopefulness be excluded, it is safe to say that from a quarter to a third of these farmers have been ruined in the last few years."

It is not a pretty picture that our author paints for the discerning reader. Again we permit ourselves to quote:

"We need not think that this is anything new in history. It is as old as ancient Egypt and the Mesopotamian plain. Where the people who dwell on the land are condemned to unrequited toil it is merely a matter of years when the whole state will find its foundations sapped, and will fall in ruin. In a centralized state like ours, this destruction comes from the rushing of the dispossessed and unrequited to the cities. The farmers suffer first, then the small towns go down, then the larger cities decay, and the over-swollen centers of population, deprived of nourishment and with lost markets, fall into the hands of a mobocracy of impoverished and idle people, and the state passes away into something else. What else that will be under such conditions no one can say."

The farmer must remain subject to world competition. He is in competition and must remain so with the farmers in every part of the world. Monopoly is impossible. Hence the folly of all devices of price

raising by tariff or regulation. This is absolutely true of grain and cotton. We cannot combine to restrict competition. And if by combination we could create a condition of world scarcity we would only stimulate foreign production, and our last state would be worse than our first. Tariffs for the benefit of the farmers Mr. Quick calls "abysmal bunk." Mr. Quick devotes a chapter to "diversification" and shows this is not a panacea. Diversification while desirable cannot of itself make farming profitable. Another chapter is devoted to the Esch Cummins Act and its horizontal freight rates.

Under the title of Chapter XV., *The Vampire of the Farmer*, Mr. Quick advances the theory that through "the artificial control of prices by the trusts, monopolies and combinations the rent of town and city property gets into the cost of living." He thinks this proposition will be disputed by the economists in that it seems to question Ricardo's law of rent. This Mr. Quick denies. But he will not qualify. He says plainly: "When we come to land values—which is another term for what the economists call rent—we come to the vampire which is really the trouble with the farmers." He says this is invariably dodged by those proposing remedies to Congress or State Legislatures. This chapter will well repay reading. The very thing that farmers rejoice over is destroying them—rising land values.

Chapter XVI., *How the Vampire Sucks Blood*, and Chapter XVII., *Make Land Cheap Once More*, contain the gist of the problem that he has started out to solve, the real trouble with the farmers.

We wish this book were in the hands of every farmer in the country. If this could happen the social revolution would be much nearer. He has pushed this inquiry pitilessly to the heart of the problem. The remedy that he offers is the only one that can possibly save the farmers, and by saving the farmers, save the nation.

In the writing of this book the author has done the best bit of work along this line offered in our generation. We can scarcely say too much in gratitude.

And we close with Mr. Quick's closing words:

"If I were you, Mr. Conservative Citizen, I should carefully consider giving them what I believe to be their right to land, through this plan, which is conservative where good is to be conserved, and radical where wrong is to be uprooted, rather than to wait for a possible whirlwind. And the sky is clouding up." —J. D. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

STANDS WHERE LUKE NORTH STOOD.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I am greatly interested in your way of educating the public to see the importance of taking the full rental value of land for public uses in lieu of all taxes. Personally, I am a Socialist, but I stand where Luke North stood and am for the Single Tax.

Arden, Del.

WILLIAM CANBY FERRIS

THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The power of land monopoly consists in what the people do not know about it. The conspiracy of silence is their only hope. Make them fight the light, which will show them up with a weak defense.

We have just had developed a case of a real estate man making \$8,000 margin on land bought and sold within five days to the adjoining Turlock Irrigation District. The Auditor filing the report covering this and other matters was unable to report the profit taken from taxpayers pockets on a lot of other land as the dealer bought it for "ten dollars and other valuable considerations," a system of recording for which there is absolutely no justification.

Modesto, Calif.

GEORGE CARTWRIGHT.

WHY THE SINGLE TAX CANNOT BE PASSED ON

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The Single Tax cannot be passed on because it falls on land values, which takes away the advantage valuable land possesses over land of no value, equalizing the cost of production on all land.

A given amount of labor on valuable land, produces a greater amount of product than on land of no value. As a tax on the value of the land would take away the extra product, only an equal amount of product could be secured on valuable land, for the same labor, as on land of no value.

As an equal amount of product secured on valuable land, could sell for no more than that secured on land of no value, the tax could not be passed on in the price of commodities.

Since it would require the same labor to secure an equal amount of product on valuable land as it would on land of no value, the former would be no more desirable than the latter, and could command no more in rent or price.

Scammon, Kas.

JAS. P. FERN.

A SOUL INSPIRING PLATFORM

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

For the enclosed cheque, please send me for one year your valuable paper *LAND AND FREEDOM* beginning with the January-February number in which I have read and reread the soul-inspiring platform of the *only worth-while party* in this country today—the "Commonwealth Land Party." Since reading that platform I feel for the first time in my life that I belong to a party that stands for something, and I have been voting since 1888. I am proud to tell you that our good friend, Francis I. Mooney of Baltimore first brought to me the Gospel of Henry George, "America's greatest man" as Herbert Quick truly calls him.

Baltimore, Md.

F. J. M. KERNAN.

FROM AN OLD FRIEND

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I am eighty-six this month. I learned that I was born land robber thirty years ago when I read Henry George on the Land Question. I had sold a farm underlaid with coal in Pennsylvania twenty years before. And I have worked to restore land rent to all ever since that time.

We used to sing seventy years ago, "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." He is rich enough now if we restore to all their own. Land rent is the only thing that belongs to all because all else belongs to individual labor.

Fayette City, Pa.

CALVIN B. POWER.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

THE Dearborn Independent (Henry Ford's paper) of March 22 contains a full page article, entitled *Has the Single Tax Theory Made Progress?* by Joseph Dana Miller, and is confined wholly to setting forth legislative steps in our direction here and abroad.

We acknowledge receipt of a small neatly printed pamphlet entitled *Brass Tacks Ballads*, by Edmund Vance Cooke. The opening poem, *Uncivilized*, is almost as well known as Sam Walter Foss's *Primeval Calf*, and is quite as good. All the verses contained in the little pamphlet are devoted to telling our story. Mr. Cooke has a deserved reputation as a poet and his notable lines to Tom L. Johnson's memory are inscribed on the Johnson monument in Cleveland. Mr. Cooke is one of the Ohio electors on the Commonwealth Land Party ticket.

A NEW subscriber to *LAND AND FREEDOM* is Thomas Marsden, of Portland, Maine, who is one of those who attended the Cooper Union Conference in 1890. Mr. Marsden in a recent letter to the editor of this

paper recalled his association with George, Croasdale, Tom L. Johnson, and others, some of whom are still alive and active in the movement, like that sturdy old war horse, William McCabe.

We have received a pamphlet containing an address at the National Tax Conference last September on Real Estate Assessments in Cities, by John A. Zangerle. It is a very careful and thorough description of methods to secure accurate assessments.

W. D. GAITHER, of Memphis, is authority for the statement that efforts will be made to reorganize the Single Tax club of that city.

OUR thanks are due to our South American friends at Buenos Aires for a bound volume of *Revista del Impuesto Unico* (the Single Tax Review). This is the well edited official organ of our comrades who have accomplished so much in the furtherance of the cause in the Argentines, and from which numerous translations have from time to time appeared in LAND AND FREEDOM.

A FULL-PAGE article in the *Pathfinder* of March 8 bears the title No hope for the Single Tax. It is so full of misunderstandings or what appear like deliberate misrepresentations, that it would be a waste of time to attempt a reply. No doubt many of the readers of the *Pathfinder* will be able to clear up the confusion—and worse.

A TESTIMONIAL Dinner will be tendered to the new Postmaster of Brooklyn, Albert B. W. Firmin, at the Hotel Saint George, Brooklyn, on April 29.

IN *Commerce and Finance*, of March 5, Thomas C. McMahon, Chief Assessor of Pittsburgh, has a page article on Ten Years of the Pittsburgh Tax Plan.

WILLIAM BRADFORD DUBOIS, who never wearies in well doing, has a communication in the Bayonne (N. J.) *Times* in which he says: "our present system of taxing or attempting to tax everything in sight, and at the same time permitting millions of building lots and millions of acres of land to be held idle, ties up the source of wealth and curtails the revenue. This process must be reversed before there can be any prosperity worthy of the name."

THE Brotherhood of Commonwealth, the organization founded by Charles Frederic Adams, of revered memory, held a dinner in Brooklyn on March 25. On June 14 the Brooklyn Council of the Brotherhood will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the organization by a meeting and dinner. Those intending to participate will notify the Secretary, John Clason, 491 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. On Friday, April 4th the Brotherhood Council met at the home of Mrs. A. J. Boulton, of Brooklyn, and listened to an address from Hon. Lawson Purdy outlining the aims of the Brotherhood and suggesting measures for advancing the organization. We are glad to note the active interest that is being taken by the members of the Brotherhood.

HON. F. F. INGRAM, of Detroit, writes us under date of March 2: "I noted your review of Dr. Roman's book in Land and Freedom. It is splendid."

In a speech in the Commons, Premier Macdonald defended the proposal for warship building by declaring that thousands of men would be thrown out of employment if this work were abandoned. And this from a Labor Premier!

THE Magniphone Company, advertising their appliance for aid of the deaf in a little circular, gives two pages to a statement of the Single Tax as follows:

"People believe in Private Property; but they no longer believe that men should be Private Property and they are beginning to realize that God made the Air, and Sunshine, the Water and the Land for *all* and that the Earth is the COMMON INHERITANCE; that Ground

Rent belongs to ALL and that the PRIVATE appropriation of GROUND RENT is THE GREAT STEAL which enriches the few and impoverishes the many; and that to REMEDY this, Ground Rent and the UNEARNED increment of Land should be taken by a TAX on Land Values into the Public Treasury.

WE acknowledge receipt of two pamphlets from the Commonwealth League, of London, Eng. One of these is *The Rule of the Land*, being Chapter 17 of John E. Grant's great book, *The Problem of War and its Solution*. The other consisting of 32 pages is a splendid piece of writing from R. L. Outhwaite bearing the title of *Restoration of Hope*.

F. W. MAGUIRE, of Pittsburg, indefatigable worker for the cause, has succeeded in having Progress and Poverty on display in 52 book-stores in that city, and these stores in nine months have sold 432 copies. He has also placed *Land and Freedom* on many news stands.

JOHN Z. WHITE addressed the Kiwanis Club at Elgin, Ill., on March 1st and spoke before the students of the Elgin Academy in the afternoon of the same day. On Feb. 18, Prof. Wallis spoke before the Baptist Men's Club in the same city.

R. J. FAUSETT, of Everett, Wash., will resume his law practice and combine it with lecture work for the Single Tax. He writes, "To my mind the Dartmouth College decision and the present system of taxation are the corner stones on which monopoly rests. Industry must be released from the burdens it is carrying and the land made free for men to use, the same as sunshine and rain."

THE first party victory to be secured for the advocates of land restoration has occurred in the city of Pringles, Argentine, where four Councilmen standing on the Georgist platform have been successful in the municipal elections. Congratulations to our South American friends.

MR. and MRS. HAXO were recent visitors to the home of Antonio Bastida in Taco-Taco, Cuba.

BILLY RADCLIFFE writes, "Delighted with the Single Tax Party platform. It is finely worded." He suggests the substitution of "production" for the "creation" of wealth since, labor does not "create." The Committee has adopted the amendment.

GEO. A. HAUG has been traveling in Virginia.

J. C. LINCOLN, the Commonwealth Land Party's candidate for Vice President, has taken his coat off and will make things hum in Ohio.

It is a pleasure to hear from our old friend Clemens Gerhard, formerly of Fairhope, who is now in Germany.

A. H. JENKINS, of Detroit, has written and published a little pamphlet entitled "A Tale of Two Cities," the cities being Pittsburg and Cleveland. It is an interesting comparison. Mr. Willock, of Pittsburg, has ordered and paid for six thousand copies for distribution. Mr. Jenkins, whose address is 4602 Antoine street, Detroit, Michigan, has two thousand copies left which he will be glad to give to those who can use them to advantage. Mr. Jenkins is a traveling man and knows the art of salesmanship. In this pamphlet he has put his knowledge to effective use, and the result is an admirable and alluring bit of propaganda.

HELEN CARPENTER, a student of the East Cleveland high school has written a rhyme on "Henry George and Single-tax" of over 4,000 words. Many of the senior students are writing on this subject, which has resulted in a cartoon in the Press, January 19, under Vic and Ethel. This is a picture of a flapper reading Henry George.