

Standard Library

OCT 29 1924

September—October, 1924

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

*An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901*

At the Birth of The Single Tax

F. J. Trapp

The Land Question in British Politics

J. W. Graham Peace

Our Case Plainly Stated

W. J. Wallace

Death of William McCabe

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$1.00

SINGLE COPIES 20 CENTS

PUBLISHED AT 150 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK CITY

# LAND AND FREEDOM

An International Bi-Monthly Magazine of Single Tax Progress

Published by

SINGLE TAX PUBLISHING Co., at 150 Nassau Street, New York  
JAMAICA OFFICE, 72 Johnson Avenue, Jamaica, Long Island.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor

WILLIAM J. WALLACE, Pres. 491 Mt. Prospect Ave. Newark, N. J.

OSCAR H. GEIGER, Treas. 150 Nassau St., N. Y. City

GEORGE R. MACEY, Sec. 165 Broadway, N. Y. City

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:—In the United States, Canada and Mexico,  
\$1.00 per year. Payable in advance.

Entered as Second-class Matter Oct. 2, 1913, at the Post Office, New  
York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

## SEPTEMBER — OCTOBER 1924

VOL. XXIV

NO. 5. WHOLE NO. 126

### SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

CANADA: Sydenham Thompson, 195 Hillsdale avenue, Toronto.

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace

GERMANY: Adolph Damaschke, Lessingstrasse II, Berlin.

AUSTRALIA: Percy R. Meggy, Sydney, New South Wales.

NEW ZEALAND: Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Wellington.

ARGENTINE: Dr. Maspero Castro, Buenos Aires.

URUGUAY: Dr. Felix Vitale, Montevideo.

SPAIN: Antonio Albendin, Zamora.

DENMARK: Abel Brink, Copenhagen.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: Prof. Robt. Braun, Budapest.

PORTUGAL: Dr. Herrera y Reissig, Uruguyan Legation, Lisbon.

MEXICO: Prof. R. B. Brinsmade.

### INDEX TO CONTENTS

Current Comment .....	131
Editorials .....	133
At the Birth of the Single Tax .....	<i>F. J. Trapp</i> 136
Our Case Plainly Stated .....	<i>W. J. Wallace</i> 138
The Land Question in British Politics .....	<i>J. W. Graham Peace</i> 140
At the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle .....	<i>E. Wye</i> 143
Laziness, Cowardice or Indifference .....	<i>Whidden Graham</i> 147
News-Domestic .....	149
Pittsburgh's Mayor Favors Land Value Tax .....	151
Deaths of William McCabe and Frank Williams .....	152
Single Tax Alphabet .....	155
Book Notices .....	157
Correspondence .....	158
News Notes and Personals .....	159

## Commonwealth Land Party Notes

DESPITE the show of timidity on the part of some of our Indiana friends the Commonwealth Land Party was the first to get on the ballot in that state, writes National Organizer Robinson.

THE *Evening World* in its issue of August 20 published portraits of eight presidential candidates. Among these was included that of William J. Wallace, nominee of the Commonwealth Land party.

MR. LEBARON GOELLER will lecture during the campaign and will illustrate these lectures with lantern slides.

THE Chicago *Examiner* announces the placing of the Commonwealth Land party ticket on the ballot in Illinois.

THE Executive Committee of the party have a new edition of the Platform. Those desiring these for distribution can obtain them by addressing headquarters, 3 East 14th street, N. Y. City. In writing for copies our friends can help the Committee by enclosing one-half cent each for as many as are wanted.

FILMS of the nomination of Wallace and Lincoln have been shown in a number of theatres in Newark, New York City and elsewhere. For this the party is indebted to Mark M. Dintenfass who took pictures of the event.

THE Commonwealth Club of Cleveland proposes an amendment to the constitution which provides as follows that on and after January 1st, "all land, whether held by individuals, associations, trustees or corporations, shall be assessed annually at its full rental value, independent of improvements thereon, and no other tax whatsoever shall be levied or collected; and that the revenue thus derived shall be used for all public expenses as now. Any surplus to be divided equitably among the citizens of the state."

THE Endicott, N. Y., *Bulletin* gives a column report of the statement with which Le Baron Goeller, of Union, N. Y., accompanies his acceptance of the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor of the State on the ticket of the Commonwealth Land Party.

ORGANIZER ROBINSON, having completed his work of getting on the ballot in various Western states, will now devote himself to such campaigning as is possible between now and election. His work has been well done, and some day the true meed of our indebtedness will be acknowledged.

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXIV

SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1924

No. 5

## Current Comment

TO refrain from voting for what we believe in is a procedure of doubtful wisdom at any time. But deliberately to vote for what we are opposed to is a more amazing thing. We are thinking now of Single Taxers who are supporting La Follette. This is the curious spectacle to which we invite our readers' attention:

1st. Free trade Single Taxers supporting a high protectionist. La Follette has voted for nearly every high tariff measure that has been imposed in the last twenty years. He was a member of the Ways and Means Committee that reported the McKinley Bill and helped to make it a law.

2nd. Single Taxers whose doctrine is that of individualism and the natural law, supporting a socialist. For La Follette, while refusing to call himself a socialist, is a rigid regulationist, and the difference is negligible. Moreover he is leading the socialist party and thus cannot escape the responsibility.

3rd. Single Taxers who hate war, and know the causes from which it springs, and who opposed the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars, supporting a man who has voted for every war save the last one.

4th. Single Taxers who especially hate wars of aggression supporting a man who justified the war with the Filipinos who had loyally assisted us in the war with Spain, and justifying that war on the ground of the rich natural resources of the Philippines and the opportunities for trade that this war for conquest opened to us!

THIS is the extraordinary spectacle that is presented to us. Go back to the records. Hear this smug, and as we believe unscrupulous politician, who now assumes to lead the radical forces of the country. When the debate was raging on the question of what we should do with the islands, listen to this man whom some of our leading Single Taxers think worthy of their support. Contrast his attitude with that of brave Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, always a stalwart party man. "It will not aid the discussion," said La Follette, almost sneeringly, "to indulge in eloquent speech on the priceless heritage of liberty \* \* \* The only question is what shall we do with them" (the islands.) Conquest for profit did not scandalize the Senator; he proceeded to justify subjugation in the very manner of his friend, the Kaiser: "The market which the Philippines will afford the United States,

while amounting to many millions annually, is unimportant in contemplation of the value which will result from the Philippines as a point from which American products can command trade in the orient. From that point of vantage, with our harbors at Honolulu and in the Samoan group, for coaling, watering and repairing, we shall be ready to conquer our rightful share of that great market now opening for the world's commerce." And again: "For whatever ensues, under Republican construction of our plain treaty rights, we can legally and morally reserve unto ourselves perpetual commercial advantages of priceless value to our foreign trade for all time to come." How similar this language to that of every Junker chancellery of Europe.

TRIED by any test this man is unworthy of the support of any Single Taxer. He comes before the voters with no economic principles save those most abhorrent to the believer in the Georgian philosophy. His pet theory is the regulation of the citizen, which makes him, however coyly he may seek to disown it, a fit candidate for the socialist party. His open-mouthed admiration for the German government and the German system was always in evidence. He could hardly find words to express it. He could talk of the dominating powers of autocracy—and this always meant Wilson and his policies—but before the autocracy of the German system he fairly grovelled with phrases of adulation. Speaking of the devotion of the German people and the sacrifices they made to win the war, he cried: "What does it mean? It means, Sir, that they have a government over there that takes care of the German people from birth until they are able to enter the armies of the Kaiser." That is his ideal—a government that "takes care" of its people—by which he means that regulates their affairs, their industries, their going and coming, and in this he is essentially, in the economic theories he holds, a high tariff Socialist, which is everything the Georgian is not. And here we dismiss him, with the reflection that where the Commonwealth Land Party is on the ballot the Single Taxer who votes for La Follette and refuses to vote for William J. Wallace, is doing something worse than throwing away his vote—he is giving aid and comfort to the enemies of real democracy and the Georgian doctrine of economic freedom. He is voting against the principles he believes in and is helping, by just so much as his individual vote counts, to postpone their triumph.

READERS of LAND AND FREEDOM need no introduction to our old friend, John Moody. Mr. Moody is not a member of the Commonwealth Land Party, but he is one of the best informed men on economics and finance in the movement. We commend therefore to the supporters of La Follette his letter to the managers of that gentleman's campaign who solicited a contribution from Mr. Moody under the impression that, in common with a few well known Single Taxers, he would be found supporting his candidacy. We quote from Mr. Moody's letter:

Senator La Follette may be sincere, but if he is it is hard to believe that he is entirely sane. If he proposes to replace modern industrial society as it has been evolving in this country for the last hundred years by something better, he should produce a constructive programme of some kind before he starts the work of destroying what we have. While he is definite enough in his proposals for destruction, he is both vague and childish in his expressed ideas for construction. As a destroyer he goes to fundamentals, but as a builder he does not even scratch the surface. If monopoly in this country is as deep seated as he says, why does he not seek an equally deep-seated remedy instead of merely talking general platitudes about restoring the government to the people?

A LOS ANGELES paper gives an instance of profit from land speculation in the experience of one F. G. Baker. Mr. Baker purchased eleven years ago the southeast corner of Santa Monica and Fairfax Avenue in that city for \$1500. Last month he sold the same corner for \$70,000, making a profit of \$68,500. This is said to be a record price for Los Angeles real estate.

IN the meantime this evidence of "prosperity" is being advertised extensively by the fool newspapers of Los Angeles. The impending crash, of which there are signs all around in unemployment and vacant dwellings, is evidence only to the thoughtful few of the consequences that inevitably follow land booms. The organs of the privileged interests are whistling to keep up their courage. Los Angeles is just now a good city to keep away from. The boom has run its course and the bottom has fallen out. The blight is on.

IN a review of Mr. James Dundas White's "Land Value Policy," published by the United Committee of Great Britain, the *London Economist* says that "the book would have been improved if the author had seen fit to place his theoretical chapters first, explaining the nature of economic rent before proceeding to determine its proper treatment." "As a contribution to his list of "Notable Sayings" to the subject of land and its taxation we would," adds the *Economist*, "submit a remark made by a logically-minded little girl of five years, who in criticism of the suggestion that a certain piece of land belonged to the king,

asserted, with some finality, that this could not be so since His Majesty did not make it. On being reminded that property is sometimes acquired by purchase, she replied, "That's all nonsense. He didn't buy it from God, did he?"—thus pithily summarizing the basis of the land taxer's ethical position, with an exposition of which Mr. White might well have opened his treatise." The *Economist* is a very conservative journal of wide circulation. The age of the child might be a matter for question, but the story is good enough and not entirely unfamiliar. But from such a source, more than welcome!

THE Tax laws of Italy have been thoroughly revised this year. While they seem to be quite as complicated as ours, and also aimed at reaching all sorts of property and business transactions, there are two significant changes.

After January 1st, 1925, farm buildings will be exempt throughout Italy from national and local taxation; it seems that they have been exempt heretofore from local taxation in a number of provinces. And all buildings used as part of industrial plants, will be exempt from the real estate tax, though the income will be included in the total subject to income taxation. This change has been sought by industrial interests and will result in lower taxes.

From the U. S. Trade Information bulletin summarizing these changes, we extract the following:

\* \* \* "The difficulty of estimating the total obligation incurred toward the Italian Government lies more in the application of the law than in the formal wording of the measure under which the tax is collected. A number of American companies have found it difficult to reconcile their own statement of profits with the view of the taxing authorities as to the percentage of profits to be taken as the basis of the collection of the tax." Which shows that Italy has as much trouble trying to "make the income tax work" as has the United States.

We notice also that a little subhead among the income tax "explanations" reads "Tax on Insane." Which isn't so much of a typographical error after all, when one stops to think. What more calculated to produce insanity than the income tax regulations—home or foreign. And maybe the poor compositor went crazy trying to figure it all out!

## John W. Davis

STILL he has something of the eighteenth century about him. He puzzles over liberty as those intellectual aristocrats did. His greatest literary and political inspiration is a chapter of Henry George's on liberty. I dislike the word "gentleman," which sounds a bit snobbish in the very mixed company of modern life. But he is a fine gentleman, talking to fine gentlemen, and he never forgets it.—Washington Correspondent N. Y. *Evening Post*.

## Good Work, Mr. Jorgensen

THE *Bulletin*, organ of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Federal Tax League, of which Emil O. Jorgensen is editor, has done a work of real service in its exposé of Prof. Richard T. Ely. It says:

"Last month, under the caption "Prostituting a Great State University," we published a brief editorial questioning the good faith of the "Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities,"—an organization of professors (and others) located in the University of Wisconsin and the Director of which is Dr. Richard T. Ely of the Department of Economics.

The substance of our editorial was that while this so-called "Institute for Research" has its domicile inside of the University, with a staff made up largely of professors from the University, "it is, from all that we are able to find out, not financed by the University, but is supported entirely by private funds from the outside—funds contributed in the large by certain corporations and economic groups seeking to have privilege and monopoly taxed *less* and industry and consumption taxed *more*." We ended our editorial by urging all business men, farmers and other producers, if they value their liberties, to keep an eye on this "Institute."

The *Bulletin* wants to know where Prof. Ely gets the money for the work of this pretended "institute" which located in the University is being financed with outside contributions. And it charges:

(1) That the Institute is not a bona fide "research" organization as it claims and pretends to be.

(2) That the underlying purpose of the Institute is not the "impartial investigation" of principles and facts that will lead to knowledge, but subtle propaganda *against* certain far-reaching policies and in *behalf* of certain other policies—a purpose that Professor Ely emphatically denies.

The *Bulletin* further says:

"Now, there are many men and women of high and respected authority—and their numbers are steadily increasing, as an examination of the recently published Report of the Manufacturers and Merchants Federal Tax League will show—who hold that the only logical and true solution of both the land and tax problems is to abolish gradually all taxes on human industry and raise the public revenue from land values only. But the first three books published by this "Institute for Research"—three books called "The Outlines of Land Economics" and written by Dr. Ely himself for the guidance of the Institute in its future work—three books upon which the forty-seven or more books still to be issued by the Institute will be based—*these three books are filled from first to last with every conceivable "argument" AGAINST the taxation of land values in any shape, form or manner!*"

Truly this is what the *Bulletin* accurately terms "the prostitution of a great University." It is rumored that Prof. Ely has personally enriched himself by land speculation, and that this is responsible for the modification of the views he once held. It is time that some one made an investigation of Prof. Ely's activities in connection with this so-called "Institute". Cannot the directors of

the University be induced to take this matter up and help remove the stigma which must attach to this great institution of learning of which the people of Wisconsin have had reason to be justly proud?

## Wherein Mr. Post is Mistaken

IN a recent number of *Land and Liberty*, of London, England, Mr. Louis F. Post has a thoughtful letter on the land question in which he points out what he thinks is the different attitude with which the British and American voter regard that question. Mr. Post thinks the land question is closer to the common thought in Great Britain while with us it is too closely identified with other property to be as carefully distinguished. The inference is that in this country we should approach our goal and direct our propaganda to the tax question rather than to the land question. This would be to emasculate the great message of industrial emancipation which Henry George gave to the world, and indeed the insistence laid on this side of our question, to the ignoring of its more important relations, is responsible for the snail-like progress of our movement.

Superficially it may seem that the London worker is better able to gather from the facts of his economic experience a clearer view of the land question than is common with us. This is perhaps true of the rural worker of England. But the complaint is general from the other side of the water that the city worker has no better knowledge of the land question than has the worker in American cities.

Mr. Post says in conclusion:

"Yet the approach may differ with time, place and circumstances. In any time or place or circumstances in which the land question monopolizes public attention, the best practical policy is from landowning principle to taxation method; where and when tax questions monopolize public attention, the best practical policy is from taxation principle to landowning method. George exemplified all this with marked emphasis when he urged us of this country to fall in with the tariff-tax movement of 1888."

Now this contains more than one fallacy. As a guide to political action the injunction which has been too faithfully followed has brought disaster to the movement. We have heard but little save the taxation side of our movement for many years. If we had considered it only as a method of attaining our ends rather than as an end in itself, no harm would have been done. Had we kept in view the securing of equal rights to land through the taking of the economic rent of land much of the misunderstanding which has stood in the way of popular acceptance of our doctrine might have been avoided. The taxing machinery that lies ready made to hand for this purpose is a mere accident. If there were no taxes at all there would still be abundant reasons for taking the economic rent of land. It is not even necessary to get rid of taxes to take this eco-

conomic rent. Because we have called ourselves "Single Taxers" we have split *one* question into a thousand questions, each of which we find it necessary to justify in argument. The assumption that it is necessary to get rid of existing taxes before taking this economic rent—in accordance with our stated programme, "Abolish all taxes save that on land values"—has obscured the more important question that the rent of land belongs to the people and that it is the first duty of government to collect it. Add to this, "in lieu of all taxation," if you like, but be careful to follow the French maxim, "First things first," or, better still, the most important thing first.

Transferred to the political field this teaching which Mr. Post defends by inference, has brought almost catastrophic results. It led Henry George into the mistake of supporting Cleveland in 1888, a mistake that could have been rectified when it was seen that it was a grave error of policy. Animated by that example we drifted into a variety of movements, socialistic, semi-socialistic, progressive, but never representative even by accident of the thing we believed in. There was a bewildering procession of political leaders whom we were urged to "get behind." Always we were to get behind—somebody or something—never in front of anything. Cleveland, Bryan, Hearst and many others, now among the discards. And today, learning nothing, remembering nothing, numbers of Single Taxers are trooping behind La Follette.

Better to stand alone and refuse to vote, better still to register one's convictions in a hopeless contest, going down to defeat if need be to the very end, than to support things we do not want, measures we do not approve, policies we oppose and candidates hopelessly ignorant or covertly hostile to the truths we believe in.

Such has been our leadership! Lacking courage, talking at election time everything but the great truth, voting against the thing we hold as the salvation of mankind, we have been the Hessian soldiery of every political mountebank who has appeared. But we made no bargains. We did not demand that this motley collection of political tatterdemalions give us anything for our support of their ambitions, not even a few crumbs from the banquet board. We had a truth which had it been persistently presented, would have surely found a popular response. But every political pretender knew that we could be depended upon when the time came and the trumpet sounded to sink this truth until the campaign was over. Insistence upon it might prove hurtful to the interests of the leaders, so we were as silent as the grave.

Oh, the insensate futility of it! And some of us are repeating it today. Every vote cast for La Follette is a confirmation and continuance of the policy that has left the movement without leaders that any man respects, while the great truth that means everything for mankind lies a political football, a derided thing, a jest in the mouths of the politicians to whom we have sold ourselves. For

well they know how to estimate the value of a movement whose high professions are voluble nine months in the year, utterly unheard of during the other three, and finally strangled to death on election day!

## The Fairhope Courier on Party Action

**E.** B. GASTON, editor of the *Fairhope Courier*, in a recent issue of that admirable paper, says, replying to Messrs Seibert, of Minnesota, and Vyne, of Arizona, both convinced Single Tax Party men:

"The idea of Single Taxers 'standing up and being counted' for some Single Tax candidate whom everybody knows stands not a ghost of a show of being elected, seems heroic, but when it results simply in emphasizing how few Single Taxers there are; in leaving the reactionaries unopposed to control the dominant parties and in withholding all aid and encouragement from much larger groups than ours, which while they may not all see the full truth as we see it, are honestly concerned with reforms embodying real principles in which we also believe, there is, in our opinion, nothing to be said for it from the standpoint of virtue or practicality.

"Fairhope Single Taxers were zealous enough and heroic enough, if you please, to 'go the limit' of what they knew they could individually accomplish, but they are not strong on withdrawing from contact with their fellow citizens and standing apart in an effort which they know stands no chance of success."

As we understand the arguments of the advocates of party action, they urge voting for what they believe in not because it is "heroic," but because it squares with common sense and common honesty.

Mr. Gaston thinks it unfortunate that Single Taxers who affiliate with the Commonwealth Land Party should thus withdraw from the larger groups "who may not see the truth as we see it but are honestly concerned with reforms embodying real principles."

There are several answers to this. Perhaps it may be instructive to suggest an analogy. When the Fairhoppers heroically withdrew from the "larger groups" and settled on the shores of Mobile Bay to attempt a working demonstration of the Single Tax principle, they did just what Mr. Gaston thinks it unwise for the Single Taxers to do in other fields of activity. In the religious world Christian Scientists, Swedenborgians, and others withdrew from the "larger groups" and in the beginning organized their smaller groups as the best way to advance the cause of Christ. They were not deterred by the thought that they were no longer part of the "larger group."

But there is another and more conclusive answer to Mr. Gaston's argument. Note the words: "Are honestly concerned with reforms embodying real principles." As applied to the La Follette party this is simply not true.

"Honestly concerned" they may be, but we credit too highly Mr. Gaston's intelligence to believe that *he* thinks there is anything fundamental or real about the principles of La Follette and his party. He knows better, and because the light has been given to him he is sinning against that light. Surely, there is a code of conduct in politics as well as in religion; surely there are canons of commonsense which should forbid a man aiding and abetting causes fundamentally at war with the beliefs he holds.

Mr. Gaston has been so brave a protagonist for principle, hazarding his personal fortunes in what twenty years ago was a project wholly in the experimental stage, that his argument as he presents it seems a little curious. There may be arguments against independent party action, as there are surely arguments in its favor, but Mr. Gaston has not indicated any of the former, and as for the latter, time and the early eclipse of the La Follette movement, will tell the story.

One thing more. We do not understand the advocates of party action as expecting success. The Single Tax movement is in the propaganda stage. Party action seems to them the best mode of propaganda. As Mr. Le Barron Goeller, noting the publicity he has gained for the cause since his nomination for Lieutenant governor, exclaims delightedly, "It is great advertising."

## How Would Henry George Vote?

**I**F Henry George were here today, and he is truly present in spirit and in the abiding fruits of his great mind and dauntless courage, how would he vote at the coming Presidential election? No one who knew him can believe for a moment that he would endorse the present incumbent, advanced by accident after a long service as handy man for Senator W. Murray Crane, of Massachusetts, representative of the privileged interests and public service corporations. Nor would he support the counsel of big business and the Standard Oil Co., running on a platform of meaningless generalities and weasel words that mean anything or nothing as you may choose. And most decidedly he would not favor Senator La Follette. Henry George once voted for Grover Cleveland because he mistakenly believed that the assault on the thieving protective tariff would lead to a general attack on all crooked taxation and special privileges. Later he supported W. J. Bryan, believing that that eminent mouther of phrases was in reality a democrat, who would work for the restoration of the rights of which the American people have been robbed by class legislation. His experiences with these false alarms would have convinced him that there is absolutely nothing in the candidates or platforms of the three parties today to merit a vote from anyone who hopes to see established through constitutional methods the reign of industrial peace and social justice.

Coolidge and Davis are not worthy a paragraph. They are both eminently respectable tools of monopoly and privilege, neither of whom will do anything to lighten the burdens of the producers who by the alchemy of unjust laws are robbed of the larger part of the value of their product. Nor is there any real hope from La Follette. Though his record for forty years is open, and free from any proved charge of corruption, he, nevertheless, has not been granted the vision to see the source of all the economic evils that afflict mankind, nor the first great and sufficient remedy for them. Like so many millions of other would-be reformers, he denounces monopoly and privilege, without specifying the greatest monopoly of all, the control of the land on which all mankind must live, and out of which all wealth is produced. It is not enough that he is honest and courageous as his friends contend. More is required of him who would lead this people out of the house of bondage and set them free. He must know the right way out, and there is no evidence that La Follette has caught sight of the great truth that the way out is through the repeal of all class legislation, and the freeing of the land to all who wish to work upon it, by taking for public purposes the full economic rent of all desirable portions of the earth. As John Stuart Mill well said. "When the object is to improve the permanent condition of the people, small means do not merely accomplish small ends, they really accomplish nothing." No real and lasting reform in existing monopoly conditions can be brought about by the forces aligned behind Senator La Follette. A vote for him even as a protest against the two old political parties, is a vote wasted.

## To Men and Women Who Write

**A**NYONE familiar with the books and magazine articles of thirty years ago will remember that a considerable percentage was devoted to the serious discussion of important social and economic problems. Following the publication and widespread circulation of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems" came various other books, such as "Looking Backward," in which an attempt was made to set forth plans for a better-ordered system of society that would abolish the strange inconsistency of vastly increased wealth production being accompanied by persistent poverty. There were magazines, such as *Arena*, devoted to the presentation of the blunders and defects of the existing social order, while other publications were opening their pages to writers who sought to mould public opinion so as to bring about the enactment of state and national legislation that would abolish monopoly and privilege, and establish harmony and justice in the industrial world. It was a period of optimism, when earnest men and women looked forward hopefully to the immediate

abolishment of the social injustice and discord that were everywhere apparent, even in what were regarded as the most highly civilized countries.

Today there is to be found in books or magazines little of this hopeful note. There is some grumbling and complaining, and much fault-finding with governments and institutions, but little or no constructive suggestion. When the editors of the successful magazines are approached with a suggestion of informing their readers as to the real causes of the evils of which the public complains, the stock reply is: "Oh, that's Single Tax. Nobody wants to hear about that now." Eminent publishers decline to consider a Mss. re-stating the fundamental truths of man's relationship to the land, or pointing out the chief reason for remedying industrial evils. The popular fiction of the day is largely devoted to variations upon the theme of sex, or sensational treatment of polite society as it exists among the privileged few. Nowhere is there to be found evidence that the writers have any realization of the great fundamental problems that confront mankind in all regions of the earth.

It may be expecting too much to hope that any considerable number of those whose trade is writing will take the trouble to study the fundamentals of the land question, and arrive at the only sound conclusion possible for a logical thinker. But at least it may be worth suggesting that if any of those who are feebly groping for light on the economic darkness that enshrouds the world will turn their attention to the writings of Henry George, they will find in them the key that unlocks the door to knowledge of the only way out of the morass of ignorance, poverty and social degradation. Here is the truth, and the way of enlightenment. The whole world groans and travails in helpless misery because of the basic violation of the natural law that man must have access to land, or he is not free. Here is a subject worthy of study, thought and serious application. Why do not those writers who want something important to write about take up the urgent issue of establishing a just system of land holding, that will free production, and insure an equitable distribution of wealth that will permanently abolish involuntary poverty and all the evils that flow from it?

**I**T is commonly supposed that land belongs to its owner in the same sense as money or a watch; this is not the theory of English law since Norman Conquest, nor has it been so in its full significance at any time. No absolute ownership of land is recognized by our law books, except in the Crown. All lands are supposed to be held immediately or mediately of the Crown, though no rent or services may be payable and no grant from the Crown on record.

—SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, "ENGLISH LAND LAWS."

THOSE who are the loudest in denouncing "high taxes," are the leading advocates of numerous taxes.

## At The Birth of The Single Tax

[This article, written especially for LAND AND FREEDOM, is from the pen of the oldest Single Taxer now living, both in point of age and connection with the movement. His acquaintance with Henry George began in 1859. Young George was at this time connected with a San Francisco daily. Mr. Trapp relates that he was with Henry George when the first locomotive was landed on the Pacific coast. While the multitudes greeted the event with shouts of welcome, young George remarked, "This is the beginning of the poor man's troubles." "No wonder," remarks Mr. Trapp, "that they called him the prophet of San Francisco." His mind's eye saw ahead to the time when the railroads would bring to this empire of what was then low priced land the teeming populations of the East with resultant land speculation and intensification of the struggle for employment. He probably did not see it all at this time, but the light was coming to him, and already he had more than glimmerings of the great social problem which it was his destiny to solve.—EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM.]

**D**URING the Civil War the government of the United States felt the need of rapid transportation from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. Owing to the vast unoccupied territory between the centers of our civilization and the Pacific, and the two mountain ranges that must be crossed, the construction of a transcontinental railroad was looked upon as a hazardous undertaking. Many engineers regarded it as impracticable and many of our financiers eyed it askance.

But the government feeling the accomplishment of the road a necessity, offered a bonus of each alternate section of land embracing an area of ten miles on each side of the road. This generous offer induced two groups of capitalists to organize. They established two companies, one to undertake the task of a road to start west from Omaha, the other for a road working east from Sacramento, California. It is with the latter company that this article will chiefly concern itself.

Both companies worked with all possible dispatch. They met in Utah near the great Salt Lake and named the place Ogden. The Western group was headed by Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, Judge Crocker, Charles Crocker, Jr., and C. C. Colton.

When the road was finally completed the organization soon incurred the displeasure of the people of the Pacific coast because of high charges for both freight and passenger traffic, the inconveniences borne by the public, and the arrogance of the railroad officials.

But the climax came when they engineered through Congress the Low Land Bill. The injustice of this measure can only be understood when it is known that this company calling itself the Central Pacific Railroad Company caused a multitude of claims to be entered along the Right of Way,



such as Town Sites, Mill Sites, Dam Sites, Mining claims, and Mineral rights of various kinds until they had a sufficient amount of such claims to cover the greater part of the valuable lands of California.

There were at this time a number of fairly prosperous farmers who had "squatted" upon the land with the tacit understanding that when the land came into the market they should have prior right to acquire title to it. The Railroad interests having little respect for law or person immediately began the eviction of these industrious, well meaning people who had settled upon these lands with the purpose of making a living and building homes.

One of the outstanding incidents of the avarice and greed of the corporation which was fastening its clutch upon the State, was what is known as the Mussel Slough War. At this point a number of farmers had settled and made many improvements, building, fencing, clearing and irrigating the low land from a mountain stream. This community had become very prosperous and its land and other possessions valuable.

Not being satisfied with acquiring about one half of all the best lands in California, this ruthless corporation gathered a band of gunmen and took them to the ground and proceeded almost without notice to drive these farmers off their land at the muzzles of the guns. The settlers having legal possession according to government rulings in such cases naturally resisted. I do not remember which side fired the first shot, but a number of shots were exchanged. My recollection of the event is that one of the settlers was killed and several wounded, the gunmen escaping unhurt. While the case at Mussel Slough was atrocious and aroused much indignation, many evictions of a similar nature were occurring throughout the State.

At this time the population of the Pacific coast was composed of young men from the Western states who believed in the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privilege to none, and who lived by the axiom to do unto others as they would be done by. They were accustomed to sharing fifty-fifty with a friend or stranger. It was natural that men who had worked together with such ideals since the days of '49 should be outraged by so gross a violation of the laws of equal justice. The revolt against these conditions gathering force as time went on resulted in the organization of an Anti Railroad party which in 1873 swept the entire state, electing its entire list of nominees from constable to governor.

In this campaign Henry George was the leading spirit. The press of the entire coast was heart and soul with the new movement, which gave him a large and hospitable field for his writings which were vigorous but never coarse or abusive. He was just as effective upon the stump. He was even at this early age a master in debate, a worthy leader in a worthy cause. George was not a member of the legislature, though he could have been elected at any

time to almost any official position. But though always present with his counsel and advice, he declined all political preferment.

The legislature enacted some very just and beneficial laws, among them being the Australian ballot. If I am not mistaken it created the first railroad commission. Many legislative acts of minor importance are to be credited to this period.

This population of honest and hardy pioneers had some very able leaders. The names have escaped me after all these years. One stands out in memory as a sturdy champion of the people's rights, Newton Booth, who was elected governor, and later United States Senator. I believe he was the only real progressive ever elected to that body. With the advent of the new party peace and harmony settled upon the state. But this condition was of short duration.

How it was changed an incident that came under my own personal observation will disclose. I happened in the Palace Hotel in San Francisco and noted a group of gentlemen in animated conversation. I edged toward the group and overheard the following: "Well, you have got the best of us this time, but we have learned something."

"Well, what have you learned, Charlie?"

"We have learned that it is cheaper to buy legislators than to elect them. We will show you that we will have more privileges and less restrictions than in the past."

The speaker was Charles Crocker, Jr., who afterwards became President of the Southern Pacific Railroad, which was built with money obtained from the sale of the Low Lands obtained in exchange for worthless mountain land.

Forgetting that vigilance is the price of liberty, the people, content with the victory obtained by almost unanimous vote, went about their usual occupations. It is true that the elections of 1874 resulted in a victory for the anti Railroad ticket over the Republicans, the Democrats having no ticket in the field, they being at this time in a small minority on the coast. The railroad people affected no interest in the outcome.

When the Legislature convened it was soon discovered that the people had been betrayed. Before that body adjourned all the anti Railroad legislation of the former assembly had been repealed, or amended so as to render it impotent. Only the Australian ballot remained.

The shock was so overwhelming that the people seemed stunned. It is no exaggeration to say that from that day to this they have never again made a united effort to free themselves from the yoke of the master. The blow was so paralyzing that it seemed to rob the people of all initiative, and they lapsed into a condition of hopeless apathy which they have been unable to shake off to this day.

There remained a few courageous souls who refused to bend the knee to the power of the interests. Among them was the one destined to be known in future years

as the Prophet of San Francisco. Wherever the few were gathered who refused to bend the knee to the modern Baal, he was ever present with his inspiring presence, quiet, dignified, and with that gentle smile and searching eye that distinguished Henry George.

At this time the good old custom prevailed of family gatherings in the evenings, at which social and economic problems were discussed. Henry George was often present at these gatherings and always welcome. The land question was the chief topic of consideration. At these meetings they got no further than limited land ownership, upon which no two could agree owing to the different purposes to which the land must be put, and differences in the capacity of the owner, etc. At this time Henry George wrote his first book on the Land Question, and it was at one of these gatherings at which I was present that Henry George expounded his solution of the question, in his quiet and unassuming manner. It was here I was converted by his short and lucid talk to what is known as the Single Tax, which was received by the company with a hearty and unanimous approval. Soon after this Henry George went to New York and published his great work, "Progress and Poverty."

I see in the not distant future a monument wrought in enduring bronze to this young man whom it was my privilege to know in these early years. It will stand as a reproach to those who rejected the message for the inauguration of a better, sweeter, purer civilization that he preached to the world in his immortal work, "Progress and Poverty."

F. J. TRAPP.

## Not Through The Pressure Of Population

**T**HE principal justification for concern about the growth of tenant farming lies in the change in the underlying economic conditions of the country. Till recently, there has been a relationship between tenant farming and the opening up of new lands. But the last of the good farm lands have now been taken up. No longer is the wastefulness which characterized the growth of American agriculture economically profitable. No longer are tenant farmers transient pioneers. As the urban communities develop, the demand for fixed agricultural settlements increases. Gradually the country is being driven toward conditions of production similar to those brought about in Europe through the pressure of population. The great danger is that at the same time the European tenancy system may be adopted. This, unlike our own, is dependent upon permanent rather than on changing conditions inherent in the growth of a pioneer nation.

*N. Y. Times.*

## Our Case Plainly Stated

(Address Delivered Sept. 11, 1924, by William J. Wallace, Candidate for President Commonwealth Land Party.)

**W**HEN the question of taxation is settled justly the world will enter into a period of happiness and comfort far beyond any experience of the past. The universal dissatisfaction with methods of taxation is convincing proof that unjust methods are still employed. Any light on this dark subject should be welcomed by all.

The Commonwealth Land Party considers it to be the most important question of the time and as they know the correct answer, they have adopted a platform and have nominated Presidential Candidates.

We call attention to these indisputable facts.

The people of every community create land values by living in the community and by trading, manufacturing, keeping store, practicing law or medicine, teaching or doing any work or rendering any service that is or may be an assistance to others.

No one in that community can tell how much of the total land value was made by him. It is not an individual product. It is not consciously produced. It arises as the unconscious product of general activities carried on with other purposes in view. As an individual no man has earned it. It is a public product, created by all, and can be justly used for no other purpose than the general welfare.

It is the ideal source from which the government of the community should obtain the revenue needed for its support.

The rent of the land belongs to the people and the first duty of the government is to collect it.

This simple truth, that a child can understand, solves the question of taxation.

All natural resources, bestowed upon humanity by a beneficent Creator, should be the property of the people.

Royalties and rents of natural resources and city and town lots would amply support all governmental activities, without intruding on the rights of any individual to have and to hold what he has individually produced, or the values which, under free competitive conditions, he has justly obtained.

Security of tenure would come by paying the annual rent instead of the annual taxes.

This is true socialism, the recognition of the cooperative production of land values, which places the revenues of the state on a just basis, and makes the state the protector of the individual in his individual rights instead of extorting from him unjustly values which do not belong to it, through the income tax and other methods of public plunder which oppress and dishearten effort in every useful industry that benefits mankind.

The product of the individual for the support of the individual.

The product of the community for the support of the state.

Like all moral truths this requires a conscience rather than any unusual intelligence to understand it.

With this great issue, that solves the subject of taxation and also solves the rights of all men in their relation to the world in which they live, on which the great parties and the Progressive Party are hopelessly uncertain and bewildered, we would be false to our belief and recreant to our duty if we did not, to the best of our ability, endeavor to keep before the American people the belief that justice between men is not an empty dream but a practical possibility as soon as the conscience of mankind asserts itself above the selfish interests which now revel in the enjoyment of the public wealth.

We make our demands, even if for the present they are to remain unanswered.

The public wealth is a public trust, and the Commonwealth Land Party will not be recreant to that trust if in the course of future events it should be called to power.

The Commonwealth Land Party is the only party that recognizes the truth that there is public wealth from which the government can derive a revenue to defray its expenses.

In the platforms of other parties guarded references are made to natural resources as follows:

Republican Platform. "The natural resources of the country belong to all the people and are a part of an estate belonging to generations yet unborn."

This is interesting and it invites questions as to its scope and purpose.

Does the term "natural resources" include only those which have not yet been given away in the wild prodigality that marked the distribution of the public domain; or does it, as it should, include all the natural resources of the country, its mines, water power, timber, oil and farm lands?

If the natural resources are part of an estate belonging to all the people, what is the other part of the estate? Does it include the values of city, town and suburban lots, water fronts and the terminal sites and rights of way of our railroads?

If these resources belong to generations yet unborn it would appear to be the purpose of the Republican Party to retain them as public property. Is it the purpose of the party to lease them at their full annual rent so that the government will derive a revenue from this source?

We ask that an authoritative statement be made in answer to these questions so that the ambiguity of the platform may be corrected.

Democratic Platform. "We pledge recovery of the Navy's oil reserves and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased, or otherwise wrongfully transferred to the control of private interests. We believe that the nation should retain title to

its water power and we favor the expeditious creation and development of our water power. We favor strict public control and conservation of all the nation's natural resources, such as coal, iron, oil and timber, and their use in such manner as may be to the best interest of our citizens."

To clarify the vagueness of this programme we ask; when "all other parts of the public domain, which have been fraudulently or illegally leased, etc." have been recovered under the administration of the Democratic Party, what will they do with them? Are they to remain idle, or to be sold outright, or how will they be administered so that the right of the people will be preserved?

If the government retains title to the water power will it also retain the rent which may be collected from this source? Or is it the purpose of the Democratic Party to permit the use of waterpower at such nominal rents that the title remaining in the hands of the government will be an asset of little or no value?

"Strict public control and conservation" are terms of most indefinite meaning. We believe it to mean regulation, a mere continuation of the policy now in force, as, if a change was intended, it would be more clearly expressed.

In view of the vagueness of this programme what evidence is there that the public wealth in the natural resources of the country will be protected by the Democratic Party? What evidence is there that it is the purpose of the party to collect, from the permission to use these resources, the rent which would be a just governmental revenue?

Progressive Party. Apparently in order that there might be no ground for criticism from the Democratic Party, the Progressive Party has adopted the plank of the Democratic Party almost verbatim, the small changes making no change in the meaning with but one essential difference as follows: "We favor public ownership of the nation's water power and the creation and development of a national super-water power system, etc."

This evidently means that the system will be owned and operated by the National government.

All of the questions asked to ascertain the meaning of the Democratic Platform are equally necessary here. The one clear statement is in the Socialist plank, which in regard to water power provides for public ownership and operation.

The framers of the Constitution of the United States were statesmen. They instituted a government in which the rights of the individual were protected, and they gave us civil and religious liberty. They placed in the constitutional law principles of right and justice and provided a Supreme Court whose manifest duty it was to determine whether the laws passed by Congress and approved by the President infringed the principles of justice which the country had accepted as its guide.

At the time the Constitution was adopted the means by which economic liberty could be secured were still unknown. The Constitution provided what appeared to

be a fair field and no favor. The influence of land ownership over the lives of the people was little understood and no way was known to correct its evils. The answer came within the memory of men of this generation and it is not surprising that the hoary headed iniquity of all the ages has not yet been overthrown.

With this clear answer, easily understood by all, why rush to socialism to escape the evils of land monopoly? Why rely on trade unionism with its arbitrary methods and selfish purposes when the right way of securing economic justice to all, even those that it appears to injure, is plainly in view?

Why in the interest of socialism destroy the safeguard which gives the Supreme Court the duty of deciding whether laws conform to the principles of the Constitution?

The government should be the protector of the rights of all. Members of Congress should not be subservient to pressure from those who seek special privileges and who would destroy freedom and equality.

We are most fortunate in having a court that will restrain our misrepresentatives from scrapping the Constitution.

We are most fortunate in knowing how social justice can be secured so that we are not tempted to throw away the civilization that has grown up by centuries of effort and reduce men to the senseless slaves of autocracy and despotism under the pretense of giving them economic freedom.

And we are most fortunate in having a programme of social reform which is easy of accomplishment, and which without any violent shock to existing institutions will secure to every citizen the economic freedom under which the progress of civilization to higher and higher achievement is assured.

## Who Owns The Land Owns The Wind

YES, wind power may be had almost everywhere, but by landowners only. The wind-mill must be fixed in land as a base. The landless would be as completely disinherited if every want of man could be realized completely by forces generated by wind as they are now. Man is a land animal. Even his activities on the seas are initiated from the shore and if other men own the shore, he is in the power of those other men. If every form of slavery were abolished, the ownership of land with no exercise of the power of the community over it would still make the struggle for liberty the struggle for life. The men who own the earth are able to sell the wind, the light of the sun, the progress of science, and even the right to labor, to those who are disinherited of their right to the earth, and sell it at their own price.

HERBERT QUICK (*Syndicated*)

## The Land Question In British Politics

WORK OF THE COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE  
SINCE THE ARMISTICE

THE signing of the Armistice on November 11th, 1918, marked the close of one phase of the Great War, and that by no means the most difficult, as subsequent events have shown. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, a Liberal Government was in power in Great Britain, with Mr. Asquith at its head. Though elected as a Free Trade Government, it had shed its principles in this regard ere it gave place in December 1916 to the first of the two Coalition Governments which succeeded it. This is not the place to relate the story of the back-stairs intrigue which resulted in Lloyd George displacing his chief and succeeding to his position as head of the Government. Suffice it for our purpose to say that before this happened, the Asquith Cabinet, of which Lloyd George was an influential member, had outraged every principle of Liberalism. To it we owe the Paris resolutions and the McKenna duties (so named after Reginald McKenna, the Free Trade Chancellor of the Exchequer, in whose budget they were first imposed,) two admittedly protective measures. The former was to become operative only in certain events, but the latter forthwith. These import duties of 33-1-3rd per cent. have just been removed by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Snowden. The Paris resolutions, as it happened, never became operative. This first breach in the walls of the Free Trade citadel was made, not by Protectionists, but by professed Free Traders!

Mr. Lloyd George was in the saddle until December 1918, when, after passing an Act enfranchising at the age of 18 instead of 21, soldiers and others on service with the Forces, he went to the country under circumstances which rendered it quite impossible for more than 25% of the new electors to record their votes, and sought a fresh lease of power on the fraudulent cries of "Hang the Kaiser" and "Make Germany Pay." It has to be recorded with regret that he found a sufficient number of the electorate so deluded as to give him a majority. These have since paid dearly for their folly, but it is doubtful if they quite realize this yet.

A striking feature of the period 1914-22 was the gyrations of politicians of all parties. No rudderless ship drifting helplessly at the mercy of wind and waves ever shifted her course so frequently, so completely, or with such expedition as these manifested in boxing the political compass. Such principles as the average politician had on board (usually a very light load) were speedily jettisoned to the cry "The War has changed everything." Of course, the War could *not* affect fundamental principles,

but it was the acid test which only those passed whose political faith was surely founded upon these.

In the midst of all this confusion the Commonwealth League (now the Commonwealth Land Party) was founded at London in March, 1919. This was not the outcome of a sudden impulse, but the result of many consultations extending over more than two years. The War had caused a revolution in thought and outlook among the people, and a group of Radicals, followers of Henry George, with whom the present writer was privileged to be associated, formed the opinion that the time had come to cease begging for a "Small tax on land values" and to demand the immediate application in full of the principle for which George lived and died. It was hoped that our then colleagues of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values would see this too. Six of our group were members of its Executive, and these repeatedly urged that body to undertake a campaign for a new presentation of the case, but without success. Lest finance should prove an obstacle, a substantial guarantee of fresh income for at least two years was offered, but it became clear that nothing would move the Executive. It was then decided to essay the task apart from existing Leagues, and so the Commonwealth League was founded, not in any spirit of antagonism to older Leagues, but to undertake the work these did not see their way to take in hand. This is the answer to those who talk about "splitting the movement."

Should the C. L. go into the political field as a new Party, or throw its lot with Labor? The Tories were easily ruled out. Both Liberals and Labor were without a Land Policy. The Liberals, however, were discredited on account of their handling of the question before the War. Labor had no "past." Some members of the C. L. had joined the Labor Party, others, with the present writer, chose to remain unattached. It was decided to work with Labor. This of course, while in no way limiting the freedom of the C. L., threw open to our speakers the whole of the Labor platforms. The demand for their services soon taxed the League's resources to the full. On every hand we met the readiest co-operation from the rank and file workers in the Party. A list of Labor speakers was compiled, and over 3,000 free copies of the *Commonweal* were mailed weekly to these for use in their speeches. Shoals of letters came to hand testifying to the value of the paper as a speaker's handbook on land. By making use of the Labor organization we were able to cover the whole country, and to enlist the services of hundreds of active Labor men and women, sowing seed that is now fast ripening unto harvest—a harvest that will be garnered only when the C. L. P. puts up its own candidates. In the five and a half years since the C. L. commenced its work, over 4,700 meetings have been addressed, and 750,000 copies of C. L. publications circulated. The C. L. has raised and spent upon propaganda in the same period £7,200. The meetings cover England, Scotland

and Wales, and more than two million people have heard with approval the spoken word. These particulars relate only to those meetings of which we have personal knowledge. Many others have been, and are still being held, of which we receive no official advice. At none of these meetings was our demand opposed. The foregoing relates to the direct appeal to the general public.

By way of special conferences the C. L. reached a different class of audience, the active men and women who supply the driving force to the Labor Party. At the Annual Conference of the National Labor Party, held at Scarborough, June, 1920, when over 1,100 delegates were in attendance, this being the largest gathering yet held, a resolution embodying the full C. L. demand was unanimously adopted. This was excellent propaganda, but as Conferences have a way of passing resolutions—and then forgetting all about them—steps were promptly taken by the C. L. to see that this did not happen in this case. A number of District Conferences were called for the purpose of explaining the exact nature of the demand that the delegates to the Annual Conference had endorsed. Invitations were sent to 2,700 Labor organizations, with the request that they should appoint their delegates to attend, and vote upon the following resolutions:

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

This Conference declares that the land belongs by equal and inalienable right to all, and that its private usurpation is an infringement of common right that can no longer be tolerated.

In view of the fact that millions are destined to misery unless the economic system based on land monopoly be transformed, this Conference demands that the common right shall be forthwith asserted and that as from an Appointed Day the Land, with all the natural resources pertaining thereto, shall be deemed to have been restored to the people and that its economic rent shall be collected by and for the people.

#### MUNICIPAL FINANCE

That this Conference calls upon the Executive of the Labor Party to bring to the forefront of Labor policy the following resolution which was unanimously adopted at the Annual Conference of the Party held at Scarborough, June, 1920:—

"This Conference is of opinion that the present system of placing on the localities a large proportion of the cost of meeting our national responsibilities in the matter of education, maintenance of the poor, aged, and infirm, unemployed relief, asylums, infectious hospitals, etc.; and the many optional powers given to Local Authorities, is unjust and oppressive, and further results in many of these urgent obligations being inadequately met, or altogether evaded, to the great detriment of the community. This Conference, therefore, demands that these charges shall be placed on a national fund raised by calling upon all holders of the national property, the land, and the resources of nature resident therein, to pay the economic rent thereof to a common fund through the National Exchequer, and that for administrative purposes the money so raised should be allocated to the Local Authorities in proportion

to the requirements of their districts as determined by population and other essential factors."

As the resolutions were printed upon the invitation, a discussion took place upon them in each of the organizations before the delegate was chosen. In most cases the invitation was accepted, but where by reason of distance or other difficulty no delegate was elected, the organization mostly passed the resolutions and forwarded same to National Headquarters. Many letters approving were received at the offices of the C. L., but not a single one against. Seven of these district conferences were held. Both resolutions were adopted unanimously in the case of six, while at the Norwich Conference a Land Purchase motion moved by the local Labor M. P. could only command five votes, all from the branch that had submitted the motion. This is the one solitary instance of opposition throughout the whole of our campaign. At every meeting the fullest opportunity is always given for questions and discussion. The educational value of such work is beyond computation.

By this time the officials at Labor headquarters were awakening to the C. L. activities. Resolutions were pouring in on them, and they resented being told what they should do. They were quick to see that if they were to retain their hold of the Party machine they must sidetrack the C. L. In this they found ready help from the step-by-steppers of the United Committee. These got busy at headquarters and were instrumental in substituting taxation of land values, thus providing the reactionaries with a defeatist programme. At the Independent Labor Party Annual Conference, April 1923, the C. L. demand was submitted by Bradford, Hanley, Ipswich, Norwich, Cardiff, Chopwell and Swindon branches, after endorsement by seven of the nine Divisional Conferences which cover Great Britain. The resolution was opposed by a step-by-stepper from the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, assisted by an estate agent from Manchester. The motion for rejection was heavily defeated, and the resolution was referred to the Executive on the plea of want of time for adequate discussion. As a result, the Executive has now formulated its Land Policy. "*Taxation of Land Values to provide a fund with which to buy the land.*" We do not know if that step-by-stepper is satisfied with this result, but it is certain that the Land Lords are.

In June 1923, the full demand of the C. L. was submitted to the Annual Conference of the National Labor Party by Gloucester, Hampstead, Birmingham, Wandsworth, Northampton, and North St. Pancras Branches, and by the Electrical Trades Union. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, then Leader of the Opposition, was sent for to plead with the Conference not to vote upon so grave a matter, but to refer it to the Executive. This was done. Result—Labor now has a Land Policy. It is the same as that of the I. L. P. With the adoption of this Policy the association of the C. L. with the Labor Party came to an end.

Our speakers were constantly being asked what they would advise their hearers to do to get the demand put through. The reply was: If already a member of the Labor Party, agitate inside; if not, but prepared to join, then do so with the fixed determination to get the C. L. demand adopted by the Party. In view of the vicious "tax and buy" policy foisted upon the Party by its controllers, we can no longer tender such advice. Our work in that connection is done. But the end is not yet. Whereas in 1919 neither of the Parties had a Land Policy, today all three have one. Few political meetings now take place at which there is not some mention of land. Liberals and Laborites vie with each other in offering taxation of land values. We have heard them quarrelling as to which Party promised this first. Even Tory speakers declare that they are not prepared to defend the present land system. Much nonsense is, of course, being talked, but even that is better than the conspiracy of silence that has obtained for so long. Out of this discussion is coming a wider understanding, and new adherents to our cause are daily being won. Were the Commonwealth League to close down now it would have more than justified its existence in the accomplishment of the work but briefly recorded above.

But there will be no closing down. A fresh chapter opened with the gathering in London on August 28th, 1923, at which the decision was taken to enter the political field as a separate and distinct Party.

As to the Commonwealth Land Party, plans for action have been made, and these will be put into effect in due course. The *Commonweal* is steadily gaining ground, and finds many readers behind doors now closed to our speakers in consequence of the change. In spite of the falling off in the demand from Labor organizations for C. L. P. speakers, we have to record 174 meetings during the last twelve months.

J. W. GRAHAM PEACE.

## Joseph Pulitzer Was Right

MR. ARTHUR BRISBANE, dispenser of canned commonplaces for the moron readers of the *New York Evening Journal*, quotes Joseph Pulitzer as saying to him: "If you ever get any money you will find that your opinions will change." Quite true. Mr. Brisbane has money, and his once radical views have been modified to suit that owner of many millions, William Randolph Hearst. This is the same Mr. Brisbane who once expressed the wish "that God so deal with me if I ever forsake the cause of the poor and oppressed." However, he is consistent. His God is money, and he is getting it in large chunks. That is why his opinions have changed.

WE do not object when clergymen urge Love as a solution of the Labor problem, but wish they would just mention Thinking and Courage to Act.

# At the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle

CONDUCTED BY E. WYE

## THE WRATH OF LATONA

LAND PLAY IN TWO ACTS, A PRELUDE AND AN EPILOGUE

### ACT II

SCENE: Same as Act I. Two hours later.

GLAUCUS. Well, what do you say?

SLAVE. I am tired. *You* know how to make one work.

GLAUCUS. Fail not to remember, base slave, the august master's commands. He told you to meet him. What, you linger here in this desirable spot when you should be sweating on the road? Get out! Yet stay—I've a question to propound. Do you think these surroundings become me?

SLAVE. I know little of that.

GLAUCUS. You blackguard, do you dispute with me—with me? Listen. I have seen the future in a vision, in a dream. Through the power of this gold (he looks at gold piece) mine will be a wonderful future.

SLAVE. Yes, your honor.

GLAUCUS. This piece of gold has within it the magic power of development and expansion—from it may come much from little. That is why I treasure it. Do you follow me?

SLAVE. I do your honor.

GLAUCUS. But wait, you have not heard half. Personality, individual initiative, native genius, character—these alone count. If, for example, you had two drachmas, could you make them grow to two hundred? Tell me that!

SLAVE. I never had more than two obols.

GLAUCUS. Exactly—nor ever will. The soul of man must rise before he can achieve success. Vision! that is the word. Now look at me!

SLAVE. I see you.

GLAUCUS. Look at my feet.

SLAVE. They are ample.

GLAUCUS. Look at my head.

SLAVE. It also seems to be large.

GLAUCUS. My feet are the feet of a commoner. My head is the head of a great man. Do you follow me, slave?

SLAVE. Had I not better go to find my master? He waits.

GLAUCUS. One moment. The power of initiative, as I said, is great. It leads to efficiency. Efficiency, that is the thing. Am I efficient or am I not? Tell me that, you son of a cook!

SLAVE. I cannot say.

GLAUCUS. This child knows more than you. (A child has passed over to the water from the wood and is eating some fruit. Glaucus stops her.) Child, do you know what efficiency is? But never mind—Let me see that

beautiful pomegranate—(He takes the fruit from the child and begins eating it. The child is displeased and returns to her companions.)

SLAVE. But my master is waiting for me.

GLAUCUS. One moment. As I said before, I have had a vision, a dream. Hear me. I see, as in a dream, myself as manager of an inn, a hostelry. The property may be the property of Neocles, but I am the innkeeper. Hospitality, thou mayest be a good thing, a religious thing, but to my mind thou must be paid for. My inn is located here where the two roads meet, both leading from the coast to the city. Excellent. Why excellent? Because travelers and traders and merchants and sea-captains must pass this way if they would reach the city. In my vision, there is no more taking the lower road, as at present. According to my dream I intercept these travellers, as it were. I net them, so to speak. And having them in my toils I enrich myself at their expense—all in a perfectly legitimate, gentlemanly manner. Thus, I do not deal in fiery liquors. I am a wholesale and retail victualler in, what do you suppose? In water. My license is for water only. I advertise water. I stimulate the consumption of water. I sell bloaters to make my customers drink water. I exploit external as well as internal applications of water. I maintain baths, hot and cold, a hydropathic establishment, a water cure. My plant is complete in every detail. I have thought it out carefully. I have a schedule of prices—single entrance, season tickets, commutation. (Intimately to slave.) I ask you to imagine the following. Are you hungry? I mean, are you thirsty?

SLAVE. Yes, I am.

GLAUCUS. Two obols, please.

SLAVE. (Not understanding) I haven't got them.

GLAUCUS. *Imagine* you had them. Two obols, I say.

SLAVE. Well?

GLAUCUS. You stupid blockhead, give me the obols.

SLAVE. (Searching his pocket.) I've lost them.

GLAUCUS. Then get out. You can't have any water.

SLAVE. No water?

GLAUCUS. That's what I said.

SLAVE. Then I'm going down to master.

GLAUCUS. One moment. I repeat. It is the greatest plan ever thought of. I did not tell all this to Neocles. He hasn't brains enough to appreciate it. He has no imagination. It is a gold mine. It is a mint. I shall charge all the traffic will bear. Soon I shall be rich. My position in the world will be changed. As I pass through the market-place the stall-keepers will bow obsequiously. (He imitates them.) When I enter the theatre there will be a buzz. At the games I shall have a front seat. My largess will be expected and looked for. I shall smile on

the spectators as I draw the gold pieces, thus, from my pouch. Waving my arm majestically I will toss the coins to the rabble. "O Lycians, take of these drachmas—" (With enthusiasm and grandiloquence Glaucus makes a sweeping gesture and the gold-piece flies off at a tangent and hits the water several feet from the bank. A sudden change comes over him. Realizing his loss he is seized with chagrin and dismay. The slave begins to laugh at his discomfiture.) Why do you stand there grinning, without so much as helping me? I'll knock your head off for you. Into the water with you and get me my gold. Did you see it enter the water? Maybe it lodged on the bank. Where is it? Oh, oh, to think I have lost it! What shall I do? (The slave runs off at last and disappears down the road.) You villain, I believe you've got it. No, I saw the ripples on the water. Oh, why do I not know how to swim? (Turning and observing the children, who are watching him.) An obol to the one who will get me my gold. Some of you can swim—in with you!

MYRA. No, my children. This water is for wayfarers to drink. We will not pollute it.

A CHILD. Is not what this man has been saying very impious and wicked?

OTHER CHILDREN. It seems so to us.

OTHER CHILDREN. To us, too.

SHEPHERD BOY. What would become of my mother if she had to pay for every drink our sheep and cattle took?

MYRA. It is a preposterous idea. I hope such wickedness will never come into the world. I feel certain that my father as magistrate will advise the council never to sell this beautiful little lake to anyone.

(Glaucus hearing the sound of approaching footsteps hides behind a rock by the water bank.)

NEOCLES. (Puffing and panting, to slave, who is assisting him.) I'll give you twenty lashes when I get you home. What do you mean by your impertinence? You say he kept you? Who kept you? Who dared do this?

SLAVE. Please your worship, Glaucus.

NEOCLES. (Raging.) That scoundrel! So help me Zeus, I've a mind to kill him! Did I not tell you distinctly to come for me? Without your arm in coming up the hill my heart has nearly cracked with the exertion. Is Bion here? (Scornfully.) No, of course not. (To slave.) Go down the road and watch for the noble magistrate. (Exit slave.)

GLAUCUS. (Cautiously showing himself.) Your honor, do calm yourself this warm day. Shall I get you some water to drink?

NEOCLES. Yes—no—business first. There'll be plenty of time for drinking. Water is not good for me.

GLAUCUS. True, I forgot. Your honor always did like the fragrant Lycian wine better. (Smacks his lips.)

NEOCLES. I am souring on the whole proposition.

GLAUCUS. Souring? Why? It will only take a little longer.

NEOCLES. If it were not that I am publicly committed to your wonderful scheme I should throw it down. It no longer appeals to me.

GLAUCUS. Say what you will, it figures out all right.

NEOCLES. It is too slow. I like my rapid town interests better. I'm sorry I ever signed the petition.

GLAUCUS. (Pausing as if to think.) True, that section B. development in town certainly was a good one! It too was an inspiration on my part, yet you must admit that. But you can't put all your eggs into one basket.

NEOCLES. I follow you entirely too much. I say again, if I hadn't listened to you I'd'a kept out of this.

GLAUCUS. What do you see wrong about it? It will make money for everyone in it—except me.

NEOCLES. I have doubts about the council. Bion is against the plan.

GLAUCUS. Maybe Bion can be sweetened, in spite of his anger this morning.

NEOCLES. Not likely. He's a "reformer."

GLAUCUS. Let us see the other members of the council individually then.

NEOCLES. No time for that. Our option, which is conditional, expires today by limitation.

GLAUCUS. What's the use in giving up? I think you take the wrong view of this matter. While we are waiting for Bion, let us walk down the road a short distance, where we can be alone. It is worth reconsidering. Besides I consider the property is dirt cheap; that is the principal point. (Neocles appears to be reconciled, nods his assent and they exit.)

SHEPHERD BOY. (To Myra.) I just now heard an infant's cry, down the sea road there. I'll run and look.

MYRA. I heard nothing.

SHEPHERD BOY. I'm sure of it.

MYRA. Do not delay. If it should be your dark lady, the one you saw and told us of, we all of us will give her assistance. (Shepherd Boy hastens off.) We'll give her fruit to eat and milk to drink, whatever remains of our repast.

CHILDREN. Aye, that we will, dear Myra.

MYRA. And beg that she accompany us homewards. For we must be ever hospitable to the guest and to the wanderer. Never should we close the door rudely in the stranger's face.

A CHILD. Oh Myra, what if she should be our goddess? the goddess whom we are somewhere, sometime to meet, face to face? Maybe we are the fortunate ones!

ANOTHER CHILD. And do not goddesses sometime perform wonders of magic, changing men into animals at will and filling the world with marvelous stories for us to enjoy?

MYRA. Listen, I think they're coming. (Reenter the Shepherd Boy, beckoning on the strangers.)



**SHEPHERD BOY.** A few steps farther, only a few steps. (Enter Latona, clad in black with her two infants in her arms. A young girl follows her to whom Latona hands the babes. Myra and the children have an impulse to go toward Latona, but something seems to restrain them.)

**LATONA.** So long the way I know not what to do—  
These famish'd babes have nought to suckle on.  
I smell the blessed water here! One moment,  
Till I can gain my breath, O gentle lad,  
And I will thank you for your service done me,  
And I will deeply drink from yonder pool,  
To nourish once again these infants dear.

**MYRA.** Oh madam, if perchance we too might aid—

**LATONA.** My friends, I thank you, but I soon shall be  
Refresh'd and strengthen'd by these waters here:  
'Twas only my great thirst that weakened me.

**SHEPHERD BOY.** I must run away again, but I shall soon come back. (Exits. Latona goes to the bank, where she kneels. Just then Neocles and Glaucus reenter, in a bad frame of mind.)

**NEOCLES.** The game is up, I tell you, and you have made a fool of me. Bion does not mean to come back, or if he does, it will be without the council's consent.

**GLAUCUS.** Master, I will think hard and tell you a way out, if you will give me another gold-piece. (Looks wistfully into the water.)

**NEOCLES.** Never, I'm done with you and your plans.

**GLAUCUS.** If it had not been for me, you'd—Hello, what have we here? A stranger, a traveller? Master, now act out the part as I have pictured it for you, and see if what I said wasn't true.

**NEOCLES.** What do you mean? What did you say?

**GLAUCUS.** Be the inn-keeper—own the water—make money! Try it.

**NEOCLES.** I don't think much of the scheme.

**GLAUCUS.** It's bound to work—try it!

**NEOCLES.** (To Latona, roughly) Who are you?

**LATONA.** A wanderer.

**NEOCLES.** How many in your party?

**LATONA.** Two infants, a nurse, and, ah me, myself.

**NEOCLES.** How long do you wish to stay? Do you come from the sea?

**LATONA.** O sir, with your permission I will pause to drink of this water. I will then answer your questions as best I may. By your voice you seem to be one in authority.

**NEOCLES.** I am proprietor here.

**MYRA.** (Who has been listening.) Do not believe that, dear Lady—its a lie. My father has not returned with the council's consent.

**NEOCLES.** (To Myra.) What right have you to intrude into my affairs?

**LATONA.** Sir, I do not mean to be unreasonable. Yet surely you would not hinder me now from drinking of this water—I am faint and tired.

**NEOCLES.** I have nothing against you personally—but at this time there is a principle involved—a question of right and property. I claim the ownership of this property, and it is my right to prohibit trespassers from approaching it without my consent or without a due monetary consideration, such as satisfies me.

**GLAUCUS.** That's it, master. Now you're talking!

**NEOCLES.** What that young woman says (pointing to Myra) is nothing to the point. Granting that the ownership technically may not be mine, I do nevertheless at this moment set up a *de facto* claim. I am here and here I shall remain. It lies with others by superior power or, if they please, through a judicial process in the courts, to enjoin me. I know the virtue of such a claim as I now make. It is not new. It's an old stand-by of mine. I've not been in business all these years for nothing.

**LATONA.** But sir, I have no money. I am but a poor wanderer who has undergone many misfortunes. I am quite alone in the world, with the exception of my two children—and kind mortals for the most part take pity upon me.

**NEOCLES.** I am determined to make a test of this question, for various reasons. But why argue the matter? You are free to go on and find what you desire elsewhere, or pay me now and here for the privilege of taking water from this pool. I name twenty drachmas as my figure.

**MYRA.** Children, has any of you perchance a draught of water in the water-vessels?

**NEOCLES.** None of that, young woman. You can't defeat me in that way. I advise you not to mix up in this affair.

**A CHILD.** Can't we go to the water and take a jar-full like we did before? Who'll come with me? (A number press forward.)

**NEOCLES.** Stand back! The first one of you who attempts to reach this water will wish she had never been born! I call on my parasite here to help me. (Glaucus assumes a militant attitude.)

**LATONA.** Sir, why do you refuse me water? Water is free to all.

**NEOCLES.** That is mere theory. Not in this case.

**LATONA.** Nature has made neither the sun nor air nor the running stream the property of any one.

**NEOCLES.** The prating of philosophers! Practical men see it otherwise. Nature can be harnessed, they say, and for one I want to be a driver and handle the reins. This argument of yours does not impress me.

**GLAUCUS.** Master, you are doing famously—you will live in history.

**LATONA.** To the bounty of Nature I did indeed turn. You appear to see this question differently from the way I see it. Be it so. What I now ask I ask as a favor. I wish only to quench my thirst. A draught of water would be nectar to me, and I would be indebted to you for life itself. Let these infants move your pity, who hold out their little arms for succor.

MYRA. (To Neocles.) For the love of the Gods, how can you be so cruel?

NEOCLES. There you go again. Why need you interfere? (To Latona.) Now that you appeal to the Gods, I have something of a personal nature to say on that subject. I too have ancestral rights and an ancestral history. My family, I am proud to say, is an old and distinguished family and it has just claims to divine descent. And so, I take it, my will to power is well founded.

LATONA. (Turning to her children in the arms of the nurse.) May you, O my children, never have to endure the insults heaped upon the head of your unfortunate mother! (To Neocles.) Insensate man, not any barbarian of the outer world ever could be guilty of more cruel inhospitality than you have shown me. Who then are you, who turn me away coming as a suppliant?

GLAUCUS. Have a care, master, you may have gone too far!

NEOCLES. If so, it was you who set me on. I've had enough of you and your plans. Henceforth shift for yourself. Give me back that gold piece I gave you!

GLAUCUS. (Unnerved.) Oh, master, be not so passionate and so sudden! I have always looked out for your interests. For you I have lost my hard-earned substance. (Gazing into the water.) But softly, master, you are not yet out of danger. You still need my help. It may be my last effort in your behalf. If you are, as you say, and I believe, descended from the Gods, let us find a reason—

LATONA. Cease your babble and hear me. (To Neocles.) For the last time I demand that you yield to me my just right to partake of this common bounty of Nature intended for all.

NEOCLES. (Bumptuously.) And for the last time I say to you that only by my permission may you partake of this water. I care not who you are. Advance at your peril. See, I defy you, since you will it so, by leaping into the water and making it muddy, so that for all your pains, you may not drink of so foul a draught. (He wades in and disturbs the water.)

CHILDREN. Oh! oh! oh!

GLAUCUS. Hold on! What are you doing? Hold on, I say. Stop muddying up the bottom. I want my gold-piece first. Its out there. Do you see it? I see it. No, I don't see it. Confound you, how am I going to get it, if you keep stirring up the mud?

LATONA. Has goodness utterly departed from the Earth? (Looking toward Myra.) No, let me not say that. How the utterances of the Oracle come flooding over my mind. Good and evil? A shepherd-boy! An altar of Deméter, at the crossroads? A test? (To Myra.) Is this an altar of Deméter, at the crossroads?

MYRA. It is indeed.

LATONA. O Oracle, thou spokest truly. Here, here indeed, was I to meet the test. The good and lowly have been my friends. It was left for such a pride-blown,

swollen creature as this, (looking toward Neocles) this blatant, croaking toad, to offer me insults, travestying Nature and disgracing the name of man! Think you that with impunity you may defy the altars of the Gods—with hypocrisy and sneers dishonor the divine deities, uttering sacrilegious words, insolently claiming divine descent, uttering such words before *me*, knowing not who I may be nor who I am? (Both Neocles and Glaucus seem to flatten under the scathing anger of the Goddess. Neocles sinks in the water until only his head is visible. Glaucus is stretched prone on the ground.) You are not fit to associate with men. Foul pools and slimy swales are your natural habitation. To them, then! Go tell your filthy kind that 'twas I, Latona, who thus punished you and sent you thither! (During these words the scene has grown darker and darker. Lightning flashes and thunder rolls. Under the curse of the Goddess Neocles and Glaucus are metamorphosed into Frogs. They disappear and are seen no more. The Children and Myra are awe-struck. A considerable pause. Gradually the scene becomes bright again, as it was before. Enter Shepherd Boy.)

LATONA. (Seeing him.) Ah, my little friend, come to me. Will you not climb up among those rocks, where I see some clear water trickling down and get me a draught? I can endure it no longer.

Shepherd Boy. Indeed I will. (Myra gives him water-jar.) Was there a thunder shower up here? I heard the sound as I came along. What's become of the two men, the big one and the fellow I took for the onion-seller? (Meanwhile he climbs the rock and fills a jar of water, hands it down to Myra, who pours a cupfull for Latona.)

LATONA. (Pausing before she drinks.) Blessed be the father of my children, the King of Heaven, Zeus, who causeth the rain to fall! (Myra and the children drop to their knees and hold out their hands to Latona.)

MYRA. O sovereign Lady, what we have seen today no mortal has ever seen before!

LATONA. Blessed be the King of Heaven, Zeus, who wills that the bounties of Nature shall be for the use of all! (A sound is heard from the water, like ga-ung!, ga-ung!)

SHEPHERD BOY. Frogs! Let me in to catch them!

LATONA. No. Let them remain where they are. Even now again do they exercise their offensive tongues in strife.

MYRA. O Goddess, we will bring offerings to our altar in honor of thy name.

LATONA. For aye remember'd shall your goodness be, O pretty children, and thou, noble maid.

I may not linger here, for I must on.

Interminable seem my wanderings, yet

A blessed day is coming for my babes

And me, returning honor'd to my home.

If ever in the future poets sing

Of woes unjustly borne and storied wrongs,

Then let them me remember. Cruel Juno

Forth from the radiant wooing of my lord  
 Drove me, the trembling love of sovereign Zeus,  
 Drove me with threats to wander forth alone,  
 In misery to turn I knew not where.  
 Ah me, how mighty was her will and power,  
 Like to the savage wind-storm! On and on  
 Alone and wretched I have dragg'd me on  
 From place to place as best I could, when lo,  
 I came to flowery Delos, where anon  
 These lovely offspring of our love were born—  
 Who came like to a message from my lord  
 To tell me I again should welcom'd be  
 And be forgiven for my fault of love,  
 What time the Queen of Heaven were satisfied.  
 To me myself I care not what may come—  
 To dangers I am used. But an immortal light  
 Enfolds my beauteous babes and Heaven itself  
 Smiles down in wonder as they sleep—  
 They come to light the world!  
 (A murmur of admiration rises from the children and Myra.)

I needs must hope  
 That soon the palace-gates of their great Father  
 Will ope with proud rejoicing to receive them.  
 Now from so poor and ignorant a woman  
 As 'een I am hear words of joyful import.  
 What you have seen today will be a tale  
 That ever poets will delight to tell—  
 The tale of how Latona haply brought  
 A fundamental lesson to mankind,  
 A lesson reason'd by the primal Powers:  
 That your fair Earth must not sequester'd be  
 By cozening louts and wolves and greedy tricksters,  
 To the undoing of all others, but that they  
 Who this bright jewel of the universe  
 By providence of th' immortal Gods inhabit  
 Shall equal right and privilege have to use  
 The natural gifts of bounteous Earth and Heaven,  
 The fertile soil, the air, the sunlight warm,  
 The water, wind and fire, that with these aids  
 Secure the sons of men may lay their heads,  
 And without let or hindrance live their lives,  
 And without killing labor live their lives!  
 And I would have this precious story live  
 Through all the ages to the bounds of time.  
 Oh happy chance, dear friends, that it is we  
 Of whom this wondrous legend will be told!  
 So are the Oracle's pious words fulfilled.  
 And now my tasks accomplished, I dare hope  
 Heaven's crystal threshold once again awaits me.  
 Farewell, sweet maid. Dear Shepherd boy, I pray thee  
 Direct me once again the proper road,  
 This time down toward the sea. I turn from Lycia  
 And homeward thro the Grecian Islands sail,

Past Delos, to the purple Attic shore,  
 Whence on to bright Olympus and my Lord!  
 (Latona takes her two children from the arms of the nurse  
 and turns to go. The Shepherd boy leads the way. Myra  
 and the children remain on their knees, with arms still  
 extended toward her.)

The Curtain falls.

END OF ACT II

The Play to be concluded with an Epilogue

## Laziness, Indifference or Cowardice?

WHY is it that the sound and self-evident proposition,  
 that the values given to land by growth of popula-  
 tion and increase of public services should be taken by taxa-  
 tion for the benefit of those whose activities create them,  
 makes such slow progress toward general acceptance?  
 Are the people in general unable to understand this proposi-  
 tion? Does the selfish interest of a comparatively few  
 persons who hope to make a profit by speculating in land  
 outweigh the manifest advantages of abolishing taxes on  
 industry, and deriving public revenues from values created  
 by the community as a whole? That the principle of tax-  
 ing land value is sound economics and in accord with the  
 fundamentals of true ethics, as establishing a just basis  
 for organized society, cannot successfully be controverted.  
 Then why is it that it is not universally recognized?

The answer to these questions is chiefly to be found in  
 the indifference of the great mass of mankind toward new  
 ideas, but there is also the deplorable fact that of those  
 who see the truth of the doctrine so clearly enunciated by  
 Henry George a large percentage do nothing toward  
 securing its general adoption. Yes, they are Single Taxers,  
 possibly they have been for a long time, but—they have  
 grown tired in trying to convert their stupid acquaintances  
 and think it a useless waste of effort to talk about the land  
 as related to all important social problems. Speaking  
 from my own experience, I must frankly admit that the  
 hopeless stupidity of so many of those whom I had re-  
 garded as favorable prospects for conversion to the truth  
 of "the land for the people" has at times depressed and  
 discouraged me, and I have been inclined to fall back on  
 the old query: "What's the use?" Then, again, there  
 is the recognition of the futility of effort that comes from  
 finding many of those who seemed to have grasped a clear  
 understanding of the land question, with its central truth  
 of freedom as the goal of human endeavor, going off in  
 support of anti-libertarian notions of paternalism, social-  
 ism, governmentalism, impertinent meddling with the  
 affairs of foreign peoples, and all sorts of fads and isms,  
 wholly incompatible with the philosophy of free land and  
 free men. This, however, is no excuse for evading the duty  
 of trying to make plain to others the truths clearly per-  
 ceived. I do not offer this explanation as an excuse, but

merely as one of the reasons why land reformers have lost their zeal for the cause in which they believed. And, again speaking from my own experience, I am inclined to think that it is largely pure laziness that keeps so many of those who see the great basic truth from making an active effort to secure its recognition and adoption.

There is yet another factor that operates to chill the ardor of the land reformers—their dislike to be regarded as pestilential agitators, or advocates of notions dangerous to society. Finding that men and women of education and business ability, presumably intelligent, look upon any discussion of the land question as savoring of Socialism, Communism, Bolshevism, and all sorts of dangerous doctrines, they shrink from antagonizing those with whom they are brought in contact, and prefer to go on their way in quietness, without being forced to defend themselves against the suspicions that they are enemies of orderly society. Privilege, of which the greatest manifestation is the private acquirement of publicly-created land values, is entrenched with the successful and powerful few, on whom depends the success, and often the very livelihood, of the many. Why make enemies of those whose special privileges give them all the comforts and luxuries derivable from wealth? Is it not better to hide what are regarded as radical opinions, and thus avoid the suspicion of eccentricity or dangerous radicalism?

These are questions that each reader must ask him, or herself. They are questions that go down to the root of the reasons why mankind labor in ignorance, poverty and suffering because of an unwise and unjust system of land ownership. I judge no one except myself, and myself I judge harshly because I have not done all that I might have done to advance the truth that forty years ago I first perceived.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

## Single Tax

**E**IGHTY-FIVE years ago today was born Henry George, the inventor of Single Tax, and though it may seem at first blush that little has been accomplished in the interim in the direction of the reforms he so ably advocated, a survey of conditions on this continent, and indeed throughout the world, will serve to show that the ideas he conceived and elaborated have gained acceptance and proved their worth in many important instances. New ideas are always received with caution and inevitably meet with opposition from those who have strong personal reasons for feeling satisfied with things as they are; but if those ideas, however radical or revolutionary they may seem, have merit as well as novelty, it is only a matter of time before they get themselves adopted by progressive peoples. With regard to single tax, there is an interminable argument over its claims to recognition. The proposal to abolish a system of taxation which has served

the purposes of the governments and the municipal administration for so long a time, is one which, naturally, causes consternation to those who have been trained in the old methods and especially those whose duty it is to secure the revenues necessary for the carrying on of public business. It is not easy for them to reconcile themselves to a system which would cut off the sources of taxation which at present yield the greatest returns. Yet, if it can be proved that the change, while working to the advantage of individual citizens, operates also to the economic advantage of the community as a whole, no public spirited person could allow his personal doubts and misgivings to stand in the way of so desirable a reform.

The crux of the whole matter is, of course, can such satisfactory proofs be furnished? Single Taxers claim that they can, and in plenty; while opponents point to cases where the doctrine has been put to the practical test and failed as evidence that the theory does not come up to promise in actual practice. To this it is countered that the failure is more apparent than real, and that in places where the experiment has been tried, under normal conditions, there has been enthusiastic commendation. The most conspicuous examples are furnished by Australia and New Zealand, the chief cities of which countries raise taxes almost exclusively from land values. The results are reported to be most gratifying, unproductive land being forced into use, and the exemption of improvements from taxation having the effect of increasing building construction and beautifying the character of the buildings themselves. In Pittsburg, there is a graded tax law, by which taxes on buildings are reduced by 10 per cent. each third year until the rate on buildings is 50 per cent. of that charged on land. The measure went into effect ten years ago and at present 40 per cent. of building values is exempt. In Western Canada the collapse of the building boom led to inevitable difficulties; but it is pointed out that in the large western cities Single Tax is still in vogue to a great extent, while the rural municipalities are all raising their taxes from land values and exempting improvements. It is contended that the gradual change from the present system to that of Single Tax would be beneficial to all interests in the long run, except those which thrive on deliberate speculation in land. Those who contend that the case made out by the Single Taxers is not proven must at least admit that the latter are able to produce some very logical and persuasive arguments in its support.

Hamilton (Canada) *Spectator*.

It is pitiable that at this time of day Mr. Cox should compare the fees of physicians and lawyers and the wages of railway servants with the ever increasing value of land, which goes into the pockets of the landowners. In the case of fees of physicians and lawyers and the wages of railway servants, they are the reward for services rendered. May one ask Mr. Cox what services the landowner as landowner renders?

—F. SKIRROW in *Yorkshire Post*.

## NEWS—DOMESTIC

## Indiana

INDIANA is safely on the ballot with the electors of the Commonwealth Land party. These are as follows: J. H. Reitemeier, Herman Ritter, L. O. Bishop., George L. Colter, Esther A. Edwards, Frank D. Brown, Grace E. Herrin, G. R. Slater, Geo. B. Schultz and Edward Kopp.

## Missouri

THIS state is also on the ballot. Following are the presidential electors: Charles A. Green, James G. Edwards, William J. Flacy, George C. Rowland, Charles Lescher, Henry Priesmeyer, J. W. Steele, Franklin Playter, Thomas May, L. H. Davis and Henry George Heigold.

## Michigan

MICHIGAN is on the ballot with the following presidential electors: J. F. Cardwell, Alexander S. Diack, Alfred Falkel, George A. Ferris, Henry C. L. Forler, John B. Howarth, Elmer D. Le Tourneur, Daniel L. Powell, A. C. Sekell, A. Laurence Smith and Corinne M. Turner.

## New York

THE nomination of William McCabe, now deceased, for governor of New York and LeBaron Goeller for Lieutenant-Governor brought the Commonwealth Land party much publicity in this state. Mr. McCabe's long career of usefulness is told on another page.

Le Baron Goeller is a young man, also a printer, as well as a writer who wields a facile pen. There is probably no man in the movement who has better knowledge of economic truth together with the teacher's ability to present it.

He has been very busy since his nomination. In September he addressed a Summer assembly and the party was fully advertised. He gave them his Bread Line lecture, using as his text the poem, which has since been widely copied, written by the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM some years ago. Twelve of those present were ministers of the gospel. Mr. Goeller talked for an hour and twenty minutes. He succeeded in capturing his audience. There was not a dissenting voice. He dealt with fundamentals and was surprised beyond measure at the complete accord with which his exposition was received. "A mere tax talk," he writes, "would not have interested them in the slightest." One, a minister from Cobleskill, N. Y., said he would do all he could to lead people's thoughts in our direction.

Mr. Goeller will endeavor to get before the central federation and will lecture shortly in the church forum at

Union. "It is great advertising," writes Mr. Goeller. "At present it is not the number of votes we receive, but the amount of education we can put out. The party opens the door of opportunity for this. All sorts of people are asking about the Single Tax, as I find directly and indirectly."

The vacancy in the nomination for Governor caused by the death of William McCabe has been filled by the Executive Committee with the name of Laurence Tracy, too well known among the party members here to need any introduction. No one has worked more whole heartedly for the success of the cause than Mr. Tracy who has been unremitting at every task assigned him. He is besides a charming and graceful speaker.

Owing to the difficulties placed in the way of independent parties in this—and indeed in many states—it will be necessary to write in the name of Mr. Tracy, and readers of LAND AND FREEDOM in the state of New York are asked to do this. Such votes are counted as cast, and many of the friends will wish to register their convictions on the ballot. We are not on the national ballot in this state, and therefore must also choose one presidential elector to represent the Commonwealth Land party ticket. The Executive Committee has selected the name of George Lloyd and notices will be sent to all the friends of the movement throughout New York apprising them of the selection.

As soon as the election is over a concerted movement is planned by Single Taxers here in connection with other independent parties to simplify the election laws so that voters may not be disfranchised. The New York law is perhaps the most difficult in that it requires fifty signatures to independent petitions in every county of the state. The required twelve thousand could easily be secured by any independent party with some public sentiment behind it, but the provision of fifty in each of the sixty odd counties calls for a large expenditure in time and money.

Even the La Follette party with larger resources than the Commonwealth Land party, has failed to get on the ballot in California and Louisiana. We are glad to see that President Coolidge has taken cognizance of these election laws which unduly limit the "expression of popular will in the election of public officials." No more useful work can be done by Single Taxers than to create a public sentiment that will result in legislation to correct existing evils in accordance with the President's recommendations. The future of the Commonwealth Land party is largely dependent on what can be accomplished in this direction.

In addition to the nominations for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Messrs. Tracy and LeGoeller, other names that may be written into the ballot as follows: These were the nominations made last August by the New York state convention of the Commonwealth Land party. For Secretary of State, Grace Donaldson; for State Treasurer, L. Carl Seelbach; for State Engineer, F. D. Worthington;

for State Comptroller, George R. Macey and for Attorney General, James P. Kohler.

In Manhattan the party is on the ticket with the following nominations: For Judge of Supreme Court, First Judicial District, Samuel Bell Thomas; for the Second Judicial District, Charles Owings Towne; for Sheriff, Dr. Joseph H. Cahoon and for Member of Congress, 21st Congressional District, Morris VanVeen.

Since June 1 open air meetings have been conducted in various parts of the city by Mr. George Lloyd and Mr. Morris VanVeen, aided on many occasions by Miss Corrine Carpenter. Over fifty thousand pieces of literature have been distributed. At these meetings Mr. Lloyd has answered questions. Much interest is shown and groups are formed which are found in eager discussion long after midnight.

## Ohio

**J**. B. LINDSAY, secretary of the Ohio campaign committee, writes us that a good vote may be expected for Virgil D. Allen for governor. By the same mail comes a letter from Mr. F. H. Monroe telling us that many La-Follette voters intend casting their votes for Mr. Allen, who is well known all over the state. The Democratic and Republican candidates are below the usual calibre of nominees and the present governor is incompetent.

Weekly meetings are held at headquarters, 819 Ulmer Building, Cleveland. Mr. Lincoln spoke at the Industrial Alliance, and made a decided impression. Dr. Mark Milliken, Butler County Chairman, is planning shop meetings in his district, and George Edwards reports a county ticket on the ballot.

It is announced that a permanent organization will be formed to carry on the work after the campaign and thus prepare the way for coming contests.

## Pennsylvania

**E**LECTORS of the Commonwealth Land party in this state are as follows: Joseph B. Chamberlain, Rodney Emsley, Joseph Hagerty, George A. Haug, John Kass, Frances I. Macauley, Thomas J. McCaffery, John Purdy, Charles J. Schoales, Robert D. Towne, James F. McCormick, Oliver Powers, Floyd H. Wright, William R. Kline, Pearl Sobel, James H. Dix, Harry S. Macauley, Claude L. Rinehart, Marshall Peoples, Charles E. Erb, Jacob L. Batman, Thomas A. Barnhill, Sarah W. Dix, Janette Reynolds Dix, John W. Dix, Richard J. Richardson, Marguerite D. Warner, George E. Evans, Hugo W. Noren, Janet L. Brownlee, James D. McDade, Edward D. Smith, Ira B. Jones, Calvin B. Powers, Henry A. Huspel, William H. Booz and John E. Johnson.

Lewis Ryan, of Ardmore, is candidate for State Treasurer, and William G. Wright, of Philadelphia, candidate for Judge of the Superior Court.

In addition the following Congressional candidates have been nominated and are on the ticket to be voted for in November:

First District, Francis X. Pfrommer; Second District, David Oscar Sobel; Third District, Dr. John Purdy; Fourth District, Oliver Wingert; Fifth District, Raymond James; Sixth District, Frederick E. Mayer; Seventh District, James F. McCormick; Eighth District, John H. Bruner; Ninth District, Julian P. Hickok.

## Wisconsin

**W**ISCONSIN is to be added to the number of states where believers in the Henry George doctrine will have an opportunity to register their convictions on the ballot. In this state Organizer Robinson had great difficulty. Pressure was brought to bear by the La Follette forces on the gentleman in whose charge Mr. Robinson had left the work and he threw up the contract. Mr. Robinson, with his usual energy, immediately advertised in the *Sentinel* and soon had a crew out. In this work he had the fine, loyal support of Mr. Leenhouts, of Milwaukee, who did yeoman service. We are unable at this time to give the names of our Wisconsin electors.

We call attention of those of our friends who are supporting La Follette to the attempt made in two states, Wisconsin and Indiana, by the friends of La Follette to keep Wallace and Lincoln off the ballot. Men who are honestly in favor of a free expression of opinion by the electorate will resent these attempts and it adds another to the debts which we owe to the La Follette aggregation.

## Progress In Buffalo

**R**EAL estate assessments in Buffalo are receiving considerable publicity in the papers of that city, one of the commissioners claiming that railroad and special franchise property is much under-assessed. Without entering into the merits of the dispute, we note with approval the following suggestions made by Commissioner Perkins to the assessors:

"I believe the assessors should increase vacant land values and decrease the levy on improvements, such as on homes, etc., thus lowering the rents and at the same time forcing some of the 35,000 vacant lots, more or less, to be improved by building homes thereon."

"THE bureau of internal revenue is suffering from overstrain. It is attempting to carry, or enforce a tax system too complicated and difficult for any organization to administer successfully. No business man or group of business men, however skilled in administration, could successfully enforce the existing laws of the United States. No college professor, or group of professors, could do it. No senator or group of senators could accomplish the task."

PROF. THOMAS S. ADAMS.

## Pittsburgh's Mayor Favors Shifting Of Taxes To Land Values

**M**AYOR William A. Magee, of Pittsburgh, speaking before the Henry George Club of that city September 26, gave unqualified endorsement to the graded tax law and other legislation directed to the higher taxation of land values and the relief of industry and improvements. And he indicated his intention of seeking further legislation along similar lines.

We may remind our readers that Pittsburgh has gone further in the direction of the Single Tax than any other city in the United States. Personal property has long been exempted, and in 1911 machinery was exempted from taxation.

A law passed in 1913, and advocated by the city administration, provided that the tax on improvements should gradually be reduced until the rate was only one-half of that levied on land values, and that reduction will be reached next year. Now, the rate on land values is \$2.00 per \$100., while buildings are taxed only \$1.20 per \$100. And the Mayor says that the only objection comes (not unnaturally) from the land speculator, who wants to become rich "through the growth of the community without effort on his own part." We quote at length from this address, which shows a knowledge of the economic effects of taxation that is unfortunately rare among our public officials. Mayor Magee said:—

"I am principally interested in two things regarding taxation, the progress of the graded tax law and the problem of assessments for public works. Both concern the unearned increment, the profit of the land owner who becomes rich through the growth of the community without effort on his own part. I am frankly opposed to him. I can say that without becoming a Single Taxer. We owe Henry George a great debt for having exposed him for what he is, a parasite upon the body politic.

"The City of Pittsburgh during the past 15 years has been much more active in tax changes and reforms than any other community in this country. We had an archaic classification of land based upon use. Because agricultural land did not receive the same amount of police, fire and other city service, we assessed it only one-third and for the same reason suburban property two-thirds of the maximum rate. The principle was fallacious and the effect bad. The city farmer was really a speculator. Valuable suburban areas were kept out of the market until the growth of the population surrounding them created a value that would move the selfish holder to permit its use for urban life. All this was abolished by the repeal of the classification laws in 1911.

"In 1913 the graded tax law was enacted. Next year the city will have stepped down five 10 per cent. steps in tax upon buildings. At the present time our tax rate is 20 mills upon land and 12 mills upon buildings, an average of about 16½ mills upon all the assessable property in the city. This and the repeal of the classification law have been so far our principal accomplishments although there are others.

"The time has not come when the effect of the (graded tax) law can be fully appraised, but there is some data that is relevant even now. For instance, building values have gone up from \$275,000,000 to \$400,000,000 approximately, while land values have only increased from \$480,000,000 to \$530,000,000, this in a period during which, except the last three years, most investment entered anything rather than building! Another patent fact is that there are a very few large tracts of acreage not on the market. Another significant thing is that the law, while constantly under attack, seems to invite opposition only from the speculators in land. Another fact is that no opponent has yet opposed it on any but theoretical grounds. I have yet to hear of concrete harm resulting from it. If the case has not yet been conclusively proved it certainly has not been disproved. Time, of course, must tell, but so far the argument is one-sided and all in favor of the law.

"The other taxing principle that should be of great moment in this community is the special benefit assessment for public works. When the city lays down a trunk sewer or a main thoroughfare, it is not permitted under Pennsylvania law to go beyond the abutting property in levying the assessment to pay for the same. If it builds a tunnel or a bridge it cannot assess any part of the cost upon individuals. The result is that most or all of the cost of all general improvements falls upon the city at large. As a consequence, Pittsburgh is much retarded in its physical development.

"The true principle applicable to public works is to expect contributions from all who receive any peculiar advantage therefrom. By that, of course, I mean property that obtains an increment of value solely because of the improvement. I have endeavored on a number of occasions to obtain the passage of a constitutional resolution which would permit the Legislature to create a betterment district with this power of assessment.

"There is no reason why the community should make gifts to some of its property owners in the form of public improvements. It does not do so in the case of those owners abutting on the line of such improvements. Why, in the name of commonsense, should it do so to those who are not on the line.

"On the whole the community has made genuine progress in recent years in dealing with the increment of value arising out of community growth. Much more can be done."

Mayor Magee also paid a well-deserved tribute to Assessor McMahan, saying:

"We have an ideal tax assessor in this city. One of our real assets is Thomas C. McMahan, the chief of the board of assessors. In him the city has the services of a tax expert. He has not only been the principal counsel in formulating these tax reforms, but he is the one who has brought about the equalization of values that make Pittsburgh tax assessments just."

"WHENEVER I meet a really clear, straight thinker in business life, I generally find that he has read and mastered 'Progress and Poverty.' If the young man of today would read and study this masterpiece of economic science, the coming generation would not be befuddled in its thinking as the present one is, and my faith in the future of my country would be increased a hundredfold." JOHN MOODY.

## Death Of William McCabe

**WILLIAM McCABE**, life-long friend of Henry George, and candidate for governor of New York on the Commonwealth Land party ticket, is dead after a short illness and a long career of service to the truth as he saw it.

As fellow compositors Henry George and William McCabe worked together on the San Francisco *Times* and later on the San Francisco *Post*. During that period McCabe accepted the doctrines taught by the great reformer and became his enthusiastic supporter in the campaign of 1886 when Mr. George polled the phenomenal 68,000 votes.

It may be of interest to know that Inspector Byrnes, at that time Chief of Police, told Mr. George in the presence of Mr. McCabe that he had been elected to the mayoralty in that election, but had been swindled out of it by the juggling of the votes to the files of Theodore Roosevelt and Abram S. Hewitt.

In 1881 began the organization that led up to the campaign of 1886. In this Mr. McCabe was very active and when Henry George started the *Standard* he associated himself with that great teacher and wrote some characteristic sketches for the paper which attracted much attention.

McCabe was grand marshal of the first labor parade ever held in this city and never ceased his activities in the typographical union.

He was a civil war veteran and was over eighty at the time of his death. But up to a few months ago he was working at his case and there was nothing to indicate his early passing. At the time of his nomination by the Commonwealth Land party for governor he was sick in bed, but was persuaded by his wife to accept the nomination. So from early manhood to almost the very hour of his passing out, he may be said to have been in active service. He leaves a widow and twelve children, the youngest of whom is seven years old.

On the evening of September 30 a number of Single Taxers journeyed to his home where over his remains John J. Murphy read selections from the last chapter of *Progress and Poverty*, as an expression of the attitude of mind which in common with nearly all Single Taxers our dead comrade entertained.

Mr. Murphy said:

"We are here tonight to pay our tribute to a comrade who has fought the good fight and entered into rest. Unlike the mass of mankind which rests content if its rights are not invaded, he gave much of his thought and time to devising means by which the reign of justice might be realized.

"It was his good fortune to meet a little earlier than the rest of us, the master-mind whose brain had devised the key for the padlock of the chain which special privilege had forged to keep the masses in subjection.

"Early thrown into association with the supreme economist and social philosopher of all time, Henry George, his imagination caught fire at the blaze of that great man's

love for suffering humanity and burned with a clear and radiant light until the end.

"Seeking no advantage for himself which he was unwilling that others should share, he hoped that the light of truth might irradiate that opaque mass which, for want of a better name, we designate—public opinion. With charity to all, with malice toward none, he continued to believe that some day the self-evident truth would be recognized, that social value attaching to land because of the needs and presence of population would be recognized as common property and would be differentiated from true private property, which is the material sign and symbol of civilization.

"He estimated at their true value the devices by which a society straying in the paths of error endeavors to identify its interests with those of true civilization. Tariffs put forth as shields for the workers, but really intended to foster monopoly and enhance prices; immigration acts to close the door of opportunity to an impoverished world; monetary restrictions enabling concentrated wealth to take toll of production;—he saw through and condemned all these devices of exploitation and would have replaced them by institutions based upon the simple golden rule of Equal Opportunity for All, special privilege for none."

## Death Of Frank Williams

**FRIENDS** of the movement will learn with sorrow of the death of Frank Williams, at the age of 71. The funeral of this devoted friend of the cause was held under the auspices of the San Diego Single Tax Society.

Frank Williams was a fine example of those who act on the principle that a Single Taxer is one who does something for Single Tax. He was a printer by trade, but most of his printing was done not for profit but to further the cause of freedom as he had learned it from Henry George. He had a little printing press in a shed back of his house at 1828 Cypress avenue in San Diego. His house was known throughout the city as Liberty Lodge and his press as Liberty Press, because both were used in the cause of liberty. For several years the San Diego Single Tax Society held its meetings in his house. He lived alone and was never happier than when entertaining Single Taxers and showing them his books and various scraps of printing that he had done for freedom's cause. He spent most of his time printing and distributing tracts on the freedom of land.

About five years ago, when he became unable to set type (on account of an incurable paralysis,) he turned over to the San Diego Single Tax Society all his earthly possessions, consisting of his house and lot and little press, and went to the county hospital to await the inevitable. During these five years he has kept up a keen interest in the progress of the cause to which he had dedicated his life. He denied himself every little comfort, in order that he might see his money used to keep up meetings and other work for the freedom of land for all people of the earth. When he died he left only 36 cents and an old pocket one-cent piece coined in 1853, the year of his birth. Such



unselfish, patient and persistent devotion to the cause of universal freedom has seldom been seen among men. It seems fitting that some mention of this man's life be made in *LAND AND FREEDOM*, the representative of the Henry George philosophy throughout the civilized world.

CARY RICHARD COLBURN.

## Economic Causes and Effects

**I**NTEREST rates, professional fees, net salaries and wages, and profits from productive business are disproportionately low, enterprise in general stagnates, and living costs are needlessly high, only when and solely because land values and "economic rent" are inordinately high.

When interest rates, professional fees, net salaries and wages, and profits from productive business are reasonably remunerative, enterprise thrives, and living costs are low, it is invariably and wholly due to land values and "economic rent" being reasonably low.

These economic causes and effects are as unchanging and as immutably positive in their operation as the natural laws of attraction and gravitation. Their operation cannot be changed by gods, kings or democracies.

Why are banks now offering call money at only  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ ? What would cause it to command  $6\%$ ? What would be the certain condition of commercial business and agriculture in general, were call money in steady demand at  $6\%$  instead of at  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ ?

K. P. ALEXANDER.

## On Dean Inge

**S.** A. J. writes:—Dean Inge, of London, who is known as the gloomy Dean, says, "It is notorious that the present conditions of labor do not satisfy the workers" . . . "The deadly poison of Marxism must be eliminated from the veins of the body politic."

To follow out the Dean's simile we could ask him to cure the pestilential ulcer of land monopoly which he apparently does not see because it is covered with the bandage of custom and privilege and which is daily poisoning the social system. Rulers, good or bad, in the past gave to their followers grants of land. In other words they gave to them the right that they and their descendants should live for ever on the labor of others.

Twelve landlords in London—the Dean's own home-town—draw £12,000,000 a year in ground rents which the people of London have to pay for the privilege of using the sites of London on which to build their houses. The Dean does not see this ulcer but he sees the effects of it in the poison in the life blood of the community and yet he thinks the people should be satisfied.

—*Standard*, Sydney, Australia.

## Is It A Land Fight In Texas?

**T**EXAS is going to have a woman governor. Back of that event is some interesting history and in front of it is a knotty problem. Neither the history nor the problem to be faced really had much to do with the superficial issues of the campaign, as discussed most in Texas and featured elsewhere.

Texas has a "land question"—a more acute phase of the problem of landlordism and tenantry, than exists in all the states.

A few years ago when James Ferguson became a political power over night, the unrest over land tenure was very great. It still exists. There is more reason for its existence than in many European countries with celebrated agrarian struggles.

The census of 1920 seems to show that in the decade 1910-1920, the growth of tenantry began to abate in Texas as in the rest of the country, but while a natural solution of the issue may be in process, the issue is still alive and bound to remain so for a long time.

"Educated" Texans, "progressive" and "reactionary," didn't see the land question. They couldn't see the ocean for the water.

Ferguson's nomination was a thunderbolt to them—the emergence of an agrarian radicalism that they didn't suspect. In the southwest today rural radicalism makes the northwestern variety appear "bourgeois" by comparison.

Ferguson's rise to power recalled the story of young Saul seeking his father's asses and being elected king of Israel. But while strong on protest he was weak on practical proposals. He failed in office, because he was smaller than the issue and the forces he had evoked.

But the forces back of his elevation persisted and, aided by accessions of other elements because of new issues they have again prevailed.

"Ma" Ferguson will become governor largely as a result of a wholesome American opposition to the idea of a peasantry.

Politicians and business men alike would do well to study the land question, now that Uncle Sam is no longer rich enough to give us all a farm.

"Scrutator," Special Correspondent in *Chicago Tribune*.

## Not Really Overcrowded

**"U**NCLE SAM isn't to blame for our birth rate, of course," a Porto Rico official told me. "But we're crowded now, 377 to the square mile. Even such a densely packed people might earn a living if the island was all theirs. But vast areas of our richest soil are farmed by big landlords, absentee and otherwise, whose ownership forces many natives to remain mere day laborers. Big landlords there must be,

and much capital to build sugar mills and finance the machinery of export—that we admit. But the present equation is a hardship on thousands. Vast numbers must soon migrate, or else some speedy method of small-farm allotment must be found.”

—The Island of Too Many People. *The Nation's Business.*

## Land Slavery In Mexico

**A** GOOD many different reports have come to us in the United States about President Obregon. Considering the many deadly enemies he has made, I wonder that the unfavorable reports do not outnumber the favorable, for he has been fighting a hard and often a ruthless battle to free the peons, to give them land and to make Mexico a nation of free people instead of a nation half free and half slave. He is fighting for the common, everyday man, and that is why I like him. He has been freeing the slaves, for the peons have been merely slaving, and of course he has the hatred of the big landowners who have grown rich on what amounts to slave labor.

SAMUEL M. VAUCLAIN in *Colliers.*

## Putting A Tax On Thrift

**A** RESIDENT of Santa Barbara living in the outskirts of the city owns a building lot which adjoins his home. While he keeps his own garden in splendid condition, with lawns and flowers flourishing, the lot adjoining is utterly neglected.

A neighbor and friend asked him why he did not give a little attention to the other lot and add to the appearance of the entire street.

His reply is significant. He said: “Not much. If I plant and cultivate the lot the city assessor will increase my taxes on the ground that the lot has been improved.”

In other words, this man, and many others hold the same views, prefers to have a wilderness of weeds and dead grass adjoining his home rather than spend money to cultivate his lot, simply because he knows that the penalty is an increase in taxes already high.

Whether the city assessor actually does carry the policy of taxing thrift and industry to this extent, *The News* does not pretend to say. That the methods of taxation accomplish in general this result can not be doubted.

The whole system of taxation puts a penalty on the thrifty. The man who maintains the weed patch and the boulder-strewn and unkept lawn profits by the industry of the careful citizen who desires to make his property attractive.

The belief that higher taxation will be the penalty for developing property is keeping many a piece of property in an unsightly condition.

Such methods retard the development of the city and lay an actual tribute on thrift.

Santa Barbara (Calif.) *News.*

## Commonwealth Land Party News

**L**ATER news from Wisconsin and Michigan is disquieting. Attempts are being made in both states to keep the Commonwealth Land Party off the ballot. This will not be done without a fight and full details must be left for our next issue. In both states the La Follette forces are behind these attempts to prevent the voters expressing their wishes at the poles.

In New Jersey where we are securely on the ballot the following named are the presidential electors for Wallace and Lincoln. Readers will observe that this last is revised from that printed in an earlier issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM.*

Henry S. Ford, Joseph Ferguson, John T. Mason, Joseph H. Rusby, Wm. B. DuBois, Gaston Haxo, Henry G. Seaver, David Mogeey, Harry T. Topping, Alice Smith, A. M. White, D. Kirch, James D'Alessandro, Robert T. Shannon.

Herman G. Loew is candidate for U. S. Senator, and in Essex County a full Assembly ticket will appear on the ballot as follows:

Henry Ware Jones, Alfred Bourgeois, Charles A. Sherwood, George L. Rusby, Thomas Walker, Charles Mack, Adelia Grace Wallace, J. V. B. Parkes, Walter J. Triner, Charles E. Pennington, Sarah A. Gibson, James G. Thorp.

The New York campaign has been generously financed by the following contributors: Fred Meybohm, John Sacker, Ellen A. Freeman, W. Byron Winslow, Samuel Pearsall, Phoebe D. Rulon, Fred Deverall, Benjamin W. Burger, Samuel Bell Thomas, Mrs. Alexander D. Daggett, Fred G. Anderson, Lewis H. Clark, Thomas P. Ryan, Arthur R. Butler, Roland Bostroem, Augustus C. Pauli, Harris T. Dunbar, Milton A. Smith, W. B. Vernam, E. Yancey Cohen, Dr. Ferguson, and Morris VanVeen.

## Single Tax Alphabet

(With Australian Illustrations).

**A**—stands for Abundance, which necessarily follows in proportion as you liberate industry and free trade. The reason why there is so much poverty in the midst of abundance is because the workers are prevented by Land Monopoly from gaining access to the source of all wealth, whence they could obtain the necessaries of life without begging others to give them a job.

**B**—stands for Business, which taxation of every kind, except on land values, hampers and restricts.

**C**—stands for (1) Capital, which is merely the results of labor saved up to facilitate production, and which should be, therefore, the friend and not the enemy of Labor. Labor's real enemy is Land Monopoly, which defrauds both Labor and Capital of the reward which is their due.

(2) Community, the people as a whole, who are the sole direct creators of the value attaching to land, and to whom therefore it morally belongs; and

(3) Communism, which seeks to foment every difference between Labor and Capital with the ulterior object of bringing about a Civil War in which Capital and private property generally would be confiscated, and Australia bathed in a sea of blood.

**D**—stands for Debt, which, in the case of Australia, amounts to about £900,000,000, or over £160 per head, the annual interest on which, amounting to £40,000,000, has to be paid out of the total produce, and hangs like a millstone round Australia's neck. As this debt was principally incurred through the war, which was fought to preserve our land from foreign occupation, the interest on it should be met by a special tax on the land value, and not by taxes on industry and enterprise and on everything that people use.

**E**—stands for Employment, which depends very largely on whether the worker can get access to land. The only scientific way to ensure this is by gradually appropriating the land value, or economic rent, sooner than pay which the owner of idle or only partially developed land would dispose of it to those who are anxiously waiting for an opportunity to put it to use.

**F**—stands for Farmers, as representing the primary producers, the price of whose implements and machinery is very considerably enhanced by Protection, though what right the Government has to force the farmers or anyone else to support the manufacturers Heaven only knows!

**G**—stands for Ground, or economic rent, the annual payment for the use of the land apart from the improvements which may or may not be thereon. Ground or economic rent, having been directly created solely by the presence and needs of the people, should be appropriated by the people instead of by the private individuals who do nothing, and could do nothing, to create it.

**H**—stands for Houses, the building of which is encouraged by rating upon the unimproved capital value of the land, as in Queensland and New South Wales, whereas it is discouraged by rating on improvements, which latter system penalises people for erecting buildings and improving their land.

**I**—stands for Income Tax, which causes more needless, harassing, and inquisitorial prying into people's private affairs, more evasion, subterfuge, and fraud, and does more injury to enterprise and business, let alone the people's consciences, than perhaps all other taxes combined.

**J**—stands for Jam, which would be far cheaper than it is, and form far more of the people's ordinary diet, but for the sugar duty which the unfortunate jam consumers have ultimately to pay.

**K**—stands for Kerosene, which through a protective duty, was formerly made at great expense and of a very inferior quality out of Blue Mountain shale, while the real

thing bubbled up out of the earth in the United States, but was prevented from entering New South Wales except at a greatly increased cost.

**L**—stands for Land, which was evidently intended for the use of all in every generation, but which has been made the private monopoly of a few, thus depriving the people of their natural heritage. This can only be restored by the appropriation of land values apart from improvements and abolishing all taxes, either direct or indirect, on enterprise and industry.

**M**—stands for Mines, which belong by right to the people as a whole and not to private individuals, and the royalty for permission to work should go to the community and not to the so-called mine owners.

**N**—stands for Nationalization, or the State purchase of land, mines, etc., in other words for buying back the inheritance of which the people have been robbed. It is, therefore, the exact opposite of the Single Tax. The only scientific way to nationalize the mines is by the Government (instead of the so-called mine-owners) appropriating the royalties charged for permission to use the mines.

**O**—stands for Orphans, also for the One-eyed, One-armed, and One-legged members of the community, whose lot would be far happier if the country were governed and financed, as it easily might be, on economic lines, such as those summarized above, which would leave enough and to spare for dealing with many important problems which have now to be shelved.

**P**—stands for (1) Protection, which protects the manufacturer from outside competition, and enables him to charge a much higher price for his goods than he otherwise could; and (2) Public Works, such as railways and tramways, roads and bridges, water conservation and immigration schemes, etc., which enhance the value of land. Under the existing system the enhanced value is pocketed by the land owners instead of by the community as a whole. As a result the cost of construction has to be met by increased freights and fares on the railways, by higher rents for irrigated lands, and by income and Customs House taxation, thus robbing the people to enrich the owners of land. To remedy this the interest on the cost of construction of all the public works in the State, together with a proportionate sum towards the sinking fund for extinguishing the debt, should be met by a uniform tax on all land values, without exemptions and without graduations.

**Q**—stands for Quality, which tends to deteriorate in those articles the manufacturers of which are protected from competition with their rivals in other countries, whereas under Free Trade quality has to be the first thing considered.

**R**—stands for Ruin, which Australia is voluntarily bringing about by her unsound, unjust, and harassing methods of taxation, by her encouragement of land monopoly, and by her failure to appropriate the economic rent.

**S**—stands for (1) Single Tax, under which the value directly given to land solely by the presence and needs of the community, which is therefore earned by the community, would be appropriated by the community to meet the expenses incurred on behalf of the community, and all other methods of collecting revenue would be abolished. (2) Sugar, which under our protective tariff is sold at 4½d. a pound, or 2d. a pound more than it would cost under Free Trade, which means an annual tax of nearly 17/-per head of population. As a result every industry in which sugar is used is heavily handicapped for the benefit of a few sugar growers in Queensland and northern New South Wales, the people have to considerably reduce their consumption of jam, and inflated land values in the sugar districts swell the pockets of the local land owners.

**T**—stands for Trade, which is simply another name for barter, the voluntary exchange of one kind of product for another kind of product, with which no Government has any right to interfere. It should be free as air. Instead of regarding foreigners as our enemies, as the protectionists would have us do, we should aim at cultivating friendly relations with all people of the earth, recognizing them as children of the same Universal Father, and exchanging our products freely for theirs, thereby promoting the cause of international peace instead of fostering commercial and racial wars.

**U**—stands for Unimproved Capital Value, or the site value of land. In proportion as the population increases or decreases the value of land does the same. Let the population disappear and the site value would disappear along with it. Therefore the land value must evidently be created by the community. It, therefore, belongs by right to the community. and should be appropriated on its behalf to meet the expenses incurred by the community. By not appropriating what belongs to the community the Government has to seize what does not belong to it, namely, the private earnings of individuals, which necessarily involves the robbery of the individual, the encouragement of land monopoly, and the dislocation of trade.

**V**—stands for Value, which is determined by the laws of supply and demand. If the demand be great and the supply small, value is high, if the demand be small and the supply great, the value is low. The important point to note is that there are two totally distinct kinds of value, that attaching to land, the site value, which is given to it by the community, and that attaching to the buildings or improvements on the land, which latter value is the result of private or public enterprise. The first belongs by right to the community as a whole and not to the land owners who now appropriate it, and the second to the private individuals or Government by whom the improvement or improvements have been erected. The value attaching to buildings deteriorates with time, whereas, in a growing community, the value attaching to land increases, sometimes at a tremendous

rate, without any action on the part of the so-called owners, but solely through the presence and needs of the community. The classic instance in Australia of what is popularly known as the unearned increment (i.e. unearned by the individuals who are allowed by our landlord-made laws to confiscate it) is the half acre block at the corner of Collins and Swanston Streets, Melbourne, which was knocked down at an auction sale in the early days to Dr. Thomas Black for £167, and which subsequently brought him in £3000 a year in rent!

**W**—stands for (1) Wages, which are paid out of the product of the industry in which the wage-earners are employed; (2) Wealth, which is the product of Labor applied to land. That part of the product which goes to labor is called wages, that part which goes to capital in return for its use is called interest, and that part which goes to the owners of the land for allowing it to be used is called (economic) rent. When the (economic) rent has been diverted from the so-called landowners to the Government, as representing the people, by means of the Single Tax, the economic side of the Social Problem will have been solved.

**W**—stands for (3) Women, who suffer even more than men from the evil effects of land monopoly. It is upon the women that the burden chiefly falls when men go on strike for weeks, bringing nothing home, leaving the wives to keep off starvation as best they can. And the reason that so many women are on the street is because fear of unemployment and the facility of immoral intercourse prevent many men from marrying, and in consequence large numbers of women, who might otherwise have been happy mothers, lead loveless lives.

**X**—stands for Xemptions, which mar the Federal Land tax in Australia, and, by encouraging the owners of land valued at under £5000 (who are not subject to the tax) to withhold their land from use pending a rise, have done more than anything else to encourage land monopoly, to prevent labor from obtaining access to land, to increase unemployment, and to cheat the Government of the revenue to which it is justly entitled. The Federal land tax is further marred by graduations, landowners being charged from a penny to ninepence in the pound according to the value of their estates, whereas the only equitable way to appropriate land value is by a uniform flat rate, without exemptions and without graduations, applied equally to all.

N.B. Single Taxers in the United States and elsewhere should take warning from Australia in respect of exemptions and graduations, which have proved the greatest drawback to our movement and have done immense injury to the cause.

**Y Z**—stands for Wise, which the people of Australia will show themselves to be if they put the Single Tax into force without delay.  
Sydney, N. S. Wales.

PERCY R. MEGGY.

A COLLEGE professor of political economy has written a book about our food supply, but does not mention land. He is as funny as the Cleveland "realtor" who during a fierce agitation over the housing shortage, urged the City Hall to build 10,000 dwellings, "as Ford builds autos," and never said where he would put 'em.

## BOOK NOTICES

### GEORGE D. HERRON'S LATEST BOOK.\*

The author of this book was one of the most prominent of those who were behind the diplomatic scenes in Europe during the World War. A former Socialist, he recognized what few men of his economic beliefs were able to sense—the menace that a German victory held for the world. He was a determined and eloquent crusader in his advocacy of America's participation on the side of the Allies. He worked for a Wilson peace both before and after the Armistice.

With the conclusion of the Versailles Treaty and the repudiation of the contractual conditions laid down by Wilson, under which Germany had been persuaded to forego further conflict, Mr. Herron, now in great part disillusioned, turns the weapon of his denunciation toward France, and in many eloquent chapters vents his wrath upon those who took part at the Council table, both for their desertion of the cause for which the young men of the Allied nations took up arms, and the betrayal of the German people by the diplomats in repudiating the terms the German armies had been induced to sign.

He does not exonerate Wilson, though his condemnation is wisely tempered, and he gives high praise for what Wilson tried to do. The study of Wilson is a valuable analysis of his aims and motives, and, as we see it today, his comparative failure. On the whole the estimate is a just and fair one. It will be weighed against the harsher criticism that has emanated from so many quarters, and will probably aid greatly in our final estimate of Woodrow Wilson.

The style of the book fairly throbs and pulsates with emotion. I know of few works on the war and its aftermath in which the soul of the writer is laid so visibly bare. Mr. Herron is an idealist, and as such, weighed in the scales of a calculating and materialistic time, his conclusions will seem often impractical. For example, he estimates the German character in harsh terms, he is aware of its peculiar psychology, yet he asks of the French a standard of conduct possessed by no nation of the earth and hardly by the seraphim themselves.

Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that his idealism is not shot through with some very practical suggestions and some very exact information of what actually transpired at and around the peace table. He knew the forces at work as few observers at the time could have known them, for his opportunities were many and intimate.

Above all, it is impossible to read the book and not be conscious of a mental and spiritual tonic from which we rise refreshed in mind and soul. From what Mr. Herron feels is what many of us feel in our best moments when the stirring of the Great Aspiration moves in us. This Mr. Herron does for us and it was worth doing.

It is a pity that the author has not sensed the essential heart of the struggle for national supremacy. He is, or was a Socialist, so all he sees is what we may call the troop of attendant motives which trail along with the supreme and deeper motive. This he fails to emphasize even if he does see it. He sees the battling and scheming nations, the tricks and conspiracies of their financial and capitalist masters, and he assumes that this is all. What he does not see is the Land Question beneath it all, the masses of the disinherited moved as pawns across the chessboard, helpless because deprived of the right to land, without which man is not a freeman but a serf and the easy dupe of imperial ambitions.

—J. D. M.

\*The Defeat in Victory. By George D. Herron. Clo. 12 mo., 202 pp. Price \$2. net. Christopher Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

### A WORK BY DUNDAS WHITE

A useful and well-filled book of over 200 pages is *Land Value Policy*, by J. Dundas White, issued by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values at 11 Tothill street, London, England, and published for 2s 6d.

Mr. Dundas White is one of the leading Single Taxers of Great Britain. His scholarly and exact treatment of economic questions linked with our basic reform has made him a distinguished spokesman for these principles.

In this work there is an interesting chapter in which the author details the evolution of the Single Tax doctrine from the French physiocrats, Thomas Spence, Ogilvie, Thomas Paine, James Mill, Patrick Edward Dove, and Sir John MacDonell, finally culminating in Henry George. The last chapter is entitled "Notable Sayings" and these from well known poets, statesmen, writers and economists.

An idea of the book may be gained from the following passage from the Introduction. We have not room to quote more fully from this very informing little volume which should be in every Single Tax library.

"Justice requires that all the people should have equal rights to the land which nature has provided. The rights to land are of a comprehensive character, for they include the rights to the light that shines on it, to the wind that blows over it, to the rain that falls on it, to the springs that rise in it, to the streams that flow upon it, to the water power, to the natural growths, to the use of its surface, in a variety of ways, to the stone, the clay, the coal, the minerals, and other materials which it contains, and to all else that pertains to the land and passes with a grant to it. These gifts of nature which are in no wise due to the agency of man, ought not to be the subjects of private property, but ought to be treated as the common property of the people, from generation to generation continuously."

This is a statement of our doctrine which, were we always to bear it in mind, would keep us from doing the things that violate it in principle or deny it by minimizing it.

—J. D. M.

### AN IMPORTANT WORK FROM THE FEDERAL TAX LEAGUE

Another volume to be included as an almost indispensable addition to the Single Taxer's library is the Report of the National Tax Relief Convention held in Chicago last Autumn. It is much more than a "report," for to it is added Two Hundred Answers to Pertinent Questions, Illustrations, Cartoons, selected articles from many sources, diagrams and tables. It is issued by the Manufacturers and Merchants Federal Tax League whose headquarters is at 1346 Altgeld Street, Chicago, for \$2. a copy in paper, and it contains over 350 pages.

Mr. Otto Cullman is president of the Federal Tax League, and is represented in this Report by an address delivered at the convention. In this the purpose of the League is set forth. Then follow addresses of Warren S. Blauvelt, of the Indiana Coke and Gas Company, of Terre Haute, Indiana, and Hon. J. H. Kauffman, Hon. Edward Nordman, Hon. Edward Polak, Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown, William H. Holly and many others, all names familiar to Single Taxers.

There are selected articles on Taxation, which include Henry George's *Canons of Taxation*, and articles by Thomas G. Shearman, John Z. White, John S. Codman, and Emil O. Jorgensen.

In other parts of the book there appear Jones Itemized Rent Bill, by Joseph Dana Miller, and liberal extracts from the same writer's article from the *Dearborn Independent*, "Has the Single Tax Made Progress?"

Messrs. Cullman and Jorgensen, on whom the principal work devolved of collating and preparing this material, are to be congratulated in providing a valuable arsenal of information on taxation in relation to business.

It must be remembered that no further aim was contemplated than the presentation of the fiscal side of this reform. We have no disposition to minimize the usefulness of such presentation. What the

book lacks, and which it was no purpose of the authors to include, is a statement of the justification for taking the complete economic rent and the social consequences that will follow it. The editors saw no reason to emphasize the larger and more important relations of their subject. Perhaps they assume that if the reader can be persuaded to adopt a partial programme he may advance to a fuller understanding of what this great social change really comprehends. If this is so, we do not wish to quarrel with their conclusions. The great central truth of our movement is not fiscal, does not merely concern itself with the relation of taxation to business, but strikes at the very root of a defective civilization and calls for an entirely new social concept.

—J. D. M.

#### REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE

We acknowledge receipt of the official report of the proceedings of the International Conference for the Taxation of Land Values held in August of last year, and which a number of American Single Taxers attended. It is published by the United Committee at 11 Tothill street, London.

It is got up in good style and bound in cloth. It contains the addresses delivered at the Conference, and a few that were sent to be read by those unable to be present. Many of these are worthy of permanent preservation. A portrait of Henry George furnishes the frontispiece, in addition to which there is a group photograph of the members of the Conference, in which we recognize a number of well known figures.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### WHAT IS MEANT BY EQUALITY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Prof. Edward Grant Conklin, of Princeton University, has made of some of his lectures an admirable and most useful book on "Heredity and Environment," of which a revised edition was published some time ago.

When the Biologist writes on Sociology, however, his authority does not save all his statements. Like many another, he criticizes the "All men are born free and equal" as though it implied equal capacities and environments. But the fathers were talking Sociology, not Biology. Why should the writers of the Declaration of Independence be accused of the manifest absurdity of referring to equality of mind and morals, any more than to weight and height?

All men are, "of right," born free and equal as to their political rights (and possibly as to their economic rights.) This is the incontrovertible, though dangerous doctrine—dangerous to special privilege and to monopoly.

N. Y. City

BOLTON HALL.

### LLOYD GEORGE'S SACRIFICES FOR FREEDOM

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I always find your pages full of interest, but necessarily some articles in every issue stand out from the rest. To wit, in the current number Graham Peace's account of the bearing of the English political situation on Single Tax prospects is bulging out with warning and instruction. But I am not sure that his interpretation of Lloyd George's acts and career is not somewhat lacking in charity. Few statesmen have shown the possession of ethical standards such as those acted on by (for instance) Gladstone the Churchman, Bright the Quaker, or Morley the Agnostic. Men of whom it could have been truly asserted "he sweareth to his own hurt but changeth not." That we cannot claim a place among those few for Lloyd George is a cause for sincerest regret to many admirers like myself of his many great and brilliant abilities. Yet of a man who has once sacrificed to principle we may hope for further devotion, spite of later wanderings from the

straight and narrow path. And those of us who remember vividly events in England during the Boer War and the almost reckless bravery with which "the little Welsh attorney" threw himself into the struggle to stem the tide of popular clamor, who recall the execration in which his name was held by the mass of the nation, the attempts at personal mob violence from which he escaped mainly by his native agility, and the political extinction which he later suffered, we who remember this and a few other items to the credit of his account with the English people, have not lost hope that some good may yet come to our cause from Lloyd George.

But surely Graham Peace is wholly right with the Commonwealth party, in refusing support to any other of the great political machines as such. The examples of history are all on his side. If the great parties, for their own satisfaction, sponsor our measures or go half way, well and good, let us support those measures—and ask for more!

What we have to guard against is lest the great parties shall make tools of us. If we can make tools of them, why, is not that the very reason for their existence?

Vancouver, B. C.

CHARLES PIKE.

### A PARTY OF HER OWN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

A lady telephoned me the other day that she would call to beg money from me for La Follette. I shall tell her I have a party of my own. La Follette is a Socialist and not a Single Taxer. I am glad to know that I will have the opportunity of voting our ticket in this state.

I hope that our party will get a bigger vote than we expect. But the great thing is to get people to inquire, "What is this Commonwealth Land Party?" And we must be prepared with speakers and literature to tell them.

East Orange, N. J.

MARY D. HUSSEY.

### THINKS IT EFFECTIVE PROPAGANDA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I imagine a bitter feeling behind your remark that Single Taxers are the only voters to vote against their own principles. They probably often do so, rather than refrain from voting at all. I believe that had the S. T. Party persistently placed candidates in the field and at the same time proclaimed its principles clearly we should be further advanced than we now are because I think that electioneering is an effective way of advertising a platform if a good one.

Pasadena, Calif.

HENRY H. LAW.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

PITTSBURG Single Taxers have organized a Henry George Club with M. S. Robinson as president and Percy Williams as secretary. Some of the members are filling speaking dates in and near Pittsburgh.

FRANK W. MAGUIRE, one of the most faithful workers in Chicago in the years past, now pensioned by his employers, the Sprague Warne Co., is devoting his entire time to intelligent and effective work in Pittsburgh.

OUR valued contributor, Howard M. Holmes, has an article in the Lorain *Journal* (Ohio) on the multiplicity of laws under the title, "Governmentalism."

"DAVIS Stirs Iowa Democrats with Pledge to Lower Taxes" is a New York *World* headline. Not only stirs but positively thrills them!

"THE country is all right; it just needs to get some more crooks behind bars," says Charles B. Driscoll, of the *Cleveland Press*. He's wrong; crooked laws would remain.

REV. JOHN T. SCOTT preached some Single Tax sermons in Armenia and Sharon, Conn., during his September vacation in the latter place.

The Cleveland Public Library is in need of Nov.-Dec. 1923 issue of the SINGLE TAX REVIEW.

A CORRESPONDENT writes us that LAND AND FREEDOM occupies a conspicuous place in the Los Angeles Public Library, along with the *Analyst*, *Babsons* and other "economic" publications.

JOHN Z. WHITE will tour the Pacific coast states from January to April of the coming year.

THE Denver *Labor Bulletin* is printing communications on the Single Tax from George Lloyd, Earsen I. Sopen (E. M. Caffall) and others.

A LETTER addressed to the Citizens League, of Cleveland, opposing the amendment proposed by the Ohio Tax Association appears in the papers of that city signed by Dr. J. E. Tuckerman, E. W. Doty and other Single Taxers of that city.

THE July issue of the *Granite Monthly* (New Hampshire) contains an article with a half-tone portrait of George H. Duncan, the title of which is "The Minnesota Ore Tax as applied to New Hampshire Water Powers."

THE pictorial section of *Die Zeit im Bild* (The Times in Pictures) of the *Weser Zeitung*, of Bremen, contains a full length portrait of Adolph Damaschke, editor of the *Bodenreformer* and leading Single Taxer of Germany.

MISS CHARLOTTE SCHEPPER spent her September vacation at Vineyard Haven, Mass., in company with Mrs. E. F. Skeel.

DR. MORRIS LYCHENHEIM, candidate for governor of Illinois on the Commonwealth Land Party ticket, visited Toronto recently and was tendered a dinner by the Toronto Tax Reform Association. The Toronto *Star* reported him as saying that "the Single Tax question is inevitable."

WARREN WORTH BAILEY is candidate for Congress on the Democratic ticket from Johnstown, Pa., and announces that his leading issue is taxation.

E. W. DOTY talked to the Lorain, Ohio, Lions Club, and the *Journal* of that city gave a good report of his address.

THE San Diego Single Tax Society celebrated the birthday of Henry George by a luncheon at Mission Cliff Gardens on Sept. 2.

AMONG the visitors to this office during the past bi-month was George Cary Colburn of San Diego, California, who in company with Mr. A. C. Pleydell visited Henry George's grave in Greenwood. R. S. McMahon, of New Iberia, Louisiana, was also a visitor.

OUR old friend, Frank Chodorov, has a well considered and lengthy communication in the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* on "The effect of ten cent car fare in that city."

M. ALBERT CAUWELL, of the newly formed Land League, of Belgium, whose address is 55 Rue de Pavie, Brussels, has made a reprint of the French translation of *Progress and Poverty*. He contemplates the publication of a periodical devoted to our movement. He will be glad to hear from friends of the cause everywhere, and readers of LAND AND FREEDOM are asked to take notice.

THE following officers have been elected by the New Zealand Land Values League for the current year, President, Hon. George Fowles, Vice President, Hon. P. J. O'Regan. The *Liberator*, organ of the movement in New Zealand, reprints what it terms "the three funda-

mentals" from the Commonwealth Land party platform. 1st. The earth is the birthright of mankind, 2nd, the rent of the land belongs to the people, 3rd, It is the first duty of government to collect it."

THE *Citizen*, of Cleveland, Ohio, continues its well known hospitality to Single Tax communications and articles on the land problem.

THE *People's Advocate*, one of the best Single Tax papers published in the English speaking world, reprints the address of John Sherwin Crosby at the Grand Central Palace, this city, over the body of Henry George. Those who heard that great voice can remember the sensation caused by that wonderful oration and the effect that followed this statement: "It has been said that he threatened established institutions. Threatened? He has not only threatened them; he has shaken them to their foundations."

THE New York *Sun* of August 20 contained a sketch of the life of the late William McCabe, the candidate for governor of New York on the Commonwealth Land Party ticket. It tells of his association with Henry George in San Francisco when both worked at the case.

NORMA COOLEY, daughter of Stoughton Cooley, has a role in William C. de Mille's screen play, "The Fast Set."

CONSTRUCTIVE Democracy, advertised on the back page of cover of this issue, is a book that should be in the hands of every member of the Commonwealth Land Party. Mr. Flacy is an old time Single Taxer, and has told the story in language that anybody can understand without hard thinking. The book is unique in its simplicity of presentation.

THE complete works of Henry George have been translated into Spanish and published by a well known Madrid firm. Though *Progress and Poverty* has been translated into nearly every known language, this is said to be the first instance of a foreign translation of Henry George's complete works.

OSCAR H. GEIGER is now connected with Arnold & Constable, of this city, as buyer for their fur department.

L. CARL SEELBACH has a communication in the Buffalo *Express* on the assessment of vacant land in that city.

THE Henry George Club, of Pittsburgh, celebrated the anniversary of Henry George's birth by a luncheon at Kaufman and Baer's Auditorium. Mayor William A. Magee delivered an address on The Progress of Tax Reform in Pittsburgh part of which will be found on another page, and C. D. Scully spoke on "Henry George and His Philosophy." President M. S. Robinson presided.

WE have received a sixteen page pamphlet on "The Christian Philosophy of Human Progress," by Charles H. Hartman, of Chicago, in which the land question is presented in the light of Scriptural interpretation.

A CARD just received announces that the law firm of Spalding and Myers has been formed in Los Angeles, with August Weymann as associate, with offices in the National City Bank Building.

A GROUP of California Single Taxers have prepared a tax exemption constitutional amendment which they intend to ask the next legislature to submit to popular vote. It proposes to exempt personal property in four years (by gradual annual reduction) and to give a two thousand dollar exemption to each owner of "improvement on land," this also to be reached by annual reductions of \$500, for four years.

E. YANCEY COHEN has just returned from a European trip which he took in company with Fiske Warren.