

July—August, 1929

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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

## The International Conference *at* Edinburgh

Delegates from Twenty-four Countries Commemorate the  
Fiftieth Anniversary of "Progress and Poverty"

## The Coming Henry George Congress *at* Pittsburgh, Pa.

September 23, 24, 25

## Winning Essay in College Contest

Robert Collins

## The New Edition of "Progress and Poverty"

Some Press Comments

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# LAND AND FREEDOM

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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



# Land and Freedom

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## Comment and Reflection

AN editorial in the Los Angeles *Herald* tells an inquirer that there are "no definitely good books on political economy—that is to say, no permanently accurate books." And the writer adds, "Ruskin despised by many teachers has possibly written as much economic truth as any man. Henry George in "Progress and Poverty" has presented theories which have done good in stimulating thought."

AND to show the writer's confusion and his inability to come to any conclusion, he adds:

If you wrote a letter to the professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins University, or any other large university, he would probably give you a list of the latest books now considered the best. If we had to write a book on economics it would be a short one, and would read about as follows:

"What can be done in the present state of civilization to diminish suffering, poverty and anxiety without eliminating the desperate, brutal, selfish struggle that alone produces real effort among half savage human beings?"

That would be the end of the book, because we should not answer our own question, except with the unsatisfactory words, "Time and evolution."

IT is hopeless to expect any sane conclusions from a writer who couples the name of Ruskin, with his fancifully weird notions, with Henry George with his carefully reasoned diagnosis and remedy for social ills. And the lame and impotent conclusion to avoid all further thought on the question: "Time and Evolution." Evolution proceeds from human thought as well as human necessity. What is to be done and how? Are there no laws of distribution? Are the injustices in human society—especially that injustice which gives socially created values to private individuals—to be permitted to continue while editors and professors and preachers loll back comfortably in their easy chairs, and say, "Oh, leave it to evolution." Those who complained of piracy on the high seas would hardly have been satisfied with the comforting assurance that the matter might safely be left to evolution.

PROGRESS and Poverty not only supplied some suggestive thoughts on political economy (sic) as the editor condescendingly intimates, but answers the inquiry of his correspondent. It propounds a remedy for our social ills. Despite the mental gyrations of our editor, who may have read the book, but probably has not, it rendered nearly all political economy written up to that time quite useless. Why does he not tell his correspondent about it and his own conclusions regarding it?

THERE is today a great literature—great in the sense of magnitude—devoted to business, and comprising books, periodicals, brochures, pamphlets—truckloads of them. These treat of mass production, wages, profits, and are concerned with the practical details of production, or with theoretical speculations and conjectures. It is rare to find among this solid impenetrable mass the faintest glimmerings of perception as to any laws of distribution.

FOR any explanation how wealth is distributed after it is produced, the obstacles that must be overcome before a successful business can be established, the position occupied by the silent partner in all industry, who is never even indicated—the land-rent receiver who contributes nothing to production but is only a tribute-taker,—we may look in vain through all this mass of literature. Business is just capital and labor with all the other factors left out. The simplicity of the problem is overlaid with a multiplicity of details, words without end, idle speculations, confusion as to the importance of minor factors—explanations, for the most part fanciful, of what constitutes prosperity, and how it can be brought about. We are wondering what will happen to all this "literature" when the alphabet of business is learned, and when the image of Industry's Toll Taker finally breaks upon the startled vision of these gentlemen who are darkening counsel by this fearful unending stream of printed words.

SOME of this airy speculation has been admirably parodied in Dickens, whose prevision in these matters seems almost uncanny. The following from *Little Dorrit* is an example:

Bar regarded this power in wealth to draw wealth to it, as something remarkably interesting and curious—something indefinably allied to the loadstone and gravitation. Bishop, who had ambled back to earth again, when the present theme was broached, acquiesced. He said it was highly important to Society that one in the trying situation of unexpectedly finding himself invested with a power for good or evil in Society, should become, as it were, merged in the superior power of a more legitimate and gigantic growth, the influence of which (as in the case of our friend at whose board we sat) was habitually exercised in harmony with the best interests of Society. Thus, instead of rival and contending flames burning with a lurid and uncertain glare, we had a blended and a softened light whose genial ray diffused an equitable warmth throughout the land.



Readers of *Little Dorrit* will remember what happened to this "power habitually exercised in harmony with the best interests of Society." But how like it seems to the writings of so many who treat of the subject of modern production, wealth and business.

SOME of our readers are familiar with the following from *Hard Times*:

"Tell me some of your mistakes."

"I am almost ashamed," said Sissy with reluctance. "But today Mr. Choakumchild was explaining to us about Natural Prosperity."

"National, I think it must have been," said Louisa.

"Yes, it was. But isn't it the same?" she timidly asked.

"You had better say National, as he said so," returned Louisa, with dry reserve.

"National Prosperity. And he said, Now this school is a nation. And in this nation there are fifty millions of money. Isn't this a prosperous nation? Girl number twenty, isn't this a prosperous nation and ain't you in a thriving state?"

"What did you say?", asked Louisa.

"Miss Louisa, I said I didn't know. I thought I couldn't know whether it was a prosperous nation or not unless I knew who had got the money and whether any of it was mine. But that had nothing to do with it. It was not in the figures at all," said Sissy wiping her eyes.

IS not this delicious, and is it very different from a great many essays, more laboriously elaborated, of course, dealing with the subject of national wealth and ignoring, as most of them do, the question of distribution? Dickens is full of such touches. Note this from *Little Dorrit*; how it reminds us of the speeches of Republican prophets of prosperity: "They went down into the country, wherever they were sent, and swore that Lord Decimus had raised trade from a swoon, and commerce from a fit, had doubled the harvest of corn, quadrupled the harvest of hay, and prevented no end of gold from flying out of the Bank."

JUST now it is the fashion to belittle Dickens. It may not be pertinent in the present connection to say it, but it is worth saying anyhow, that there is enough material in almost any of the works of the sage of Gad's Hill to furnish forth any half dozen of our modern novelists who are filling temporary engagements before the literary foot-lights!

ONE must experience some of Sissy's perplexity in reading an occasional essay from one of these specialists who argue that we may have greatly increased prosperity even when accompanied by increased unemployment. What they mean by prosperity it is of course difficult to determine, but we assume that it includes greater mass production and a greater number of persons in comfortable circumstances. Of course, this is not

necessarily a desirable prosperity. For along with it may travel a greater concentration of wealth, even if some of it is diffused among a larger number of the people; it may include greater and increasing disparity in possession and income; it may include an even deeper degradation of the "submerged tenth" Even such terms as "bad times" and "good times" need to be submitted to rigorous definition and analysis. Statistics are of little use if we do not bear in mind these considerations—and others as well.

THE *New York Times* in a recent eulogistic article on President Hoover says: "His advocacy of prohibition is probably more for economic and social reasons, because he thinks it makes for bigger bank deposits and more efficient factories than as a moral issue." The writer pays President Hoover a dubious compliment. Every issue is a moral issue before it is anything else. He who sets out to solve political or economic problems in the light of bigger bank deposits and more efficient factories is headed in the wrong direction. We like to think better of Mr. Hoover than his eulogist.

## Ely and the Ohio State Journal

WE regret that such a high-toned and valuable daily as the *Ohio State Journal* of Columbus, Ohio, should publish in its issue of June 16 an article by the National Association of Real Estate Boards in praise of Prof. Richard T. Ely, of the Northwestern University. We do not know of a university teacher and publicist who has done so much to degrade academic life, and to make it a jest and by-word than has Ely. He is a professed teacher of youth, yet he is in the pay of large landed and public utility interests.

He is trying to serve two masters—Monopoly and education. To serve the first he has abandoned utterly the economic teachings of his earlier years and teaches what even the superficial mind should be able to detect as exceedingly preposterous notions regarding land values taxation and public utilities. One has only to compare his old with his new text books to perceive how completely he has gone over to the monopolistic interests which subscribe heavily to his Research Institute. In his prospectus of the establishment of the new Institute he announced that there would be years of research work with the publication of not less than fifty volumes. The humbug is easily perceived when it is noted that, at the very outset, he gives his conclusions. This is not research. The sincere investigator does not do these things. It is the method of the partisan pleader. Ely appears as the economic attorney for the land speculators in their struggle to retain unjust economic privileges. And the reason given for the removal of this institute from the University of Wisconsin to the Northwestern University, is not the true one.



## What Civilization Did For Edward Kelly

EDWARD KELLY lived in New York, where he was born, until he was 22. His mother was a janitress and he sold papers and did various odd jobs to help out. His father disappeared when Edward was fourteen and for a time Edward was the main support of his mother.

He had never learned to read and write, and no truant officer had ever presented himself at his home. At fifteen he got a year in Elmira for a clothing store theft. Because he was large for his age he was not put in school but set to work in the blacksmith shops. He was turned out as illiterate as he had entered.

The other day he was arrested for an attempt to burglarize another clothing store for which character of establishment he seems to have had a partiality. He is described as having an intelligent face, but found difficulty in expressing himself because of his limited vocabulary.

Maybe if he had been educated he would have remained a thief—perhaps he would have been a more expert thief. But the fact remains that he never had a chance to grow up an honest self-respecting lad. Society put the criminal stamp on him with his first offence, as it does with so many others, threw him into the scrap heap, forced him to consort with criminals, denied him mental and moral tuition because he was tall for a boy of fifteen, and after a year threw him out into the world again, not troubling itself as to what became of him.

The enlightened judge, George W. Martin, chairman of King's County Judges, before whom he was charged, had no option but to send him to Sing Sing, but before he sentenced him he had something to say, and we commend what he said to those who are interested in crime problems:

We have not an institution where we might send a defendant of this kind and rid him of his handicap and give him a chance to work out his talents for good. He is another proof of how far short we fall in solving crime problems justly and intelligently.

"We find alleged crime experts rushing into print with their blatant demand, 'put him in prison,' as the cure-all for crime. A parrot could say as much and reason as intelligently. Here we have an unfortunate illiterate, who has since 1923, been in and out of prison without the least effort on the part of the authorities to try to save him. It has just been a case of yank him and throw him out. A decent effort to save this boy in the first instance would have kept him from other crimes and done society a useful service.

"Now I must send him to Sing Sing because the law says I must. He is here as a second offender, and he must be sent to associate with hardened criminals and thereby become hardened in crime."

All honor to Judge Martin! Rarely do we hear from the bench a word in defence of the disinherited.

## Pittsburgh Prepares for Great Jubilee Congress September 23-24-25

THE Pittsburgh Convention celebrating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty," promises to be a splendid demonstration of the fact that the great movement inaugurated by Henry George through the completion in 1879 of his immortal volume, is today thoroughly alive and that the Georgists of America are ready to press forward toward even greater achievements in the future.

Chairman William N. McNair of the Convention Committee announces that preparations are now well advanced and that several thousand invitations have been mailed to all parts of the United States and Canada, with a view to a record-breaking attendance for this notable event. This is the Fourth Annual Henry George Congress and, like its worthy predecessors, is held under the auspices of the Henry George Foundation of America, which has its national headquarters in Pittsburgh. The Henry George Club of Pittsburgh is giving its whole-hearted cooperation to the officers and committees of the Foundation in the convention preparations and will act as host.

United States Senator Clarence C. Dill, of the State of Washington, will honor the Henry George Congress with his presence and will be the principal speaker at the annual banquet on the evening of September 24th. A very high grade programme throughout is assured by the acceptances already received from speakers of ability and prominence and the plans which have been made for special features of interest. The list of distinguished speakers will include Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, President of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free-Trade and Mrs. Anna George de Mille, daughter of Henry George, both of whom are now in Europe in connection with the International Conference at Edinburgh; Hon. Lawson Purdy, former President of the New York City Tax Assessment Commission; Hon. William A. Magee, twice Mayor of Pittsburgh and sponsor of the famous Graded Tax Plan; Hon. Peter Witt, former member of Cleveland City Council, recently returned from an observation trip abroad; Hon. Thomas C. McMahon, now and for the past eight years Chief Tax Assessor of Pittsburgh; and Hon. Norman Thomas, Socialist nominee for President in 1928 and now a candidate for Mayor of New York City. The very significant declarations as to the importance of the land question made by Mr. Thomas during the late presidential campaign and his stand in favor of the taxation of land values as proposed by Henry George, will lend special interest to his appearance at the Single Tax Conference in Pittsburgh.

The subject of Senator Dill's address is not as yet known, but the committee is highly gratified that he has displayed



such a friendly interest in the cause which the Henry George Foundation represents as is indicated by his favorable response to the invitation. Peter Witt will have a message of special interest dealing with the Labor Party victory in the recent British elections and the campaign preceding it, which he had the opportunity to observe at first hand.

The Jubilee Congress will bring to Pittsburgh most of the still active members of the "Old Guard" of the Single Tax movement, as well as a number of the younger leaders and workers from all sections. Early reports indicate good delegations from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati and St Louis, and many other cities will doubtless have representation on the roll of honor, including at least some points in the South and Far West where greater distances are involved.

The number of formal, extended addresses at the Pittsburgh Congress will be somewhat limited, but quite a large number of persons will participate either in the formal speaking programme or in the informal discussions which will characterize the morning and afternoon conferences of the three-day session. Among those whose presence and participation are already either assured or anticipated as probable are Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Frederic C. Leubuscher, Joseph Dana Miller, Edward Polak, Frederic C. Howe, Poultney Bigelow, Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Frank Stephens, Bolton Hall, Harry H. Willock, Gerrit J. Johnson, Charles H. Ingersoll, Dr. J. H. Dillard, Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., Miss Charlotte O. Schetter, Will Atkinson, Chester C. Platt, James F. Morton, Frederick H. Monroe, Robert C. Macauley, August Wiliges, Samuel Danziger, Charles LeBaron Goeller, J. C. Lincoln, Fiske Warren, John J. Murphy, Charles J. Ogle, Harry W. Olney, Dr. Mark Millikin, Charles R. Eckert, Otto Cullman, Emil O. Jorgensen, Clayton J. Ewing, and John Lawrence Monroe. Bolton Smith, John B. Sharpe, Fenton Lawson, Henry P. Boynton, Frank T. Stirlith, Harold Sudell, George H. Hallett and Vernon J. Rose.

Canada will be ably represented by A. C. Campbell, of Ottawa, and Alan C. Thompson, of Toronto. A good Canadian delegation is anticipated this year. There also is a strong probability that Australia will be represented by a prominent Georgist. If Europe is not represented directly, the Pittsburgh Congress will nevertheless be assured of fresh reports concerning the very latest developments in Great Britain and on the continent and the high spots of the Edinburgh International Conference will be presented by several speakers, chief of whom will be President Hennessy of the International Union. The address of welcome will be delivered by Hon. James H. Gray of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County, an outstanding independent "progressive" of Western Pennsylvania.

In order that the visiting delegates may receive direct information from the highest authoritative sources with re-

gard to Pittsburgh's famous Graded Tax Plan, the committee has arranged for addresses on this subject by Hon. William A. Magee, former Mayor and political sponsor of the Graded Tax and by the Chairman of the Board of City Assessors, Hon. Thomas C. McMahon, who not only served under Mayor Magee in the early days, but is serving as the head of the Tax Department under the present city administration.

A special effort is being made to secure the presence of Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University, now abroad, who has been communicated with in London. It is also hoped that John Z. White, Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, and some others of special prominence in the movement will be among those participating.

Conferences occupying the morning and afternoon periods will be featured by the discussion of Educational Methods, Political Policy, Organization, Single Tax Enclaves, and General Propaganda Policy, during which a variety of viewpoints will doubtless be presented by some of the ablest spokesmen. Two public meetings are planned for this year's convention and Monday and Wednesday evenings will be devoted to this purpose and a strong speaking program provided to attract a local audience.

The social and entertainment features will not be neglected. The annual banquet on the evening of September 24th is expected to be a very enjoyable occasion and there will be noon-day luncheons on each of the three days, the Congress opening on Monday morning, the 23d, and closing Wednesday evening, the 25th, with the advance guard probably arriving on Sunday, the 22d. A motor bus trip is planned for Tuesday morning, to include many points of interest. This will give an opportunity to view some of the more important public and private improvements recently made in the Steel City. All convention sessions will be held in the William Penn Hotel, the official headquarters.

President George E. Evans, of the Henry George Foundation, cancelled his contemplated trip to Edinburgh in order to give his full support to the committee arranging the Pittsburgh Conference, delegating Charles R. Eckert, of Beaver, Pa., a trustee, to officially represent the Foundation at the International Conference. Secretary Percy R. Williams is now giving his entire attention to convention matters and striving to make the Fiftieth Anniversary Congress a big success. Full information may be obtained by communicating with the Henry George Foundation, Berger Building, Pittsburgh, and reservations and communications should be addressed to the Secretary.

**T**ILL the economic darkness now prevailing in the minds of the general public, and of "Capital" and "Labor," is dispelled by the clear light emanating from the knowledge of Henry George's teachings, rising discontent, strikes by Labour, lock-outs by Capital, social upheavals, threats of Communism and revolution, the dread of coming chaos must prevail. —Melbourne *Progress*.



## Henry George Foundation Lecture Work

THE lecture activities of the Henry George Foundation have been carried on with renewed vigor during the past two months, both Secretary P. R. Williams and William N. McNair, President of the Pittsburgh Club, making tours through Pennsylvania. Mr. Williams addressed the summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Forest Park, Pa., on June 27th. The three day conference was largely devoted to the problems of municipal government and Pittsburgh's experience with special taxation of land values and its economic significance as related to the Single Tax programme was presented by Secretary Williams. Quite a keen interest in this subject was displayed by the conference and throughout the session repeated references were made to the land question and its importance in dealing with the housing problem and other phases of the general economic problem.

Mr. Williams also addressed the Pottsville Rotary Club and McKeesport Kiwanis Club on this trip and held conferences with city officials in Wilkes-Barre and Lancaster, Pa., with regard to proposed tax legislation for the third class cities of Pennsylvania, receiving assurance of strong support from public officials in those cities.

Mr. McNair has been quite active of late on the lecture platform and has filled a number of engagements during the past several weeks including appearances before the following clubs and educational institutions: Elwood City Kiwanis Club, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Wilkesburg Kiwanis Club, University of Pittsburgh, Wilkesburg Lions Club, St. James Lutheran Church and Donora Rotary Club.

## An Old Friend of the Movement

FROM Mr. Alexander Veitch, an old Leith resident in Kansas, I have received for perusal a pamphlet entitled "Peace and Freedom," which sets forth the "very real and practical ends which may be obtained by a free people using political democracy as a means to secure economic democracy—to democratise the land—which, together with human labor, is the basis of all wealth. This is Single Tax and social justice." In his covering letter Mr. Veitch writes, "I was back in Leith a few years ago and found conditions worse than ever. Nothing less than the applied science of taxation will do Britain any good. Edinburgh was chosen for a convention by Single Taxers of the world this summer." Mr. Veitch concludes with the interesting information that "Your office in Tolbooth Wynd is on the site of my old playing ground when I was a drummer in port of Leith Flute Band fifty-five years ago."

Edinburgh and Leith (Scotland) *Observer*.

## Annie C. George Prize Essay Contest

WINNING ESSAY BY STUDENT OF  
BEREA COLLEGE

THE Annie C. George Prize Fund was recently established by a gift, to be administered by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, and in honor of Annie C. George, the wife of Henry George. Last year, the Annie C. George Prize Essay Committee offered prizes of \$100, \$50 and five Honorable Mention prizes of \$10 each, making a total of \$200, to those students of Berea College, Kentucky, who would submit the best essays on the subject "Taxation of Land Values" based on the teachings of Henry George, as found in his writings.

The economics department library of Berea College was presented with 120 copies of "Significant Paragraphs from Progress and Poverty," and other books related to this subject were also given by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation to facilitate the reference reading of the competing students.

The contest began early in January 1929, and terminated in April. Through its appointed judges, the Annie C. George Prize Essay Committee made a careful selection of prize winning essays from the 101 essays submitted by the Berea students. Most of these essays were well planned and all showed that thought and care had been given to the work.

Robert Collins won the first prize of \$100. He is a native of Livia, Kentucky. He reached his twenty-first birthday last February and will begin his Senior year at Berea this Fall.

The second prize-winner—Annis Smith—is twenty years of age. Her home is at Horse Cave, Kentucky. She will enter her Junior year at Berea next Fall. Besides winning the \$50 award made by the Annie C. George Committee, she received a two year labor award from the College for her unusual services as a librarian.

The judges felt that Mr. Collins' essay was unusual in many respects and they have requested us to reprint it in full.

### THE WINNING ESSAY, TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

Wherever governments exist, there is always a need for a supply of money for their up-keep. This supply, down through the ages, has been fed by the revenue obtained from taxation. The problem of determining the best method of taxation has existed in civilized countries for many centuries. In accordance with our system, we have assessed an amount of money to be paid by each and every owner of property. This amount has been distributed over the factors of production, land, labor, and capital. But our system has not worked satisfactorily.



By taxing both producers and consumers goods, we have not put the burden of taxation where it should be placed.

For the remedy of this unjust system another, known as "Taxation of Land Values," has been proposed. In pursuance of this proposed policy, the revenue for the government would be secured by taxing the value of the land itself irrespective of all improvements, such as ditching, draining, irrigation, fencing, the planting of trees, and the erection of buildings. When land value taxation is exclusive, it is rightly called the "Single Tax," meaning only one tax and that upon the value of the land. Everything done on the land itself to improve the value of the estate is classed as an improvement and, under the Single Tax, would be exempt from taxation. This leaves nothing except the location value and the fertility value to be taxed.

By the word "land," used in connection with this method of taxation, is not meant agricultural land alone. The word includes also, mineral deposits, forests, water fronts, railroad rights-of-ways and terminal yards, and all building sites of towns and cities.

In short the word includes all natural resources.

The original advocates of the Single Tax were a group of French economists called "Physiocrats." It was their belief that land was the original and fundamental source of all wealth, and that the rent of land was the only real surplus wealth which the community ever produced. They called attention to the fact that if we tax the products of industries, there is no surplus out of which the tax can be paid; as a result, we either raise their price or depress the price of raw materials. Furthermore, if we tax labor we must raise wages accordingly; and if we tax enterprise we must raise profits. Every tax, therefore, is shifted from one to another until it reaches the land-owner, who alone has a surplus out of which it can be paid. The land-owner cannot shift it any farther, and, since he must ultimately pay the tax, the physiocrats argued that it was better for him to pay it directly in the first place than indirectly after several shiftings from one person to another.

In 1879, Henry George, one of the world's greatest social philosophers, brought forth his "Progress and Poverty," in which he very successfully discusses this important subject, taxation. His book has done much in giving our reform movement its present momentum. In this well-known book he strongly supports land value taxation and states that it conforms most closely with the essential principles of taxation, which are as follows:

1. That it bear as lightly as possible upon production so as least to check the increase of the general fund from which taxes must be paid and the community maintained.

2. That it be easily and cheaply collected, and fall as directly as may be upon the ultimate tax-payers—so as to take away as little as possible in addition to what it yields to the government.

3. That it be certain—so as to give the least opportunity for tyranny or corruption on the part of officials

and the least temptation to law-breaking and evasion on the part of the tax-payers.

4. That it bear equally—so as to give no citizen an advantage or put any at a disadvantage, as compared with others.

We have found that indirect taxes tend to check production and to cause scarcity by obstructing the processes of production. Men are taxed as they work, as they do business, and as they invest productively. It is unfair to tax the farmer double if he doubles his crop, improves his farm, or if he does anything which tends to make himself better off and the world a better place in which to live. It is very unjust to tax any man in proportion to what he has done for himself rather than what the community as a whole has done for him. The reduction of taxation on property other than land would serve as a stimulus to greater production. When, for instance, a farmer finds that his crops, his cattle, and his buildings are not taxed, or are not taxed so heavily, he is encouraged to develop these forms of property. Also when he sees that his idle land is taxed at the same rate as like land in use is taxed, he is encouraged to put the idle land to use.

Our present system of indirect taxation does not at all conform with the second maxim. This system costs the real tax-payers much more than the government receives, partly because the middlemen through whose hands taxed commodities pass are able to exact compound profits upon their taxes, and partly on account of the extraordinary expenses of original collection; it favors corruption in government by concealing from the people the fact that they contribute to the support of the government. The questions it raises are of vastly more concern than the sum total of public expenditures. But if the proposed land value tax were adopted, we would have a direct tax; therefore, there would be no loss to any middlemen.

The land value tax conforms closer than any other to the third maxim—that it have certainty. Land cannot be hidden; it cannot be "accidentally" overlooked. Nor can its value be greatly misapprehended or misstated. Neither under-appraisal nor over-appraisal is possible to any important extent, without the connivance of the whole community. The land values of a community are matters of common knowledge. Most any intelligent resident can justly appraise them, and every other intelligent resident can fairly test the appraisal. Therefore, the favoritism, tyranny, fraud, corruption and evasions which are so common in connection with the taxation of imports, incomes, manufactures, personal property and buildings—the value of which, even when the object itself cannot be hidden, are so distinctly matters of minute knowledge that only experts can fairly appraise them—would cease to exist if the proposed land value taxation were substituted for our present indirect methods.

In conforming to the fourth and last maxim, the land value tax bears more equally—that is, more justly than



any other tax. It is the only tax that falls upon the taxpayer in proportion to the pecuniary benefits he receives from the public. And it is only fair in this country of freedom that no one should be unjustly discriminated against.

At first thought one might quite naturally jump at the conclusion that the substituting of the land value tax for our present system would mean a great loss to the farmers, because they, comparatively speaking, own much land. But when we remember that this is a tax, not on land, but on land values, we see that the farmer would be a great gainer by such a substitution, because the tax would fall with the greatest weight, not upon the agricultural districts, where land values are comparatively small, but upon the towns and cities, where land values are high; whereas, under our present system, taxes upon personal property and improvements fall as heavily in the country as in the city. In the sparsely settled districts there would be hardly any taxes at all for the farmer to pay.

The fact that unused land would be taxed as heavily as though it were used, would lessen speculation in land. The better distribution of population, which this would bring about, would greatly help the farmer. The destruction of speculative land values would tend to diffuse population where it is too dense and to concentrate it where it is too sparse; to substitute for the tenement house, homes surrounded by gardens, and fully to settle agricultural districts before people were driven far from their neighbors to look for land. The people of the cities would thus get more of the pure air and sunshine of the country, and the people of the country would get more of the economic and social life of the city.

Wealth would not only be enormously increased; it would be more equally distributed. Wealth would be distributed in accordance with the degree in which industry, skill, knowledge, or prudence of each contributed to the common stock. The non-producer would no longer roll in luxury while the producer got but the barest necessities of animal existence.

Since land values tend to rise because of the increase in demand for land with increasing population and increased production, it becomes obvious that a tax levied against such increasing land values cannot impose a burden upon the land owner. His land has increased in value, not through his own efforts but because the other members of society have helped make the location desirable. But in our present system of taxation, where we levy taxes on improvements, we have a very different situation. Improvements require individual effort, individual sacrifices to produce them. They involve definite costs of production, and a tax levied against such products of human labor is, in reality, a tax imposed upon human effort.

Here are two simple principles, both of which are self-evident:—

1. That all men have equal rights to the use and enjoyment of the elements provided by nature.

2. That each man has an exclusive right to the use and enjoyment of what is produced by his own labor.

But these self-evident principles are not abided by in our present social and economic system. With our practice of speculation, millions of people are unjustly denied the use and enjoyment of the elements provided by nature. With our present system of taxation of producers' goods we tax the very efforts of men from the smallest farmer to the largest manufacturer. Thus we deny laborers the use and enjoyment of their products.

It is well known that in this fast industrial age our nation is constantly expanding its interests. To take care of these new interests the government must create new bureaus, boards, and commissions. But these new organs of government like the old, must have money if they are to do effective work. This means that more money must be raised from the tax-payers. Why not begin to shift the burden of taxation to where it should be placed? This should not cause any unnecessary confusion as it could be done gradually. We can see countless defects in our present indirect system and can feel sure that a change to the taxation of land values policy would be a step forward in our struggle for economic perfection—that state in which there shall be no unjust discrimination against anyone.

ROBERT COLLINS,  
Class of 1930, Berea College.

## Henry George, Economist

I CHALLENGE your opinion that "Thorstein Veblen—with the possible exception of Simon N. Patten—was the most individual, original and creative-minded economist America has produced."

There is nothing in all Professor Veblen's writings that will compare with the original and creative work of Henry George in his world-famous book, "Progress and Poverty."

In this epoch-making work George completely and forever demolished the Malthusian theory—that poverty is caused by the natural tendency of population to increase faster than the food supply.

He refuted and destroyed the accepted wage-fund doctrine of all the orthodox economists—the notion that the wages of labor were fixed by the amount of an imaginary fund of "capital" out of which wages were paid.

He proved conclusively that the persistence of poverty despite all the wonderful mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries applied to the production of wealth, was and is due to the ever-increasing percentage of the products of labor and capital taken by the owners of the land.

These three original and creative contributions to the science of political economy have not been equaled by any other writers on the subject.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM in *N. Y. Tribune*,



# The Edinburgh International Conference

The Fourth International Conference to Promote Land Value Taxation and Free Trade was held in Edinburgh, Scotland, from July 29 to August 4th, and was attended by followers of Henry George from twenty-four countries. The full proceedings will be published in book form; some of the addresses and the declaration of principles adopted, are printed elsewhere in this issue. The following report by Chester C. Platt is a general summary of the proceedings as they appeared to an American visitor.

**A**RRIVING at Glasgow we were met on the dock by A. W. Madsen, of the Secretariat of the International Union, and William Reid of Glasgow, and given a set of the printed papers to be presented at the Conference. Among these were papers on the Evils of Unstable Currency, by B. W. Holt, of New York; The Scientific Re-valuation of Real Estate in Chicago and Cook County, by Otto Cullman, of Chicago; Progress of our Movement in the United States, by John J. Murphy, of New York; and the Progress of Henry George Thought in Canada, by Alan C. Thompson and Arthur W. Roebuck, all valuable contributions to the Conference from our side of the Atlantic.

Looking over the pamphlets I was greatly impressed with the one containing messages to the Conference from British members of Parliament to the number of one hundred and twelve including fifteen ministers and seven of whom are members of the cabinet.

## PARTIES PLEDGED

The Labor and Liberal Parties of the House of Commons are pledged to the policy of the taxation of land values. It was one of the leading issues at the last parliamentary election, and again and again during the Conference confidence was expressed that in the next budget brought in by Chancellor Snowden the pledges of the Labor Party will be faithfully carried out, with some co-operation from the Liberal Party.

All the papers written for the Conference, together with the address of Mr. Hennessy, and the proceedings of the Conference are to be published, and they will certainly make a stout volume as there are more than 40 papers. Copies will be available for each member of the International Union.

Among those I have seen at the Conference are: A. P. Canning and wife and his son, Dr. Canning, of Chicago; Mrs. Otto Cullman, Miss Betty Cullman and Harvey Cullman, of Chicago; Mrs. A. E. DuBois and Miss S. E. DuBois, of Bayonne, N. J.; C. R. Eckert and Mrs. Eckert, of Beaver, Pa.; J. R. Fuchs, Mrs. Fuchs and two sons, of New Braunfels, Texas; Dr. and Mrs. R. E. Graves, of Chicago; Miss Frances Wolfe, Miss Antoinette Kauffman, Assistant Secretary Robert Schalkenbach Foundation; Chas. G. Baldwin, of Baltimore, his wife and son; Miss Scheer, of Chicago and Fiske Warren, of Enclave fame; Mrs. Byron W. Holt, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. M. Milliken, wife and daughter, of Hamilton, Ohio; R. Scott, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mrs. Anna George deMille, of New

York and her two charming daughters, Agnes and Margaret; H. E. Miles, of Racine, Wis.; Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati.

New College, (a theological school of the United Free Church of Scotland and one of the most handsome and imposing buildings in the city) with its large assembly room, dining room, smoking room, writing room, and numerous committee rooms made an excellent place for the holding of our Conference.

## BIGELOW SERMON

On the Saturday before the convention opened, a publicity committee and a committee to frame a constitution for the International Union, began work, and on the Sunday before the convention opened Rev. Mr. Bigelow preached an eloquent Single Tax sermon at the Unitarian Church. The local minister showed his friendliness to our cause by making the announcement that copies of Frederick Verinder's paper *Our Daily Bread* could be had in the church vestibule.

Dr. Bigelow told us that many great truths were born in a manger, and that as vaccination gives you a little small pox so you will not get more, so some churches give you a little religion, so you won't get more. He drew some striking contrasts between the house of want and the house of have.

Monday the Conference opened. Standing in front of New College was an automobile, with banners saying, "*Tax land values, which belong to the whole people, whose presence and activities create them. Abolish present unjust rates and taxes by this first reform. The certain and only cure for unemployment and poverty. Do not be misled, the problem of unemployment has only one genuine cure—Land Value Taxation.*"

Mr. Hennessy's opening address was introduced by remarks by Bailie Peter Burt of Glasgow, a friend of Henry George in days gone by, and both were received with enthusiastic cheers by the big audience gathered from twenty-four different countries.

The Inaugural Luncheon followed, and every day during the Conference, lunch was served in the dining hall of the college, and this gave us many opportunities to get acquainted. Besides most of the members were quartered at the Caledonia Hotel and the School of Cookery establishment, both served excellent oatmeal porridge, oatmeal cakes, short bread, cold veal pie, as well as the unapproachable Scotch mutton.



## GREAT PUBLICITY

The Conference has been given great publicity in the newspapers; all the leading papers in Great Britain were given copies of Mr. Hennessy's address in advance, and liberal use was made of it. The three Edinburgh newspapers gave excellent reports of the Conference, day by day, and particularly gratifying were the editorial commendations of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Edinburgh Evening News*.

At a meeting held on the evening of the first day of the Conference, Fiske Warren spoke on Enclaves and Mr. Miles, of the Fair Tariff League, on what the farmers don't get out of the tariff. Both talks called out animated discussions.

The principal differences in opinion brought out in the discussions of the Conference related to methods of assessing land values in which E. G. Geoghegan, of Malta, Sir Edward Harper, E. J. Craigie, of Australia and others took part.

## HIGH SPOTS

The high water mark of the Conference was reached at the great public meeting Tuesday evening when the Fiftieth Anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty" was celebrated. Among the speakers was Mrs. deMille, and she rose to great heights in her simple but heart-stirring talk.

Another public meeting which filled the great convention hall, was the final one Sunday evening when the topic was "The Religious Teachings of Henry George," and all the speakers aroused enthusiastic applause.

The social good times of the Convention centered in the garden party, when we were royally entertained by Sir Henry Ballantyne at his beautiful estate near Hadlington. His great garden was in full bloom with specimens of Scotland's choicest flowers perfuming the air, and round about were big fields of waving grain. The approach to his house was by a long drive through a wood where giant trees spoke of ancient days.

## SOCIAL EVENTS

Refreshments were served from a large tent on a wide-spreading lawn. Mr. Madsen and Andrew MacLaren, M. P., expressed our greetings to Sir Henry, and he delighted us by his response in which he called himself an old-time radical.

There were two interesting excursions, one to the great Forth Bridge at Queensferry, where some of us had tea at the famous old Hawes Inn described by Sir. Walter Scott in *The Antiquary*; and the other (with John Russell as a guide) down what is called the Royal Mile, a section of High Street where once were the houses of nobility and fashion, and where now (in what are called the "Closes" off of this street) are found the homes of the poverty stricken.

## LAND AND FREEDOM

At one of the closing sessions of the Conference I voiced the appreciation of the Single Taxers of the United States of the work done for the cause by Joseph Dana Miller, particularly through *LAND AND FREEDOM*, and conveyed to the Conference the good wishes of Mr. Miller. Many responded with appreciative words proving that Mr. Miller and his journal are internationally well known and highly regarded.

—CHESTER C. PLATT.

## PRESS REPORT

The following press report of the Conference was published in the *Philadelphia Bulletin* of August 17.

The fiftieth anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty" has just been celebrated in Edinburgh by an international convention of Henry George's devoted disciples. Six hundred delegates from twenty-four nations met in the ancient metropolis of Scotland, and for a week presented arguments in support of the Henry George doctrines, particularly the substitution of a Single Tax on land values for all other taxes and absolute Free Trade.

What made this gathering especially notable was the receipt of a sympathetic message conveying the good wishes of Philip Snowden, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and five other Cabinet Ministers, together with the greetings of about a hundred members of Parliament. M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, detailed a representative to report to his Government on the proceedings, and the German Government was represented in like manner.

This tribute to the American economist thirty years after his death, when many of his suggestions have been incorporated in the programs of progressive political parties, marks the powerful hold which "Progress and Poverty" has taken in the Old World as well as the antipodes, where the Single Tax is applied with administrative modifications.

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLE AND POLICY

We, the members of the Fourth International Conference to Promote Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, assembled at Edinburgh July 29th, 1929, twenty-four countries being represented, reaffirm the declarations of principle and policy of our previous International Conferences: at Ronda, Spain; at Oxford, England; and at Copenhagen, Denmark.

We confidently affirm that the persistence of poverty, low wages, and unemployment in every country, and the evil and destructive social phenomena that derive from these conditions, are both unnatural and unnecessary; that they are due, primarily, to unjust restrictions upon freedom in the production of wealth (involving injustice in its distribution) that arise out of land monopoly.

Secondarily, we affirm that the conditions which produce poverty amid increasing wealth, and despite the increasing power to produce wealth afforded by invention,



discovery, and increase of knowledge, are accentuated by the burdensome measures which legislatures everywhere employ in the raising of public revenues.

And we affirm that the present system of internal taxes and rates adopted by Governments are unjust to Labor and Capital alike, by imposing impediments to industry, and penalties upon energy, enterprise and thrift.

#### FREE TRADE

For like reasons, we condemn those obstructions to the free flow of trade which have been set up between friendly peoples by so-called protective tariffs, "safeguarding" devices, and other interferences with the natural laws of freedom in production and exchange. These policies, yielding benefit only to limited privileged groups in the countries which adopt them, are, in our opinion, nothing short of treason to the true interests of the masses of human kind; and they have been identified by the representatives of fifty countries in the Economic Conference of the League of Nations, and by leaders of the International Chambers of Commerce, as among the chief causes of industrial depression, of unemployment, and of war.

#### PEACE

Therefore, we appeal to all true friends of humanity and of the establishment of an enduring World Peace to join with us in recognition of the fact that discord between nations commonly arises out of economic causes, such as the struggle for exclusive markets and other preferences, and for concessions in the control of natural resources, or because of the selfish policies by which some nations seek to advantage themselves by hampering the economic freedom of others. We cannot have Political Peace and Economic War.

#### LAND VALUE TAXATION

The remedy, we believe, lies in the establishment of freedom for all, equal rights for all, justice for all. These ends, we confidently affirm, will be attained when Governments can be led, through the enlightenment of public opinion, to repeal the present taxes, rates, and tariffs which now hamper freedom in the production and exchange of wealth, and cause injustice in its distribution.

Abandoning the burdens now directly or indirectly laid upon labor and capital, we would concentrate taxes upon the value of land and of all natural resources in private hands, in the conviction that these resources being the gift of the Creator to all generations, the value of land is the just and proper source of community revenues.

#### PROGRESS AND POVERTY

We would especially commend to the attention of serious-minded persons in every land a study of the premises, conclusions, and simple proposals of the inspiring and illuminating book, "Progress and Poverty" by Henry George, the Fiftieth Anniversary of which we are celebrating at this Conference. This famous politico-economic

work, translated into many languages, is in its essence a appeal for World Justice and Peace, a plea for the right of man everywhere.

Henry George was a great citizen of the world, a love of mankind, an unerring expositor of economic truth, far-seeing statesman, and a prophet of what has happened and is happening in the world at this time.

Finally, we reaffirm, in brief, our devotion to the policy which will in every country, when fully applied, inaugurate an era of social justice, economic freedom, and international peace. This policy we express as *Land Value Taxation and Free Trade as taught by Henry George*.

#### PRINCIPAL RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

The Conference welcomes the assurances that have been publicly given by members and supporters of the present Government of Great Britain to pass into law in the new Finance Act measures for the effective taxation of land values and for removing not only the protective and so-called "safeguarding" duties but also the indirect taxes on the necessaries of life. In the opinion of this Conference such action by the Government would set a stimulating example of progressive legislation to the people of the world.

RESOLVED that this Conference having heard with appreciation that the Danish Government proposes measures for developing the policy of land value taxation and free trade sends a message of greeting to the responsible Ministers and expresses the hope that the Government efforts in this direction will attain early success.

RESOLVED that the Conference sends its respectful compliments to the Government of the Greek Republic and thanks said Government for its consideration in permitting a representative of Greece to participate in the Conference proceedings in the person of Mr. Pavlos Giannelia and further resolves that we respectfully commend to the responsible officials of the Greek Government consideration of the declarations of principles and policies adopted at this Conference by members from twenty-four countries here assembled, believing that the application of these principles may be of benefit to the people of any nation.

RESOLVED that this Conference approve the policies recently announced by Hon. C. A. Dunning, Canadian Minister of the Interior and by Hon. D. G. Mackenzie, Manitoba Minister of Natural Resources in behalf of their respective Governments of safeguarding the town site of the new city of Churchill from the speculative abuses and exploitation of land values which has characterized similar developments in the past; and express the hope that thereby will be retained for the public represented by the Municipal Provincial Dominion Governments the annual land value created by public activity and at the same time the natural opportunities of Churchill will be reserved for use and development free from the baneful operations of the forestaller.



## INTERNATIONAL UNION OFFICERS ELECTED

President, Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy; Vice-presidents, Mr. Jacob Lange, Denmark; Mr. Otto Nuschke, I. D. L., Germany; Mr. C. E. Compton, Great Britain; Mr. A. P. Canning, U. S. A.; Treasurer, Mr. Ashley Mitchell, Great Britain; General Secretary, Mr. John Paul, Great Britain; Assistant Secretary, Mr. A. W. Madsen, Great Britain.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Messrs. K. J. Kristensen, F. Folke, (Denmark); C. G. Baldwin, Mrs. Anna George deMille, Mr. Otto Cullman, C. C. Leubuscher, (U. S. A.); A. Albendin, (Spain); Dr. Alec. Paletta, (Germany); Mr. Peter Burt, Sir Edgar Harper, Mr. Andrew McLarin, M. P., Mr. W. R. Lester, Rt. Hon. Col. J. C. Wedgewood, M. P., (Great Britain); V. H. Renwick, (Australia); A. W. Roebuck, K. C., (Canada); Sam Meyer, (France); Pavlos Giannelia, (Greece); D. deClerg, (Holland); Dr. J. J. Pikler, (Hungary); P. J. O'Regan, (New Zealand).

## The People and The Land

IT is taking the world a long while to realize the irrefutable truths that lie in the principles enunciated by Henry George, but there are signs that the pace is quickening. The Conference that is meeting in Edinburgh this week, therefore, will be listened to with a patience which was not particularly discernable when the author of "Progress and Poverty" was himself alive. It is a great opportunity to make a worth-while contribution towards the solution of the international problems of today, and the Conference president, the Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, of New York, gave a brilliant lead yesterday in his address from the chair. It seems a remarkable thing that our creed in land values and free trade should be taken from the most keenly protectionist country in the world, but there is really no paradox in it. The fact of the matter is that America's tariff policy is no longer held to be an unalloyed asset. It is becoming unwieldy and burdensome, a bit of a Frankenstein, and though America might never officially suggest the abolition of all barriers, she might not break her heart if abolition were forced upon her. To make America—and the world—swallow the complete pill of the taxation of land values may not be so easy, however. But by all laws of equity it must come to pass some day. There is nothing but the old feudal respect for the landed proprietor to say against it; there is certainly no argument in logic with which to defend the present system. It is of some moment to remember that both Labor and Liberals in this country are pledged to the taxation of land values. They may not achieve the full reform at the moment, but they would be failing in their faith if they did not use their chances to educate the people a little more towards this great ideal.

EDITORIAL, EDINBURGH *Evening News*.

## Single Tax After Fifty Years

HALF a century has elapsed since a San Francisco man, a printer at the case, who occasionally tried his hand at editing, put forth a book on the land question, with the paradoxical title, "Progress and Poverty." The name of Henry George at that time was little known. He had written somewhat for obscure publications, and occasionally had spoken in meetings of laboring men. But neither as author nor orator had he attained any wide reputation. He had neither money nor influence wherewith to force his book upon the attention of the public. Indeed, when he endeavored to obtain its publication, he found publishers doubtful of the value of a work on economics, and unwilling to issue it unless he would pay the cost of making the plates. After a prolonged search he found a man willing to assist him in meeting the latter essential, but it is interesting now to recall the fact that so slight were the means with which the two embarked upon the undertaking that the author himself went back to the case and stick and set a very considerable portion of his own book. It was not long after he thus turned again to the tools of his trade that his name as an economist and propagandist was known in every quarter of the globe; more than 3,000,000 copies of his book had been issued, and it was translated into almost every known tongue. And last Monday, after the lapse of fifty years, Single Taxers from all parts of the world met at Edinburgh to celebrate this semi-centenary and to honor the name of Henry George.

Perhaps one hears less today about the Single Tax than one did when such magnificent propagandists as Tom L. Johnson, Louis F. Post and Henry George himself were preaching it in and out of season. But the reason why its praises are no longer heard over the clamor of various schools of economists is that the measure of truth in it has become accepted as a commonplace of economics, and it is no longer necessary to beat the tom-tom in order to call attention to it.

More and more the justice of taking for the public a considerable share of the unearned increment attaching to real estate as population grows is being accepted, although it is only in a comparatively few special colonies that the full measure of the Single Tax is applied, and the whole profit taken out of real estate speculation. Everywhere, however, the community recognizes the fact that its growth confers upon the owners of land within its borders profits which they have had but the slightest share in earning, and an increasing proportion of those profits is being taken for public uses.

Thoroughgoing Single Taxers hold that the taking of this entire increment would make it unnecessary to exact any other taxation whatsoever; would free industry from the burden of taxation; would do away with tariffs, and the international complications they produce; would



eliminate the economic causes of war, and, by preventing the holding of land out of employment for speculation and profit, would stimulate agriculture and home building, and thereby decrease unemployment. It is a glowing tribute to the permanence of an idea that after fifty years the publication of this book should be celebrated by a gathering of 600 Single Taxers, representing twenty-three different countries, in the Scottish capital some 6000 miles from the spot where the doctrine of single taxation first had its birth.

The impression made by Henry George upon the consciousness of mankind is a striking illustration of the power of thought, backed by a good purpose. He never stopped urging acceptance of his doctrine upon men of the most widely separated nationalities, and of every class of society. Nor was he in any sense a man of one idea, but he gave as liberally of his strength and his ability to the interest of good government and human liberty as he did to the agitation of the Single Tax. When, in the latter days of the nineteenth century, New York City seemed confronted with a peculiar menace of evil government, Henry George was drafted to lead the forces in opposition to Tammany. Warned that it might mean the sacrifice of his life, he nevertheless undertook the task. The warning was but too well founded, and like a soldier on the battle field he gave his life to his cause. That his followers are animated to so great an extent by a like devotion to the economic panacea which he preached shows impressively the enduring power of a devoted and self-sacrificing ideal.

—*Christian Science Monitor.*

## All Wars Alike

THEY talk of Crusades, said Arnold, stopping to face the young man. They talk of sending hundreds of thousands of Christian men to die every death under God's sun in Palestine—for what? To plant good that good may grow? They go for none of these things. The sign in their breasts is a cross, the thought of their hearts is the thought of all your ruthless race—to take from others and add to your own stores; to take land, wealth, humanity, life, everything that can be taken from conquered man before he is left naked to die.

FRANCIS MARION CRAWFORD'S *Via Crucis.*

“WHEN I sit and warm my hands, as best I may, at the little heap of embers that is now political economy, I cannot but contrast its dying glow with the vainglorious and triumphant science that once it was.”—

—STEPHEN LEACOCK, Professor of Political Economy.

BEFORE an effectual renovation can take place we must efface the abuse which has grown up out of the transition from the feudal to the more modern state—the abuse of land being held as absolute property.—

—HARRIET MARTINEAU.

## Extracts from Opening Address at the Edinburgh Conference by Charles O'Connor Hennessy

IT was fifty years ago that Henry George first revealed the insidious forces and tendencies that seemed to him to threaten the progress of any civilization which aims at the elevation and happiness of the human family. At the very heart of the way of the life of the organized peoples of the world he found ominous signs of the canker of decay. He demonstrated the cause and proposed the cure for what was and is the matter with the world. He vividly delineated the enigma of the persistence of poverty amid increased and increasing wealth. Where civilization was manifesting itself in vast accumulations in the hands of individuals, in great institutions devoted to learning or to religion, in stores of the book knowledge of the ages, in the progress of the arts and sciences, in the inventions and discoveries designed to magnify the effectiveness of labor, to improve communication and facilitate co-operation between peoples, to lighten toil and brighten human lives—there, where these things were most in evidence, he pointed to the anomaly of millions of people in every country struggling for a living, or steeped in degrading poverty. To the widespread social and economic dislocation which he revealed, it was not difficult to trace the unspeakable slums of great cities, the warfare of classes, the prevalence of vice, crime and preventable disease, as well as most of the ills, material and spiritual—even unto the curse of War—from which the world has suffered and is suffering.

We are here from many countries to bear witness that a half-century after the first appearance of Henry George's fearful diagnosis of a vast social disease, the symptoms still persist. The cure remains to be applied. The social anatomist who today would strike below the surface of the body of human society as it exists in all civilized countries, must find there a conflict of forces that may well be taken to foreshadow disintegration and disaster to the social fabric. As in 1879, when this book was written, we can discern widespread social unrest in the world. Industrial depression and unemployment are common to many countries, and even in the nominally “prosperous” United States great numbers live in poverty, or close to its border line, and remedies for unemployment are now being sought in still more restrictive immigration laws and in prohibitive tariff taxes.

Henry George predicted that the enormous increase in the power to produce wealth which had marked his century, due to invention and discovery and the improvement of communications, would continue to go on with accelerating ratio. This has come true to an enormous extent in all so-called civilized countries—most especially in the United States of America. But without the estab-



ishment of economic freedom in the processes of producing wealth and justice in its distribution, he predicted that increased wealth must benefit the few rather than the many. It would have, broadly speaking, no tendency to extirpate poverty and the social evils which poverty engenders, no influence in elevating society as a whole or in lightening the burdens of those compelled to toil for a living. Again his prophesy has been realized. For increasing wealth, and the condition that is referred to as national prosperity, far from assuring contentment and abundance for all, has tended only to widen the gulf between the very rich and the very poor, and to make more intense the struggle for existence that engages the lives of millions of human beings, even in richest America.

If I would appear to single out my own country, the country of Henry George, as today's most terrible example of perverted social progress, it is not because I would have you believe that the average American citizen is less intelligent, less moral, or less humane than the citizen of any other country. No informed or observant person, in my opinion, could sustain such a contention. Nor would I wish it to be inferred that American statesmanship is today more blind or more backward than the statesmanship of other countries.

But if I am to attempt (by way of vindicating the wisdom and the prescience of Henry George) to delineate the effects of material progress and prosperity upon the condition and the tendencies of present day civilization everywhere, I must, of necessity, put the United States of America in the very foreground of the picture. For the United States is now, by far, the richest and most powerful of the nations. It seems to have reached a veritable high tide of material success, and to be realizing as a result, those effects which, in our opinion, must naturally and in all countries, flow from the maintenance of the fundamental injustice of the private monopoly of a country's natural resources, which injustice, as Henry George demonstrated by unanswerable argument and analysis, is the basic cause of poverty amid progress.

In the light of the history of the fifty years that have gone since "Progress and Poverty" first appeared, no comprehending reader of it may now doubt the extraordinary accuracy of the thought and vision of its author; that he was seer as well as prophet—an unerring diagnostician of the social and economic ailments of the world and of their cure, an inspired preacher of the way of righteousness and salvation for the nations. Henry George's intellectual eminence is now coming to be recognized by discerning leaders of thought, even in his own land. New editions of his books are appearing, and in many American colleges and universities where, in the past, his teachings have been avoided, young men and women now are learning the lessons that he taught. The great truth that he sought to make plain is slowly but surely, we believe, making its way to the minds of men. We believe it to be a truth most potent for social welfare

everywhere, a truth the recognition of which by mankind generally would regenerate and revivify human associations everywhere. This truth is that the social and economic dislocations which afflict the world arise because of that fundamental violation of natural law involved in the denial to human beings of their equal and inalienable rights to the use of the Earth. Out of this perversion of natural law and this denial of fundamental human rights sanctioned by the governments of the world, arises in every country the great issues comprehended in the Land Question and its portentous implications.

Because this is an international gathering, and because good men and women in every part of the world are now actively concerning themselves about questions of Peace and War, of Disarmament, of Conciliation and Arbitration, we would point out how vital to any permanent settlement of such questions is the solution of the economic problems to which we would first direct attention.

Here again, as at Copenhagen three years ago, this Conference will be moved to warn the friends of World Peace not to be deceived by appearances. Peace is not in sight, and War and all that it means in burdens to be borne in the present and in moral and material horrors and losses to be faced in the future, still remains with the world. True, there has been at Locarno a solemn gesture of worthy intention and good-will between the nations. But Locarno must always seem somewhat unrelated to reality so long as governments take no steps to remove the root causes of poverty in every country. From the perversion or interference with natural laws flow the social and political phenomena involved in industrial depression, unemployment, the welfare of classes at home, the struggle for international markets and privileges abroad; international fears and jealousies, and those selfish national policies which aim to advance the welfare of one people by rendering injury to another.

We would call upon statesmanship to look behind war, and the armaments and instruments of war, for the economic dislocations which pervert the normal course of the lives of human beings and of nations alike. We would ask statesmen to face frankly the question of the meanings of the signs of the times. Is the road that people call Civilization leading the human family upward toward life, happy and abundant for everybody, or downward to some hell for rich and poor alike?

Men may cry "Peace! Peace!" but there can be no lasting peace until the root causes of War are recognized and removed; until the peoples may be led to accept a new and simple philosophy of human relationships—that of equal rights for all, freedom for all, justice for all. Political peace and economic war are irreconcilable. There can be no political peace at home or abroad unless it is founded upon co-operation in freedom and in mutual friendship and respect. There can be no security that will endure, until justice is established at home and abroad.



We would not disparage the efforts nor impeach the sincerity of those who labor for Disarmament or for Conciliation. We feel that they are engaged in the most difficult if not impossible of labors, which, even if successful, would but serve as palliatives, rather than a cure.

We honor, also, those fine spirits of the League of Nations, who sincerely labor for Peace; especially the spokesmen in the League Assembly of those smaller nations, whose statesmen, we believe, can see more clearly and speak more bravely about the political realities of these times. Nor are we disposed to underestimate the good work that has been done in strengthening the machinery and broadening the jurisdiction of the World Court for the adjudication of disputes between nations. But these things at this time seem to us to be of small avail. The most helpful approach to a true and peaceful concert of nations in the interest of permanent World Peace must lie, as Professor Dewey recently pointed out, not in the field of political diplomacy, but along the road of economic freedom and justice that leads to a realization of the common interests of the peoples of the world.

A philosopher has given currency to the pregnant aphorism that "the power to tax is the power to destroy." And we, being convinced that common and equal rights to the use of land are indispensable to freedom and effectiveness in the production of wealth and to justice in its distribution, aim to destroy land monopoly through the process of taxation. That is, we would resort for public revenues to taxes upon the values given to particular land sites by the competition for their use made necessary by the activities and the growth of community life. By the operation, as it were, of a beneficent natural law we find that the value of land tends constantly to rise as demand for its use is increased by the manifold activities of organized communities—by the results of public expenditure, by all the amenities and conveniences of what is called civilized life. That is, land values, arising out of the association and co-operation of people, are essentially a community product. By every test then, of logic or of equity, the policy we advocate justifies itself. To quote Henry George, "We would simply take for the community what belongs to the community, and leave sacredly to the individual all that belongs to the individual."

And in the international field we aim to teach the world that the highest interests of the people of every land are identical with the interests of the people of every other land; that human interests are interwoven and interdependent, and that only under conditions of freedom, of mutual trust, and of friendly co-operation may men or nations attain to the highest destiny, material or spiritual, that God makes possible for them. In brief, it is our purpose as an organization, in the interest of peace, prosperity and human happiness, to extend the area of freedom in every land, not only because we are convinced that this is the way to uplift the material welfare of mankind, but

also because it accords with justice and the moral law. Here in the language of our inspired teacher is the conclusion of the whole matter:

"That we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us; that we should respect the rights of others as scrupulously as we would have our own rights respected, is not a mere counsel of perfection to individuals, but it is the *law* to which we must conform social institutions and national policies if we would secure the blessings of abundance and peace."

## Report of Goeller Lecture

THE *Tripod*, undergraduate publication of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., published the following report of the lecture given at that college in May:

"Before a large group of students in the Public Speaking room last Wednesday evening, Mr. C. LeBaron Goeller, of the Progress and Poverty Lecture Bureau, gave a lecture on the subject of 'Some Phases of the Single Tax.' So deep was the interest shown by those present that Mr. Goeller was kept busy answering questions and inquiries as to the underlying principles of the Single Tax for nearly an hour after the lecture.

"The big point in Mr. Goeller's lecture was that a landowner cannot make a tenant pay any tax levied on the value of his land; in other words, a tax on ground rent cannot be shifted, while all taxes on clothing, food, houses, etc., (produced by labor) are shifted onto the ultimate consumer. 'A tax on rent,' said Mr. Goeller, 'falls wholly on the landlord. There are no means by which he can shift the burden upon anyone else. It does not affect the value or price of agricultural produce, for this is determined by the cost of production in the most unfavorable circumstances, and in those circumstances, as we have so often demonstrated, no rent is paid. A tax on rent, therefore, has no effect other than its obvious one. It merely takes so much from the landlord and transfers it to the state.

"'The Single Tax System,' continued Mr. Goeller, 'is a scientific discovery that will secure to each and every person his equal right to the use of the earth without having to divide up the land as was done in primitive times. The modern way is not to divide up the land, but to divide up the rent of land. There would be no other taxes to hinder the owner in developing the land he possessed on what would virtually be a perpetual lease so long as he paid his taxes, that is the annual value, to the Government.'"

VALUABLE lands held idle employ no labor, and produce no goods. They constitute a waste of natural resources, and tend to destroy the economic equilibrium necessary for continuous prosperity.

—*Tax Facts.*



## Social Democrats and the Henry George Policy: The Political Victory in Denmark

SOPHUS BERTHELSEN

ADDRESS AT THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE

IN an address "Land and People," I delivered at the Third International Conference for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade in Copenhagen, July, 1926, I endeavored to bring to light the eternal laws of nature governing the true and just relationship between mankind and the land from which we must all derive our living. These are the laws Henry George revealed and explained. At the same time I pointed to the progress we had made in Denmark through our legislation (The Act of August 7th, 1922, for the national tax, and the Act of March 31st, 1926, for local taxation on land values) to give concrete expression to these eternal laws of justice.

In the three years that have passed since then, we have not been able in Denmark to make any further advance in legislation for the main reason that from December, 1926, to April, 1929, we have, unfortunately, had a so-called "Liberal" government which in association with the Conservative Party had actually planned to go back on such progress as we had made. But this period of reaction was also our opportunity to band together all the forces standing in Denmark for economic freedom and so build a united front against that quasi-Liberal government, which was defeated at the General Election on April 24th, 1929. The two victorious parties, the Social Democrats and the Radical Liberals, came back with a joint majority in *Folketinget* (the Lower House) and have formed the Coalition Government under Stauning and Nunch.

It is declared in the programme of the new Ministry that "The burden of taxation shall be shifted from labor and consumption and placed upon communally created values and upon incomes and possessions that are the fruit of other people's industry." The followers of Henry George in Denmark feel assured in the hope that this programme will in large degree be carried out by the Ministry in the next few years and that *Landstinget* (the upper House), even although the Ministry has a minority there of four votes, will not venture to hinder it.

These developments in Danish politics have no doubt excited some astonishment among the friends of our movement, especially abroad. But the feature of our political victory that will perhaps surprise them most is that the Social Democrats in particular—our Labor Party and the strongest party in the State—have so far embraced these ideas that they have resolved upon a political programme strongly marked with the Georgeist stamp. And as it is generally assumed, not without reason, that genuine "Marxian Socialism" cannot combine with "Georgeism," many will want to be told just why it is that the Danish

Social Democrats have deserted the Communistic Karl Marx to subscribe to Henry George's teaching on such vital points.

It seems to me to be of the greatest importance for the progress of our movement everywhere that this significant turn in political tactics should be fully apprehended. By way of explanation it is necessary to consider the special Danish conditions which have happily contributed to this great progress of our cause.

The high state of Danish agriculture, which is the economic foundation of the country, is due especially to the old-established and relatively good land-laws which for centuries have kept landlord rule at bay and have made for secure possession of the land by a numerous and fairly independent small peasantry, which has further increased in our time, so that in terms of "average good land" we have today:—

I. 2,000 estates of 200 acres or more.

II. 8,000 medium sized farms of 20 to 200 acres.

III. 150,000 small holdings of less than 20 acres, belonging to the class known as "Housemen."

Since the main products of Danish Agriculture are butter, bacon and eggs for export, Danish farmers were of necessity, and have always been, Free Traders. They have been brought up on Free Trade as Free Trade was understood and preached by such as William Gladstone and his Danish counterpart A. P. Koedt—namely, no protective tariff but "customs duties for revenue only."

As for Henry George's complete Free Trade, it was fortunately the most numerous class of small peasants, the Housemen, who first grasped and endorsed that teaching. And the first political declaration in favor of complete Free Trade was embodied in the now well-known "Koge Resolution" adopted by the Housemen on the 8th of November, 1902. Their demand was the abolition of all taxes on labor, consumption and exchange, the public revenue to be obtained from land value taxation alone.

The reason why it was this class of agriculturists who first saw and grasped, better than any, the truth in Henry George's teaching was certainly that a Houseman is not only a *land owner* but is also a *land worker*; and that in the latter capacity he has proved to the world the economic discovery that he can produce from his bit of land a better and greater return than the same area can yield by any other method of farming. In that practical demonstration he has refuted the dogma that political economists the world over (and Marxian Socialists in especial) have held to so firmly, not only in regard to industry but also in regard to agriculture; namely that large scale production will everywhere exterminate the small producer.

This dogma the Danish Houseman, through his own efficient labor and his cooperative society, has shown to be untenable in the sphere of agriculture: and by the same token the teaching of "collectivism" and "communism" as the "universal trend" has been put out of commission.



And without the individual Danish Houseman being exactly aware of the fact that he has effected a revolution in economic theories, his practical economic sense has brought him quickly to realize that his interest and that of his family and successors do not and could not lie in the increased price of land; but on the contrary, in the cheapening of land and its products through land value taxation substituted for all the present taxes that restrict production. He calls for "an equal duty on equal land value." Thus he was won over to the Henry George policy as it has been expounded to him during the past twenty-five years. The Houseman, claiming his ownership of the land (the substance), declared that he is *not* the owner of the *value* attaching to the land.

Meanwhile, by contrast, neither the Free Trade doctrines nor the teachings of Henry George gained any wide comprehension among the powerful Trade Unions in the towns. Of course, it did not escape notice that the Housemen in the Koge Resolution of 1902 did not demand any special privileges for their class, but demanded the repeal of Customs Duties in the interests of the whole people, that is in behalf also of the workers of the towns, who had been taught by their text-books and their Press that it was only through class conflict that workers can obtain the full return for their labor, the method being to take over the land and the means of production, as the Communists had continually proclaimed.

Some leaders among the Trade Unions tried to belittle the teachings of Henry George, others admitted only that it might bring the working people some advantages. But in the beginning they quite failed to see the possibility of raising wages in the labor market, not only by getting rid of all taxes on consumption but also through taxation of land values making access to land easier for the broadest and widest class, the unskilled agricultural laborers, whose wages and conditions determine the wages and condition of all others. The workers in the towns learned this truth later on from the Housemen, with whom in an agricultural country like Denmark they stood and stand in closer connection than in any other country; more especially because so many of the town workers have migrated into the towns only in recent years.

The Housemen repudiate the suggestion that the land, and the means of production, should be taken over by the State. On the contrary, they have shown by their own practical work that on the land they own themselves they can produce the best return for their labor; and also that on Danish land there are unlimited possibilities for the increase in population in the next hundred years to get full employment, with labor well rewarded, if the taxes on consumption are repealed and if the value of land is collected into the Public Treasury. This is the way permanently to solve the Labor question.

In place of the Socialistic and Communistic dogma that the land itself should be owned and controlled by the com-

munity, the Danish Housemen maintained that the land itself should remain in the hands of the individual as private property, but that the *value* of land be made the property of the community through every private owner paying into the Public Treasury the full yearly land value ascertained by correct and systematic valuation.

The Housemen, many of whom belong to the Social Democratic Party although not themselves Socialists, having made this principle their own and having embodied it in their defined programme for the last twenty-five years, the artisans in the towns came gradually to accept it, and their Press now announces the same truth loud and clear. At the same time, not only these two numerous classes of voters but also a large part of the middle classes in both town and country have been won over to it, so that we can contemplate a great political victory for a great idea, confirmed in the election of April, 1929, and in the explicit promise in the programme of the new Coalition Government. The growth of the sentiment for land value taxation to a political victory over Marxian Socialism, as briefly described here, has a significance that should be noted beyond the frontiers of our country. If I understand the matter aright we have won a victory, a peaceful victory, for Henry George's policy the world over, seeing that the truth in regard to the just relation between mankind and the land is universal and eternal.

This victory has been won not by any academic wrestling match between learned professors debating theories at universities, the war of words that has seldom brought ordinary people any benefit. It is due to the everyday practical work of simple honest-minded men, always asserting the right to the full reward of their labor and the equal right of all to the land values created by the community. Therefore we hope that the Danish Housemen's illuminating and pioneer work in this field, and the truth they have demonstrated, will be fully appreciated in every country where the followers of Henry George are carrying his ideas into practical operation.

## Said the Red Man

**T**HE way, and the only way, to check and stop the evil, is for all men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be yet; for it never was divided, but belongs to all for the use of each. That no party has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers."

—Tecumseh, Indian Chief, 1810.

**B**ENJAMIN FRANKLIN and Abraham Lincoln both thought in fundamentals. They would be just as much at home in our civilisation of today—just as valuable contributing members of our society—as they were in the age in which they lived. The truth they knew still persists. The truth we discover, know, and use sets our value in the world."—HENRY FORD



## Real Progress In Colorado

### ITS METHODS CONTRASTED WITH OTHER STATES

I FIND the Denver Single Taxers an earnest, devoted group, making many personal sacrifices for the cause of justice. Rather, I should say, the group is a State-wide one, which has conducted Single Tax propaganda in Colorado for more than forty years. The leader of the movement at present is Barney Haughey, of Denver; but he generously gives the credit for the enactment of initiative and referendum sections into the Colorado Constitution to the late Senator James W. Bucklin, of Grand Junction. Mr. Haughey tells me that Senator Bucklin fought for twenty years before he succeeded in getting this Home Rule measure for cities and counties adopted. This constitutional amendment gave Colorado's chartered cities the right to adopt their own local systems of taxation.

Following its adoption, the first effort in behalf of Henry George's principles in municipal government in Colorado was in Pueblo in 1914. Senator Bucklin, George Knapp and Barney Haughey had been the active leaders. In Denver, campaigns have been conducted for a like purpose in 1915, 1917, 1924 and this present year of 1929. At each election a fair vote was polled for the Single Tax measure. This year, the vote was 5634 in favor and 30,336 against.

However, the measure of success of Single Tax work in Colorado is not to be found in the vote cast on proposals. As the late Joseph Leggett, that grand old Single Tax philosopher and law partner of Judge Maguire, used to say, "We will never get the Single Tax directly through the efforts of Single Taxers; but they through their propaganda will so fill the atmosphere with the Single Tax principles that the whole community will absorb and apply them, without knowing that they are the Single Tax."

That, I can say, is the way we got the Single Tax in the irrigation districts in California, without Single Taxers knowing anything about it until four years after the California Legislature had adopted the bill, at the request of the Modesto Irrigation District. Likewise, in Colorado, Single Tax principles have been made law in relation to over three million acres of land owned by the State. And the Single Taxers had nothing to do directly with the adoption of these land and leasing laws by the Legislature.

Since coming to Denver, a month ago, I have spent all my time studying economic conditions, getting reports of each State Commission, United States officials, semi-public bodies, and thru interviews with all classes of officials and citizens. I also spent six weeks this spring in Arizona. There I found that the State is getting rid of its State-owned land as quickly as possible. Where State land is rented, it may be sold over the head of a tenant to an outsider, after the tenant has proven the quality of the land. Two years ago, I spent three months in Nevada,

and I found that the State had already sold practically all its State lands for a song.

In Colorado, I found a different condition exists. Of the total 4,487,349 acres granted the State by the United States Government, 1,355,376 acres have been sold, leaving in State-ownership 3,131,972 acres. The last report of the Colorado State Land Commissioners shows that of the school land alone, there have been leased for agricultural and grazing purposes 2,273,720 acres, at a total annual rental of \$292,143.70. This rent income from school lands is placed each year in a "Permanent School Fund", the interest of which is used to pay teachers' salaries and other school purposes. The total amount in that fund November 30, 1928, as shown by the report, is \$9,578,972.97. The administration of these lands, and the fund, by the Commission is excellent and in the interests of the schools. The funds of the school department are invested in State, county, municipal school district bonds, farm loans, State warrants, and a small portion is cash on hand.

The United States also made grants of land for Internal Improvements, Public buildings, Penitentiary, University and Saline purposes, of which a total is leased by the Commission amounting to 188,702 acres, the rental of which is likewise appropriated to a permanent fund for each of these State institutions. The income only can be expended each year. These lands are let for agricultural and grazing purposes, and the total rental received averages 127,868.08 each year.

There is also a Mineral Department of this Land Commission, which leased 782 acres mineral (gold, silver, lead and copper) land for an annual rental of \$633.; fire and plastic clay, limerock and gypsum land, 3,694 acres for an annual rental of \$5,078; oil and gas leases, 207,854 acres, rental \$19,306.; coal leases, 17,814 acres, from which 1,479,072 tons of coal were mined, and rental of \$94,363. paid for the past year. Besides these rentals, the State sold mature timber for cutting, in the same manner as does the Federal Government on Forest land, at a rate of about \$3. per thousand board feet, for which a total of \$2,265. was received.

I should explain here that the report gives the income received for the biennium, and I have taken half of those sums as the annual receipts, also that all the mineral, oil, coal and like lands are leased for a nominal sum, which generally is to enable prospecting to be done, and that in addition a royalty on production is paid. I have included both these items in one sum as rental.

The State also sells land at ten per cent. cash payment, and the balance payable annually over a period of fifty years. The total paid and agreed to be paid for the 25,513 acres sold during the biennium term was \$391,104, or at the rate of \$15.33 per acre. This makes the average during the year that was paid and agreed to be paid for the State lands \$195,552. The average annual figures of



rents and royalties received from State lands as given above amounts to \$421,656.78.

This sum total of annual rentals is more than double the amount paid and pledged from sales of State lands. The sales are made at mere nominal sums. In other words, these lands, belonging to State School Department and institutions, the birth-right of the people, are being sold for a mess of pottage. Undoubtedly, if the school teachers and others interested could have their attention drawn to these facts, they would bring about a change in the laws that would prevent the sale of any more State lands. Otherwise in a few years there will be no land to lease and bring income to the different permanent funds.

Unlike the unfair method used in Arizona, Colorado's Land Commissioners will not sell land rented after the tenant has developed it; but grants "immunity" leases, under which agricultural and grazing land is withheld from sale during the term of the lease, most of the leases being of this character. The leases are generally granted for a term of five years, and the lessee is permitted to cut timber on the land for building fences and for fuel. The term of other leases is often for a greater number of years.

In all grazing and agricultural leases, the Board reserves the right to lease the land for mining purposes, and to sell the timber on it. Likewise, in all sales of land, the right is reserved to the State of Colorado to all rights to all minerals, ores, and metals of every kind, and all coal, asphaltum, oil, gas, and other substances in the land, and the right of way for mining, and enough of the surface to conveniently work it for minerals.

—EDWARD P. E. TROY.

## Pennsylvania

THE annual meeting of the Pennsylvania State Committee of the Commonwealth Land party met June 9, at which time the following officers were elected: John W. Dix, Chairman; Frederick E. Mayer, Treasurer, and Julian P. Hickok, Secretary. As this is not a state year the party will make no effort to get on the ballot, but will take some action on referendums to be submitted at the polls this Fall for public improvements, etc.

Several resolutions were passed at this meeting, the following being the one of general interest, and others covering the Philadelphia franchise situation:

WHEREAS public improvements are a positive factor in the creation of land values: it is

RESOLVED that the proper construction and use of public improvements and justice to industry and commerce depend upon the financing of all public improvements whatsoever by a direct assessment upon all land benefited in proportion to benefits received rather than upon financing through general property taxation.

SEND in your renewal subscription promptly and induce others to subscribe.

## Queensland

PERHAPS readers of LAND AND FREEDOM may like to read a few notes from this corner of the earth. A general election has just been held in this state and has resulted in a change of government. The Labor Party which has held the reins of power for fourteen years has been overthrown and a coalition government—Nationalist and Country Party—has come into power with a good working majority.

The reason for the Labor defeat can be attributed to the fact that its rule has not resulted in the improvement in the condition of the people that was promised and fondly hoped for; and the disappointed people have concluded to try a new broom. Georgian Single Taxers are now in a position to say to their Socialist friends, "I told you so."

Queensland at the moment is crying out for somebody to show the way to abolish unemployment, and there are signs that in some quarters Henry George is more likely to get a hearing than has been the case for many years.

It is deplorable to find the subject of unemployment treated by members of Parliament, in letters to the press, and in the sermons of the clergy as if it were a natural phenomenon instead of the result of human folly.

From a Single Tax viewpoint there is not much hope of any permanent general improvement since the present government has pledged itself to reduce the tax on land values. In the last session members of the opposition moved in that direction, claiming that the land value tax fell upon the farmers. When the other side of the house replied that it fell most heavily on city land they were informed that in that case it was added to the price of things made in the city and sold to the farmers. This led to some newspaper correspondence in which the present scribe argued that if ploughs, for instance, were made on land of varying degrees of value they were all sold at the same price. And that a good site for manufacturing or other purposes was an advantage, and did not add to the cost of production but the reverse.

The Queensland Henry George League, which came into existence last September, is doing its best to encourage the study of the works of the great leader and kindred literature. They meet once a month in the city, when a paper is read or an address given which is thoroughly discussed. The May meeting was notable for an able paper read by William Kearney, in which he advocated free railways, which he claimed would so increase the value of land that a tax on this value would pay the cost of railroad operation. He claimed that as the land belongs equally to all men it is not right for some men to own land near the center while others must be content to live miles away from anywhere, and that a free railway would put a far-away man on more of an equality with the near-by man. He showed that under present conditions the distant producer is handicapped by fares and freights both



in sending his goods to market and in getting his supplies from market.

The Congregational Church of Australia has been having a congress here, and delegates, lay and clerical, have come from six Australian states, and from the dominion of New Zealand. Among them were a few Single Taxers. From New Zealand we got Sir George Fowlds, known the world over for his consistent and persistent advocacy of our principles. From Sydney came Mr. P. J. Firth who addressed the Congress on "Peace in Industry." He told them that any peace worth while must be founded on justice, that if industrial peace involved injustice between employer and employee, a conspiracy between them to rob the consumer, then strikes, lock-outs, and unrest were inevitable.

He showed the object lesson that Australia had given to the world of a series of wonderful and expensive devices for the preservation of industrial peace which had not tended to invite imitation, for the results were anything but satisfactory. He attributed the dissatisfaction of the Australian workers to the fact that nearly thirty years ago they were fooled by promises that if they would adopt a high tariff policy they would have high wages all the year round, and that internal competition would give them cheap living. Always when the promises failed to materialize they were advised to increase the tariff. But unemployment is still with us and internal competition has not reduced prices. Neither had the tariff succeeded in keeping out imports to the encouragement of home manufacture. "In fact," said Mr. Firth, "after 28 years of Industrial Legislation the workers feel that they have been fooled by industrial courts and fixation of wages, just as they were fooled by the high tariff and the promises of its advocates."

Mr. Firth found another reason for disappointment and dissatisfaction in the fact that though Australia had applied in small part the principles of Henry George, involuntary poverty has not disappeared because such partial application as has been made of these principles has been largely and perniciously discounted by taxation robbery. Referring to the church idea that a meeting of employers and employed in the Christian spirit of give and take would go far toward solving the trouble, Mr. Firth said though he sympathized with that spirit it involved a wrong diagnosis; men did not strike because they were unfriendly to their employers, but because they hoped to better their condition, and employers did not shut down owing to any unfriendly spirit, but because they knew they would lose more by keeping open.

After clearly expounding the beneficent effects that the Single Tax would bring about in the production and distribution of wealth, Mr. Firth urged his audience to consider if our industrial problems are not due to the failure to recognize the economic laws which a benevolent heavenly father has framed for our guidance. He concluded by

urging that if his hearers were in earnest about industrial peace they retrace the steps taken during the last three decades, abolish all their custom houses, open their ports to the good things of the world and raise their federal, states and local revenues as does the city of Brisbane.

I might add for the information of readers of LAND AND FREEDOM that improvements are not taxed in Brisbane, but though unimproved land values bear the burden of municipal expenses, we have a very hap-hazard method of valuation. Very much land is under-valued and rates therefore appear to be immoderately high. Also there are some charges that fall on the users of public utilities and not on land served by them. But there is no doubt that if the measure of Single Tax enjoyed in Queensland were abolished our industrial troubles would be even greater than they are.

EDWIN I. S. HARDING.

## More Bunk for the Farmer

SINCE the Democrats have become protectionists their support of the debenture clause in the farm relief bill is at least consistent, regardless of how wide a departure it marks from the historic tenets and traditions of that party. By the same token those Republicans who denounced the debenture plan as socialistic and paternalistic, which it is, are open to the charge of inconsistency in view of their historic support of the tariff demands of the textile manufacturers of New England and the steel manufacturers of Pennsylvania and Ohio.

To our way of thinking the debenture scheme of the farm relief bill is a preferable plan of plunder to the tariff. In economics both are indefensible. But the debenture clause in the farm relief bill is at least definite and direct. The tariff has always been indirect and insidious. The one openly and frankly makes a raid on the federal treasury for a particular class, the farmers, but the amount is fixed and comes directly out of federal funds. The tariff is less honest in that it amounts to an unconstitutional sale of the tax powers of the nation to a particular class, the manufacturers, and the enormous amounts it extracts from the consuming masses are only conjectural, but admittedly mount into the millions annually.

Just how the farmers divide numerically on the debenture plan cannot, of course, be accurately ascertained. Its rooters among farm leaders make enough noise to indicate that they are in the majority. And yet we can scarcely believe that a majority of the real, thinking, dirt farmers of the United States can be deceived into the belief that they will actually profit financially by this debenture scheme in the way and to the extent the protected manufacturers have profited the last sixty years. If they are so deceived they can have only themselves to blame during the long and painful process of debunking thru which they must inevitably go if their proposed raid on the treasury receives the sanction of law.



Bounties to farmers, subventions to the shipping interests, tariffs for manufacturers are all of a piece. They are all flagrant violations of the natural law and economic abominations in the sight of God and man. More to the point they are all unnecessary and must sooner or later be swept into the discard if we are to avoid the rocks industrially and commercially.

All of our major ills are economic and not political. This is only another way of saying that salvation lies in the wholesale repeal of many of the laws we now have instead of piling up one monstrosity on another in a pitiful attempt to overcome the evils of one bad law by the enactment of others equally vicious; or to express the same idea in other words, that there is any hope for the future in the ridiculous antics of our time serving "statesmen" in Washington.

When both the people and the politicians come finally to admit the fact that industry periodically languishes; that millions of men are either unemployed or underpaid; that the lying term "overproduction" really means involuntary underconsumption on the part of whole nations; and that the fault is a system of taxation which penalizes thrift and honest toil on the part of both labor and capital in order that the parasitical few may collect the bulk of the nation's ground rent without any return to society, then and not until then will there be honest, fundamental relief for the farmer.

Of the debenture plan we can fervently subscribe to its recent characterization by the *New York World* in the following pointed language:

"Disliking bounties the *World* is opposed to the debenture scheme. But for the sake of publicity in this country it would be most illuminating if the debenture plan were tied up with the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill and debated along with it. Like a tin can tied to a dog's tail, it would keep everybody informed about where the dog is going."

—COSHOCOTON (Ohio) *Tribune*.

SENATOR WITT most unwittingly contends for collecting taxes from the soil when it yielded no revenue, as was the case before the State was well settled and all land taken, whereas, since the State is populated and industrialized to a high degree, with its resultant accrual of "revenue from the soil," ground rent or a social fund of around \$300,000,000 annually, he proposes to forego that easy revenue to which the State has clear title, and instead levy tax on bread and shelter, transportation and utility service, etc.

No "people's lobby" is needed, but a people's school instead, with the 181 legislators in the primary class.

—FRED WILLIAMS in Fort Worth (Texas) *Star Telegram*.

LAWS to enforce personal property taxation are efforts of legislators to match brains with business men . . . and some people wonder why the laws don't work.

## Depressions and the Tariff

THE belief is entertained that business depressions come and go in cycles and occur about every ten years. Examination fails to confirm this theory. The 1857 panic was short and ended in the Spring of 1858. There was a depression in 1867 which continued to 1870. From 1870 to 1873, a period of three years, there were fairly good times. Then came the panic of 1873, its terrible effects lasting until 1879. Then good times set in and lasted until 1884.

In 1890 there was a panic from which the country quickly recovered, so that we may be said to have had a year of depression and nearly two years—1891-2—of good times. Then came the panic of 1893, the effects of which were prolonged to 1896, when good times came and continued till the Autumn of 1907, a period of eleven years, followed by a depression from which we were wholly recovered by the Spring of 1909. This should dispose of the theory of a ten-year period for recurring business depressions.

These depressions have been attributed to a variety of causes, ranging from "overproduction" to "sun spots." We may dismiss one along with the other. Overproduction is the more popular theory, but there can be no general overproduction. What may occur locally, or in certain industries, has a tendency to right itself, and its influence upon business generally is temporary. There can be no question that such overproduction as may exist in isolated industries or localities tends in some degree to extend beyond the immediate boundaries, but this influence is neither permanent nor pervading.

We are chiefly interested at the moment in the economics of the protectionist school which attributes depressions to low tariffs. An impartial examination fails to confirm this theory. Even James G. Blaine testified that the Walker tariff of 1846, in which duties were low enough to correspond with what is sometimes called a "free trade tariff," failed to convince the business men of the time that low duties were inimical to prosperity. Business was generally good in these years until interrupted by the financial panic of 1857. So strongly converted were business men to this view that representatives of the New England manufacturers who had opposed the tariff of 1846 favored the amendment of 1857 making a further reduction in duties.

In 1864 the tariff was increased 50 per cent. Manufacturers made fortunes, but wages in gold were less than ever before. In 1867 there were great increases in the tariff on wool, and this was followed by two years of profound business depression. From 1873 to 1879, with the tariff higher than ever before, business depression following the panic of 1873 was general over the entire country.

There is little, therefore, to uphold the contention of the protectionist economists as to the primary cause of bad times. We must conclude that the real causes lie deeper than those generally assigned. Is it too much to ask that



he economists begin to apply the spirit of scientific inquiry to the phenomena which are their especial province?

—JOSEPH DANA MILLER in *New York Times*.

## Land Readjustment Mexico's Real Problem

“WE are not in favor of indemnifying the landowners for the expropriation of their land. And we are not, because it does not appear to us that one section of society shall be sacrificed in order that the landowners may not lose money by what, according to the very terms of the Law itself, is only a restitution of property which belonged before to those who now demand it. On the other hand, the loss which the landowner experiences in the redistribution, in which he is deprived of a part of his property, does not ruin him, as, in the majority of cases, it leaves him enough to live with relative comfort. On the other hand, the indemnizations for land expropriation, when added all together, may sometimes represent for the people a tremendous burden and delay the economic rehabilitation of the nation.”

—MIGUEL SANCHEZ DE TAGLE, under the title of “The Agrarian Bonds,” in the newspaper *El Universal* of January 16, 1929.

In what appears to be an authoritative article, by Engineer F. Palomo Valencia, published in the March, 1929, issue of the *Revista Mexicana de Economis*, the ultimate total amount of expropriations anticipated and to be guaranteed by Agrarian Bonds is estimated to reach \$1,226,000,000.

It is a singular fact that, in the fundamental readjustment sought by the Mexican people in their relations with their national heritage, the land, it seems to have occurred to no one in the National administration that this readjustment might be achieved, simply and with perfect equity, by the instrument of Taxation,—an instrument already applied by national, state and municipal bodies to practically every object and activity within the Mexican border, except that of land, its ownership and use.

Why is this instrument, Taxation, overlooked in the settlement of the fundamental, social and economic problem? Every student of economics is acquainted with it. Why is it not faced frankly in the Mexican Economic Review, from which we have quoted? Is the intellectual courage of the professors not equal to that of the common people who, on both sides of the late civil war, showed themselves capable of any sacrifice?

THE land problem has underlain Mexico's troubles since prehistoric times, though its importance was never fully grasped by the chroniclers.

ERNEST GRUENING in the *Nation*

## The Riddle of Modern Society

CARL MARFELS

ADDRESS AT THE ENDINBURGH CONFERENCE

WHEREVER we may look among civilized countries we find the same paradoxical conditions; on the one hand highly-developed scientific and technical knowledge, which makes it possible to produce the necessities of life and luxuries in excess of the needs of humanity. On the other hand poverty among the great mass of the people which cries aloud to Heaven for redress. It is true that in the past there have been periods in which mankind suffered temporarily from want and privation, but it was then usually a case of bad harvests which, owing to the backward state of transport, could not be counteracted by importing supplies from lands with good harvests. Sometimes it was a case of objects in daily use not being manufactured on account of poorly developed mechanical knowledge. In other words: in earlier days mankind suffered want because enough could not be produced; today they suffer want whilst too much can be produced.

The most preposterous thing, however, is that widespread unemployment should obtain. Last winter the number of unemployed in Germany alone was not less than 2½ millions, without taking into account the large number of workers on short time. At the same time, poverty—that is to say, lack of the products of work—also prevails. In other words: there are millions of people who need housing accommodations and the necessities of life, whilst these same millions would willingly produce all such things, but find no opportunity to do so. Why cannot demand and supply be brought into touch with each other?

The answer to this question is of extraordinary urgency as the discontent among the masses in all civilized countries is assuming alarming proportions; and not only in the ranks of wage-workers, but also in the ranks of self-supporting manufacturers, tradesmen and merchants.

If one watches the efforts of statesmen to remedy these evils, one must be astonished at the absolutely useless measures and ineffective remedies proposed in order to combat the danger. It might well be understood that the two great problems of our day have not yet been solved, viz.: Why, notwithstanding the gigantic technical progress which has been made in the last hundred years, and despite the resultant increase in wealth-producing power, the wages of workers have not only not risen, but have, calculated on the basis of real comforts, even fallen; and how it happens that millions of men who are willing to work can find no work to do, when “work” means—apart from a few negligible exceptions—the production of food and the necessities of life? With such widespread poverty and misery a great task faces every sincere reformer.

With the exception of the English and Danish Parliaments, and the local councils in such countries as Australia,



so far as I am aware, the teachings of Henry George are ignored. In "Progress and Poverty" Henry George has given a concise and clear answer to all the foregoing queries. But he is hardly ever mentioned. Are his teachings not known in other countries, or have people not the courage to acknowledge such teachings? Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that, when choosing the nation's representatives, the people lay no emphasis on that quality which should in reality form the main and centre point, viz.: the candidate's knowledge of matters of political economy. Indeed, people appear to attach no importance whatever to the politico-economic knowledge of the candidate to be elected. Otherwise it is incomprehensible why legislative bodies should show a complete lack of understanding and such helplessness in the face of unemployment and poverty. Technical resources are so numerous that if full use were made of our mechanical power a sufficient supply of the necessities of life could be produced so that every man might have a superfluity. And yet there is widespread want. In the year 1900 the political economist, Theodor Hertzka of Vienna, calculated that with full use of our machinery we were in a position to produce so much wealth every year in the shape of houses, food supplies, clothes and other objects of use, that their values would represent £400 (English pounds) per head of the population, or for a family of four, not less than £1,800.

In any case, the following idea forces itself upon the unbiased observer: If it were a case of solving a problem, involving difficult bridge construction, for instance, then decidedly a skilled expert, and not a layman, would be called in to advise. And so it should be with all important problems. Only in the most important task of the nation, that of choosing national representatives who have to make decisions of vital economic importance, is there no question asked whether the candidate possesses the most elementary knowledge of his subject, namely, the science of political economy! The results are as might be expected! Fifty years ago Henry George published his great work, "Progress and Poverty," and almost as early he wrote his equally masterly book, "Protection or Free Trade." Yet it is still being debated in Parliaments which is better for a country—protection or free trade!

Even today we can hear from politicians the view that it is desirable for a country to export more than it imports. Even today one can often hear superficial suggestions to the effect that present-day distress arises from over-population, from over-production, or too rapid increase of machinery. In the meantime, the distress becomes more acute. The nations cut themselves off from each other by high duties; the struggle for existence becomes increasingly sharper; large undertakings combine with still larger ones, without regard to the best interests of humanity; poverty becomes intensified. Regulations of one kind and another lead to the ruin of trade, and to such conditions that it is hardly possible for a man of 35 to find a

situation. General discontent and crime are increasing, to such an alarming extent that even the middle classes driven to despair, no longer shrink from Bolshevik ideas and the legislator stands impotent in the face of all that has been described.

If only a serious effort could be made to discover the reasons why, in spite of the fact that the earth can produce many times its present yield, millions must go hungry why, although more houses could be built than there is any need for, yet there are millions who cannot find a house and that, in spite of the fact that more clothes and other necessities of life could be produced than are required yet millions are suffering for want of these.

Then it would have to be acknowledged that the underlying reason for the threatening phenomena of our times is rooted in the present-day monopoly of land, and that it is nonsense to proclaim "Freedom and Equality of Mankind" as the basic principles of Democracy when at the same time mighty capitalists groups possess unlimited power over the sources of all the raw materials and most of the property. Is it not indeed an untenable position for one group to possess all the coal fields; another all the petroleum wells; a third the ore deposits; a fourth the diamond and gold fields; a fifth (as in the U. S. A.) gigantic forests; and for the surface of the earth to be owned by a minority who grant the liberty to live and work on it under conditions of ever-increasing tribute, which leave to the users of the land only the minimum necessary to maintain existence? Henry George, one of the greatest thinkers of all time, has shown in the already mentioned unparalleled book, "Progress and Poverty," that even without expropriation or division of the land and without resorting to Nationalization, a basic reform of the present evils could be effected, which would bring benefit to all classes. Then it must not be overlooked that the millionaires of today cannot enjoy their lives free of care; they feel that we are dancing on a volcano and unless some alteration is effected the worst is to be feared. The example which disinherited Russia has given us must always be for us "*Mene, mene tekel upharsin!*" which it is impossible to take too seriously. Moreover, Bolshevism in spite of the educated people who support it, cannot bring a solution of the social problem any nearer because instead of freedom, which must remain for its supporters a political ideal, it has created a rigid and coercive economic entity which cannot endure.

The Edinburgh Conference promoted by The International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade has as one of its objects the important mission of informing the world that neither the niggardliness of Mother Earth, her alleged over-population, the presumed over-production, or the world war, are to blame for the ever-increasing misery of our time and the dangerous situation into which the civilized world has drifted; but that it is due solely and wholly to land monopoly. Material progress has not raised the wages of the workers while millions



f those willing to work cannot find employment. Private ownership of land—which by all the laws of God and right should belong to all—is alone the reason why innumerable people live in want and misery. Our “culture,” which stands so high in the branches of physical science and technical knowledge, but in regard to economics is still in the infant school, is leading us towards an ugly state of chaos.

But the Edinburgh Conference will probably express itself very emphatically in regard to another point of the utmost importance, viz.: The fact that the origin of the horrible war of our time was closely allied to the land question. Land monopoly led to unemployment and to the present misery of the masses, and this to a desperate economic struggle which, in its turn, resulted in higher protective tariffs. In this way a poisonous atmosphere was created between the nations; the one regarding with envy the rich storehouses of the other—its mineral and coal fields, its petroleum wells, its potash deposits, and so on—and simply waiting for an opportunity to obtain possession of them for itself. These tendencies were increased by the short-sighted and false egoism of the countries that think of themselves only, and believe that if they segregate themselves by high tariffs they will enrich themselves at the cost of other countries. If the sources of supply were not in private hands, but belonged to the community, it would be much easier for countries to come to an agreement as to the quantity of raw material needed by them, and the present inflammatory conditions would be eliminated from the world. *Videant consules*

## New York's Prize Essay Contest

THE Prize Essay Contest in the New York City high schools on the subject of “Economic Law as Expounded by Henry George” conducted this Spring under the auspices of the Board of Education resulted in the submission of more than fifteen hundred essays from the pupils of twenty-three high schools. On Graduation Day representatives of Dr. Mary D. Hussey Prize Fund distributed the prizes to sixteen students. Details of this contest will be given in our next issue.

IN the ancient city of Nuzi in Mesopotamia, 1500 B. C. we are told it was against the law to sell land. This law was intended to prevent the ownership of large areas of land by single individuals. It is curious to read that some Nuzian attorney figured out a way to get around the statutes. Land could be transferred from one relative to another, but it could not change hands, so people who wanted to own land had themselves legally adopted by people who had it!

FARM relief already includes the creation of eight new Federal jobs.—*Dallas News*.

## Henry George and Adam Smith

ELBERT HUBBARD, in his “Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Reformers,” tells how Henry George, at the age of twenty-one, then a compositor in San Francisco, lodged at the best hotel there, owned by a man named Woodward, who was considered eccentric. No woman was allowed to stop there or work in it; the hotel was run on absolutely temperance principles; and the third thing was, and it was for this George consented to pay the high charges, there was a fine library of a thousand volumes—the only public library at that time in San Francisco.

While Henry George was staying at the “What Cheer House,” an English traveler added a volume to the little library—“Buckle’s History of Civilization.” Woodward tried to read the book, but failing to become interested in it, handed it to a waiter, saying, “Here, give it to that red-hair printer; he can get something out of it, if anybody can.”

Henry George took the book to his room, and that night sat reading it until two o’clock in the morning. That statement of Buckle’s, “Adam Smith’s ‘Wealth of Nations’ has influenced civilization more profoundly than any book ever written, save none,” caught the young printer’s attention.

The next day he looked in the library for the “Wealth of Nations,” and sure enough, it was there! He began to read. He read and re-read. And whether Buckle’s statement is correct or not, this holds: Adam Smith’s “Wealth of Nations” influenced Henry George more profoundly than any book he ever read.

This is the 50th year of the publication of “Progress and Poverty.” George had submitted the MS. to Appleton’s, who consented to publish it if he would supply the money for the typesetting and making of the electro-plates therefrom. George could not afford this, so he diligently started to do his own type-setting, working an hour in the morning and two hours at night. On account of his eloquence, he was often asked to speak at public functions. On the occasion of the funeral of a certain tramp printer, Henry George officiated, and preached a sermon which rang through San Francisco like a trumpet call, extolling not what the man was, but what he might have been. This may explain why a genial electro-typer offered to help with the electro-plates for “Progress and Poverty,” on the condition that Henry George would give a funeral oration over his grave at the proper time and place. George agreed to this cheerful arrangement, so the work went merrily on, and the plates were shipped to New York early in 1880.

—*Progress*, Melbourne, Aus.

IN the seventeenth century no one in Rome was permitted to hold vacant land if not improved within a reasonable time. This was by papal decree.



## Progress and Poverty

REVIEWING in the *New York World* of Aug. 18 the Fiftieth Anniversary edition of "Progress and Poverty," Harry Hansen says:

If a list of the important American contributions to economic discussion were made this book would have a place in it.

The dedication of the book recalls the high ideal with which Henry George developed his doctrine: "To those who, seeing the vice and misery that spring from the unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, feel the possibility of a higher social state and would strive for its attainment." The man first began thinking of the economic inequalities in the world because he was crushed by monopolies of news distribution when he attempted as a young man to start a telegraphic news bureau in New York. It was New York, according to his son, that started him thinking, and returning to San Francisco he began writing on economic themes, six years later, in 1877 beginning the composition of "Progress and Poverty." The son writes: "The book was finished after a year and seven months of intense labor, and the undergoing of privations that caused the family to do without a parlor carpet, and which frequently caused the author to pawn his personal effects. And when the last page was written in the dead of night, when he was entirely alone, Henry George flung himself upon his knees and wept like a child. He had kept his vow. The rest was in the Master's hands."

No wonder that his theory of taxation stood the test of time and was not the outpouring of a mind lost in the wilderness of economic theory. With deep sincerity he had studied the principles behind rent and land values and challenged the opinions of the world. John Dewey said of him, only recently: "No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker."

In the same issue the *World* says editorially:

It is fifty years since a poor printer in San Francisco, Henry George, sent the manuscript of "Progress and Poverty" to a New York publisher, the Appleton firm. Doubting if a large edition could be marketed, the Appletons agreed to handle the book if the author would furnish the plates. These were accordingly made in San Francisco and shipped across the continent. Within the next twenty-five years probably two million copies of the book were sold, in most of the languages of the civilized world. The sale has continued to this day, amply justifying, from the publishing standpoint, the fiftieth anniversary edition of the book from new plates now issued by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, which is devoted to the dissemination of Henry George's economic doctrines.

Of these the single tax theory, from the novelty of its presentment, has attracted much the most attention—Henry George was not the only economist of his time committed to free trade. It made its author famous. It has affected tax theories and tax practice in many parts of the world.

The N. Y. Evening *World* of Aug. 19 also said editorially

It was fifty years ago that a really great thinker, having finished the last page of his greatest contribution to economic literature in the dead of night, fell upon his knee and wept like a child. It had been a hard struggle. It had meant almost two years of the most intensive labor but it had meant more—that hurt the author worse—the deprivation of his family. He had no money, and during these years of creation he had been driven to the pawning of personal effects to buy bread. The book was "Progress and Poverty," the author was Henry George.

In the fifty intervening years this book has taken its place among the classics, been translated into almost every language, and John Dewey says that no one ignorant of its contents can truly be said to be educated.

The fiftieth anniversary is to be observed by the publication of a new edition from fresh plates. When it appeared publishers refused to risk publication unless the author furnished the plates.

With the passing of time Henry George has grown constantly in the respect of the thinking portion of mankind. His honesty and sincerity were beyond question. His devotion to his fellow men was undoubted. His wisdom has been challenged but his motives never. He lived a useful life of public service, and ranks as one of the outstanding publicists of his time, albeit New York City would not have him for its Mayor. There will be many more republications of his greatest work long after the edition now announced is yellow with age.

HOW much land increases in value in spite of the so-called heavy taxation is shown by the fact that Detroit land increased in value from \$500,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 in the past 10 years. Had the land tax been doubled, no one would have been injured, a comparatively small fraction of the population would have failed to make a billion dollars at the expense of the rest of the people, and no tax would have been necessary on anything but land.

—RAY ROBSON in *Ohio State Journal*.

## BOOK NOTICES

### NEW EDITION OF "PROGRESS AND POVERTY"

The various printings of "Progress and Poverty" in recent years have been made from the plates used for the Memorial edition published thirty years ago, and which have become so worn from repeated use that further printing would be unsatisfactory.

The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation has therefore had the book entirely reset in a large type (10-point), and printed from new plates.



making an attractive and easily read type-page. Some typographical errors have been corrected; otherwise the text is as revised by Mr. George shortly before his death in 1897, when the book was being reset and he made a few minor changes, as noted in this new edition.

The preface to the Fourth edition, in which Mr. George summarized his argument, has been retained, as has also the story by his son, Henry George, Jr., of the events which led to the writing of "Progress and Poverty" and the difficulties attending its publication.

A new Foreword (printed in the May-June issue of LAND AND FREEDOM) has been written for this "Fiftieth Anniversary Edition," summarizing the place attained by Henry George as a social philosopher since the first publication of his book in 1879, and emphasizing the present need for a study of his remedy for social ills.

This new edition is well bound in handsome blue cloth, and contains a halftone portrait (black and white) photographed from the oil portrait of Henry George painted in 1897 by Harry Thurston See.

We will not at this time expound upon the merits of "Progress and Poverty." The purpose of this notice is to call the attention of our readers to this re-printing, which makes Henry George's masterpiece available in attractive form for introduction to those as yet unacquainted with its gospel.

This new edition appears under the imprint of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation as publishers. Except for "Protection or Free Trade," which the Foundation had reprinted recently, Henry George's other works are practically out of print, nor is it likely that they will be republished on a commercial basis. The Foundation therefore contemplates a gradual republication of these other books; but believes that it is more important at the moment to stimulate the circulation of "Progress and Poverty," both in this unabridged edition, and in the shorter form of the "Significant Paragraphs" as arranged by Prof. H. G. Brown.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### REV. A. W. LITTLEFIELD AND THE SHAKER VALLEY ASSOCIATION

#### EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In your issue of March-April you mention the passing of that great and good man, Rev. A. W. Littlefield. I should like to crave the indulgence of your readers for a brief word as to Mr. Littlefield's connection with the Shaker Valley Association, in which group of enthusiastic souls he served during the last summer of his life, as Chairman. The Shaker Valley Association was projected as the embodiment of a cherished hope upon the part of the writer, and likewise of Mr. Littlefield that a group of people so minded might foregather during the summer months at some spot not too remote from the walks of men and there commune with one another upon some of the fundamentals of life.

The writer's acquaintance with Mr. Littlefield was a most interesting and delightful one, dating back to what was often spoken of as "the old Greenacre days," to those memoried times when free thought and free speech were exchanged upon the universal platform founded by Miss Sarah J. Farmer at Eliot, Maine. Greenacre was the outgrowth of the World's Congress of Religions held in Chicago at the World's Fair of 1893. Immediately thereafter Miss Farmer returned to her home in Maine, and there upon the shores of the beautiful Pisquataqua river, founded what was one of the most unique communities in the history of American religious and philosophic life. Two years ago, with the ideal in mind mentioned above, upon meeting Mr. Littlefield, we together resolved that we would unite in some active plan for a continuance of some of these ideals. It was just at this time that a small group of like-minded souls were beginning the rehabilitation of the old Shaker Village in Harvard, which is now being incorporated into the Enclave of Tahanto, where through the kindness of Mr. Fiske Warren, we were able to conduct a series of conferences and lectures on Philosophy, Ethics and Applied Economics

the latter subject being taken to interpret freely the Land Emancipation movement as epitomized in the principles of Single Tax. Mr. Littlefield had felt for some time that he should like to dedicate the remaining years of his life to the ideals of what he called the religion of Henry George, that is, the principles enunciated by the great American revelator in terms of Everyman's religion. Accordingly, he presented his ideas in the form of *A Liturgy for the Henry George Foundation of America*, which was read at the Single Tax Congress held in Chicago in 1928. This liturgy made a great impression, and it was the privilege of the members of the Shaker Valley Association to have it presented to them by Mr. Littlefield at a memorable Sunday evening gathering in August, 1928. Here, in the historic old church where the devout Shakers had worshipped so many years ago, with the soft light of candles and the golden afterglow lighting up the fading twilight, this liturgic interpretation of the principles of the great Land Emancipator, in terms of the religion of the Carpenter, made an ineffaceable impression upon all who were privileged to hear it. In this Liturgy Mr. Littlefield was at his best.

Briefly, The Shaker Valley Association is an independent organization devoted to the exemplification of life so far as the inner ideals of truth express themselves in the outer reality of beauty. Thus realized, "truth becomes beauty, beauty truth." It was toward the exemplification of some of these ideals that this company was gathered together in this first annual session.

The death of Mr. Littlefield has made it impossible to continue for the present these conferences so well begun and so well attended. It is hoped that some other Prophet may arise out of Israel who will as wholeheartedly devote himself to these ideals as did Mr. Littlefield. The work of rehabilitation of the old Shaker Village is going on, but Mr. Littlefield's place will be hard to fill. Among his last contributions to the programme of these conferences was to offer as a quotation for the final week's announcement, those exquisite lines of Shelley:

Like a poet hidden in the light of thought,  
Singing hymns unbidden, till the world is wrought  
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not.

Mr. Littlefield was himself a poet; and when the poetic feeling mingled with the religious message is breathed into the movement toward Land Emancipation, then will we have a Commonwealth of free souls living upon a land of Free Soil. Mr. Littlefield's place in the community, in his religious denomination, in the Single Tax movement and in the great world will not soon be filled.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. BENJAMIN C. WOODBURY.

### FOR A NEW PROPAGANDA

#### EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

While the propaganda of our cause may be pursued by many methods and diverse paths, it is certain that it can be obtained finally, only by legislative enactment. The inception of the Commonwealth Land Party organization was due to the appreciation that the State appropriation of economic rent is an issue pertaining to the political field.

We dropped all the vagaries, theretofore adopted and spliced onto our principle; such as 16 to 1, Initiative and Referendum, and What Not, and simplified our platform to one plank calling for the State appropriation of economic rent and the abolition of taxation.

As a preliminary step this was fine and logical, and should have led to the coherent activity of all the followers of Henry George; but experience shows that this happy condition did not materialize. Further, it is found that our party organization is steadily deteriorating; that our adherents are inert and indifferent; and, what is still more unfortunate, we are not making converts. As our platform is crystal clear; as no real Georgist would add to or subtract from it; it follows that our want of success is due to our method of advancing it. Our platform does indeed do away with incoherent and antagonistic slogans and should encourage all intelligent citizens to examine its truth



calmly and support us; but, I find, that while on one hand we invite them, on the other we needlessly run counter to all their inherited or acquired party prejudices. Our citizens are allied with the various parties, read their party newspapers and are daily inoculated with the party virus.

How then can we make headway against such a heavy and powerful opposition?

Commencing our examination of the problem with the Federal electorate, we find that the Tariff and Prohibition issues dominate national thought, and on these issues we are ourselves divided; to nominate candidates for Federal office is consequently futile. A further reason against doing it is found in that the Federal government has no present power to tax or appropriate rent in the States. That we want the Federal expenses to come out of rent ultimately is true, but the Federal field is not the logical place to start for its attainment. We must first acquire strength in the States and then move to amend the constitution.

Coming then to the States we find that for want of State issues, the party machines reiterate national issues and demand the allegiance of partisans to State executive candidates as endorsing or vetoing the policies of the Federal administration. Now, please note, that Governors, State officials, or Mayors have no power to aid our cause other than to recommend it to the proper legislative body, and we know that even a Governor Dunn or Mayor Gaynor will refuse to commit political suicide by such recommendation ahead of public sentiment. During the campaign the newspapers daily discharge an irritating partisan broadside, and the only state issue made is that each party claims to be more honest and economical than the other.

What then can the Commonwealth Land Party do?

We can nominate candidates for the State Legislature, Assemblymen and Senators. By an irony of fate these officials, important to us, are grouped as "Also ran"; even their names are practically unknown to the citizenry until encountered on the ballot; they are without an issue against their rivals; their nomination is a reward given to party henchmen, and without any personal campaign they ride into office on the success of their ticket. Yet these officials if elected have the power to change the tenure and taxation of land, and they only. Were we to nominate for these offices we could introduce our issue and force it logically; we could hold our opponents ignorant or indifferent as to the cause of poverty and disease in their particular districts. We could force them to defend private property in land. By not having antagonized Republicans or Democrats on their general tickets we could solicit their aid for our principle. To nominate any other candidates than these is spectacular, and would only weaken our position without any prospect of gain.

I reiterate; the same logic which simplified our platform to one plank, should also obviate useless candidates; thus saving us time and expense. In so doing we will avoid partisanship and leave no Single Taxer with an excuse for not supporting us.

As a matter of fact Single Taxers do not support us at present, and as an example I refer you to our campaign in 1917. Our candidate for Mayor, George Wallace, received only about 200 votes, whereas I for Comptroller received 1600. This shows that 1400 professed Single Taxers refused to throw away their votes for Mayor, and, subconsciously at least, they knew our cause was not a pertinent issue in the Hylan-Mitchell fight and consequently they voted as their party prejudice dictated.

With the right candidates a political campaign provides the proper and most direct field for propaganda, and the votes cast each year would be a measure of our efficiency. That such vote is small at first should not discourage us; it is for us to do our duty and leave the final outcome in the lap of the gods.

To recapitulate. The National Committee of the Party should urge Georgists throughout the Union to nominate by petition candidates for State Senator and Assemblyman, and refrain from nominating for other offices.

In asking serious consideration and endorsement of this plan, I would state that I am confident I could go into any village or town in the U. S. with this programme and within a year and also without asking any outside aid, form an organization, nominate and get votes and adherents.

And what I could do, others, with more ability, could carry on to final victory.

Finally, this plan, if approved, furnishes a national programme which can be systematically followed wherever there are any Georgists, and I believe each group could furnish the small charges entailed without begging for outside help.

Taco-Taco, Cuba

ANTONIO BASTIDA.

### THE POWER TRUST PROBLEM

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

A matter of current interest is the Power Trust activities past and present in educational institutions. Mr. A. B. duPont once remarked, "The biggest trouble with the Single Tax movement is that all Single Taxers are generals, there are no privates." I am wondering about the generalship of the publicity which has been turned onto the Power Trust. My view-point is expressed in the following letter, sent to several papers, but which did not have the usual success in clearing the editorial waste-basket and reaching the linotype, although one or two did print it:

"Discussion of power company propaganda in schools is moving in the direction power companies want it to go. 'Throw propaganda textbooks out' is the sentiment developing. If power company propaganda cannot be quietly injected into the minds of young America monopoly's desire is that the 'conspiracy of silence' shall rule. To shut power company ideas out of schools justifies monopoly's friends in demanding that public ownership discussion be kept out—exactly what monopoly wants.

"The Secretary of State in California furnishes its voters a text book on referendum measures. It contains arguments for and against written by the best available writers. Schools and universities should have text books with an equal number of pages for text by advocates of monopoly efficiency and for the proponents of public ownership service at cost. Students should pass an examination showing a thorough knowledge of both sides and the relative importance of arguments submitted.

"Thus we may promote liberty and an education enabling future voters to intelligently decide these problems. No question will be settled right by a monopoly of propaganda on either side, or privilege's next best weapon the 'conspiracy of silence'".

In this connection, I some time ago saw an article in *The Forum* published by Mr. L. D. Beckwith, 1325 East Poplar St., Stockton Calif., which gave me the impression that he considered that the public ownership movement now is being operated by the land speculators. Practically every public ownership movement's publicity tells readers how much profit has been made for the community. It is impossible to make use of the profit, either in public construction or public service, without making land more desirable or valuable where such new construction or public service may be provided.

In the early days of the fight in the Modesto Irrigation District to establish their own electric power and light system in competition with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the original slogan was "Public ownership and service at cost." As soon as some large holders of land began to get active in the movement the slogan changed to "Public Ownership and Modesto the Tax Free Irrigation District." The interpretation of this was that it was proposed to pay for irrigation tax, i. e., lower the irrigation tax by earnings in power and light sales. They are doing exactly that now. The farmers' irrigation tax is being lowered and Modesto city people are paying something like 80% of the power and light bills.

Mr. Beckwith's reasoning is that had Prof. Ely given his ability to the land speculators only this publicity would not have been turned



Ely being the big toad in the Power Trust puddle in furnishing textbooks for educational institutions, and the ground-rent grafting and speculators desiring public ownership, as a tax collecting agency, if they could hide their taxes in the power and light service bills, they turn the light on Ely's textbooks so far as they promote power company monopoly, but nothing is said about their crooked tax propaganda.

Perhaps Brother Beckwith gives the ground-rent ground-hogs credit for more intelligence than is used in their game. At any rate, I am giving you the whole theory for what you may think it worth and for any use you can make of it. I may add another observation from Mr. A. B. duPont's, viz., "Power companies give some service, land speculators give none." We naturally ask, how much progress in liberty do we make when we kill power company monopoly to establish public ownership as a revenue raiser to subsidize land monopoly?

San Francisco, Calif.

GEORGE CARTWRIGHT.

#### FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE YORKSHIRE LEAGUE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

During the recent election I spoke for three candidates. Andrew McLaren was one and he was returned as a Labor man by a big majority.

Ashley Mitchell (Liberal and President of our League) and C. H. Doyle (a Vice-Chairman, also Liberal) were both badly beaten.

F. C. R. Douglas, a Labor Candidate, was badly beaten. Douglas is one of the ablest men in our movement and would have been a help to Snowden.

I particularly regret the defeat of these three for all of them are real good Single Taxers. Our old friend Wedgwood was again returned.

I think Philip Snowden will give us some reduction of food taxes in his first Budget, and a tax on Land Values. Lloyd George has not the influence he once had and I seldom meet Liberals of middle age who will admit that they have any faith in him. As Henry George said, "We cannot safely leave politics to politicians, etc." The thing that matters is public opinion, and our cause is making great progress in that direction.

Yorkshire, Eng.

F. SKIRROW.

#### A TAX IN FORM ANYHOW

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I once asked the late Charles Zueblin who lectured on economics throughout this country and in England if he believed in the Single Tax. He answered yes, but he also advocated other taxes. I inquired what they were. He replied income and inheritance taxes. I am wondering what his reply would have been had I asked "Do you believe in all men getting what they produce?" Notwithstanding all the tons of literature speaking of justice and righteousness we find the minds of thinkers confused and cloudy under the spell of precedent.

Alexander Hamilton who did more perhaps than any other man to pervert the ends of justice nevertheless recognized the concept of justice when he said, "Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been and ever will be pursued until it is obtained or until liberty is lost in the pursuit." When Emerson was asked if the slave should be paid for he answered, "yes, pay the slave." This is in answer to S. Tideman, who says that the objection to the words Single Tax are unwarranted. Either the Single Tax is a tax or it is not. If it is not a tax why doubly confuse our thought and that of our hearers by calling it so?

I have taken part in campaigns since the days of the George movement in Delaware, Philadelphia and other cities and I found it difficult to explain how a tax implied equal justice. Because he would not adhere to the Single Tax theory Prof. Zueblin was no more befuddled than those who argue for the taking of a percentage

of land value in taxation. If exact justice is our aim, and only exact justice will satisfy civilized man, we must exact every penny owing to society by each and every member and declare in season and out that this is not a tax.

Chicago, Ill.

MORRIS LYCHENHEIM

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

MAGNUS H. ALEXANDER, president of the National Industries Commerce Board, in a recent address said: "Tariff walls which obstruct and prevent the free exchange of goods from one nation to the other always stand as a threat to world prosperity. So in the end the problem of the tariff is at best the problem of civilization."

J. R. HERMANN writes regarding the proposed Single Tax amendment in Oregon: "I now have over two thousand names to the petition. I speak before the electricians and addressed the carpenters recently. There are so many unions now committed to the programme that they must be recognized."

WE have received a pamphlet containing a selection of Single Tax songs by Samuel Danziger, Will Atkinson and others. It is published by Chas. G. Baldwin, Munsey Building, Baltimore, Md.

WE are glad to note the publication of the July number of the *Ohio Single Taxer*, edited and published by Thomas J. Dolan, of Cleveland, and "issued when necessary by the Single Tax party of Ohio."

*Stimuli* is a little well filled eight page paper coming from Baltimore. F. Lincoln Hutchins is the publisher and Samuel Danziger contributes a page of notes on current topics.

*The Square Deal* in its July issue prints a picture of the new headquarters of the Single Tax Association, with Secretary L. B. Walling standing in the doorway.

*Land and Liberty* announces the death of John Muir, for many years a prominent Henry George man in Glasgow, Scotland. His age was 81.

THE memory of Richard Cobden is being celebrated in a series of lectures in London. On July 17 Sir Richard Mallet spoke at a meeting presided over by Lord Grey of Falloden. Sir Richard said in one sentence:

"Free trade, what is it? Cobden had demanded. 'Why, it is the breaking down of the barriers that separate nations, those barriers behind which nestle the feelings of pride, revenge, hatred and jealousy which every now and then break their bounds and deluge whole countries with blood.'"

It is interesting to note that a large contribution for maintaining Cobden's old home, Dunford House, as a permanent memorial came from America through Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

WE are apprised of the recent death of B. H. Nadal, an old friend of this paper, and a resident of this city, author of "The Fairy Court" and several plays. He had been for many years a follower of Henry George and known to a number of the friends of the movement. Details of his life and death are lacking.

OUR readers will be sorry to hear that F. H. Monroe was ordered by his physician on June 28 to take to his bed. But he is now greatly improved and will soon be back in his office.

THE Schalkenbach Foundation has published a little pamphlet, "The Hat Trees of Ireland". It is a story of how the Fairy King



of Leinster's godmother settled an economic controversy with black magic. It is a delightful little satire directed against the protectionist and his arguments, and will cause a good laugh. Incidentally it advertises Henry George's great book on the subject.

FREDERICK VERINDER, honored veteran of the English movement, writes us that he is grieved to note that the May-June issue of LAND AND FREEDOM carries the news of the passing of two of his old friends, W. B. Northrop, whom he knew in London, and John Filmer, with whom he had corresponded for many years.

THE report of the activities of the Manhattan Single Tax Club for this year is before us. James R. Brown, president of the Club, now located at 1860 Broadway, this city, has delivered so far 113 lectures before Universities; Colleges and High Schools, 60; Service and Business Men's Clubs, 45; Church Clubs, 7; and Labor organization, 1. Newspaper service has been supplied to 750 newspapers. Not all of these have made use of this material but at least the editors have been in receipt of much sound and sensible information on the taxation question, and this cannot fail to be of advantage in many cases in instilling new ideas that may sink in. The amount of literature distributed by the club during the period covered in the report has been enormous. As the fiscal year of the Manhattan Single Tax Club begins on December 1st the 31st day of May completes the first half of the year.

JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE in company with George Geiger and John's father visited Theodore Saunders at his sister's place at Mt. Sinai, L. I., near Port Jefferson. Mr. Saunders will be remembered as the young artist who worked to make a success of the Chicago Henry George Congress, and was an active member of the younger group who contributed so much to the occasion.

CHARLES H. HARTMAN, an earnest Bible student who has written much on the economics of the Scriptures, and is an active Single Taxer of Chicago, has prepared an article which he intends to distribute as two-leaf folder entitled "Restoring the Programme of the Prophets".

WE have received a twelve page pamphlet by R. E. Chadwick, which is a tribute to F. W. Roman, founder and director of the Parliament of Man. This address was delivered at the closing session of the Parliament for 1928-29. Something regarding the work of Dr. Roman was contained in May-June LAND AND FREEDOM. This very eloquent and appreciative tribute from Mr. Chadwick to the work of Prof. Roman was made on his departure for Europe and closed with these finely expressed words of hope and good wishes:

Go, then, not as one man but as a host, bearing tidings of peace and good will from your fellow Parliamentarians to all the world. When you return, the loyal members of the Parliament of Man will assemble to greet you and continue to cooperate with you in making justice and liberty a fact in human experience.

And now, sir, we salute you with the open palm of peace, and appoint you Ambassador of Good Will from the Parliament of Man to all capitals, peoples and civilizations of earth. Godspeed and a safe return.

THE Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. needs to complete its files all numbers of LAND AND FREEDOM for 1926, all copies of 1927 save July-August, all of 1928 excepting Jan.-Feb., and Jan.-Feb. and March-April, 1929. Have any of our subscribers the copies needed? If so will they kindly communicate with the Library of Congress?

A. A. WHIPPLE, of Wenatchee, Washington, writes us of recent date: "I suppose you have noticed the \$11,000,000,000 'melon' the Supreme Court has handed to the railroads, the same being a \$11,

000,000,000 'lemon' for the rest of us, especially the farmers, who are so hopefully waiting to be 'relieved'. The appalling thing about it to my notion is that if 'farm relief' should by any unforeseen accident actually work, which I do not expect to happen, this decision has sharpened the shears and handed them to the railroads to clip off any wool the poor sheep-like farmers (and the rest of us who work for our money) may grow to keep them warm. Well, the Bible said it first, 'The sheep before the shearers are dumb',—poor dumb sheep!"

THE new Henry George League which has been formed in Queensland has for its president Hon. H. F. Hardacre, vice presidents W. J. Hurst and William Kearney, treasurer E. A. Keagan and secretary Edwin I. S. Harding. Mr. Harding contributes to this number an excellent report of the activities in Queensland.

THIS is a rather belated notice of one of the most successful dinners of the Chicago Single Tax Club held on May 22 at which 50 sat down. Clayton J. Ewing presided and among the speakers were Henry Tideman, William H. Holly, George Olcott, Henry H. Harding, and Manuel Goldberger. Chicago now leads all the cities in a flourishing and fighting Single Tax organization.

IN a letter to Mr. Elon H. Hooker, president of the Electro-Chemical Co., replying to an interview with that gentleman in the *New York World* Mr. F. C. Leubuscher wrote:

"I agree with you that taxation holds back progress, because all taxes are ultimately shifted to the consumer, thus adding to the price and resulting in lessened demand. By taxation, of course, I mean the tribute levied by governments on industry. The collection, however, of the annual rental value of our water sites and other natural resources, although called a tax, is in reality the collection by the community of a value which the people themselves, and not the individual owner, produce.

IN a letter to Mr. Craigie, delegate from Australia to the International Single Tax Conference, at Edinburgh, Mr. F. T. Hodgkiss, who represents what may be called the "left wing" of the Single Tax movement, writes: "Please accept my hearty good wishes for a safe and a happy and prosperous time during the coming months." He adds:

It seems to me a reconciling spirit could be shown and perhaps reconciliation be brought about by such resolution as the following:

"While supporting the political parties which seek to get the land values of Great Britain assessed for the purpose of raising revenue therefrom we urge upon public attention the need of completely restoring the land to the people by the total abolition of taxation and the collection of the people's Land Rent for revenue."

I feel sure that not only you, but many present would sympathize with such a resolution being moved and carried and it would make the Edinburgh Conference a memorable one. Will you in the interest of our great cause try what can be done to secure at the Conference the sympathy and cooperation pleaded for in the noble Chicago resolution?

HAROLD SUDELL, who never misses an opportunity to get in a blow for the cause where it will do the most good, took the occasion to send the following letter to Hon. Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owens:

"I see that you have voted for the pending Tariff Bill. I remember reading, with much admiration, some of your father's speeches on the tariff question. You say in defense of your vote that many years have passed since your father's day and that conditions have changed. Permit me to point out that right and wrong do not change with the passing years. Your father opposed a protective tariff on the ground that it was unjust. If it was wrong in your father's day, it is wrong now. If it is right now, it was right then."

Mr. Sudell accompanied this communication with a presentation copy of Protection or Free Trade, which he assured Mrs. Owens was "the best and clearest exposition on the subject."

OUR old friend, R. J. Deachman has an article in the *New Republic* for June 12, entitled, "A Tariff Lesson from Canada". Mr. Deach



an is a representative of the Consumers League of Canada before the Tariff Board, is a Single Taxer and an able writer. A phrase in his article of Mr. Deachman is arresting. "Heaven helps those who help themselves, and the silent consumer will get no help."

THE French Government has conferred upon Brand Whitlock the Cross of the Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor in recognition of the relief work done by him in Belgium. As most of our readers know our former minister to Belgium is a follower of Henry George.

HENRY FORD declares in the *New York World* that he would wipe out all tariffs, and have the United States begin. He concludes by saying: "If we had some sane intellectual outlook on tariffs I think they would soon disappear. And the world in general would be benefited."

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York City, in a recent declaration states that it is "the intent of the Socialists to cover for the people the land values which society creates, and progressively to shift the burden of real estate taxation from improvements of the land to the land itself until finally the State takes by taxation the economic rent of land." No Single Taxer could desire a more explicit declaration.

E. B. GASTON, of the *Fairhope Courier*, recently addressed the convention of the Knights of Pythias which convened at Fairhope. The subject was the Single Tax and the delegates showed a keen interest in the presentation.

*Progress*, of Melbourne, Australia, commenting on "Spiritual Economics," says, "Mr. McLean's book is full of deep thought and contains a variety of quotations and valuable statements bearing on social conditions in the United States."

J. O'DONNELL DERRICK, Scottish correspondent of the *Irish Weekly*, urged the election of 42 labor candidates in the recent election, specifying each by name. Thirty-two were elected, and all espoused the taxation of land values!

THE Melbourne (Australia) *Herald* tells of the great poverty prevailing in that city. Every issue of that paper relates pathetic incidents of the sufferings of the unemployed, and the relief work that is now wide-spread is of course quite incapable of doing much more than slightly to ameliorate the great distress everywhere abounding. LAND AND FREEDOM might easily be filled with accounts of these tragedies. The *Herald* is melancholy reading these days. And this is a new country!

FAIRHOPE'S celebration of the "Glorious Fourth" was attended by thousands. There were land and water sports, music, speeches and singing.

AMONG recent visitors to this office were Prof. R. B. Brinsmade, of Mexico City, Mexico; August Weymann, of Los Angeles; Antonio Bastida, of Tac-Taco, Cuba, and Frank D. Larrabee, of Minneapolis.

GOD'S Gospel on the Land Question, by a Layman, is the heading of a remarkable article in the *Daily Express*, of London, of July 4. The *Express* has an enormous circulation throughout the British Isles.

IN the autobiography of Alfred E. Smith running in the *Saturday Evening Post* the late candidate for the presidency tells of his experience as a newsboy. He had one customer for the *Leader*, a shoemaker in Dover street, but he bought two copies, one of which he gave to his

mother. He says; "I do not think she understood Henry George's tax theory any more than I did myself at that time." The question arises, does our good ex-Governor understand it at this time?

A PROPOSED 99 year lease of land known as Ocean Park, Long Branch, at \$1. a year to a lessee for the building of a \$3,000,000 hotel, has aroused the vigorous opposition of our old friend George White, of Long Branch, who calls it "outrageous." He says: "To lease valuable land at one dollar a year for any such term as 99 years passes all bounds of reason. It is high time that in our schools should be taught and from all legislatures and municipal administrations should come the lesson that land-selling values are not wealth at all but simply the capitalization at current rates of interest of privileges socially granted but not fully charged for by government agencies."

At the recent 22nd annual congress of the Esperanto Association of North America Henry W. Hetzel, of Philadelphia, was elected president. James F. Morton, curator of the Paterson Museum, was among the speakers at the Congress.

THE *Standard Union*, of Brooklyn, commenting on the increased land values due to subway construction, points out that the city is getting a permanent and steadily rising income from the owners of property (land) the value of which is increased thereby. It says: "There should be some comfort in this for Single Taxers, a zealous band of reformers who doubtless have not yet entirely disappeared. The government is not, as they urge, getting the whole value of land, but it is getting a regular percentage fixed by the government itself." But why not all that is due to such improvements?

WRITING from Edinburgh on the eve of the Conference, Mr. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, president of the International Union, writes us: "A great deal of work has been done by the headquarters in London to make this Conference a really fine gathering and the discussion well worth while. Our aid in the matter has been, I believe, fully justified."

READERS of our bright and always vigorous contemporary, the *Commonweal*, of London, England, have long been familiar with articles in that paper signed "W. C. O.," the initials of William Charles Owen, whose life was a strenuous seeking after truth, and whose experiences were many and thrilling. He wielded a trenchant pen and his contributions to the *Commonweal* helped to make that paper a welcome visitor. That pen is now stilled and the voice silent. Born in 1854, on July 9 of this year he passed away. In the *Commonweal* of July 20 J. W. Graham Peace pays a deserved and touching tribute to his departed associate, and tells us something of the active life he lived. These were his last words spoken to Mr. Peace: "Press on, tell out the truth that the people are helpless because their equal right to the earth is denied. Tell it out bluntly, yes, brutally if you will, but tell it without qualification." Owen had lived for humanity; his influence was wide-spread, and he has left his impress upon his generation.

WILLIAM S. WRIGHT, of Kansas City, Mo., contributes to the *New Republic* of August 7 a communication entitled, "How to Relieve the Farmers." It is well that readers of the *New Republic* are occasionally treated to sound and fundamental economics.

REV. THOMAS DAWSON, of Dublin, was one of the earliest friends and converts of Henry George. His name and letters figure in the life of the prophet by his son Henry George, Jr. He is now eighty years of age and was recently in London, where he met Mrs. Anna George deMille on her way to the Edinburgh Conference.