

November—December, 1929

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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

Profits and the "Vice" of Saving

(Second Paper)

Robert Bruce Brinsmade

The Neo-Georgians

Mark Millikin

A Visit to Philip Snowden

Anna George deMille

Reclamation of the Zuider Zee

Address at Edinburgh Conference

Engineer D. de Clercq

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# LAND AND FREEDOM

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JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor

HERMAN G. LOEW, Pres., 305 Broadway, New York City

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

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

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### SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace.

GERMANY: Adolph Damaschke, Lessingstrasse II, Berlin.

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

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

SPAIN: Antonio Albendin, Cadiz.

DENMARK: Abel Brink, Copenhagen.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY, Prof. Robt. Braun, Budapest.

MEXICO: Prof. R. B. Brinsmade, Av. Pal Legislativo 40, Mexico City

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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



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## Comment and Reflection

A SUBSCRIBER has sent us a copy of the *Sunday School Times* for October, published in Nashville, Tenn., which contains a thoughtful article by G. B. Winton, "Christianity and the Social Problem." It is a call to the Church to consider the economic and social condition of the people and the problems underlying it. The writer tells us that the insistence of Jesus and the Prophets is that religion is a manner of life, not a mere belief, not simply a ritual of worship. Dr. Winton says: "The evidence is multiplying, and it is not far to seek, that in our industrial life, there is much that is not only non-Christian but anti-Christian." He also says: "As for our religion it is undoubtedly on trial."

[T is true that Dr. Winton has nothing in the way of remedies to offer for the evils he indicates. We may say that this is not his purpose. He is only calling attention to the apathy of the church to the social misery and suffering around us. He is trying to arouse the church from its lethargy. He sees quite clearly that much human suffering, poverty, low wages and unemployment, spring from disobedience to God's laws. His indictment of the church is that it has failed in its duty, is not combatting these evils, is not preaching the kind of Christianity intended to correct them.

DR. Winton's article is one of the many symptoms of the spirit of inquiry and unrest among modern churchmen, clergy and laity. They are asking themselves if religion is something which concerns itself only with the hereafter and ignores the living realities; if human relation with the infinite is not destroyed by conditions which interrupting the physical and moral growth, stifle also the spiritual; whether it is possible to worship God and His justice, and remain indifferent to a civilization which deforms and brutalizes. And, more and more, sincerely devout men are asking inconvenient questions.

THERE is abundant warrant in the Scriptures for the challenge to the Church—for it is scarcely less—that Dr. Winton is voicing. For religion must concern itself with conduct as well as faith, with social conduct as well as behavior in the home or behind the counter. If any-

where, because of the failure to do our duty as professing Christians, the humblest suffer, shall we escape responsibility? If economic institutions rob the new-born child of its birthright; if somewhere men and women suffer and pine because of our laws, are we Christians indeed if we do not ask ourselves how these conditions can be removed?

IT is not solely that men and women sunk in poverty cannot practise the Christian virtues in conditions with which we surround them. The more fortunate are also sharers in the wrong they help to perpetuate. Sympathy dies, and the Church becomes merely doctrinal and ceremonious, cold and formal. Christianity is not meant to be so; it is a warm and throbbing faith. It is not a quiescent faith; it calls for action in right doing; it challenges the conscience of men; the churches may try to keep silent but they dare not, for to keep silent spells destruction. The law of Christ cannot be invoked for the life after death and denied in the life we live on earth. And if there is economic and social maladjustment, institutional perversions of the moral law by which men suffer, it is Christ's concern, and therefore the concern of all churches built in the name of Christ.

HON. PETER WITT in his interesting talk at the late Henry George Congress in Pittsburgh said, "The English were different from us—they had elections only when they needed them." There is a measure of truth in this. With us elections are a kind of habit. People complain of the troubles elections cause them, the interruptions to business, and the cost they entail. And they go about the matter in a sort of semi-somnambulistic state. Outside the circles of politicians and their immediate friends and relations, they exhibit a merely listless interest. Baseball is much more of a social excitant than all these successively recurring elections.

HOW can we make our elections interesting, for it is necessary to do so if our institutions are to survive. Otherwise more and more of our voters will abstain from participation—will neglect to register and thus fail to declare their preference for candidates and such principles and policies as are visible, if visible at all, under strong magnifying glasses.



A SELF-REVEALING picture is the recent work of the Countess of Warwick, "Life's Ebb and Flow." It is a picture of a life of devotion to high ideals from the time she met Robert Blatchford and was converted to socialism. In the interests of that movement this most beautiful woman of her time subjected herself to the bitter condemnation of her class. All honor to her!

BUT *cui bono*? The socialism that goes no further than British socialism has yet gone, that does not propose to cure conditions by fundamental remedies can, we imagine, bring small comfort to Lady Warwick. For it must be clear to her that socialistic politicians have not removed those evils which aroused her generous spirit and induced her to brave so much.

"A sense of earnest will  
To help the lowly living,"

whether by charity or socialistic make-shifts, is not enough. We wonder if she realizes the terrible truth, for terrible it must seem to many, that to permanently help the poor the Lady Warwicks and the Lady Astors, must cease to be, with all their titles and rent rolls and great estates.

WE say Socialism "as far as it has gone." We are referring to the party which in England calls itself "Labor" and which is called by others, and especially its enemies, "Socialist." And included in this are other parties which in continental Europe use the same designation. In this connection it is interesting to refer to an illuminating article in the *New York World* of Nov. 9 by Arno Dosch-Fleuret, in which he says:

"Socialist" is the most misused term in Europe. If American readers were to translate "Socialist" to "radical" every time it appears in the news they would come nearer to getting a correct meaning of current political developments on the Continent. Even then they would often be exaggerating, as the so-called Socialists in many European countries are about as radical as insurgent Republicans in the United States, and in some countries parties calling themselves "National Socialists" are not radical at all.

EVEN the so-called Radical Socialists of France are mostly liberals, this correspondent points out, and he indicates a more important development—that the only political groups who cling to the Marxian formulas are the communists, and even the communists are moderating their demands. In Germany and France these moderates have been expelled from the party and the tendency will be for these groups now on the outside to amalgamate with the Socialists and thus help to increase the numbers of those who voting as Socialists are to be more properly designated as "Liberals."

HENRY GEORGE men are neither Socialists nor Anarchists. That we are too much governed in our economic relations they will without argument admit.

But that there are a number of purely governmental functions not yet taken over by government, they will as readily concede. To that extent we are socialists, and will be so accused. Yet our philosophy remains the philosophy of individualism; and such socialism as we would welcome is for the preservation of this same philosophy of individualism.

NOR in view of the rapidly developing evolution of so-called Socialism in which the Marxian formulas are rapidly disappearing need we hesitate to work with the New Socialists. Granted that many of the things they propose to do will prove ineffectual; granted, too, that when the whole economic rent of land is taken many of their problems will be automatically solved—as we trust and believe and as indeed we are prepared to demonstrate—we can afford to let them work out these reforms to the end if they will not lose sight of the great principle that the economic rent of land is the first, or if you please the main thing to be socialized.

A POLITICAL partnership of the sort we are hinting at may or may not be feasible at this time. The Socialists—term as capable of various definitions as the word Christian—are many; Henry George men are not so many, though more than some of our sharp witted columnists seem to think. They are at least clear and capable thinkers; their convictions make them so, and they are wonder-working proselyters among groups whose beliefs are undergoing transformation. In view of such a political partnership what can we concede without compromising our own principles?

IT seems a small matter to let them have their state housing and old-age pension programme. Socialists may be made to see that these pensions can be paid for out of land values. As for their state housing proposals if we are right in contending that these would prove entirely unnecessary as more and more of the land rent came into the treasury and more and more land into use, our attitude could be that of "watchful waiting" without unnecessary opposition or antagonism. If the new socialism will rally to the principle of taking the entire rent of land its adherents will have their hands full in preaching it and much of the older socialistic proposals will drop away, even as the Marxian dogmas are gradually undergoing slow disintegration.

IN the *New York World*, of November 10, Norman Thomas reiterates the platform on which he made his remarkable and inspiring run in the recent mayoralty campaign. "Honest and expert assessment based on the principle that land values belong to the community which creates them." He says again, in his article in the *World*:



The Socialist Party will not, however, go along with a group that avoids or hedges on the core of New York's able-landlordism. The people must get the benefit of the land values which they create.

WE are not deciding anything for the future policy of the Single Tax movement. We would not do even if it were in our power. We are merely throwing for discussion and debate what our policy should be. The Socialist party now takes advanced ground on the question. If the party does this, there is no danger that this question will not soon become the crucial issue. As far as the party is concerned and the great national debate on the question will be opened. Whether the arguments outweigh the possible gains, whether we can afford to charge that we have become socialists, whether instead of presenting this great principle of ours the new party might shift its emphasis to what we regard as minor commendations, are all to be considered. Certainly the Henry George men of the Argentine now find that the socialists of that country are helping to carry forward their principles, and our friends there do not find themselves merged. It is true of course that what has happened in the Argentine might not happen here, and all these things are to be considered. It is a question of great interest and correspondence is invited from the readers of LAND AND FREEDOM.

MR. THOMAS has expressed indifference as to what the new party may call itself. He is not enamoured either with the name Socialist or Labor. To the average man the name Labor would seem to connote a Labor Union party, and many forward looking men and women would hesitate to belong to a party in which Matthew Ball was a dominating figure. Socialist is preferable to that. We beg to suggest as a name for the New movement, The People's Party. Whatever prejudice may at the time have been excited by that name has passed away, since much of the legislation recommended has been enacted and the People's Party has long ceased to exist. Until some better name has been suggested this one might still be considered.

## The Fundamental Reform

PRACTICALLY, then the greatest, the most fundamental of all reforms, the reform which will make all other reforms easier, and without which no other reform will fail, is to be reached by concentrating all taxation into a tax upon the value of land, and making that heavy enough to take as near as may be the whole ground-rent for common purposes.

—HENRY GEORGE ("Social Problems").

POVERTY! thou half sister of death, thou cousin-germane of hell; where shall I find force of execration equal to the amplitude of thy demerits.—BURNS.

## Profits and the "Vice" of Saving

### PART II.

ON the theoretical foundation established in my first article, I will now build up a practical structure to indicate the present effect of monopoly profits on the distribution of wealth and income in the United States, where the principal monopoly is that of land values, with lesser ones based on patents or a protective tariff and in recent years, on labor unionism.

Land, or natural resources, may be divided into five different classes: viz, agricultural, forest, townsite, mineral and public-utility franchise.

The large unearned fortunes from agricultural land accrued at first chiefly to the recipients of large territorial grants from the English, Dutch, French or Spanish governments, in colonial days. After the Revolution some of the unoccupied land was sold during the early XIX century to speculators for a song, with the idea of promoting a rapid colonization of the west, and many of these gentry thus became rich by the later increase in value of their holdings as settlers began to need them. During the same period many land bonuses were given to canal companies and this plan was greatly extended later for the benefit of railway promoters, until it culminated in the case of the Pacific lines in the bestowal of empires of territory which later formed the bulk of such great fortunes as those of the Stanford and Huntington families. Since 1900 many smaller unearned fortunes have also accrued to the owners of the richer agricultural lands, such as those of the Mississippi Valley system, by the great rise in land value since that date due to the exhaustion of accessible arable public land in the face of a constantly increasing population and consequent demand for agricultural produce.

Many unearned fortunes have also sprung from the ownership of land covered by wild forests which, unlike the cultivated forests of Europe, are due solely to nature.

While 75% of the nation's forests were publicly owned in 1870, by 1910 about 80% had become private property. The three chief methods of despoilment were: 1, enormous land grants by the Federation to promoters of canals, cart-roads and railways; 2, direct sales in unlimited quantities by the Federation, under land-settlement laws, at \$1.25 the acre; and 3, direct sales in 160-acre tracts by the Federation, under the "Timber and Stone Act," at \$2.50 an acre. Under the last method forests commercially worth 240 millions *at the date of sale* were ceded by the Federation to speculators' dummy "settlers" for 30 millions or one eighth of their value. At present an oppressive timberland monopoly exists as 1,802 owners recently owned 88,580,000 acres—an average of 77 sq. miles apiece—while the three largest owners, the Southern Pacific railway, the Northern Pacific railway and the Weyerhauser Lumber



Co. own nearly 25% of the standing timber of a billion bd. feet on the Northwest coast.

The natural result of this growing timberland monopoly began to exhibit itself, after 1890, in higher prices for lumber and land. In less than 20 years, the stumpage value of standing timber had advanced, from 10 to 50 cents up to \$2.00 to \$5.00 per M., an increase of several thousand per cent.; proportionate rises in the value of timberlands changed many impecunious speculators into millionaires. The market value of all private standing timber was estimated in 1911 as \$6,000,000,000, which means a vast burden of monopoly profit to be levied in the future on lumber consumers because of foolish property laws.

While the land values in agriculture, wild forests and mineral deposits are due largely to nature, those of town-sites proceed solely by their location with reference to human activities. Surround a city lot with a high wall so that its occupier would forever be isolated from all the city's people, and their facilities for trade, education and pleasure and the lot would be rendered valueless. Move a city's population to a permanent new site and the old site becomes worthless except for agriculture; but destroy a city's buildings without moving its people and the old site retains its value. This was demonstrated after the great fires in San Francisco and Baltimore, in which the owners of buildings lost millions, but the owners of land lost nothing since the old population had the same need for sites as before. In other words, the great advantage of the concentration of population in cities from the standpoint of wealth production, by means of the division of labor, reflects itself solely in the increase of the monopoly profits of the owners of townsites, or of urban rents.

The capitalization of urban rent is responsible for many great fortunes and nowhere do such rents increase faster than in certain American cities. Thus the Borough of Manhattan, N. Y., was bought from the Indians in 1646 for \$24.00, but in 1926 the private land alone was assessed at about \$6,000,000,000 while all private buildings were worth \$4,800,000,000. In brief the construction work done since the city's founding brought its owners in 1926 only 80% of the annual income that was received by the townsite monopolists whose gains had averaged an annual increase during 280 years of \$870,000 for each dollar paid the Indians, or at the rate of 87,000,000%.

The profits of American mineral landlords have also borne no relation to their original investment of capital and labor, in many instances. For example in Butte, Montana, the whole metallic output has been taken from some 30,000 acres of ground acquired from the nation for \$5. an acre. After producing more than two billions of metals since 1880, the camp still contains much good ore. The hundreds of millions of dividends received by the mine owners of this treasure house represented often an enormous profit on their real investment, since the present equipment for deep mining was usually bought from earnings and not from fresh capital subscriptions.

Another remarkable example of the genius of industrial parasites, at the expense of the national heritage, is the Mesabi district in northern Minnesota which, 40 years ago was a primeval forest, valued for its lumber at \$1. an acre. In 1890 rich iron deposits were discovered and subsequent exploration has shown that these are numerous, very large, shallow and cheaply mined. In most cases the landlords do no mining work at all; the mining operators lease ground, find the orebodies with diamond drills and then pay a royalty of 25 to 100 cents a ton for all the ore they extract. It is not uncommon for a 40 acre tract to produce 4,000 tons of ore on which the landlord collects a royalty of \$1,000,000, or 25,000 times the original land cost of \$40, representing an increase of 2,500,000%. Of the profited watered capital of the U. S. Steel Corporation amounting to nearly 1½ billions, C. M. Schwab testified in 1901 that 700 millions stood for the value of iron-ore properties. Of these "properties" the bulk were then undeveloped mineral lands on the Mesabi range.

The public-utility franchise is a form of land monopoly which requires the right of eminent domain for its creation. It is used for various means of transport for freight and passengers, like railways, and surface or underground ways for such fluids as water, oil, gas or electricity. Comparing public utilities with the Trinitarian diagram, we find that the wealth produced is the transportation service or the fluid delivered; and that of the 3 factors of production, the capital is represented by the cost of construction and equipment, the labor by the force of operatives, and the land by the right of way occupied by the rails, pipes or wires of the enterprise.

Nowhere have the evils of unregulated public utility been more evident than in the American railways. Vast bonuses of public land and money were often granted to their promoters for little or no service to society and many huge individual fortunes were thus obtained. A spectacular example of the profits to be gained by the corruption of legislators was the case of the Great Northern railway whose franchise grabbers got back, within 27 years, 1,000 for every \$1 of their original capital—an annual increase of 3,700%—while the profits of the concessionaires of the Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Northern Pacific and Santa Fe railways were almost as great.

Various illegal monopolies have gained their original economic power by alliance with or control of some public utility. Such as the Standard Oil Company which first owned little petroleum land but dominated the pipelines and later the pipelines which transported its products; also the Beef Trust which gained its advantage over competitors by controlling the refrigerating car lines.

While patent monopolies are theoretically more desirable than those based on land ownership as, unlike the latter, they are of short duration and designed to benefit society by stimulating invention, they have nevertheless been much abused and have consequently yielded numer-



earned fortunes. Among examples of the latter were patents for telephones, electric equipment and shoe-making machinery. While such abuses can be remedied by radical changes in the principles of existing patent law, the latter is responsible at present for many undeserved incomes derived from monopoly profits.

Finally, I will mention, as an encourager of private capitalist monopolies, the protective tariff. It is a lesser power than a major factor in monopoly creation, as has been demonstrated by Henry George, but it has helped rather a multitude of unearned fortunes and is responsible in part, for the diversion of much wealth in the form of monopoly profits. These arise wherever domestic producers have been able to combine, so as to set the price of the home market at the foreign price (plus the duty and freight) without reference to their own cost of production.

A distinct type of monopoly, which has become especially important in the U. S. since the World War, is that of labor. Originally imported from England, the modern trade or labor union was needed in its homeland as a means of keeping in check the unscrupulous greed of factory owners who were able, on the rise of steampower at the beginning of the XIX century, to grind their operatives down to the level of subsistence. Owing to plenty of free lands for discontented laborers in the U. S., until the latter part of the same century, these unions did not cut much ground here till this outlet began to be restricted, about twenty years ago, and is now little larger than in England where practically all productive land has been monopolized by a small class of "gentry" since the Napoleonic wars. Under the lead and selfish leaders, like Samuel Gompers, American unions found themselves in a position by 1915 to force the employing class to divide with them the enormous profits gained in munition making for war-torn Europe. Protected by the Clayton Act from former legal obstacles to such manoeuvres, the unions now began as grasping policy as their capitalist counterparts; and indeed often combined with them to rob the consumer (as, for example, the building trades and the tariff-protected factories) of the government, when it took over the steam railways and shipyards.

The surplus wages, secured to workmen by such union monopolists, should also be classed as "monopoly profits" whether taken from economic rent, from taxation or from the higher price at which the commodities of competitive industries have to be sold in order to cover this increased labor cost. Morally any surplus of wages gained by labor monopoly, beyond the competitive market rate, is as much theft from productive society as its capitalistic equivalent.

From these theoretical principles and practical examples, I may now develop my general conclusion: *The surplus wealth output of modern society, beyond paying competitive interest and wages, is absorbed as monopoly-profit.* For various reasons, which need not be explained here, this

profit is largely concentrated in a few hands; those of the millionaires, the high priests of Mammon, who control all Big Business and politics. Their incomes are so vast that, after providing princely livings for their families, a huge annual sum remains of which they can dispose in five ways; the first that of luxury, selfish where not wicked; the second that of charity, often beneficial, if wisely used, but inadequate to drain the greatest of their wealth reservoirs and, at its best, no substitute for justice; the third that of investment in more land for speculation, the curse of industry; the fourth that of purchase of new machinery for production, at home or abroad; and the fifth that of loans to governments. The last two ways should always be beneficent; but in our disordered civilization they, along with land speculation, are the chief causes of two horrid evils; industrial crises and militarism.

The crises or "panics" which occur every decade or so, and often gird the globe, are accompanied by a plethora of goods with no one to buy them, the stoppage of factories, the paralysis of new enterprises and the distress of the masses out of employment. Such crises have occurred recently in 1857, 1873, 1884, 1893, 1907 and 1920. Many are the contradictory causes assigned, but the true cause can easily be deduced from a study of the Trinitarian diagram. If laborers received the whole output of wealth there could never be any general overproduction, for they could always consume what they had produced. Even when part of the output is paid to the capitalist as interest the same holds true, because *competitive* interest covers no more than the renewal and insurance of capital and the necessary encouragement for the saving to provide for industrial expansion as population increases. But when we consider the wealth divested for the profits of the monopolists a different condition holds, and its importance depends on the fact that these profits have been estimated to be half of all incomes from investment.

While land speculation and an excess of factories are the immediate causes of crises, the divorce of the masses from the land and an imperfect banking system will prolong their duration. Speculation absorbs the surplus incomes of middle class buyers in unprofitable and overpriced land, and its profits help to swell the incomes of millionaire sellers beyond their gains from their productive monopolies. Because the insiders and those with the longest purses are the *ultimate* winners in land gambling as in other games of chance.

Millionaires invest part of their incomes in the fourth way (machinery) and thus keep adding to the previous output of commodities which neither the working or the middle class can completely consume for the lack of purchasing power. The incomes of the middle class are first partially locked up by its speculation in land and later decreased by the consequent rise in the rent for the sites of their stores, farms and homes. When the glut of unsold goods gets large enough, some factories begin to shut



down, throwing workmen out of employment to further depress the market for commodities. Soon the "crash" arrives, the unemployed must be fed by charity, land values begin to drop, foolish speculators lose their fortunes and reckless banks fail.

When the millionaires invest their incomes in foreign factories the same effects of glutted markets are ultimately produced and these are further complicated by international commercial struggles to find customers for these gluts. From such stresses arise exploitation of inferior races by the military powers, the "dumping" of surplus goods in foreign countries below their cost of production and the erection of protective-tariff walls to further plunder the consumers of the "protected" countries for the benefit of native monopolists.

Strange as it may seem, the waste of war tends to avert our industrial crises. When the millionaires invest their surplus in munition factories they can only obtain satisfactory markets by encouraging governments to prepare for war and by loaning such countries the money to meet the cost of this expensive procedure. Extensive preparations conduce to militarism and this finally leads to conflict; then the demand for munitions becomes insatiable and an endless chain of consumption can be established for the millionaires' whole surplus, in the form of loans for war and the erection of munition factories, whose profits can in turn be used up indefinitely for more loans as long as the war continues. Meanwhile there can exist no excess of output over consuming power and all laborers may find work.

I have said enough, I hope, to demonstrate the fundamental fallacy of the Pollakians in their failure to distinguish between *competitive* and *monopoly* profits. The former are a required incentive for the saving of capital and the exercise of exceptional organizing and administrative ability, and their size is automatically and, in the long run, justly proportioned by the rivalry of competitors. On the contrary, the latter class of profits is in direct violation of the ethical principle upon which our economic civilization is supposed to be built, i. e. *The rewards of wealth-production should be distributed according to service rendered.* Monopoly profits depend not on service but on the legal or illegal power possessed by their recipients to extort wealth from its producers.

While the *competitive* profits of capital are based on the bankrate of interest—about 3% annually in London before the World War—monopoly-profits have no such foundation and, as I have shown by examples, may reach an annual rate of thousands or even millions of per cent. Although the latter class of profits shows the most spectacular effects in the case of its main beneficiaries—the millionaires—it corrupts the whole economic struggle and renders impossible the application of any *moral* criterion as to the justice of any given dividend or wage. For this reason our conservative rulers prefer to suppress

by force rather than by reason such revolutionary innovators as the Syndicalists or the Russian Marxians; I cause the latter method would compel them to *reop the whole question of the equitable distribution of wealth* as well they realize how far, ethically, is our present practice from its theoretical base. While the Pollakians cannot be classed with those conservatives who hold that "This is the best of all possible economic systems," I fail to find anything in their new programme which establishes a stronger bulwark against the false and destructive propaganda of Syndicalists and Marxians than do the doctrinal platitudes of the standpatters.

—ROBERT BRUCE BRINSMADE.

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- 17—"Natl. Wealth and Income" report of the Federal Trade Commission in 1923, Senate Document No. 1, Washington, D. C.

**I**N Ancient Babylonian Law, about 2,300 B.C., it was laid down:

"If anyone has taken a field to cultivate and has made grain to grow in the field, he shall be charged with not having done his duty in the field."

Present-day Municipal Law, in Box Hill, Blackburton, Mitcham, etc., A.D., 1929 (in effect), says this:

"If anyone has taken a field and has cultivated or built thereon, he shall be taxed four, five, six or seven times greater than the speculator who holds his land out of use to reap the unearned increment."

How unjust and unwise is our present system compared with that of over 4,000 years ago!

—P. J. MARKHAM, in *Progress* (Melbourne)



## The Single Tax

PRIZE WINNING ESSAY BY RUTH T. HARMEL,  
GIRLS COMMERCIAL HIGH SCHOOL, N. Y. CITY

THE subject of taxation has always been a vital question in the history of the world. The American Revolution was caused mainly by the injustice of English taxation in the Colonies. Taxation played no less a part in the French Revolution in inciting the peasants to arise and free themselves of their burdens. In England the principles of just taxation were first incorporated in the Magna Charta and centuries later in the Bill of Rights. Thus it is that man can be aroused to violent action by an impending disaster to his personal belongings through unjust and prohibitive taxation.

The contest between progressive economic ideas and old standpatters did not end with the French Revolution. It is true that many reforms have been accomplished through past uprisings, but not yet has the economic situation of the world become so perfect as to need no revision. To far-sighted pioneers the present condition is but a step forward toward the goal of perfection in economic doctrines. The goal is far off because traditions and custom, being deep rooted, die hard; whereas innovation and progressiveness are flowers, easily crushed. Henry George, "Progress and Poverty," has contributed constructive suggestions for the betterment of existing practices.

The purpose of taxation is to appropriate, for the state, only that part of wealth which belongs to the commonwealth and which will be used for its benefit. The state, representing the people, does not desire to make profit, but to take what does not belong to it. The canons of taxation are that taxes should be levied according to the benefits received, should be collected at lowest possible cost and should not be discouraging to enterprise and intelligence.

The errors in the present method of taxation in the United States, though obvious, have nevertheless been neglected. First, the government is inefficient in the collection of taxes because it uses hosts of tax collectors to gather the innumerable kinds of taxes, when it could place all these with a single tax sufficient for its needs. Second, the taxes, as they are levied on the results of labor, restrict industry and enterprise to some extent. A man who constructs a new factory building has to give part of it, in taxes, to the government; whereas, the man who allows the old one to remain, pays less. Is the government entitled to a share of the first man's labor? Third, the taxes upon manufactures and land improvements are easily shifted to the consumer who has already paid his share in income taxes, or by higher prices.

The proposed reform, the Single Tax, would remedy most of our present difficulties. It is a tax on land values only, irrespective of man-made improvements in or on it. By taxing this the State would be taking the economic

rent of the land. It would be taking what rightfully belongs to the commonwealth, the value of the land. The earth is supplied by nature and value given it only by the community which has grown up about it.

When the first settlers came to America, they had their choice of all the explored land. Each part was equally fertile and they could have settled hundreds of miles away from each other. They didn't, because they wanted the protection and sociability which come with community life. They gave greater value to that land where they settled than to any land out in the wilderness. The same principle holds true of urban or farm land today. The plot in the midst of a business section of a large city is many times as valuable as the same sized plot on the outskirts of the city. This is true only because of the community value given to the first plot. This value then, caused by the proximity of people, belongs to the people who have settled there and not to the one person who may have inherited it from a great-grandfather when it was a wilderness. It is unearned increment, and as such belongs to the State.

The Single Tax is adequate to the needs of the government. Under the present method the government and the landowners are supported by labor and capital. If we remove the land-owners, surely the government alone can be supported. The following figures were compiled from the annual report of the Commissioner of Taxes and Assessments of New York City. The total rent of land collected by land-owners for six years, over and above all taxes, was \$1,469,439,445. The total rent of land taken in taxation by the city was only \$544,903,537. While the total tax burden of New York City was \$932,162,293. These figures prove that the land-owners collected more money than was necessary for the expenses of the government. It can be seen that if the ground rent were appropriated by the government all other forms of taxation could be eliminated.

The Single Tax is practicable. No new machinery of taxation will have to be devised in order to put this method into effect. In this country we already have departments which assess real estate values. These same departments, after the elimination of all other tax agencies, will serve as the sole means of levying and collecting this tax.

The Single Tax will encourage production and industry. The man who now receives an income, not through his own efforts, but through the location of his inheritance of land, will not exist under the Single Tax. The government will not destroy the private ownership of land, but it will confiscate the unearned value of that land. Therefore, the present land-owner will be forced to earn his income by the improvements he puts on the land which represent his labors.

The Single Tax will make the distribution of wealth more equalized, for it will destroy the monopoly of land and throw it open to use. It is not uncommon to see



acres of land uncultivated and unused in the midst of productive areas. This land is being held for no other reason than the gaining of a huge price by speculators. As a consequence people of moderate means, looking for home sites and farms, are forced farther and farther from the heart of the community.

The Single Tax by appropriating the economic rent, will make it unprofitable for land to be held without being used. All the land now being wasted will be cultivated and used. All the land thus utilized, there would be necessarily increased production. Increased production leads to lower prices and therefore to increased consumption. Greater wealth and greater happiness will result from increased consumption, for we measure wealth by the commodities we can consume.

The Single Tax is just for it is based on the benefits received from the government by an individual. The old principle underlying the existing scheme of taxation is that each citizen should support the government according to his "ability to pay." The community has no more right to make men pay for community benefits according to their ability than tradesmen have to make them pay for goods according to their ability. It is not impossible to ascertain what benefits an individual receives from living in a certain community. He cannot live in a community except on the land and the price he pays for the land represents the advantages which that community provides for that location. The community has the right to tax that man in proportion to the value of the land he owns.

The Single Tax will lower the cost of living. By deflecting taxes from the products of industry to the value of land, the consumer will secure lower prices. The ultimate payer of all taxes, now, is the consumer. Under the excess profits tax, the government received over two billion dollars in revenue. It is estimated that the consumers paid from five billion to ten billion dollars to the producers in higher prices, to cover this tax. When all taxes on the products of industry are eliminated, the average family will gain from two hundred to five hundred dollars a year in lower prices.

The true wages of labor will be raised by the Single Tax. The price of labor, as of all other prices, is determined by the law of supply and demand. Under the Single Tax the demand for labor will increase, because of the greater purchasing power of the people, which is due to lower prices, lower rent and no taxes. As the demand for labor grows the price will rise.

The preceding arguments are economic results of the Single Tax system. The social factors are no less important. Under the present method of taxation there is unequal distribution of wealth and poverty which leads to crimes such as burglarly, larceny, murder and suicide. The origin of these crimes will be destroyed by the Single Tax which equalizes wealth through the diminishing of

taxes, the destruction of monopolies and the consequent lowering of prices.

A higher standard of living will ensue with more equal distribution of wealth. As a result there will be more marriages, fewer deaths, less disease, fewer epidemics and greater progress in the universal education of the masses.

As a conclusive proof of the merit of the Single Tax, experiments made in cities of Australia, have proved so successful, that reverting to the old method of taxation is not thought of. It has also been tried to some extent in Canada, Germany, Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay with gratifying results. Comparatively few people, in the United States, realize the inherent worth of the Single Tax. These individuals can bring about a change in taxation by overcoming prejudice, corruption and ignorance.

There are those who are carrying lighted torches with them. These are lit by a belief in humanity and by a conviction that present wrongs will not exist in the future. They are small torches, yet they serve to kindle great bonfires, which in turn must set fire to the whole earth, leaving it a better, happier place to live in. Let us do our share that the ideals and bravery of the pioneer, Henry George, may not have been given to mankind in vain.

## A Tory Who Became A Free Trader

RECALLING Parliamentary history of more than 80 years ago it is interesting to note that Sir Robert Peel, a one-time Tory who had been against the Great Reform Bill, and who had favored the worst of the Corn Laws, suddenly executed an *about face*, and championed the repeal of "protective" duties. He put country above party and thereby subjected himself to an attack from Benjamin Disraeli, who called Peel a traitor and compared him to a Turkish Admiral who had lately delivered up a fleet to the enemy.

It is interesting to recall Peel's speech in reply:

He said that improved intercourse with foreign countries would constitute a new bond of peace. The continuance of peace would expose us to more extensive and more formidable competition with foreign countries with respect to manufactures. "During the war we commanded the supply of nations. Peace has introduced not only new consumers, but also formidable manufacturing interests. . . . I firmly believe that abundance and cheapness of provisions is one of the constituents by which the continuance of manufacturing and commercial pre-eminence may be maintained. . . . abundance of provision and security (which is the main thing) for abundance of provisions, not only contributes to the accumulation of wealth, but is directly conducive to the alleviation of public burdens, by increasing the revenue; to the alleviation of local burdens, by diminishing crimes; but above all, that it is conducive to the spread of morality, by diminishing those temptations to crime which arise from distress and poverty."



## The Reclamation of Zuider Zee on Georgist Lines\*

ENGINEER D. DE CLERCQ AT EDINBURGH  
CONFERENCE

*"God made the World, except the Netherlands, which were made by the Dutch."*

THE work recently undertaken in Holland, that is the Reclamation of the greater part of the Zuider Zee, is the biggest conquest of Land ever done in a Pacific way! It will cost no blood or tears, but only a lot of money, and if we succeed the gain will not be to a King or Captain or speculating capitalists, but to the People as a whole; at least, that is the aim of the Dutch Land Reclaimers!

The coast line of Holland, which curves from North to East, must originally have been an almost continuous series of dunes, intersected at some points by the estuaries of the great rivers—Rhine, Meuse and Scheldt. At several places, especially in the North, incursions occurred of those dunes, and over great areas the land behind them was washed away or became inundated, and formed big lakes where the elevation was below sea-level. The North Sea Islands have remained as slices of the original coast.

It was after a gradual process, about 1300, that the Zuider Zee acquired its present form, united with the Lake IJssel, situated in the heart of the country, into which the Rhine, Yssel and Vecht rivers emptied themselves, and flowed to the North Sea by the Vlie.

Only by means of dykes was it prevented from further invasions by the sea. The greatest depth of the Zuider Zee is about 16 feet, except in some of the narrower channels, where a depth of 20 feet is measured, and increases gradually to the level of the sea in the North. There are four Islands in the Zuider Zee, viz. Wieringen, Urk, Schokland and the well-known Marken, the tourists' Pilgrimage. A large part of the sea-bottom consists of mud, of heavy and medium clay, the most fertile ground we know, forms 80 per cent. of the reclaimed soil.

In the 17th century, what is known in our history books as the Golden Age of Holland, the first plans of reclamation of the inland lakes were proposed and big lakes were reclaimed by means of windmills; so we find that in North Holland, in 1612, The Beemster Polder; 1622, The Purmer Polder; 1632, The Schermer Polder were dyked in and pumped out. In 1641, the well-known windmill constructor of that time, Leeghwater, issued a pamphlet for the reclamation of land from the biggest of all inland lakes, the Haarlem lake, with a surface of about 45,000 acres, by the aid of 160 windmills, but the job was too big for that time and it was only in 1850 that his plans were realized by a private group of capitalists, but then not by

the help of windmills, but by using three gigantic steam pumps. In 1854, this work was finished and the soil sold by public auction! Another pamphlet issued in 1667, written by the practical Engineer, Hendric Stevin, a man of world-renowned fame, proposed, as he said very emphatically, to "drive out the North Sea from the Netherlands;" he proposed to construct a dyke across all the channels to the North Sea, between the Islands, and reconstruct in this artificial way the original dunes that defended the Frisian coast so long! But the technical difficulties were easier to solve on paper than in reality, and so his gigantic plan remained only a "paper project."

After this period of great activity on all lines, came the reaction in the 18th century, in history known as the "sleeping period" of the Netherland people!

There was no interest in anything that called for energy and will-power! It was the middle of the 19th century before any new interest was awakened for big undertakings. The Canal giving Amsterdam a direct and short connection with the North Sea, the draining of the Haarlem lake, the construction of the new way from Rotterdam to the North Sea, all undertakings crowned by success, opened the minds to still bigger plans, the old plan of Leeghwater was revived and the Government engineer, Van Diggelen, published another project of smaller dimensions in 1849, it reclaimed some one and a quarter millions of acres, and the cost was estimated at 30 million pounds sterling. But this plan also proved to be too great for this period, so it remained practically in abeyance until a financial corporation was established in 1856 which propagated a much smaller plan, comprising only the reclamation of land in the Southern part of the sea. To elaborate this plan two engineers, Beyerink and Stieltjes, were engaged.

This plan appeared in 1866: it proposed to retain the free course of the River Yssel, that has in winter time an excessive amount of water, to the sea, and proposed to reclaim that part from the sea that is situated to the South of this River Yssel. In 1870, a State Commission was instituted to study the aforesaid plan. Three years later the Commission expressed a favorable opinion on it.

The Government proved to be in favor of the reclamation; it expressed, however, the opinion that such an undertaking was not suitable for the granting of a concession to a company; such a work was of the kind that ought to be carried out by the State itself.

This conclusion was applauded very eagerly by all partisans of "the-land-for-the-people" ideas, and they did all that they could to propagate and fix this principle.

The plan was now revised by the Government's Chief Engineer (Leemans), who diverted the direction of the enclosing dykes in such a manner that no sand-bottom would be dyked-in, while the island of Urk would also be kept out of the dykes because of its value as a port for shipping.

\*The details of this sketch were derived from a publication of the Association, "The Netherlands Abroad," on this subject.



The total area within the enclosing dyke would comprise about 390,000 acres, and the cost was estimated at some 116 millions of guilders (10 million pounds sterling). This Beyerink-Stieltjes-Leeman plan was introduced in a Bill before Parliament in 1877, but a new Ministry coming into office that same year, the Bill was withdrawn.

From all sides arose new plans, but not one with any merit whatever.

In 1886, by the steady work of the Frisian Member of Parliament, Mr. Buma, there was established a "Zuider Zee Association," having for its object the institution of a technical and financial investigation concerning the enclosing and also the making of preparations for a partial draining of the Zuider Zee, the Wadden and the Lauwer Zee. A technical office was installed and very soon the Civil Engineer, Mr. Lely, was nominated at the head of this Department.

In the course of the years from 1887-1891, eight reports appeared from the hand of this excellent and able man; all technical details of the problem were treated with great care, and explained by comprehensive calculations. It was demonstrated that the proper solution would be to construct, first of all, an enclosing dyke from North Holland, via the Island of Wieringen, to the Frisian coast, and further to proceed to the reclaiming of four Polders, one after another. The extent of those Polders was selected in such manner that, firstly, a sufficient area of water would be retained to allow the Yssel river to empty itself, even at high tide; secondly, the deep channels were to remain outside the dykes; while thirdly, as much clay, and as little sandbottom as possible, was to be dyked in. By means of sluices in the enclosing dyke it would be possible to keep as much water in the new Yssel lake as would supply the needs of the abutting districts for fresh water.

This plan of engineer Lely comprises an enclosing dyke of  $18\frac{1}{2}$  miles, cutting from the whole surface of the Zuider Zee about 890,000 acres, of which about 574,000 acres would be reclaimed land, and about 316,000 acres would remain water (Yssel lake with the canals and their small lakes here and there). The land would be divided by canals into four drained sections. The cost was estimated at 190 millions of guilders (16 million pounds sterling), the enclosing dyke alone to cost 42 millions ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds sterling).

In 1892, a Commission was appointed to study this plan, and in 1894 the Commission approved, with some slight alterations, the plan.

The time for the construction of the enclosing dyke was estimated at 9 years, and for the entire work 33 years. The Commission agreed that only the Government would be able to execute such a work in the interest of the whole country.

On two occasions, in 1901 and in 1907, Bills were introduced into Parliament, but each time a change of Ministry withdrew them from the list of urgent affairs.

But, fortunately, in 1916 Mr. Lely himself was chosen to act in the Ministry, and soon he was at the head of the Ministry for Public Works. The next year his Zuider Zee plan was proposed for the third time, and was adopted without much difficulty in June, 1918. On the 16th of July, the same year, by Royal Decree, a Zuider Zee Council was instituted for rendering advice and assistance to the Government in the preparation and execution of the great work.

The Act of June, 1918, is based on the plans of the State Commission of 1892 (Lely plan), and Art. 1 lays it down that the work shall be carried out at the expense of the State. Firstly, the construction of the enclosing dyke from North Holland to Friesland as proposed, and secondly the reclaiming of land in such parts of the Zuider Zee as will be chosen. The question of the number and the extension of the Polders being questions that could remain for later investigation.

The preparatory work was commenced in 1919, and in 1920 the actual work began. In 1925 a Bill was passed by Parliament to accelerate the execution of work, one of the reasons being to avoid the heavy burden of interest from becoming overwhelming by a too slow execution of the work which might, in the end, jeopardise the entire scheme.

The acceleration Commission made new estimates, in accordance with the after-War economic conditions of labor and the price of materials, also a slight revision in the direction of the enclosing dyke was accepted, bringing the finishing point at the Frisian coast a little more to the North. The new estimate gave a cost of 55 millions for the dyke, 25 millions of guilders for the sluices, and 10 millions of guilders for other connecting works, total 90 millions ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds sterling).

The duration of the work was lessened by 7 to 8 years.

The number of Polders was now fixed at four, as follows:—

One South of Wieringen surface	50,000	acres.
One South of Enkhuizen	140,000	"
One East of Amsterdam	235,000	"
One South of Friesland	130,000	"
	555,000	acres

while the area of the Yssel lake, including the canal between the two Southern Polders and the Ring Canal, is about 285,000 acres.

The whole area of the Kingdom of Holland being about 9,240,000 acres, the total gain in Land will be from 7 to 10 per cent. The name of "New Province" is not an exaggeration, for Holland will count after completion of the scheme 12 instead of 11 Provinces.

Beside the Technical Commission there was instituted an Agricultural Commission. This Commission's opinion



was that a period of 6 to 7 years will have to elapse before the Polders will realize their full value for cultivation.

The Commission calculates that the leasing price of the land cannot be less than 10 to 13 pounds for one hectare (2½ acres) and that the selling price will not be less than 250 pounds sterling for the hectare. The Commission estimates as to the quality of the ground that 70 per cent. will be heavy clay, 10 per cent. medium clay and 10 per cent. sand and peat. In round figures the value of the New Province is estimated at 42½ million pounds sterling. The total cost is estimated at 454 million guilders, the selling price at 510 millions, showing a profit of some 50 to 100 million of guilders.

The Wieringen Polder of 50,000 acres will be dry in 1930, on account of its situation south of the Island Wieringen and it will not be necessary to wait for the pumping out of the water, till the enclosing dyke, with all the connecting works, like sluices, etc., is ready in 1934. The fourth and last Polder will, if all goes as projected, become dry in 1952. That will be the end of the work.

How will this fertile new Province of Holland, created by Government engineers and paid from the money of the whole people be managed?

The only answer that can give entire satisfaction is that all profits that come from this sacred land, not due to personal energy, belong to the people. The only discussion there can reasonably be concerns the best way to handle this big job! In 1926, a Government Commission was installed to solve this question. Some months ago one of our prominent Social-Democrats was nominated president of this Commission, and so we may presume that the **SELLING** of our New Province will be out of the question.

## An Immortal Book

**I**N explaining the greatness and influence of "Progress and Poverty," we would emphasize, first, the basic fact that like the economic and political writings of John Stuart Mill, it is a work of literature. Its pages were written by a master hand which never faltered in power and beauty from the first page to the last. Secondly, we would emphasize that this book, unlike any other book on economics of which we can think, was dictated and infused by a genuine ethical and spiritual passion. Henry George was not only one of the clearest thinkers who ever lived; he was also one of the noblest prophets. What could be more moving than the heroic march of George's argument in "Progress and Poverty" from the discussion of rent and interest and profits to the far vision of God and immortality? What this immortal book did for us is quite beyond the bounds of adequate expression. Its reading marked the turning point of our thought—the beginning of our sense of justice for mankind..

—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES in *Unity*.

## The Neo Georgians

**I**T should be evident to those who attended the recent meeting at Pittsburgh of The Henry George Foundation of America, that there were some present who properly come under the title which heads this article.

The work "neo" has been prefixed to many names of cults, theories and philosophies. It is a modest little word though, never appearing until subjects which have been vainly threshed over and over appeal to it as a qualifier and vivifier.

The luster of Henry George's name like that of any man who has affected the world's thought will diminish in time. The gradual passing of his disciples who knew him personally will contribute to this. His work will be evaluated by every generation. Before, during and since his time the world has had for consideration several notable libertarian tendencies seeking to enlarge the individual's freedom and obligation. Free Trade, Proportional Representation, Public Ownership of Natural Monopolies, Initiative and Referendum, Woman Suffrage, Free Justice and Home Rule are means to greater individual freedom through justice. Pacifism, Social Insurance against widowhood, old age, unemployment, sickness and accident and Prison Reform are means to human betterment through the application of justice tinctured with love. The Jew emphasizes justice; the Christian love. Like many good things these are made better through combination. We have little use for pure gold; it is more servicable combined with a little copper. Pure iron is likewise improved by the addition of a bit of nickel or manganese. None of our schemes of government-anarchy, socialism, communism, monarchy, democracy work in pure form. [They need a little blending.

We have at present three well marked groups of Georgists. One, represented by The Commonwealth Land Party, wants the entire rental value of the land to be taken by the government. Incensed at the hazy ideas of governments on "mine" and "thine" it speaks to the latter in unequivocal terms as to their first duties; without however, any evidences of governmental conscience qualms. It believes in political action, as its name implies.

Another group desiring the same thing, but willing to take what it can, is known as the "step by steppers." Its members are opportunists. They are cognizant of the glacial-like speed of reform measures.

The third group might be called the Neo-Georgians. Its members admire the spunk of the preceding classes, and while sometimes damning them, yet do so with reservations of great respect. Their philosophy probably contains a greater proportion of love, combined with justice than the alloys of groups one and two. Therefore they have become proponents of pacifism, social insurance and schemes which the ultra-Orthodox Single Taxer thinks unnecessary. They admit that if we had a very large appli-



cation of the Single Tax these ameliorative measures would be less needed.

The influence of these groups will depend on the quality and quantity of contacts they make. The Commonwealth Land Party might, especially in England, gain a representative in the legislative body. Had we more proportional representation there would surely be Single Taxers in federal, state and local legislative halls. Obvious as this seems, yet the resolution endorsing proportional representation at the recent Edinburgh meeting introduced by Rev. M. J. Stewart and myself was so near a K. O. that Mr. Stewart withdrew it. This was done more to save the conference from the opprobrium of rejecting such a friendly measure than to save the scheme itself; for it is remarkably recuperative, insinuating and persuasive.

The second group seeks to impress those in power with the need of a land value tax. It has more political intercourse than the first group.

The third group because it will make the most contacts will shift about and view the social structure from the points of other reformers. Therefore it will become the most tolerant and be looked on with tolerance.

Karl Marx lived in England and was impressed by the evils attending the growth of capitalism. Henry George saw the huge land grants and indulged in classic criticism of them. Many have seen the defects in our election methods; the vicious monopoly of male suffrage; the need of free trade; the potentiality at least of the initiative and referendum; the need of social insurance and pensions; the justice of keeping natural monopolies in the hands of the people. Of late some eminent bankers and economists have sought to have some coordination in production based on the consumptive power of the nation. They point out that man's ability to buy is only about one fourth what he can produce since the advent of the machine. This fraction tends to get smaller as the machine becomes more prominent in production.

Now it would be a gratuitous assumption to declare that the first proponents of the above mentioned measures were less sincere or intellectual or moral than Henry George. There are always men to protest the obvious evils of their times.

The orthodox Single Taxer is much like the orthodox minister who talks to people of his own ideas. Not liking to have their notions agitated they unconsciously insulate themselves against the numerous socio-economic currents that flow from libertarianism. Furthermore, they become lazy minded in their satisfied complacency. When the preacher sheds his orthodox creed, goes into social work in the slums, Y. M. C. A.'s., associated charities, yes, even enters the despised political field, he becomes a generator and receiver of ethical ideas. The essentials of Christianity remain with him, but he has by attrition lost the taboos, rituals and customs which neo-Christians imposed on him. Soon this emancipated preacher sees that a re-

ligion which originated in a low, crude state of society is not enough in a society of high finance, mass production, political democracy, machines, and all of these in an age of increasing hedonism.

The men of today who attend Single Tax meetings are mostly those whose youthful enthusiasm spent itself in the '80s and '90s. As they get older their minds tend to close against immigrant ideas. The Single Tax, like Christianity, needs amplification. Its essential idea is unassailable; it conforms with every ethical system worth the name; its progress is immense; but it should adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards other schemes of freedom.

In the future the theory of the justice of land taxation according to value will be gradually absorbed by the people just as has the doctrine of evolution. There will be isolated communities where it will be bad form to look at a monkey on the sabbath, but such taboos will tend to more to remind the evolutionist of the dangers of involution. If the Single Taxer looks askance at plans of social betterment because they are less radical and more ameliorative than his own he will involute morally and intellectually.

The temple of the Single Taxers needs a front porch. This "neo" structure will be as of old, a meeting place for men of diverse, and let us hope, open and constructive minds.

—MARK MILLIKEN

THE Single Tax System 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 on 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."

—C. LE BARON GOELLE

IN all history no way has been found to successfully enforce the taxing of personal property, though some of the old countries make life a hell on earth for the citizen in their efforts to do so.

—JAMES G. HAYDEN, in *Ohio State Journal*

IN a foreword for American readers George Bernard Shaw says, "America can claim that in this book I am doing more than finishing Henry George's job." If America makes such a claim. Henry George would turn in his grave.

—RANKIN DIVID in Wenatchee (Wash.) *Daily Worker*

"THE world is a comedy to those who think; a tragedy to those who feel."—WALPOLE.



## A Visit To Philip Snowden

A FEW months ago I wrote to the Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain, and told him how glad I was for his preface to the "Abridgement of Protection or Free Trade." Almost by return mail I received his reply:

11 Downing St., Whitehall, S. W.  
22nd July, 1929

DEAR MRS. DEMILLE:

It would have been a pleasure and an honor to meet the daughter of a man for whose work and memory I cherish such high regard. I heard him speak in this country over forty years ago.

You need not feel discouraged, for the great truths he reached so eloquently *do* make progress.

Yours very sincerely,

PHILIP SNOWDEN.

In answer I explained that I still had two days before leaving London for Edinburgh and promptly came an appointment.

In my excitement to keep that appointment I reached the neighborhood of Westminster too early and waited for the slow-moving hands of Big Ben to creep toward the designated hour. I loitered along Downing Street and having recently saturated myself with tales from the prolific pen of Edgar Wallace, rather hoped the Bobby on guard would take me for a suspicious character and, trotting me across Whitehall, would give me the privilege of seeing the inside of Scotland Yard. But no such thing happened. I was allowed to loiter unmolested and as the big clock boomed the hour—I walked to number 11 and knocked at the door.

A serious looking man, with one disabled arm, opened the door. He looked politely incredulous when I announced that I had an appointment with the Cabinet Minister. But the letter I produced acted as "open sesame" and inviting me to be seated in the marble flagged foyer, he disappeared. Presently returning, he conducted me to a large, rather sombre, back room, where a gentleman was seated at a big desk drawn at right angles to the window.

Mr. Snowden rose as I entered his study: he did not touch the two canes beside him but stood waiting, smiling gently. I crossed the room to him and we shook hands. He gestured me into the chair close to his and placed facing the light, much as the patient's chair in a doctor's consulting room is placed.

During the second of silence, before real conversation began, I had a chance to observe his pale, sensitive, deeply thoughtful face. There was a sadness back of it—Weltschmerz it seemed to me. The man looked fragile, as one weighted with many worries. It seemed more a weariness of the spirit than of the body.

We talked of the disappointment caused by his inability, now that he was a member of the Cabinet, to attend the

Edinburgh Conference. He told of the deep and lasting impression Henry George had made upon him some forty years back. Then he went on to say that he believed the Taxation of Land Values would be a live issue in Great Britain soon. Although he spoke conservatively and couched his statements in diplomatic phrases that made neither promises nor guarantees, I hold the firm conviction that we Single Taxers are going to see our beliefs fought for in the open political field in England, this coming winter, and that Philip Snowden will be in the front line trenches, directing the campaign.

"Are you interested in your Father's cause?" he suddenly asked.

Vigorously I acquiesced.

"Do you make many speeches on the subject?"

"Never if I can avoid it" I said.

"Yes, of course." He spoke sympathetically. "One never makes a speech if one can avoid it."

"Do *you* feel so—you who have had to make so many hundred speeches?"

"Yes, of course," he replied gently; "always."

(This, from the man who has since stood against the combined powers of France, Belgium, Italy and Japan!)

"It is not easy," I said, "to serve the people!"

"No," he answered, "it is not easy." He seemed not to be counting his own heartaches for he added ruminatively: "So many stumbling blocks are put in the way."

I looked at his sensitive, weary face. "We have not ceased to crucify, even yet!" I thought.

My gaze fell to the unfinished work on his desk and remembering "better too little than too much," I rose to go.

"Have you met my wife?" he asked.

He called a short number into the house phone. "Ethel," he said, "I'd like you to meet the daughter of Henry George. Can you come down?"

Presently Mrs. Snowden entered the room. Moderately tall, finely built, commanding, she was. Wearing a simple brown satin dress, her lightish hair parted and coiled in two soft buns at the back of her head, her blue eyes alert, her cheeks glowing, she was the very embodiment of vigor, physical, mental, spiritual. She spoke in the musically modulated voice and with the cultured diction one associates with the English lady.

Here was the woman whose power and help Mr. Snowden had with gallantry, rare in a husband, publicly acknowledged!

I sent up a prayer that these two people may be saved long to continue their life of dedication and service.

And as I walked away from No. 11 Downing Street, my heart sang with hope, for with a man like Philip Snowden in power, his country may yet be spared from the worst enemy she has ever had to face—the enemy within her own gates—unemployment. As I hurried along toward Tothill Street I was conscious of a renewed conviction that Henry George, the Seer, was again going to be proved



right, that his prophesy about England will come true—it will be there sooner than in the United States that we shall see installed the Taxation of Land Values.

But that will happen only if those of us who believe in it work tooth and nail to help spread through Great Britain an understanding of our philosophy. Surely there was never so opportune a time for us to make headway as now when millions of unemployed are groping for help, when the Premier's indebtedness to Henry George and to "Progress and Poverty" is iterated and reiterated in his biography, and above all, when the hero of the hour—who happens also to be Chancellor of the Exchequer—is leading the fight for advancement toward our goal. It will be unforgivable stupidity if, at this time, we Single Taxers, all over the world, do not give mental and financial help for a great educational propaganda in Great Britain, so that when he launches his campaign there may be a vast army that will get an impetus from Philip Snowden and will carry on!

—ANNA GEORGE DEMILLE.

## How Progress and Poverty was Received on its Appearance

IT is interesting to recall what the reviewers said of this great work when it was first published, not the reviewers of radical newspapers, but of the highly conservative journals of the time.

The *New York Tribune* greeted it as follows:

"The received principles of political economy are here submitted to a fresh examination by a courageous thinker who though familiar with the learning of the books, follows the conclusions of his own reasoning rather than the instructions of eminent teachers."

The *New York Herald*: "Progress and Poverty is not merely the most original, the most striking and important contribution which political economy has yet received from America, but it is not too much to say that in these respects it has had no equal since the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, a century ago \* \* \* A more aggressive, not to say audacious, book was never written."

The *New York Sun*: "Let us say, at the outset, that this is not a work to be brushed aside with lofty indifference or cool disdain. It is not the production of a visionary or a sciolist, of a meagrely equipped or ill-regulated mind. The writer has brought to his undertaking a comprehensive knowledge of the data and principles of science, and his skill in exposition and illustration attests a broad acquaintance with history and literature. His book must be accounted the first adequate presentation in the English language of the new economy which has found powerful champions in the German universities, and which aims at a radical transformation of the science formulated by Adam Smith, Ricardo and J. S. Mill. Few books have in recent years, proceeded from any American pen which have so plainly borne the marks of wide learning and strenuous thought, or which have brought to the expounding of a serious theme a happier faculty of elucidation."

The *New York Evening Mail*: "A book that can

neither be ignored, sneered down nor laughed down."

The *New York Era*: "We announce clearly and distinctly that, to our view, no book has appeared in the century which has exerted so marked an influence as will Progress and Poverty."

The *Albany Journal*: "A discussion of wide range and of great vigor and power which closes with a suggestion of the future life couched in language like that of a rapt and inspired seer."

The *Philadelphia Evening Star*: "Mr. George has written a book which is not only a bold and exhaustive examination of our modern civilization, but which charms us as from a style which rivals the genius of Newman and Macaulay."

The *Louisville Courier-Journal*: "Mr. George is earnest, honest and forcible; radical to the root, bold, sweeping, and dogmatic. He writes earnestly, clearly, nervously, and states his theories and arguments in a way to make them worthy the attention of the most dignified political economist, against whom he makes some spirited tilts. Whatever may be the ultimate effect of the book, it will not fail to excite discussion."

The *Brooklyn Times*: "A very remarkable book—its style always clear, often eloquent, never dull. The time-honored doctrines of political economy have never received a severer assault, and whatever we may think of its conclusions Progress and Poverty, beyond any book of our time, deserves careful study."

The *Sacramento Bee*: "We believe this book marks an epoch in the discussion of political and social questions. We hail it as the skirmishers on an advanced line might hail the coming up of the heavy battalions. For here is the philosophy of the great reform movement which is now beginning to agitate men's minds. We cannot too strongly commend this book. It ought to be read by every workingman in the land, and, if it were, it would work a revolution."

The *San Francisco Examiner*: "A work of wonderful interest and power. Startling as its conclusions may seem, they are urged with such logic, force and earnestness that they cannot fail to impress every reader. Progress and Poverty must in time produce deep effects, and give to the most important discussion a new turn. It cannot long be ignored by those who regard its doctrine as dangerous."

The *Sacramento Record-Union*: "A book which will make converts, and which is, in fact, a really splendid series of logical triumphs. In the sweep of the argument nothing seems to have been forgotten."

The *Brooklyn Eagle*: "The most solid literary success of the year is undoubtedly Progress and Poverty."

The *Stockton (Calif.) Independent*: "A book to be studied not merely to be read—a book which grapples with questions so great, and announces doctrines so novel, that the reader is surprised on every page. No one can finish it without receiving light on some of the most interesting problems of human existence, and being convinced that Mr. George is one of the most profound and advanced thinkers of the day."

AN English writer says that indirect taxation is a legacy of the corrupt times of Charles II. It marked the dawn of our system of indirect taxation and the emancipation from special burdens on lands thus accomplished helped to alter the whole current of our late fiscal history—RICHARD T. ELY, in "Problems of Today," an early work



## Pittsburgh Club Activities

THE Henry George Club of Pittsburgh recently inaugurated its sixth year of continuous weekly meetings, and at the annual business meeting early in October re-elected the officers who had served so well during the past year as follows: President, Wm. N. McNair; Vice President, Geo. W. Wakefield; Treasurer, Ralph E. Smith; and Secretary, Francis W. Maguire.

During the recent months a number of prominent speakers have appeared before the Club including city officials and candidates for mayor and council. There were also quite a number of Single Tax discussions and the Club heard from some of its prominent members who had been traveling recently. Harry H. Willock, who is now making his home in Alabama, spoke on "Fairhope and the South" and later gave another very interesting address on "Mexico and its Government." A rather entertaining feature was a moving picture exhibition and travelogue of Africa, Italy and Spain, given by George E. Evans. President William N. McNair gave a very interesting account of his trip to Denver and of his participation in the Denver Single Tax campaign. Hon. James F. Malone, President of City Council and recent candidate for office of Mayor, spoke on "Some Problems in Municipal Government" and in this connection declared himself emphatically in favor of the Pittsburgh Graded Tax Plan, this being the first public declaration on this subject from councilman Malone. Later in the season the Club was addressed by Councilmen John S. Herron and W. Y. English on the subject of "Our Municipal Government." Both of these councilmen have for years been strong friends of the graded tax system and both were re-elected at the November election. On October 18th the Club was addressed by Thomas A. Dunn, the candidate for Mayor on the fusion ticket of the Democratic and Good Government parties. Three of Pittsburgh's prominent Single Taxers were candidates on the fusion ticket in the recent election, Ralph E. Smith received the nomination for City Controller and George E. Evans and William B. Foster, nominations for City Council. On November 1st, candidates Evans and Foster gave illuminating addresses before the Club on the subject "What a Councilman Should Do" and Mr. Smith presided at this meeting. The Republican party, having an overwhelming majority normally in Pittsburgh, none of the fusion candidates were successful but it is interesting to note that the three Single Tax candidates on this ticket each showed very complimentary votes, not so large as the Mayoralty candidate, who received most of the publicity, but leading the rest of the ticket.

The meeting on September 27th was devoted to "Echoes of the National Single Tax Conference" with programme including brief speeches by John Lawrence Monroe, Charles LeBaron Goeller, George E. Evans, Carl D. Smith and G. W. Wakefield. All expressed themselves as being

greatly pleased with the Henry George Congress and as feeling that it was a real privilege to have a part in entertaining such a splendid gathering of representative Single Taxers from all parts of the country.

On October 4th, Sidney A. Teller, Director of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, discussed "Newer Conceptions of Social Work;" October 11th, Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson "The Welfare Fund of Pittsburgh;" October 25th, Ray Wilson "Militarism and Education;" November 8th, Dr. Leon A. Wilcox "Pneumonia, its Cure and Prevention;" November 15th, M. McNeill "The Slaughter of the Innocents at Railroad Crossings—A Plan to Stop It;" November 22nd, Dr. Wm. J. Van Essen "What the Socialists have Accomplished in Vienna;" November 29th, William B. Foster "Will the Single Tax Raise Wages?" Will Atkinson was a recent visitor at the Club and spoke briefly with particular reference to his new "Outline of Protection or Free Trade," having presented ten thousand copies to the Henry George Foundation.

## Columnist Harper Pokes Fun at a Realtor

PERTINACITY is a good trait, generally speaking, and an exhibition of it on the part of one of my readers has put me into the same plight as the unjust judge in the Scriptures. The woman whom he had denied justice was so persistent, as the Good Book tells us, that finally he had to give her a square deal just to get rid of her.

Imitating that unjust judge I have put into the waste basket many letters from F. E. McGillick, real estate operator, 906 Park building, demanding and insisting that I "tell the people of Pittsburgh the result of the referendum election on the graded tax law at Denver, Col."

Once or twice I have referred to the way in which Pittsburgh has benefited from that law (which makes the tax rate on unimproved land twice as high as the tax rate on buildings.)

That must be why Mr. McGillick refuses to let me go and still urges that I answer.

### THE GRADED TAX FOREVER!

Accordingly I am telling the people of Pittsburgh, the whole 1,400,000 of them, that to the best of my knowledge and belief the people of Denver voted against the graded tax law, the more fools they.

The mayor of Denver never officially advised me that such was the result of the referendum, but I infer it from the fact that the Henry George Club of Pittsburgh never held a torchlight parade in celebration of the Denver election, as the club would surely have done if Denver had adopted the Pittsburgh plan.

### WOULD STUMP SOLOMON

Mr. M'Gillick's last question: "Give us your version why no other city adopts this law?"



There's a question that would stump Solomon, and I'm not Solomon.

Maybe the other cities haven't rushed to imitate Pittsburgh because even in Pittsburgh, where the benefits of the law are so manifest, there are witnesses such as Mr. McGillick swearing by all the corner lots that the law is no good.

Maybe, too, there are a lot of other cities that haven't heard about it. They can tell you all about the latest football wonder or the latest movie scandal, but graded tax laws to reward the man who improves a lot with a building and penalize a man who holds the lot idle—well, things of that sort just don't interest a lot of people and don't get themselves noised about.

—FRANK C. HARPER, Columnist, *Pittsburgh Press*.

## Lecture Activities of The Henry George Foundation

ATTORNEY WILLIAM N. McNAIR has continued his lecture activities during the past two months in both eastern and western Pennsylvania and also recently visited Cumberland, Maryland, where he addressed a large meeting of the Rotary Club at luncheon and incidentally aroused the Cumberland Chamber of Commerce to take up the matter of introducing the Pittsburgh Plan in Cumberland. Considerable prominence was given by the press to the subject of McNair's address and, as Maryland cities enjoy the right of home rule in matters of taxation, there is a probability of some important developments in Cumberland as a result of the favorable impression that was made.

Mr. McNair also made a trip to Philadelphia, speaking to the Philadelphia United Business Men's Association, and reports a growing interest in that city in the idea of shifting a portion of the tax burden from improvements to land values. Among other recent engagements filled by Mr. McNair were lectures before the economic class of the University of Pittsburgh, Lions Club of McKeesport, Advertising Club of Johnstown, Morningside Lutheran Church of Pittsburgh and Lions Clubs of Johnstown and Altoona.

## Farewell Dinner at Pittsburgh to John M. Henry

A DINNER in honor of John M. Henry, prominent Pittsburgh Single Taxer and former Assistant United States District Attorney, was given at the Fort Pitt hotel on Saturday evening, November 16th, with about forty persons in attendance representing the Henry George Club, the Hungry Club and the legal profession. Mr. Henry has been quite a prominent figure in the civic and political life of Pittsburgh for a number of years and has

taken a very active part in the Henry George Club, frequently lecturing before various organizations on the Single Tax. He is leaving Pittsburgh to accept a position at San Diego, California, as Director of the educational institute about to be launched under the auspices of the Frederick F. Ingram Foundation.

Attorney Edward C. Tabor was toastmaster and among the speakers were Hon. James H. Gray of the Court of Common Pleas, Hon. W. H. S. Thompson, former Judge of the United States District Court, Attorney Oliver K. Eaton, H. W. Noren, Dr. Heber D. Curtis, M. S. Robinson and George E. Evans. Many fine tributes were paid to the character and achievements of Mr. Henry and all present joined in wishing him godspeed and success in his new and important undertaking. The dinner closed with a speech in which Mr. Henry expressed his keen regret in parting with so many of his long-time friends and voiced his deep appreciation of the loyal friendships and pleasant associations he had enjoyed throughout the years.

## The Semi-Centennial of Single Tax

ONE does not need to be a convert to the Single Tax theory to appreciate the significance of Henry George's contribution to the reconstruction of our economic order on more equitable principles. It is now just fifty years since the publication of his great work, "Progress and Poverty." The golden anniversary of that event is to be celebrated by a Henry George Memorial congress in Pittsburgh, September 23-25, under the auspices of the Henry George Foundation of America which will, at the same time, be holding its fourth annual convention. The motto, "One great brother-hood—to abolish poverty," strikes a note of idealism which will appeal to most plain citizens as utopian. But, as Oscar Wilde long ago said in his argument for socialism, a map of the world which contains no Utopia omits the country at which humanity is always arriving. It is worth while to keep humanity's face set toward these objectives, brotherhood and the abolition of poverty, even if one is not convinced that any system of taxation contains the whole secret of the attainment of the goal.

Single tax is, of course, more than a system of taxation. It is, in its purpose and anticipated results, a system of land tenure and a method of preventing the establishment of a monopoly in natural resources. Whether or not Henry George arrived at the right solution of the problem, he made a great contribution to the definition of it. He saw, as few of his time did, that it is impossible to have industrial democracy so long as a few own the land and its potential wealth, its mineral deposits, its water-power, its oil, its soil from which comes the material for food



clothing and shelter, while the many are their tenants at sufferance.

It is a commonplace of economics that we have been more successful in production than in the just distribution of the values produced. Henry George tackled the problem of distribution. Most men's interest in distribution is confined to getting their own share. His was in devising a plan by which everyone would get his share. He was dealing with infinitely complex data. Perhaps he did not get the right answer. But he is deserving of honor—especially the sort of honor which consists in taking his problem as seriously as he took it and approaching it in his unselfish spirit.

—*Christian Century*, Chicago, Ill.

## Oregon

THE Building Trades Council of Portland has appropriated the sum of twenty-five dollars for the fight for the Single Tax in Oregon. It is believed that other unions will follow. Two unions have called special meetings and Mr. J. R. Hermann, leader of the Oregon forces, has been invited to address them.

LAND AND FREEDOM is on the desk of the business office of the Building Trades Council and is eagerly read. Will Atkinson's abridgements also have been widely circulated.

Mr. Hermann has issued a circular showing how seven years ago the State Federation of Labor joined with other groups to put the Single Tax across. Since then many new members have come in and do not know what occurred then. Hermann's reminder will help. Also the fact that at one election forty thousand votes were cast for the Single Tax amendment.

## That Imaginary Line

E. W. BACKUS, of Minneapolis, owns a dam in the Rainy River, which forms the boundary line between Minnesota and Ontario. At one end of the dam is the Canadian town of Fort Francis and at the other end the Minnesota town of International Falls. He built the dam with the permission of Congress.

Fort Francis and International Falls both use the electricity generated by the water falling over the dam. It comes from the same turbine at the same moment. It is sold by a Canadian and an American corporation, both Backus-owned. But in Fort Francis it costs the consumer three cents straight for light and one cent for heat. In International Falls the primary light rate is ten cents for light, in South International Falls twelve cents, in Rainer, a few miles away, thirteen cents.

There is one significant difference. The Canadian corporation sells the current wholesale to the city of Fort Francis, which retails it to its citizens. And Fort Francis is in position to buy from the Ontario Power Commission, publicly owned.

## Henry George Lecture Association to Affiliate with Foundation

UNDER an arrangement just consummated since the Pittsburgh Convention, the Henry George Lecture Association founded about twenty-six years ago, October, 1903, by Frederick H. Monroe, becomes an affiliated organization of the Henry George Foundation of America, and at a time to be announced later the headquarters of the two organizations will be combined in Pittsburgh. John Lawrence Monroe, son of the late Frederick H. Monroe, will continue to act as President and Treasurer of the Henry George Lecture Association and will also serve as Associate Secretary of the Henry George Foundation.

The Lecture Association will not lose its separate identity under this arrangement but a very close and intimate co-operation will be established between the two bodies which is expected to materially strengthen the work of both. Percy R. Williams, Executive Secretary of the Henry George Foundation, will also assume the position of Secretary of the Henry George Lecture Association and will direct the office activities of that Association in addition to his regular duties for the Foundation.

The lecture activities which have been carried on by the Foundation will be merged with those carried on by the Lecture Association and plans are under way for a considerable extension of these activities. Mr. Monroe announces that Attorney Wm. N. McNair of Pittsburgh has been added to the lecture staff and that Hon. George H. Duncan of New Hampshire will also continue as one of the principal lecturers.

John Lawrence Monroe has been engaged in this work for several months past, traveling with Frederick H. Monroe during the spring and, since his death, taking over the full responsibility for the maintenance of the organization. He has met with a very encouraging response in his travels and has great confidence in the future possibilities of this kind of work. Under the new arrangement, he will also act as a field representative of the Henry George Foundation. Mr. Monroe has already been intimately associated with the work of the Henry George Foundation, rendering valuable services particularly in connection with the Chicago and Pittsburgh Conventions as Chairman of Publicity and Registration Committees.

AS FOR me, I see no real answer to the "plight of the farmers" except in the abolition of all special privileges granted at the expense of those classes not specially protected. But any great or sudden change in this regard, correcting "vested wrongs," will cause new confusion and new plights, and if undertaken should be by degrees, with wise consideration of purpose and of possibilities.—DAVID STARR JORDAN.



## The Tariff and The Farmer

**D**ESPITE the plainly evident fact that the greatly increased tariff rates on imported grain and other products imposed by the present tariff law have not brought any additional prosperity to the American farmer, the manufacturing interests have been able to persuade many of the leaders in the farm relief movement that they should become catspaws for the predatory protected industries, and join in another orgy of tariff raising similar to that of 1922. The story of the high tariff lobbyists who infest Washington is plausible. "See," they chorus, "how protection has enabled the manufacturers to raise prices, and has made them prosperous. Let the farmers follow their example, and all will be well with them."

Twenty years ago, a survey of farm sentiment would beyond question have shown that the majority of the farmers were opposed to the high tariff policy. Then came the ill-fated Canadian Reciprocity pact, putting all farm products on the free list so far as the principal competing agricultural country, Canada, was concerned, while making no substantial reduction in the oppressive tariff taxes on manufactured articles. The farmers regarded this proposal as a betrayal of their interests in order to furnish the industrial centres with cheaper foodstuffs, and decided that so long as high protection for manufacturers was to be the national policy, they would insist that farm products must also be "protected." Many of the farm leaders know full well that protection for the farmer is a fraud and a delusion, but in the absence of any prospect of a material reduction of duties on the goods they buy, they cling to the hope that sometime, somehow, the tariff may work to the farmer's advantage.

Because of their position in this matter, the farm leaders have been reproached as lacking consistency, in failing to protest against a system which they know has worked great injustice upon them. Possibly this is true, but it is no more inconsistent than the action of President Coolidge in vetoing the bill to aid in fixing the price of farm products, while cheerfully upholding such tariff taxes as that on aluminum kitchenware, which enables Secretary Mellon's corporation to fix prices to the millions of farmers' wives; or in his approving the bill voting millions of dollars as subsidies to shipbuilders.

The American farmers have for more than sixty years been cheated with false promises of prosperity to be secured through the protective tariff. They have been told that the encouragement of manufacturing, by enabling domestic producers to extort monopoly prices from the consumers, would create a home market for all the products of the farms. They have found these promises a delusion, and have seen their returns for labor and capital invested steadily falling. They see the promise of lower prices for what they buy denied by conspiracies of manufacturers to fix prices at all that the consumer can pay. They know

that so long as they can and do grow more farm products than the domestic market will absorb, they must sell their surplus abroad in competition with the rest of the world.

An object lesson to the farmers has been furnished in the appearance of hundreds of manufacturers, all begging for further favors from Congress in the shape of higher duties that will enable them to charge still higher prices. The iron and steel industry, which boasts of its efficiency and exports annually products valued at hundreds of millions of dollars, wants higher taxes on iron and steel, that if granted will cost the farmers at least \$50,000,000 annually. The farmers complain, and justly, of the high freight and passenger rates that they must pay the railways, but these excessive charges are largely due to the higher cost of rails, cars and all other equipment, due to the tariff.

If the American farmers can once more be fooled into supporting a system of tariff protection that robs and oppresses them, their plight may well be regarded as hopeless. If instead of lightening the farmer's burdens by taking the tariff taxes off the goods he buys, the Congress raises still higher walls against foreign competition, leaving the domestic consumer at the mercy of price-fixing industrial combinations, the condition of agriculture will grow steadily worse. Already city "financiers," and so-called economists, not to omit Mr. Henry Ford, are urging that the long existing system of independent small farm owners must be abolished, and give way to great corporations organized for efficiency—and for profits. If the home-owning American farmers are to be replaced by a peasant class getting employment for a few months each year, the chief factor in their downfall will be the protective tariff system, that while enriching a few manufacturers has impoverished a large percentage of the farmers.

—WHIDDEN GRAHAM, in Bulletin No. 38 Free Trade League.

## The Meeting of The Boy and The Book

**S**INCE George's extraordinary work came out just fifty years ago this Fall, a word or two may be fitting.

Briefly it advocated a single tax, that on land; and advanced the theory that "the wages of labor are paid out of the value that the laborer creates, not from a fund of capital."

It was in England that the theory made its deepest impression. Most of all in a Scotch fishing village where a boy named J. Ramsay MacDonald lived. That meeting of the boy and the book has had immense results on the course of history.

It is not surprising that the Premier, arriving in New York, should have made a comment on the half century appearance of the book. The idea it germinated in his mind had very much to do with the formulation of the policy of the Labor Party, of which he is the head.



MacDonald could very well have said, on shaking the hand of Mayor Walker:

"Your Excellency, thanks to the work of one of your almost predecessors I have the privilege of meeting you in these circumstances. I refer to Mr. George."

Whether the impeccable Jimmy would have racked his head to think if the reference was to Lloyd George is really of no consequence.

—Idwal Jones, Book Reviewer, in *Washington Herald*.

## Mr. Snowden and Land Values

IN well informed Socialist circles it is believed that Mr. Snowden, in his search for fresh sources of revenue, will tap land-values, and that he will not be content with a trifling tax. Socialists expect Liberal support for such proposals if, and when, they are brought forward in the House. Mr. Lloyd George's Increment Value Duty, Reversion Duty and Undeveloped Land Duty, which were in his famous Budget of 1909, were swept away by Sir Austen Chamberlain in his Budget of 1920, under Mr. Lloyd George's Premiership. All that remains of the Budget of 1919 is the Mineral Rights Duty. The other duties yielded comparatively trifling returns, and were a glaring failure. It is alleged, however, by those who favor the taxation of land values, that Mr. Lloyd George's system was too complicated and contained too many exemptions. These critics are pressing now for a tax on the capital value of all the land in Great Britain, assessed at its market value without taking account of improvements.

At the offices of the United Committee for the Taxation of land values I was told today that the capital value of this land is at least £4,500,000,000. A tax of threepence in the pound on this amount would yield £56,250,000 a year, but against this is to be set the cost of re-assessments at frequent intervals. The supporters of this policy are trying to make it one of the issues at the Municipal Elections on Friday week.

*Yorkshire Post* (Conservative)

## Trust It May Be True

THE "*Sunday Express*" understands that in the event of Mr. Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, being compelled to introduce new taxation in his Budget, neither the income tax nor the super tax will be affected.

There is just the possibility that some addition may be made to the death duties, but it is far more likely that the increased revenue will be raised by the imposition of a tax on land values.

Mr. Snowden has already made detailed investigations into the yield that might be obtained from this source, and is satisfied that by a tax of threepence in the pound he could raise a revenue approximating £60,000,000.

He is credited with the view, apart from the revenue question, that the taxation of land values would act as a decided stimulant to the development of the land.

—*London Express*.

## Who'll Enlighten Him?

THE following excerpt from the December report of B. H. Crocheron, director of agricultural extension of the University of California, does not seem to require any comment:

"Bill Smith owns a good ranch. He sells it at a pleasing price to John Jones, subdivider; presumably Bill makes a profit. Then John Jones divides the ranch into fifty small pieces, each of five acres or less, and sells the pieces to fifty families at prices pleasing to himself; presumably John makes a profit. Then the fifty families start out, each on a piece of Bill Smith's ranch, to try to make a profit. They paid more per acre than that place was worth to Bill, else he'd not have sold it to John Jones. They paid more than it cost John, else he'd not have sold it to the settlers.

"Bill didn't make a fine living; he got 'along', was saving, reaped advantage from the natural advance in land values and now is comfortable on the proceeds. But the settlers have only 2 per cent. of the area on which to farm; they paid a price per acre that would make Bill's hair stand on end and, furthermore, most of them don't know the business.

"Result, five years hence: Bill Smith and John Jones still satisfied; fifty 'farm families' very much dissatisfied. Two men with a profit; fifty with a loss; the county with a delinquent tax list; the community with a patch of deserted shacks. Is that the way to develop the State?"

—From *Farm and Orchard Magazine* of Los Angeles Times

## The Bishop's "Natural" Cure

"I can see no cure for unemployment in this country," said the Bishop of London. \* \* \* \* "Such a state of affairs is too awful for words; the natural cure is to send British stock to the Dominions and Colonies."

If this Bishop is not better informed concerning this life, we must decline to place any reliance upon his assurances concerning the "life hereafter."

The "natural cure" is freedom to use the earth which the Bishop's God hath given for the children of men. Let him read his Bible again before he gets up to talk. Overcrowding arises from lack of houses. Lack of houses arises from high prices for land—on which to stand them and, (what is generally overlooked) out of which to make them. High prices for land arise from the claim by some of God's children that they can "own" what is provided equally for all.

—*Commonweal*, England.



## The Progress of Henry George Ideas in the U. S. A.

FROM ADDRESS OF JOHN J. MURPHY AT THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE

FIFTY years have now elapsed since first the humble San Francisco printer flung in the world's face his challenge to the social injustice which had been built into the very foundations of the Temple of Civilization, embedded so deep that there seems some justification for the cry that to eradicate it will bring our institutions down about our ears. As the birthplace of the man who first clearly diagnosed the social cancer and offered an obvious remedy, all eyes turn to America, and we are invited to explain what we have done with the talent which has been committed to us, who have had in our ranks so many great men and faithful adherents who stood around Henry George in the brave days of old.

It is clearly no function of this paper to deal with anticipations of the Single Tax doctrine nor with forerunners of the man, George. It must content itself with a brief account of what happened after Henry George came to New York with his fateful book in type. We can now see that there were certain fortuitous circumstances which helped to give the book a vogue, not to be hoped for at another juncture. The horrors of the Irish Land War then raging caused the land question to be studied as though the land question in that country presented phenomena different from elsewhere. In 1883 American labor organizations first began to assert themselves. In 1886 came the great New York mayoralty campaign which first flung economic issues into a purely local struggle. Henry George realized that the contest held out no prospect of success, but hoped for, from it, a better advertisement of his views than could be achieved in any other way. He received seventy thousand votes according to the record: but in those days the poll was often at wide variance with the facts; the purpose sought for was accomplished; the daily periodical press widely disseminated the outlandish doctrine which Henry George was trying to disseminate. If his opponents strove to misrepresent and malign, not a great percentage of his actual supporters could clearly grasp his very simple doctrine; but it was nevertheless true that a large proportion of the active Single Tax leaders in America date their adherence to the movement from 1886.

It brought into the movement a man whose name has ever since been held in great affection by all Single Taxers—Edward M'Glynn, a parish priest of a populous parish, who resisted all threats of ecclesiastical punishment to compel him to desist from supporting Henry George. Out of his case arose the circumstance that the Roman Catholic authorities at Rome formally considered the doctrines of Henry George and declared that they contained nothing "contrary to faith and morals." Dr. M'Glynn was form-

ally restored to his full priestly functions without retraction of any views which he had expressed, merely expressing his regret if in the heat of argument he had said anything obnoxious to Christian charity. During the progress of this case the famous "Anti-Poverty Society" was organized, and afforded a platform for the presentation of fundamental economics such as had not previously existed. All through this stirring period one of the conspicuous figures of the movement was the present President of this Conference, Charles O'Connor Hennessy, who is by far the most eminent survivor of that thrilling epoch.

Of the work done from 1890 to 1897, when Henry George entered upon his second mayoralty campaign, there is only space to make a passing reference. Sporadic attempts had been made in some municipalities to abolish personal property taxation and to convert to Single Tax doctrines some states, of which Delaware, because of its minuteness and its almost exclusively urban population, was a conspicuous example. In Colorado an aggressive campaign under Senator Bucklin was waged; while in Massachusetts Charles B. Fillebrown, a manufacturer of Boston, persisted in a campaign of sweet reasonableness with the object of "taking into camp" leaders of various lines of thought in the community. The conspicuous figure of the next period was a man who was as well known here as in America, and who did yeoman service for the cause—the late Joseph Fels, who thought that he saw in the State of Oregon a broad opportunity for the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment. A vigorous campaign was waged, but the results were not specially encouraging. Great public interest was manifested, more votes being recorded on the Single Tax amendment than on any other question submitted at the several elections. The net result, however, was the rejection of the several amendments by a vote approximating two to one.

A number of Western States, especially Washington, made like experiments. The city of Everett adopted the exemption of personal property and improvements from taxation by a vote of approximately two to one. In 1913 the State Tax Commission declared the amendment in conflict with the constitution, and directed the assessor to ignore it and to proceed with the assessment as usual. He obeyed; the Single Taxers made no contest, and apparently the matter has been allowed to lie in abeyance since then.

Missouri was the scene of a bitter struggle in 1912, leading at some points to displays of physical violence against Single Tax speakers. Colorado has been for a long time a battle-ground, and continues to be under the captaincy of Barney Haughey; we had the report recently of a new fight which sought to link together old-age pensions and taxation of land values by making the latter the source of payment of the former. A good deal of valuable propaganda has been done, but with the result that no con-



siderable dent has been made in the dense skull of public opinion. To go into detail into what has been sought to be accomplished in New York and Pennsylvania would lead me far beyond the space allotted to this paper, but brief references can be allowed.

New York is perhaps the city of all others in the world which, when rightly viewed, has shown forth the efficacy of the Single Tax doctrine, because of the wonderful consequences which have followed from the modicum of Single Tax ideas which it has adopted. There does not appear to be any direct connection between the adoption of these ideas and the two campaigns which had been waged by Henry George in 1886 and in 1897, except that the man to whom we owe the adoption of the policy had been an active supporter of Henry George in both campaigns. I refer to Lawson Purdy.

In 1901 a combination of Republicans and Independents won the election which determined the municipal administration of New York for the two ensuing years. Coming into office after a notoriously corrupt and profligate administration, which had exhausted the city's borrowing capacity, the new Reform Administration found itself incapable of redeeming the pledges for municipal improvements which it had made to the people. It was pointed out that the city's credit was ample to carry out the reforms projected, but action was hampered by the fact that real estate was not assessed at its full value as required by law, and that, if it were so assessed, enough money could be borrowed to realize the programme. The suggestion was accepted by the administrative officials, and the policy of advancing assessment toward full value was begun. Tom Johnson was then striving to put the city of Cleveland on a sound taxation basis, and the President of the New York Department of Taxes and Assessments was induced by Mr. Purdy to make a visit to Cleveland. What he saw there so impressed him that he urged the adoption of the same method for New York, and actually put into effect as much of it as could prudently be done. A few years later, by another turn of the wheel, Mr. Purdy became President of the Department of Taxes and Assessments, and for eleven years filled the office, an unprecedented term in American municipal politics for a man not protected by civil service classification. Realizing that revolutions are rarely productive of lasting good, he cautiously effected improvements from year to year, so that at the end of his term in 1918 he had perfected the most efficient municipal taxing machine in the country. The employees still look back to it as their "golden age" in an administrative sense, because they had at their head a man who understood the business down to the smallest detail—a man whose sense of justice was so highly developed that when, as sometimes happened, a citizen through a misunderstanding of the law was offering to pay more taxes than he was legally required to pay, he did not hesitate to tell him so.

As the result of these circumstances we got as near to full-value assessment as it is ever safe to go; we got the land-value maps which enable every citizen to compare his assessment with his neighbour's, and which is the greatest preventive of discrimination and favoritism ever devised. These were the methods by which it came about that we were taking, before the war, 35 per cent. of the annual land value of the city for public purposes. And upon this result followed another inevitable consequence—that land speculation in the sense of holding idle for a profit ceased, and, except in sporadic instances, is non-existent today. Its effect was seen when in 1920, in order to resuscitate the torpid housing industry which the war had reduced to inanition, the legislature permitted the exemption of improvements, erected for residences, for a ten-year period, building contractors leaped into the field and began to file plans at the rate of six million dollars a week, and have kept it up until recently. Here is the real reason why New York has for so long had no serious unemployment problem even when other cities in the United States had. And this is the reason why we have been able to a large extent to take care of our housing problem, without subsidies from either State or Federal Governments. Of course no claim is made that the millennium has been attained, but any substantial installment of a right policy must work for the public good, and it has done so here.

Pennsylvania, though justly rated as one of our most conservative states, has taken the longest stride in the direction of permitting the experiment of exempting improvements to be tried in a cautious fashion. The step was taken in Pittsburgh and Scranton in 1913, and by the present year things have reached a pass in which land values are taxed presumably on full value, while improvements are taxed at 50 per cent. There is no serious movement to go back to the old system. It is very difficult to produce exact statistics as to the precise effect of the changes, because undoubtedly in America the war brought about stagnation in land values. In New York it appeared from the reports of the Department of Taxes and Assessments that the value of land did not increase between 1913 and 1923 as much as 1 per cent. per annum. On the other hand, the value of improvements rose enormously in depreciated dollars. It will be seen at once that this would hopelessly complicate matters, because, while the valuations of buildings were being diminished, their value in dollars was going up, and hence there is some ground for argument as to what was actually accomplished; but there is none at all as to ultimate benefit and its beneficial effect on the building industry, and where the building industry thrives the community prospers.

To sum up, therefore, it must be admitted that the Single Taxers of the United States have given their fellow-citizens a number of opportunities and cogent arguments to cause them to modify their constitutions and statutes in the direction of a juster social order. The fact that



nowhere in the United States has Henry George's dream been realized is not their fault. They are entitled to say with the character in Addison's play—

"'Tis not in mortals to command success;  
But we'll do more, Sempronius: we'll deserve it."

Public opinion has been profoundly, if unconsciously, modified. More and more is the principle recognized that the landowner should justly be called upon to pay for public improvements which enhance the value of his land. At least half the states have separate assessments of all lands. In states where this is not obligatory by law, city ordinances or action taken by assessors require it. Many states publish tabulations showing separately land and building values.

A BERLIN correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* tells a sad story of the alleged cruel treatment of political prisoners in Hungary. The Hungarian Socialist leaders and Deputies Alex Propper and Anna Kethly recently filed a memorandum of protest with the Hungarian Minister of Justice, complaining of the sufferings of the political prisoners, not only in the matter of lack of food and rigidity of discipline, but that books sent to the prisoners from outside are not allowed to reach them. Among the books which the memorandum enumerates as having been sent to the prisoners and returned to the senders were Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" and Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid."

IT is the international view of tariffs which is growing and sapping the foundations of the protectionist philosophy, revealing it as a useless and mischievous superstition. Trade is seen to be barter and restricting imports necessarily limits exports, thus lessening the trade and industry that all nations might enjoy. We can't spend our money abroad for cheap imports, for it isn't legal tender abroad. We *must* export in order to import. Cut off imports and you cut off exports. What, then, is the use of this policy, which is seen to be creating international jealousies and antagonisms while it chokes some nations well-nigh to economic death? Nobody really profits by it.  
—STEPHEN BELL in *Commerce and Finance*.

WE have faith—that our Father in Heaven did not decree poverty, but that it exists because of the violation of His law. We have a belief—that poverty can be abolished by conforming human laws and institutions to the great principle of equal justice. And having this faith, and having this belief, we have a destiny. That destiny is to abolish poverty, and, in doing so, to fire a beacon that will light the whole world.

—HENRY GEORGE.

## Professor Dewey Honored

THERE were many tributes to John Dewey on the attainment of his seventieth birthday, but none in such well chosen words as an editorial in the *New York World* which said in part:

It is what Dr. Dewey represents in the American line of thinkers from Jonathan Edwards and Emerson down to our time that makes his seventieth birthday notable. Yet one personal aspect should not be overlooked. It is refreshing sometimes for a country to turn from its more popular heroes, its Lindberghs, Edisons and Hoovers, to a man like this. We should not forget the mere example he has given us of a quiet, steadfast and exceedingly simple man intent on just one thing—truth. He has sought truth in the library, the classroom, the experimental shop, in China and Russia; when he saw her assailed he has not shrunk from battle, be it with conservative educators or the Civic Federation or Matthew Woll. But he has never sought mere reclamation for a minute, and has been content to let his ideas seep out through books devoid of ornament, lectures devoid of rhetoric, and experiments devoid of sensation. It is encouraging to think we have a society in which such a man has gained such an influence.

The *New York Evening Post* said of him:

The tributes which are now being paid to his work are of significant interest, not only because they represent well deserved recognition of the place he has won in the history of American thought, but also because they indicate that America does honor its thinkers. For all our absorption in material things, there are some among us who can turn aside to pay homage where homage is deserved, even if John Dewey is only a philosopher.

Pages of LAND AND FREEDOM would be needed to print even a small portion of the tributes showered upon him. Usually we delay to recognize the greatness of all really great Americans until they are dead, and we rejoice in the fact that John Dewey, scholar and thinker, has his true place assigned him ere he is ready to depart.

## The Grandest Advance Since the World Began

BY a singular coincidence, Premier MacDonald's visit to America was almost simultaneous with the appearance of an Anniversary Edition of the American book which inspired him, "Progress and Poverty," of which no less a personage than John Dewey of Columbia University has said that no one ignorant of its contents can be said to be truly educated. In this book Henry George claimed to have entirely recast the "Dismal Science," and transformed it from a cold and soulless abstraction into a warm-blooded philosophy "radiant with hope for all mankind."

He demonstrated in detail that the taxation practiced by the nations is a deterrent upon economic endeavor, making the conduct of business more costly, enhancing prices, diminishing the public buying power, creating



unemployment and bringing about periodic business depressions. He urged the abolition of all taxes except the one single tax upon the value of land. He justified the singling out of this class of property to bear the burden of taxation on the ground that private ownership of land is not a natural right, like the ownership of things made by men, but an artificial right, created by and maintained by the state, and that the power that created and maintained this right can properly prescribe the terms upon which it shall be exercised; that the value of land is a communal value, created by the community, and that those who are privileged to "own" what is really the property of all should bear the burden of taxation in return for the privilege.

By thus relieving industry and trade from tax burdens, and at the same time breaking up the forestalling of land and "bulling" its price by speculation, Henry George believed the way could be cleared for a new advance in civilization, the greatest and grandest advance made since the world began.

From a review of the Anniversary Edition of "Progress and Poverty," by Stephen Bell, in *Commerce and Finance*.

## James R. Brown in Ontario

IT is an inspiring report that James R. Brown gives of his lecture tour in Ontario during the month of October.

Mr. Brown filled engagements at the Kiwanis Club, of Toronto, where he had spoken two years before; at the Lions' Club in the same city; then at the Welland Rotary Club, and at the Technical School to about 300 students; at the Western High School of Commerce to about 1,100 and at the Central Technical School to 2,000 students and members of the faculty.

At Peterboro Mr. Brown addressed the Insurance Men, about 100 in attendance. At the Ontario University, Toronto, he had about 150 hearers in a large class room, and a luncheon with members of the faculty.

Nor were the church clubs neglected. At the Mt. Dennis Union Church in Toronto a small but attentive and interested audience listened to an exposition on rational taxation.

Many other addresses were delivered by our lecturer on his Canadian tour and are briefly summarized as follows:

Service Clubs	-	-	-	-	-	14
Univ., Col. & H. S.	-	-	-	-	-	11
Mens' Clubs	-	-	-	-	-	1
Church Clubs	-	-	-	-	-	2
Taxpayers	-	-	-	-	-	2
Board of Trade	-	-	-	-	-	1
Single Tax Assn.	-	-	-	-	-	1

Mr. Brown wound up this month of continuous speaking at the Glen Falls, N. Y., Rotary Club on October 31.

During the entire trip there was a general favorable response and much interest exhibited. The number of testimonials accompanying this report is evidence that the President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club made friends everywhere for himself and the cause he represents.

## Progress and Poverty in Braille

RECENTLY, the Trustees of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 11 Park Palace, New York, completed the production in interpoint Braille for the blind, of the book "Significant Paragraphs from Progress and Poverty by Henry George," with its introduction by Professor John Dewey. This book has now been distributed, with the compliments of the Foundation, to 70 institutions throughout the country which maintain libraries for the blind. The book is introduced by a raised Bookplate, containing this inscription:

### THIS BOOK

An Abridgment of the most famous of the books of HENRY GEORGE

Philosopher and economist, is donated by the

### ROBERT SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION

11 Park Place New York

A non-profit organization, formed to encourage among people of all countries a wider acquaintance with the writings of a great American who was as well a citizen of the world and a lover of humanity. 1929.

The officers of the Foundation are informed that this is the first effort to make available any of the writings of Henry George in Braille for the blind.

## Goeller Resumes Lectures

IN October Mr. Chas. LeBaron Goeller resumed his illustrated lecture presentation to college classes of the economics of "Progress and Poverty," making a trip through Ohio. His first engagement was at Marietta College, where he gave five addresses to as many classes in one day, speaking in all about six hours. About one-quarter of those present were young women, and Mr. Goeller estimates about the same proportion of young women auditors for his Ohio series of talks.

At Wilberforce University, the second college in the United States for colored students, Mr. Goeller addressed the assembled classes in the chapel, and in the afternoon gave a blackboard lecture to the economic class. Mr. V. V. Oak told Mr. Goeller that the students were inclined to be a little boisterous at times from sheer animal spirits, and he was accordingly much surprised that they



exhibited such interest in the lectures. Prof. Oak assisted with the lantern slides, and was himself so much interested that he forgot to put in the slides at the proper time. He is a native of India and the only non-negro in the community; he is a liberal and profoundly interested in social problems.

Denison University was visited October 28 and a lecture given that day. Mr. Goeller was then requested to stay over, and the next morning talked to classes and answered questions for three hours.

From there Mr. Goeller went to the Ohio State University at Columbus, speaking for an hour to a gathering of four hundred students and professors, and spending the evening with a group of professors. He also spoke at the Wittenberg (United Lutheran) College.

## The Site-Value Tax In Politics

IN the recent election, William R. Emsley, of Merchantville, N. J., a Democrat, ran for election to a vacancy in the Township Committee in Pensauken township, Camden county, a Republican stronghold. Mr. Emsley made a vigorous lone-handed campaign, distributing 6,000 hand bills advocating site-value taxation and enactment of the bill in the state legislature to grant home-rule for adoption of site-value taxation in any taxing district. Although defeated, as was foreseen, he ran ahead of his ticket in all districts, in some districts receiving twice as many votes as did other democratic candidates on the ticket.

Mr. Emsley received considerable newspaper publicity from the newspapers, including the Camden dailies, all of which gave liberal extracts from his printed platform advocating site-value taxation. One such item was headed "Site-value tax plan issue in Pensauken." "Democratic candidate for committeeman pledges support to site-value tax measure."

Mr. Emsley has been requested to talk on tax relief at a non-partisan club in Camden, and says "I shall accept all invitations to talk on the subject as I want to keep the good work going."

## Argentine

THE September issue of the *Tribuna Georgista* of Buenos Aires, completes the eighth year of publication of this interesting monthly, formerly entitled *Revista del Impuesto Unico* (Single Tax Review). It may be noted also, that it is now fifteen years since three or four disciples of Henry George started the Argentine Single Tax League, recently reorganized under the title of "Confederacion Georgista Argentina." The national headquarters are in Buenos Aires, where there is also an active local "Centro;" a local just organized in Martin Fierro brings the total up to nine centros in as many cities.

The *Tribuna Georgista* contains 16 pages, slightly smaller

than those of LAND AND FREEDOM, with cover. We abstract the following news from its columns.

September 1 an outdoor meeting was held in the Place Italia, Buenos Aires, commemorating the anniversary of the birth of Henry George (1839) and of the death of the first Argentine President, Bernardino Rivadavia (1845) both of which events occurred on a September 2nd, and likewise commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty." An audience of a thousand persons showed great interest in the exposition of the doctrines of these two leaders as expounded by Senors Flores, Antonio Bellagamba, and deBurgos, of the local Georgist centro.

(American readers may need to be reminded that in 1826 President Rivadavia established a leasing system for the public lands of Argentine, forbidding their sale; he was overthrown two years later by a revolution engineered by landgrabbers, and his successors parcelled out most of the land to speculators.)

On the following Sundays in September, outdoor meetings were held in four different sections of the city. September 7 Senor Juan Bellagamba addressed an indoor meeting and conference of Georgists on methods of propaganda. September 11 Drs. B. C. Horne and Bernardo Niemes spoke at a well attended indoor meeting in the city of Concordia, and *La Democracia*, a daily paper of that city, printed a sympathetic report which covers more than a page of the *Tribuna Georgista*. The newly organized centro of Martin Fierro also held a good commemoration meeting September 1st.

A Buenos Aires newspaper, *Mundo Argentino*, ran a symposium in July on the question, "What problem in the national life do you consider as most urgently demanding solution?" In reply to this Dr. Alfredo L. Palacios, leader of the Socialist party in the Argentine, wrote that "The basic problem, 'par excellence,' is that of the land which we must solve, not only for our technical and material progress, but for our moral progress as well." After picturing graphically the disastrous consequences of the private ownership of land, he continued: "As Argentines let us not forget that, in the first years of our national political emancipation, Rivadavia, our first President, denounced the private ownership of land as the source of human inequality and that in line with his purpose that the new nation should not be constructed on the lines of old European models, he endeavored to preserve the land as a common patrimony of all Argentine, in order to build upon its collective ownership and its utilization by the renewable lease, conceived and formulated by him, a new type of organization for the new nation."

Approaching the same question, the National Deputy, Robert F. Giusti, also affirms that the most urgent national problem is that of the ownership and use of the land. He asserts that, "I accept as conclusive the Georgist Doctrine to its fullest extent, equivalent to



what formerly was the Rivadavian land system."

It is also interesting to note that Dr. Agosto Bunge, one of the most learned and eminent members of the Argentine congress, considers the land question as the most urgent. He says: "We must go to the root of the problem, methodically developing a policy tending toward the nationalization of the land. The most effective means for reaching that solution is the absorption of land rent by taxation according to the Georgist plan."

Continuing, he stated: "The almost total confiscation of land rent by means of a direct tax of 3% upwards would liberate the land and make possible its use by whoever wished to work it, because this method reduces more than any other the price of purchase."

"Land Nationalization is also the only way to solve completely our land problem in cities. Because only the confiscation of its rental value for public purposes makes possible the building of homes on a large scale (their scarcity and low quality being the outstanding Argentine evidence of poverty) and also the carrying out of the large development projects which are so badly needed in all our cities."

In July a literary journal of Valparaiso, Chili, *El Paladin*, published an article by don Urbano Castillo, entitled "The genesis of our false national protectionism," in which he expounded the ideas of Henry George on the tariff and land questions. Sr. Juan Bellagamba thereupon wrote him, suggesting that an effort be made to form an organization in Chili, and offering the cooperation of the Argentine "Confederacion Georgista." This letter was published by *El Paladin*, which added a sympathetic exposition of the Georgist philosophy, regretted that so little was known about it in Chili, and expressed the hope that this letter might prove the seed to start a movement which would grow to a mighty tree.

And so by diverse means our Argentine brethren are spreading the Georgist gospel throughout their own country, and beyond its borders.

## Two Letters to the Henry George Congress

The following letters were sent to the Henry George Congress in Pittsburgh and are worth reproducing here.

Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen wrote:

"Although I see no hope for the establishment in any near time of right relations between man and earth, as it must wait upon the development of economic intelligence among the masses of voters—those who suffer most from present wrongs, and who have it in their power to change wrong into right if they but will to do so—I trust in the logic of Events to bring them at last into a realization of the source of the wrongs of which they complain—of the fundamental injustice which they must remedy.

Henry George pointed out, and reinforced the lesson by an eloquent passage from the writings of Mazzini, that so long as men seek only their own good, they will not find it. They will attain it only when they seek the good of others.

To this, "Progress and Poverty" and the life of its author were dedi-

cated. Let us take new inspiration from the celebration of its fifty years of truth telling."

Henry Ware Allen sent the following letter:

"For fifty years the philosophy given to us by Henry George and based upon the truths of natural law discovered by him, has constituted a revelation and an inspiration that has been to us little less than a religion. In striking contrast to the enormous strides made by all other sciences that of political economy has been laggard. This backwardness in schools, colleges, and in legislative halls has been largely due to the insidious influence of vested wrongs and special privilege, culminating brazenly in full flower in an institute connected with a Chicago university endowed for the explicit purpose of combating the economic truths that were given to the world by Henry George.

"Should those truths be adopted one effect would be to completely abolish the enormous robbery of the American people now being effected by tariff taxation, private ownership of public utilities, appropriation by individuals and corporations of natural resources and most important of all, the granting by government to individuals and corporations, by means of 99 year leases and other current forms of taxation, the sovereign power to tax. When these wrongs have been righted then, as Henry George demonstrated, all the ordinary forms of taxation now invoked may be abolished, thereby ushering in the one great reform in contrast to which all others are insignificant.

"While we must keep up the fight all along the line concentrated effort at this time should, it seems to me, be directed against the iniquity of tariff taxation under the slogan FREE TRADE FOR FREE MEN!"

## BOOK NOTICES

"Pioneers of Progress" has an appreciative sketch of Henry George, in the manner but not in imitation of Elbert Hubbard. It is the best that has been done in three thousand words and would make an excellent and informative tract.

If Coleman had known the incident of George returning from hearing of his disastrous defeat as Candidate for Secretary of State, he would doubtless have included it as a fine instance of inspired courage. George was accustomed to say "It was the hand of God." On that return Louis Post said to him, "George, do you see the hand of God in this?"

"No," said George, "I don't see it—but it's there."

The book ought to be listed in our literature, since most of its subjects are in our line.

Altgeld is particularly vivid, and his 5,000 words on Jefferson is much more informing than ponderous lives that I have seen. Personally I was glad to see an etching, in words, of Frances Wright, of whom I knew nothing, wonderful as she was. Paine, Wendell Phillips and Debs are finely treated, and if Gompers and Mitchell are not strong, it is not so much of a loss.

Of course the 222 pages are written from the standpoint of a moderate Socialist, but they will find more open doors on that account, and are, therefore, the better material to present to those who are afraid of that dangerous doctrine, *the right to the use of the earth*, when presented in its native power.

BOLTON HALL.

("Pioneers of Progress", by McAllister Coleman, Vanguard Press, 1929, Price, \$2.50)

### HOW TRUTH IS SUPPRESSED IN ALABAMA

This paper covered booklet of 149 pages, entitled "The Humbuggery of Alabama's Educational System," is a slashing attack upon the educators of the state and the methods pursued in teaching the important questions of political economy. We imagine that the authorities must wince under this arraignment, for Prof. Dinkins brings enough evidence to bear that the castigation, severe as it is, is not unmerited.

He cites Dr. Eliot's remark that "the actual problem is not what to teach but how to teach," and slashes at this in a very formidable way. But Dr. Eliot had in mind the derivative meaning of the word



"education"—to draw forth rather than instill into—and so far was right. Those who accept this definition of education in all sincerity might differ with Prof. Dinkins and agree with President Eliot.

But this is not what the universities are trying to do. If they did there would not be such terrific force in this arraignment of Alabama's colleges and universities for their sins of omission and commission which are shared by institutions of learning elsewhere.

Prof. Dinkins' book is a plea for an unbiased examination of Henry George's doctrines. It is a biting criticism of the utterances regarding his teachings from text book writers and the more prominent among Alabama's educators. The writer has humor and a fierce shoulder-hitting power. He has gathered together a lot more material for Jorgensen's arsenal for use in that gentleman's campaign against the education *suppressio veri* of Ely and his followers.

There are many quotable passages but the book must be read to be really appreciated. We permit ourselves one quotation. Prof. Dinkins is urging teachers to forsake "meaningless words, hackneyed inanities and vapid platitudes," and study the works of Henry George:

"There they may learn that Henry George, though he did not finish high school, can write around the Ph. D.'s, using such eloquent language that the reader marvels at the great ability George exhibits. Furthermore, these teachers will find that George's works are intensely religious in tone—that they vibrate with a genuine religious sentiment, not with a feeble imitation of Christianity. Master George, and be saved from stupid pedagogy and economic error. Or go your present way and be damned by the next generation for your inefficiency and cowardice. Do not continue to follow the timid course of the teachers in the days of slavery. Be men."

But we repeat that no idea of the book can be gained by quotations merely. Write to Prof. S. M. Dinkins, Selma, Alabama, for a copy. J. D. M.

#### PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

The movement owes a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Will Atkinson for his admirable abridgements of Henry George's works. First came his condensation of "Progress and Poverty" and later his abridgement of "The Land Question."

Now comes his "Outline of Protection or Free Trade," a pamphlet of thirty odd pages, in which the gist of the argument is preserved. An excellent "Foreword" from Mr. Atkinson prefaces the work.

These pamphlets will provoke a desire on the part of readers for the complete works. They are published in quantities at incredible cheapness. But here as elsewhere with other pamphlets we are confronted with a problem—that of distribution. How to get these in circulation is an ever present question. Now will our readers help to circulate them? The best propaganda anywhere being the words of Henry George himself, these pamphlets, owing to their cheapness, are the best available material.

Among pamphlets received is "Social Justice," (90 pages, stiff covers, price 30 cents, Charles A. Green, Hannibal, Mo).

Mr. Green has long been an earnest worker in the cause and has given us a thought-provoking pamphlet. Our author differs with Henry George on the question of interest and takes the same view-point as Sir George Fowlds and our friends in Perth, Australia, publishers of the *Liberator*, with which view-point we confess ourselves more than half in agreement.

But our author, it seems to us, trips a little on page 37 when he speaks of the forces that mature a calf into a cow as "freely supplied by nature." Of course, this is not so. A cow is not the fruit of the reproductive forces of nature but is produced by human labor and therefore belongs in the category of "wealth."

On page 41 Mr. Green says:

"Before he (the farmer) can engage in the farming industry he must pay to some landowner twenty years rent in advance; that is, he must buy the land which, on the average, will sell for twenty times the rental

value. Not having that much money, the money lender freely lends the money and instead of paying rent he pays interest the rest of his life. It can't be done. And again I say interest is a by-product of property in land."

It may be that property in land is the foundation upon which interest rests but this illustration hardly proves it, for what continues to be paid is not interest but rent, whatever the name it goes by.

But there is so much of value in this little book that we pass over these flaws for the excellence of so great a part of it.

The poets had visions. Some of them had visions of Utopias—Shelley, for example. Others had visions of men made free, and vehemently asserted their right to be free—Burns, for instance.

In the pamphlet before us (A Freeman's Citizenship, paper, 31 pages Henry George Foundation, Pittsburgh, Pa.), Mr. G. Frank Kelly who is not a poet also has a vision. But it is based on the irrefragable tenets of political economy. His Utopia is that of the natural law, something which can be proven almost as surely as a sum in mathematics can be proven. We wonder what Shelley would have done with it in deathless verse.

What Mr. Kelly has done with his vision is to give us a fine readable exposition of the Georgian philosophy, reinforcing it by citations from many thinkers. Often sententiously he epitomizes it in arresting phrases:

"No man was ever out of work, but government made him so."

"The mistake of the philosophers from Plato to Karl Marx has been the assumption that men need to be governed. It remained for Henry George to discover that they need only to be free."

There is a likeness here to the brochure of Mr. Green, for both he and Mr. Kelly build their Utopias, not on artificial foundations, but in natural law.

We commend the verdict of R. W. Stiffey, Single Taxer, of Beaver, Pa., who on receiving a copy of the work, wrote:

"The author has set himself the task of describing in a few small pages a vision that one could reasonably take volumes to describe. And he has done it."

From the C. W. Daniel Company, 46 Bernard Street, London, England, we have received a pamphlet of 30 pages, neatly printed, by James Dundas White, entitled "The A. B. C. of Plenty Employment." We need not commend to our readers the name of Mr. White. He is well and favorably known as one of the radical Henry George men of Great Britain. He advocates in this pamphlet the introduction of a National Land Rent Bill for the immediate resumption, as near as may be, of the annual land rent. The Bill would be a Money Bill within the meaning of the Parliament Act and he suggests a Preamble as follows:

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

Whereas the Land which Nature has provided belongs rightly to the People;

And whereas those who hold Land should pay to the Crown as representing the People a Rent based on the market value of the Land that they hold;

And whereas this Rent (hereinafter called a National Land-Rent) for each property should be a first charge on the Land thereof, with priority over any other charges thereon;

And whereas Improvements and Industry should not be taxed;

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Common of the United Kingdom," and so on, with the usual enacting words of a Money Bill, after which would come the actual provisions.

All this is preceded by an argument why the people should demand the right to their National Land Rent and the consequences that would follow from such a measure enacted into law.

Many of our readers will recall the name of Laurie J. Quinby. He is before us again in a pamphlet of 32 pages in imitation leather covers,



A Review of Progress and Poverty." Mr. Quinby summarizes the main statements of the great book and describes its contents and conclusions.

It is a well done bit of work—complete as far as can be in the number of pages and arranged compactly. The philosophy of the great work of Henry George is, we think, covered not inadequately.

Mr. Quinby concludes this little work as follows:

"Knowing the truth puts another aspect upon the entire picture. We see that God has done all that a loving Father could devise. His bounty is boundless. His laws are just. They are so ordained that to obey them is to shower upon us all conceivable blessings. Yes, blessings of which even the most reverential soul cannot glimpse. For the unsatisfied longings for higher things resident in the heart of mankind, must forever inspire us to higher endeavor. Mankind aspires to merge with the Source of All Love and Power—losing itself in the infinite of All. Respecting and obeying these beneficial laws of God, we shall catch glimpses of His beneficent smile, illuminating our path toward toward that Realm of which this life is but the vestibule."

Truly, the poets are not the only men who have visions!

—J. D. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In view of the total silence of the press of the rest of the world on matters pertaining to Russia may I congratulate you on the letter concerning Russia printed in the Sept.-Oct. issue of LAND AND FREEDOM?

New York City.

—F. W. WHITE.

### WHAT IS CIVILIZATION?

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Catching Homer napping? Didn't you pull a pretty boner when in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM you tried to define civilization? There is only one definition to that, and it is not far to find. Civilization consists of co-operation in the production of wealth and service for its members. More particularly, National co-operation. That this should be performed with "equality of economic and political rights" and men "be free of masters," is, of course, all desirable, but not customary. It is not the fashion.

Missouri, Mo.

S. TIDEMAN.

(There is no better definition of civilization than Henry George's Association in Equality." Our attempt was to amplify this. The absence of "masters," whether political, economic or any other is a *ne qua non* of the civilization that embodies "association in equality." Of course, it would also include "cooperation in the production of wealth and the service for its members," as well as other collateral conditions. It is an interesting mental exercise—this making of definitions of civilization, of something we hope for, but of which history furnishes few examples outside of Pitcairn Island!—EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM).

### PRAISE FROM A CANADIAN SUBSCRIBER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As always, LAND AND FREEDOM is a treasure house of information and inspiration for the Single Taxer. I am particularly struck with your comment on the recent speech of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, and am grateful for that comment and also for the extracts from the speech that you give. I believe that, in view of the present attitude of the English-speaking world to the question of international peace, there is strong reason to believe that the international phase of our movement now takes on very special importance. The position is: Free Trade is necessary to Peace, and the Single Tax is necessary to Free Trade. I hope you will lead on that line and will influence other readers to do likewise.

Ottawa, Canada.

A. C. CAMPBELL.

### GEORGE'S INFLUENCE IN GREAT BRITAIN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Just as Ramsay MacDonald gives credit to George's "Progress and Poverty" for the stimulation that influenced the British Labor Movement, so I recall G. B. Shaw testified in a similar fashion as set forth in one of his papers in the volume entitled "Fabian Essays."

I suppose it is not strange that the influence of George should have been more effective outside of the United States than within its boundaries, inasmuch as we were still in the pioneer period when he was alive and had such enormous areas of undeveloped territory and raw material that it was difficult to give credence to his primary thesis. MacDonald's testimony, however, is of a character to make clear that some day the prophet of San Francisco will come to his own in the United States and take his place as one of our greatest thinkers and sages.

Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

### DIFFERING METHODS OF APPROACH

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The most important matter now facing the followers of the Henry George theory of land rent is probably the differences between the One-steppers and the Step-by-Steppers.

The One-Steppers and the Step-by-Steppers are equally desirous of freeing the land by taking the full rental value of the land alone for public purposes. The important and immediate question is whether that can be more quickly and thoroughly done by demanding now the entire rental value or by taking now as much as we can get and asking more, or with Graham Peace declaring that we will not accept anything but the whole of our demand.

A somewhat similar disagreement is, whether educational or political work is the more effective at present.

Of course there are people who can do only one of these two, and of course they should do what they can. But what should be the *main* direction of our organized effort?

Some favor miscellaneous newspaper and oral propaganda alone; some, concentration on these organized bodies that afford the most hopeful prospects; viz, the Cooperators and the Socialists.

Louis Post has well said that before we can make any man a true land reformer, we must first make him a radical. These people might be classed as radicals. At least they have got so far as to see that present conditions are bad, and to want to change them. It is not essential to our purpose to try to wean them first from their belief that their particular plan is necessary. Socialists can readily be made to see that it is the land that should be socialized first.

Cooperators are ready to admit that cooperation in land is the most profitable, and the simplest way for them. To get over to our side those who lean our way, is the easiest and most effective step.

It required much enthusiasm to gain "votes for women." That same enthusiasm could be enlisted in behalf of "freedom for women" as well as for men. Probably we have rather neglected the women's clubs and organizations. Shall we continue to do so?

Another live question is that of methods—shall we concentrate on a national scale on free trade, or, shall we rather strive to get national taxation of land values; or, devote our general energies to some particular State or States which may look hopeful?

This raises the question whether we can progress farthest as political or moral reformers? What ways have been most effective so far, and how present conditions affect their advisability? Again, whether it is wiser to put forward the fiscal side,—arousing as it does but little antagonism—or to proclaim our doctrine as it is, the most fundamental, radical, and revolutionary proposal that has ever been made?

Anyone may or may not endorse either programme, but my object is to emphasize the point that no man's judgment, nor the decision of any Conference can be depended upon as surely right.

The two courses may in some degree conflict. If they do, let us leave that for the enemy to point out. For us to quarrel over them or to



denounce anyone for following that which he thinks best is childish and futile.

We cannot present a united front nor get rid of our differences by ignoring them.

BOLTON HALL.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

A LONG article on True Farm Relief is contributed by W. H. Sikes, of Leonardville, Kansas, to the *Kansas Union Farmer*. Mr. Sikes was a member of the Henry George Congress at Pittsburgh and made many friends.

DURING the recent municipal campaign in this city the Commonwealth Land party had several out-door meetings. Morris Van Veen was active as a speaker, addressing three meetings in Union Square and three meetings of the Woman Voters League at the Community House in East 70th street; a meeting at the Community Center, 125th street; a meeting at the church over which John Haynes Holmes presides and another at St. Michael's Parish House, 99th Street. In the last two weeks of the campaign over 12,000 pieces of literature were distributed. In this work George Lloyd and Corinne Carpenter were active. Mr. Lloyd continues his radio talks every Saturday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, W P C H. Notice of the fact that the party was on the ballot was sent from headquarters to 25 newspapers in the city and was printed by a goodly number. Besides the ballot was printed in all the papers of the city and thus not a little publicity was secured for the principles of the party.

*The Independent-Observer*, of Scottdale, Pa., prints a lengthy review of "A Freeman's Citizenship," by G. Frank Kelly, notice of which is given in this number of LAND AND FREEDOM.

*The Workman*, of Yonkers, N. Y. prints a two column article from James R. Brown on taxation. The Northport, N. Y. *Observer*, prints the same article.

"SPIRITUAL ECONOMICS," by J. E. McLean, of Fairhope, is selling well. Frank Grant, of the Westfield Atheneum, Westfield, Mass., sends for a dozen copies and says he considers it "the finest thing of its kind." We congratulate our old friend on the success of his book. Mr. McLean was editor of the *Arena* in the old days and many of the youthful essays of the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM appeared in that magazine under his editorship.

We have received a copy of the Red Book for 1929, revised to date. The editor is our old friend James Malcolm. It is an able and useful compilation, with portraits and biographies of state officials, names in the New York State Hall of Fame, percentage of voters who did not go to the polls in 1928, the populations of the cities and rural towns of the state, the vote in national conventions from 1856 to 1928, the vote for president from 1856 to 1928, etc., etc. No newspaper office should be without this admirable compendium. The publishers are J. B. Lyon and Co., Albany, N. Y.

T. HART, of San Francisco, writes: "I feel that as editor of LAND AND FREEDOM you are doing a very helpful piece of work for Single Tax. You keep its forces rallied."

HENRY GEORGE's birthday was celebrated in Los Angeles by a meeting at which A. J. Samis acted as chairman, and F. W. Withers and David Woodhead spoke. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Freeland Club, and Lona I. Robinson, Harriet S. Prenter and

Charles James were the committee of arrangements of what turned out to be a very successful affair.

WE have received the initial number of *Dick Polls Magazine*, from Dallas, Texas, a neatly printed little magazinelet of 24 pages and cover. It is dedicated to "Forgotten men, women and children everywhere." The Editor tells us that there are 100,000,000 acres of good land held idle and unused in the state of Texas, held for speculation and that there are a million and a half of tenant farmers. The purpose of *Dick Polls Magazine* is to show the people of his state the remedy for this unnatural condition. We like this little magazine.

OUR old friend, James MacGregor, who has been long at Fairhope has left for San Diego, California, where he will spend some time with F. F. Ingram, who is now located in that state. Mr. MacGregor celebrated the Sunday evening preceding his departure by lecturing at the Fairhope Forum, his subject being "Jobs."

JOHN W. LOVE, popular columnist of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* tells of two Detroit newspaper reporters who in 1891 bought several hundred acres on the Detroit river at \$35 an acre and some years later sold the land, still entirely unused, for \$3,000 an acre. Recently some of this same land has been bought by a steel company that wanted to use it at \$30,000 an acre. "But," adds Love, "the danger in printing such stories as this is that some salesman will clip them out and use them as argument for the purchase of vacant lots. One buys a lot when he intends to build."

THE tax amendment voted on in Ohio at the recent election was opposed by Max S. Hayes, editor of *The Cleveland Citizen*, advocate of the American Federation of Labor, and in a leading editorial No. 2, he wrote: "We are not altogether pleased with the prospect of having bankers throw open their books to snoopers or to deduct a tax that would be levied upon deposits and turn the funds over to county or state officials, for the reason that the bulk of depositors in Ohio are people of moderate means. \* \* \* This taxation problem is about as old as the hills, and the only way it can ever be settled justly will be to abolish the hundred and one different systems and schemes and levy one tax, and that on land, or, more properly, on the social values of land—the values created by everyone in the community and that are grabbed by landlords who do not create them. Vote down and let's have a straightout fight for a simple system to tax the earned increment."

DR. MARK MILLIKIN, of Hamilton, O., and James C. Hayden, Ohio, temporarily living in Flora, Indiana, had several excellent letters in the *Ohio State Journal* of Columbus, on the proposed tax amendment championed by the landed interests and voted on Nov. 5. A doctor announced he would vote for the amendment and damned it with faint praise, and Hayden opposed it, but both taught good Single Tax lessons. Hayden had a letter in the same daily on Nov. 5. "Cheap Land"—a remarkably fine article for the space he was allowed. The amendment had one good feature in that under it the Legislature could wipe out the whole nasty mess of the personal property tax; but, as the real estate lobby controls the Legislature in revenue legislation, that would not be done. On the contrary, their announced object was to raise more revenue than is now raised from personal property. Still, some Single Taxers voted for the amendment because it does give a little freedom and will bring on discussion.

N. A. VYNE, of Camp Verde, Arizona, at 66 years of age is lecturing in the neighboring counties of his township. He sleeps in his car and cooks his meals over campfires. He writes that he is gaining in weight. He says, "Young men must train themselves and take up the gage of battle. Special privilege is gaining year by year and time is the essence of the struggle. The Editor is as helpless as any one. It is up to



x-beviled and exploited masses, this job, but how to arouse them, the danger—that is the problem." Nicholas Vyne was a sergeant of the Rough Riders during the Spanish-American war and was with captain "Bucky" O'Neil when he was killed ascending San Juan Hill. O'Neil was mayor of Prescott, Arizona, and tried to make Prescott a Single Tax town, and almost succeeded, did in fact succeed for time.

HERE are a few items of interest to those who would learn the lesson of how to get rich without working:

Walter J. Fay, realty expert of the *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, says that seventy cents of every dollar in the United States is found in real estate, and that the value of real estate in Chicago is increasing at the rate of \$575,000,000 a year. Of course, by real estate he means land, not houses and buildings. He says that real estate values—and values again, he means—from 1920 to 1929 in the United States have paid over 28 per cent. per annum.

Travelling to Columbus we note that the *Ohio State Journal* tells us that "Real estate is good," and reinforces his statement by citing the instance of Mr. George Kirk Foster who at the time of his death was the owner of a piece of property, the southwest corner of Walnut and High streets, valued in 1916 at \$65,340 and which is now under lease at an approximate valuation of \$250,000. The *Ohio State Journal* says that "this represents many times the value of the estate left by the average business man." We hope the average business man will take notice.

IN the *Bergen Evening Record*, N. J., Mark M. Dintenfass replies to a Bogata, N. J. correspondent who attacks the Henry George idea. Mr. Dintenfass covers nearly two columns of the *Record* and satisfactorily disposes of the critic's objections.

THE English League of the Taxation of Land Values has changed its address to 12 and 13 Henrietta street, Convent Garden, London, W. C. Fredk Verinder is General Secretary and William Munn, Assistant Secretary.

THE *Evening News*, of Edinburgh, Scotland, in a leading editorial on the recent conference in that city, says: "Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman were he alive today would be in full sympathy with the unemployed in their criticism of official behavior and would have endorsed much that was said at the Edinburgh Conference this week."

THE *Dispatch-Herald*, of Erie, Pa., of October 10, contains a communication from James B. Ellery in which a number of protectionist absurdities are neatly riddled.

THE *Square Deal*, of Toronto, for October contains an excellent and very full report of the Pittsburgh Conference.

JOHN B. BOTT, of Greensburg, Pa., has reached his 83rd year. He writes us in a recent communication: "Have been an admirer and follower of Henry George for twenty years and will continue so to the end."

LEWIS GANINETT in a review of Tiltman's recent *Life of J. Ramsay MacDonald* in the *Herald-Tribune* of this city says: "Mr. Tiltman stresses what is curiously neglected in America—the influence of our Henry George upon land and tax policy in Great Britain."

COMMENTING on the recent letter in LAND AND FREEDOM from Antonio Bastida, Mr. Alfred N. Chandler, of Newark, N. J., writes:

"The two major parties have a monopoly on the election machinery,

and the "process" of getting candidates names on the ballot. This makes it very difficult (you know how it is in N. Y. State) for any independent movement. This pertains to the November elections. But it is quite different, at least in N. J., as respects the Primary election. There it is quite easy. For that reason, my thought has been for a long time that if we are to have any election contest the easiest place to have it is in the Primary, for one, or both, political parties. That is, putting up candidates within one, or both parties at the Primary.

"Another way is to bring strong influence to bear on the political leaders, especially the county chairman, to have them put one or more specified men, who favor site-value tax, or the plan, on their ticket at the Primary election."

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc. required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of LAND AND FREEDOM, published Bi-Monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1929, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. That the owners are: Single Tax Publishing Co., Inc., Herman G. Loew, Pres., George R. Macey, Sec., 150 Nassau Street, New York City. None but Joseph Dana Miller own one per cent. or more of stock.

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

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

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,  
EDITOR.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1929.

[Seal] LOUIS D. SCHWARTZ, Notary Public  
New York County.