The Public

# **RELATED THINGS**

#### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### THE MARCH OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN

By Gilbert Keith Chesterton. As cabled to the New York Sun since the opening of the Balkan War by the People of Montenegro (Black Mountain) about Eight Weeks Ago.

What will there be to remember
Of us in the days to be—
Whose faith was a trodden ember
And even our doubt not free?
Parliaments built of paper,
And the soft swords of gold
That twist like a waxen taper
In the weak aggressor's hold.
A hush around Hunger slaying,
A city of serfs unfed—
What shall we leave for a saying
To praise us when we are dead?

But men shall remember the Mountain That broke its forest chains,
And men shall remember the Mountain When it marches against the plains,
And christen their children from it
And season and ship and street.
When the Mountain came to Mahomet
And looked small before his feet
His head was high as the crescent
Of the moon that seemed his crown,
And on glory of past and present
The lights of his eyes looked down.

One hand went out to the morning
Over Brahmin and Buddhist slain,
And one to the west in scorning
To point at the scars of Spain.
One foot on the hills for warden
By the little Mountain trod,
And one was in a garden
And stood on the grave of God.
But men shall remember the Mountain
Though it fall down like a tree;
They shall see the sign of the Mountain—
Faith cast into the sea.

Though the crooked swords overcome it
And the Crooked Moon ride free,
When the Mountain comes to Mahomet
It has more life than he.
But what will there be to remember
Or what will there be to see—
Though our towns through a long November
Abide to the end and be?
Strength of slave and mechanic
Whose iron is ruled by gold—
Peace of immortal panic—
Love that is hate grown cold.

Are these a bribe or a warning
That we turn not to the sun,
Nor look on the lands of morning,
Where deeds at last are done;

Where men shall remember the Mountain
When truth forgets the plain,
And walk in the way of the Mountain
That did not fall in vain?
Death and eclipse and comet,
Thunder and peals that rend,
When the Mountain came to Mahomet
Because it was the end!

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## THE SINGLETAX PLATFORM.

Adopted by the National Conference of the Singletax League of the United States, at Cooper Union, New York, Sept. 3, 1890.\*

We assert as our fundamental principle the selfevident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights.

We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, State, county and municipal purposes, by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our States we now levy some tax on the value of land, the Singletax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, State governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is

\*The second Singletax conference, held at the Columbian Exposition, in Chicago, affirmed August 30, 1893, this platform, except the last paragraph, "With respect to monopolies," etc. For this paragraph the Chicago Conference substituted the following: "In securing to each individual his equal right to the use of the earth, it is also a proper function of society to maintain and control all public ways for the transportation of persons and property and the transmission of intelligence; and also to maintain and control all public ways in cities for furnishing water, gas, and all other things that necessarily require the use of such common ways." George himself drafted the platform adopted in New York in 1890, including the final paragraph, and was chairman of the committee that reported it. As a member of the Conference at Chicago he opposed and voted against the alteration.

now divided between the local and State governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the State and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and

become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the Singletax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The Singletax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to

its fullest use.

The Singletax therefore would—

Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of tax-gatherers, simplify government and

greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the States of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds

a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his ex-

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government.

local, State or national, as may be.

### THE SINGLETAX IN A NUTSHELL.

From the London "Land Values."

Is the Singletax or the Taxation of Land Values confiscation? This is one of the questions that is being put, and answered.

Some politicians in the high places of Liberalism look askance at the name Singletax, and for many and varied reasons set it aside as an impracticable policy and one which the Liberal Party are not likely to promote. Some of these same people tell us that land is in a different category from all other commodities; that indeed it is not a commodity, but the gift of the Creator, and that the value attaching to land is a communal value created by the presence, industry and needs of all the people. Well, this is the basic principle of the Singletax philosophy.

Some patches of ground are more fertile than others; some land is nearer to a market than other land; and because of this varying fertility and nearness to a market land differs in value.

The value of some land is very high in the centres of our towns and cities; in an agricultural district it is comparatively low; but all value attach-