

34 towns in the county he led his confreres in 17 towns, was even with them in 6 and in the remaining 11 received a few less votes than they.

An analysis of the vote shows that a candidate who runs on a site-value tax platform and makes a vigorous campaign on it carries not only his full party vote, but in many municipalities gains votes from the opposition party candidates.

Campaigning for Single Tax in Oregon

J. R. HERMANN AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

JACKSON H. RALSTON yesterday stated that he did not know whether the reading of "Progress and Poverty" caused a failure in his life or a success. Herbert Quick handed me a copy of "Progress and Poverty" thirty-five years ago and he often apologized to me for it because he said he was responsible for my failure.

George B. Herron, Professor of Applied Christianity of Cornell College, Iowa, delivered a series of addresses in Thomas' Church, Chicago, years ago, entitled "Between Jesus and Caesar." His last address was on the subject of "Failure of Success," or "The Success of Failure," in which he showed the standard of success in the world was quite different from the standard of the success of Jesus. The great daily papers of today symbolize material success. They point with pride and declare that they voice the demand of the people and that their success shows it. This same philosophy may be applied to the highwayman whose six-shooter is current coin. We see him successful on the daily pages of the papers every day, We must all agree that his success is failure from our standpoint and everyone in this movement who is not willing to sacrifice what the world calls success for the ideals of spiritual success, has no place in this movement as a leader, nor will he remain in it long.

I have taken active part in nearly every Single Tax campaign from the time of the Delaware campaign thirty-four years ago. Henry George was philosopher, statesman, scientist. In practical politics he was obliged to use the tools he found as Moses did. The Initiative and Referendum was not a part of American law in his time and so he associated with political parties and politicians, and often made mistakes. He admitted he made a mistake in supporting Grover Cleveland and, I believe, if he were alive today, he would admit that he made a mistake in supporting Bryan because of his educational and economic policies. James W. Bucklin, of Colorado, went to Australia and brought back a report and got the Legislature of Colorado to submit a constitutional amendment to the people permitting counties to raise their revenue for local purposes from land values. The campaign lasted two years. I was sent to Colorado by the Ohio Single Tax League when Tom Johnson was its leader in Ohio,

to campaign for this measure in Colorado. Senator Bucklin told me to talk Single Tax the first year of the campaign and not mention the measure to be voted on only incidentally. His purpose was to acquaint the people with the Single Tax first, because he knew the opposition would call his measure the Single Tax which it was *not* and they would have a chance to show that it was not. But a shrewd real estate speculator listened carefully to one of my speeches and he instinctively connected it with the Bucklin Bill. He aroused the realtors, and they got the Governor to call a special session of the Legislature to repeal the submission of the measure to the people.

The Legislature did not repeal the measure and it went before the people, but it was counted out by the coal barons of Southern Colorado. During the campaign the enemy accused the Single Taxers of camouflaging or dishonesty by constantly referring to Henry George's proposition of taking the full rent, calling it confiscation and every bad thing they could think of to frighten the people, claiming that the Bucklin Bill people were Single Taxers in disguise. Later Colorado got home rule in cities which permitted the same provision which was in the Bucklin Bill. Campaign after campaign has been made in the cities of Colorado to submit exemption measures and each time they have received fewer and fewer votes, and the last vote was a small one. Oregon had essentially the same experience with exemption measures.

I joined the great adventure in California because it raised the land question just as Henry George did. Oregon was in sympathy with such a campaign. I went to Oregon and there found them ready for a full Henry George Single Tax measure and they started a campaign to submit the following measure:

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

"Section 1 of Article IX of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be and hereby is amended to read as follows:

Section 1. From March 1, 1931, to and until March 1, 1935, all revenues necessary for the maintenance of state, county, municipal and district government shall be raised by a tax on the value of land, irrespective of improvements in or on it, and thereafter the full rental value of land, irrespective of improvements, shall be taken in lieu of all other taxes for the maintenance of government, and for such other purposes as the people may direct. All provisions of the Constitution and Laws of Oregon in conflict with this section are hereby abrogated and repealed in so far as they conflict herewith, and this section is self-executing."

It will be noticed that this measure takes all of the economic rent now and provides for the increased rent for the future of not only taxes but for any purposes which the people may direct. This means that when labor-saving machinery takes the place of labor, which we hope it will sometime, that the increased rent of land will be the method of distributing wealth if it must be done through a pension

system ultimately. This may be called the Natural Socialism, which would abolish both taxes and labor as we now understand those terms.

This measure received 37,000 affirmative votes in 1920 and 40,000 votes in 1922 with a decrease in negative votes in 1922, thus showing that the real Single Tax gained by repetition and discussion and now the opposition finds no other way of opposing it, except by profound silence. The measure is like a cube; turn it in any direction and it alights face up. Our continuous educational work has at last reached the man in overalls, and I stand on this platform today, probably the only delegate whose expenses to this convention are paid by the man in overalls. Our lack of funds in Oregon during this campaign has overcome the prejudice entertained heretofore that the Single Tax Movement was backed by millionaires like Joseph Fels, and others. And thus a natural growth is taking place in Oregon. Some labor leaders have succeeded in sidetracking us to some extent, but that we hope we will overcome at the next convention.

Henry George pointed out clearly that the time may come, not only in the United States, but in the world when it will be too late to save a democratic society. Therefore, it behooves us to present our measure in its fullness and let others do the compromising. For compromises will be offered, to prevent our progress in that way as fast as we become dangerous.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, in the *New York Times*, of Sept. 21, reviews Hamlin Garland's "Roadside Meetings." We quote one paragraph:

"The name of Henry George was much on Mr. Garland's lips during the '80's. In the midst of battling for realism in literature, for Ibsenism on the stage, for impressionism in painting, Garland kept preaching the Single Tax to whosoever would lend an ear. Land monopoly, he considered, was at the bottom of all the ills of the world; the Single Tax would do much to lift the burden from the shoulders of the insulted and injured. Because of his Single Tax obsession, Mr. Garland could not go the road with his friend, William Dean Howells, in visioning utopian socialism. He was, and he evidently has remained, an individualist."

Early disciples of Henry George were ardent and probably had the tendency of all propagandists to claim too much. Or they were misunderstood by careless hearers. We have never heard of one, however, who claimed that "all the ills of the world" were attributable to land monopoly. What was claimed was that it was the primary cause of our economic ills.

Chamberlain's use of the word "obsession" is unworthy of the careful reviewer.

The individualism of the early Single Taxers did not blind them to the social side of man's needs and nature. The Henry George philosophy provides for individual freedom first, and for socialization of transportation,

water supply, parks, etc., second. The abolition of land monopoly would make it easier for government to perform these natural functions of government. But things that individuals could do for themselves, singly or in cooperative groups, were to be forbidden to the government to touch. In that respect Mr. Garland was individualistic, and we are glad to learn that he still is.

THAT taxes on automobiles are evaded is unquestionably true. But so are taxes on pianos, jewels, securities and other classes of personal property.

The issue raises the whole question of the soundness of taxation of personal property or improvements—the products of labor—and suggests the wisdom of taxing land values only.

Los Angeles *Record*.

Double Taxation Again

OREGON SAVANT EXPLAINS CAUSE
OF DEPRESSION

HALF a century ago Henry George started a warm discussion, which apparently, is not yet ended. He promulgated a theory with regard to political economy that assailed one of the pillars of the temple.

It had to do with "rent." Into this bin was dumped too great a proportion of the wealth produced by labor. As a result the other bins, "interest" and "wages", were not properly filled. Mr. George proposed his land tax program as a remedy. Now popularly known as "Single Tax," this theory survives.

At the meeting of the Interprofessional Institute's national convention in Omaha on Friday, a speaker reverted to Henry George in his endeavor to explain existing depression. W. B. B. Wilcox, head of the agricultural department of the University of Oregon, said the basic cause of the present business situation is that \$13,000,000,000 is annually paid to the landlords, while another \$12,000,000,000 is paid in taxes to the government to cover the same costs. That is, the professor argues, the landlords have raised rents because of public improvements which have been paid for out of money collected by the government.

Mr. George taught just that. He pointed out that as population became congested, the amount paid as rent correspondingly increased. So, too, he found that poverty also increased. This gave him the title for his monumental work, "Progress and Poverty." His remedy was the land tax, which would take from the rent fund the money needed to support the government, without diminishing the interest or wage funds.

Some advance has been made in the matter of wages. Adam Smith's iron law, bolstered by the Malthusian doctrine of population, has been supplanted by what is admittedly a wiser concept. A greater proportion of created wealth goes to wages, and this proportion is likely to be