

this same kind of pig, after their throats have been cut and they are rotting on the ground.

If he gets any sane ideas it will be because the people will tell him. The farmers have got too much wheat? Well, I haven't. You haven't. The poor of America haven't. If they have they can send it to the poor of Europe. If we could only trade. They have got too much wheat. What are they going to do with it? But the farmers make too little out of wheat. They might pay me for not producing. What is this for? To bring high prices. They kill the pigs to bring high prices. I buy pigs. I buy bacon. It does not help me any. Nor anybody who uses it. I buy wheat in the shape of flour. And nobody in this administration is considering for a minute the consumer. We heard considerable about the revision of the tariff during the campaign. Has anybody mentioned it lately?

Already we are taking every move substantially that the protectionists of this country have followed for so long—only more directly. You wouldn't find the Republicans sharing in killing pigs and letting them rot, and the next week asking for ninety million dollars to buy more to give to the poor. There are hundreds of people in this country who need cotton and can't get it. We have got too much. Was there ever a time in the world when people had too much? Never. Will there ever be a time when people will have too much? Man can create out of his imagination so many wants in a week that you cannot supply them in a year. Everybody in this world is in debt to everybody else. This is the shabbiest, poorest, stingiest world I ever lived in.

I wonder if there is anybody in this audience who has too many clothes? And yet the whole world is in want. Suppose we had freedom of trade. Now we cut ourselves off from every country in the world, and then burn our produce. I know of only one Democrat who believes this. As for Republicans I don't know. I don't associate with them. But suppose we had freedom of trade. Most of Europe hasn't any wheat or much of it excepting Russia. In all Asia there is nobody who eats wheat. They can't afford it. The Chinese have rice. And what is it that the Chinese make that we can use? Why not trade with them? Why not open foreign ports to the things we have got to sell?

We still have in the Democratic party a few healthy people who are not protectionists. They believe in buying and selling. In the course of civilization, free trade has done everything to make the world civilized.

I don't know what is coming next. There has never been such a foolish proposition as this. If we are going to wait for our prosperity until we can make a scarcity, we are not going to have any prosperity. There are thinkers in political economy. And if there's any principle that has been thoroughly established many times in this country, it is the principle of free trade, trading with your neighbor. I will be willing to burn wheat or corn when you can pro-

duce evidence that everybody has all he wants. Winter brings millions of unemployed. It is not work people want, but *wages* and *things*. We cannot get it without some change of policy. You cannot buy clothes. We have taken care of that. You cannot buy wheat. You cannot buy pigs, because they have destroyed a generation of pigs.

Let's consider the moral effects of such destruction. Is this intrinsically wise,—destroy it so you can toil all over again? If not scarce enough, we will destroy another generation.

So far I have seen nothing proposed that reaches the real problem. What is the real cause? It is not over-production. It is under-consumption, brought about by monopoly. If we don't destroy that, we do nothing. The Single Tax Clubs and this kind of meeting ought to make themselves heard.

What Is The Single Tax?

HENRY H. HARDINGE
AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

WHAT is the Single Tax? It is a tax on land value and on that only. What then is land value? It is not a thing—it is a social phenomenon; it is unlike every other value. It has none of the qualities of physical property. It has neither length, breadth nor thickness. It has neither form, color, weight nor dimensions. It cannot be detected or sensed by any of man's five senses but land, that is the earth itself, can be seen, smelled, tasted, felt and heard when the wind blows through the trees or lashing waves assail a rocky coast. It is not capital, although it is capitalized into unthinkable sums. It is not labor—it does not work. It is not wealth, although it has made many undeserving people wealthy.

It is not industrious—it involves no effort—it is wholly inactive. It cannot be eaten like food, drunk like water, worn like clothes, or lived in like a house. It cannot be made by an individual as can a log house or a chair. It is a distinctly social quantity. It cannot be increased or diminished at will as can an industrial product—it is wholly unlike anything and everything created by labor.

It does not employ labor, pay wages, or produce wealth. It is a product of law and has no existence outside of the law and organized government.

It cannot be consumed, burned, blown up, buried, dismantled, worn out, repaired, helped or injured as can any industrial product. It cannot be bent, twisted, abused, insured, injured or abolished short of the abolition of society itself. It is quite unique, distinctive and separate from all other values, and it can be estimated without asking the land owner any questions. Yet it is as impalpable to feeling as to sight. It is an impersonal, invisible institutional value, and its private appropriation amounts to private taxation.

The Single Tax is a proposed public tax upon a private tax. It is a tax upon taxation. It is not a tax upon labor; it will exempt all industry. It is not a tax upon wealth; it will encourage its production. It will not cause unemployment—all other taxes do. It will not lessen the total amount of wealth—all other taxes do. It will not cause poverty—all other taxes do.

It is not a tax on trade—all other taxes tend to suppress trade and in many cases extinguish it. It will not prevent just distribution of wealth—all other taxes do. It cannot be shifted to the ultimate consumer—*land values are not consumed*. It will not make goods cost more—all other taxes do. It will not hurt business—all other taxes do.

It is not a sales tax—nearly all other taxes are. It cannot be shifted—all other taxes are shifted more or less, when they are not lied about, bribed about, or dodged or evaded. It is the only honest tax known, and hence has never been popular with statesmen. It will reduce the price of land and increase the price of men—all other taxes reverse this policy. Every dollar taken from industry by taxation is equivalent to contributing a dollar to the landed proprietors of every country where such taxes are levied.

The Single Tax is the only tax which can be successfully defended—all others are morally indefensible. A tax upon land values only will balance mass production with mass distribution—other taxes will not do this; they will have the reverse effect—they constantly widen the gap between them. It will cause a permanent and ever-increasing demand for labor. All other taxes reverse this policy. It will enormously increase the demand for capital and wealth—all other taxes lessen both. It will forever prevent a recurrence of hard times by removing its cause, which is the monopoly of land.

It will force the three elements of production together: labor, capital and land. The present system forces them apart. It will destroy land speculation—all other taxes encourage and reward the speculator. The speculator not only produces nothing, he prevents others from producing. This is a socially disastrous policy; its evils are gigantic, universal, nationwide and over-whelming.

The Single Tax will encourage trade by leaving it alone. It will reward production by one hundred per cent return to the producers. It is the only fair, the only just, the only simple tax. It will cost less to administer than will any other tax, and it is the only honest tax. It will make trade free, production free, industry free, and men free. It will free them not only from poverty but *the fear of* poverty, which is almost as bad. It will make it just as easy to get wealth as it is to produce it.

The present system guarantees *progress* and *poverty* as constant associates. The Single Tax will divorce them forever. The landless man never knows when he will be workless, homeless and helpless—his future is forever enveloped in uncertainty.

A tax on anything produced by labor is a *sales tax*. Changing its name does not alter its character. Legislatures are forever juggling with names. Economic myopia is the chronic, centuries-old disability of statesmen all over the world.

The Single Tax will enormously simplify the assessment and collection of taxes. It will clarify the political situation as nothing else will do. Crime is a property question and the greatest of crimes is property in opportunity. Until this question is disposed of, nothing can be settled right. It is now the great social preliminary to the settlement of a multitude of other questions.

The system of taxation that obtains in this country is copied from European monarchies. It belongs to aristocracy. It has no place in the affairs of a democratic republic. Under it every aristocracy has flourished. This is the system that gave power and revenue to the Hapsburgs, Romanoffs, and Hohenzollerns. It is a system which in all ages has corrupted royal courts, subsidized legislatures, twisted court decisions, rewarded parasites, created slums, perpetuated ignorance in the seats of learning, packed juries, suborned testimony, perjured witnesses, subverted justice, encouraged idleness, punished useful work, placed a premium on mendacity, reduced hypocrisy to a science, and made a travesty of justice.

It makes cowards of editors, poltroons of politicians, weaklings of men who ought to be strong. It replaces plenty with scarcity, poverty where wealth should be, and ignorance where knowledge should govern the action of men, and makes shrinking cravens of men who should stand upright with their faces toward the sun. It includes more vices and possesses fewer virtues than any system of society ever developed. In our industrial affairs we are not copyists—we are wholly free from tradition and hence occupy first place among the industrial nations. In the realm of distribution we are distinctly European in our methods with the added vice of land speculation on a continent-wide scale. We soar to the heights in a frenzy of speculative anticipation of unearned profits, and then plunge to the depths of economic despair.

There is nothing normal about it. It is neither necessary, wise, useful, sensible or just. Human needs are a constant quantity with an ever upward trend. Industry should be the same—it supplies the needs. It should never slump until needs and desires dissolve. Were it not for this European system, we could be forever prosperous. Our superstitions and preconceptions are the only hurdles we have to jump, and they are too high—we cannot make them—not yet.

Our entire dependence upon the past for our future guidance can only end in national disaster. We will have to branch out. The old methods will not serve us any longer. The work of the modern chemist and engineer have completely revolutionized our mechanical, transportation, domestic and social habits. We have been completely made over in a quarter century by myriad inventions,

and yet we hug to our bosoms the old economical delusions, traditions and institutions of a bygone age, and we cannot make the grade—it is too steep, every day getting steeper, and our great machine is slowing down. We will have to abandon the machine, or property in rent, in land value. The two things are wholly incompatible. We are trying to mix in one vast cauldron a perfect hell's brew consisting of the old and the new, the ancient and the modern, the aristocratic and the democratic. You can see it in a picture of a Roman Catholic cardinal blessing a flying machine. It cannot be done on the scale we are attempting with either success, peace or profit. We have come to the fork in the road. We must soon take our choice. Leaving things to chance is fatuous. Guessing is worthless. Hoping is of no avail. We must put our institutions under the microscope and examine them as they have never been examined before. It is our only hope for the future.

Mayor McNair

IT will be heartening to friends of the movement everywhere to learn of the election of a Single Tax democrat to the mayoralty of Pittsburgh. It is significant that the Single Tax was made an issue in the campaign, though as far as the newspapers are concerned the greater publicity along that line was adverse to McNair's candidacy, the *Post-Gazette* interviewing everybody who was opposed to the Single Tax and the Pittsburgh graded tax, while ignoring anything of a favorable nature, including Mr. McNair's refutation of the principal contentions. The *Pittsburgh Press* published two speeches of Mr. McNair's and the *Sun Telegraph* published an editorial in defence of the graded tax plan. It was principally through the *Gazette's* cartoons that the Single Tax and Henry George became prominent features of the campaign.

The *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* pretended or actually did consult the astrologers of the city, three of whom predicted McNair's election and one—Madame Arlene—a democratic landslide!

Mr. McNair spoke in Italian before an Italian audience and the *Post Gazette* made this comment:

"He took away the credit that Henry George once had for originating that theory and handed it over wholesale to Gaetano Filangieri, who rates as the Blackstone of the Italian courts. And he slipped Ben Franklin credit for bringing the theory to Pennsylvania."

Mr. McNair's majority over Herron was nearly 28,000 and the Republicans do not know how it all happened. The effort of the Republicans to erect a Single Tax bug-a-boo was without effect.

Some of the credit of the victory is due to former Mayor Magee, nominated by the Republicans and placed on the McNair ticket after the withdrawal of George E. Evans,

president of the Henry George Foundation, to whom therefore some of the credit for the victory must go.

The *Pittsburgh Press* said:

"Great credit for this action goes to Mr. Evans, who made possible these happy circumstances by sacrificing his own personal ambitions. He performed an act of distinct service not only to his own party, but to the people of Pittsburgh as a whole."

The *Press* thus summed up its conclusions of the victory:

"Pittsburgh has sounded a warning to all Pennsylvania So has Philadelphia.

The state's two greatest cities have become INDEPENDENT. They are placing men and issues above party labels. They have broken the shackles of the bosses.

The people have learned that they can win. And they are not going to forget it.

They demand decent government in the public interest. They demand that fat profits on public contracts be preserved for the people, rather than for political henchmen. They demand that the alliance between government and crime end. They demand, above all, that political parties be responsive to public desires, instead of the selfish interests of political bosses."

The victory carried in all the members of the McNair council ticket, William A. Magee, John M. Huston, Thomas J. Gallagher, John J. Kane, and Walter R. Demmler, (Single Taxer).

It was a great victory over a corrupt machine and credit is pretty evenly divided between Republicans like Magee, the slashing blows delivered by McNair, and the aroused civic spirit of the people.

Immediately on the announcement of his victory McNair in company with Joseph F. Guffey, Roosevelt leader for Pennsylvania, left for Washington to interview President Roosevelt.

Taxes and Monopoly— How They Work

IN 1864 the government required a one cent stamp to be placed upon every box of matches. In 1865 the revenue from this source was one million dollars. Owing to the tax several large firms retired or failed.

In 1872 the French government desiring an additional source of revenue determined to extract it from their matches. They therefore let to a single great company the sole right of making them for twenty years, and agreed to buy up all the old factories and furnish the company with new ones. In return the company was to pay a fixed rent of \$3,200,000. It was furthermore stipulated that the price of the matches should not be raised, but the company treated this as a dead letter. The matches were so bad that they hardly lit and the peasants instead of buying them used a match of home manufacture steeped in sulphur. Great trouble and expense have been incurred by the state. The company has been despotic and unable to fulfill its obligations; a proposition has been made and rejected by the part of the government to reduce the rent one half, and the probability is that the lease will expire before the time agreed upon.

Popular Science Monthly, 1872.