

September—October, 1925

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Dark Days In England

Charles O'Connor Hennessy

Memories of Henry George

Hamlin Garland

Our British Letter

J. W. Graham Peace

Important Advances In Argentina

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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INDEX TO CONTENTS

CURRENT COMMENT	131
DEATH OF SYLVESTER MALONE	James R. Brown 136
DARK DAYS IN ENGLAND	Charles O'Connor Hennessy 137
MEMORIES OF HENRY GEORGE	Hamlin Garland 139
HENRY GEORGE. AN AUSTRALIAN REMINISCENCE	Percy R. Meggy 141
OUR BRITISH LETTER	J. W. Graham Peace 143
AT THE SIGN OF THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE....	E. Wye 145
HENRY GEORGE CORROBORATED	W. A. Warren 148
IMPRESSIONS OF AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST IN ENG- LAND AND GERMANY	Chester C. Platt 148
TAXES AND GAMBLING	Cleveland Topics 152
SOUTH AMERICA	155
CORRESPONDENCE	157
NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS	158

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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Current Comment

IN *America*, that well edited weekly organ of Catholic thought, Rev. M. J. Smith, S. J., says:

What member of the "white collar" class would be rash enough to build a home of his own at the price such an undertaking involves today?

No increase in salary adequate to such an enterprise can reasonably be expected.

No legislation competent to cope with the problem is even proposed. No disposition to adjust the high cost of living to fit the average clerk's income is discernable in the markets of life's necessities. The best that the small salaried man can hope for is a decent flat for his growing family, but a flat is not a home. *Without true homes our priceless heritage of freedom shrinks*; without genuine homes, religion wanes. The nation needs the growing family; religion blesses it. Its only natural and secure harbor is the home.

IT is gratifying to find religious publications discussing the problem in this spirit. The Catholic Church numbers among its adherents an overwhelming proportion of what we call the "working class"—the wage workers of the nation. Very intimately are its own growth and stability bound up with the welfare of this class; religion cannot flourish in such surroundings as hedge in so many families in centers of civilization, and from this the church must suffer both in the number and character of its members. Father Smith has stated the problem clearly.

BUT he is mistaken in saying that no legislation competent to cope with the problem is even proposed. None, it is true, in our legislatures; there the remedy is not even whispered. But it was proposed by Bishop Nulty, of Meath, Ireland, many years ago; it forms the substance of an elaborate treatise in a work entitled *Progress and Poverty*, and it is put forward by many earnest minded men and women in our own day as a remedy for the conditions Father Smith describes. Surely he is not unacquainted with it.

THERE are poor in all churches, but the Catholic Church is preeminently the church of the poor—that is her enviable distinction. It is among her glorious traditions that her comforting hand has soothed their sorrows, has ministered to them in their sickness, has watched over and aided in their struggles; no other agency was so much a part of their lives, none bore so intimate a relation to them. It is small wonder that those whose lives

are dedicated to her service should begin to concern themselves not merely with the problems of the individual poor, but with the larger problem that concerns them as a class, and whose special interests, if they can be called special, will be found to include the welfare of all classes.

THE legislation to cope with the problem *has* been proposed; the solution is ready. And it has been declared by the learned doctors of the great Catholic University at Washington, D. C., to contain nothing contrary to Catholic teachings. Any Catholic is at liberty to accept or reject it. Will not *America* open its columns to the discussion of the real remedy for the housing problem—and thus bring about a condition in which the ideal home may be something which every young couple may hope to realize, and where the religious ties that bind them to the Church may have room to grow in their affections?

PRESIDENT GREEN, of the American Federation of Labor, has announced that he will ask the next Congress to withdraw the tariff protection on textiles owing to the movement of the New England textile manufacturers to reduce wages. And why not? Is not the tariff supposed to protect American labor? Surely it is not to protect American "profits"? Yet obviously the purpose is by increasing profits to enable the manufacturer to pay higher wages. These profits pass from the consumer who pays them to the manufacturer, and the manufacturer pays part of these higher profits in higher wages. This is the theory. That it doesn't work that way is nothing to the Republican politicians who every four years appeal to the workers to keep them in power in order that the tariff may be retained in all its preposterous schedules—Schedule K being the most preposterous of them all.

OF course, manufacturers proceed on no such theory that where profits are increased, increased wages follow as a consequence. They pay only such wages as they are compelled to pay. These are regulated by conditions of the labor market, not at all by the earnings of the mills or the prices obtainable. The tariff may and frequently does enable them to reap greater profits through increased prices—and that is what the tariff is for. And if here and there some generous manufacturer raises wages because he has made larger profits, he is a rare bird and his example is not generally emulated.

WE are glad that President Green is having his fling at the hoary old humbug. Little progress can be made unless various delusions on the subject of wages are discredited in the minds of the workers. The late Samuel Gompers advised his followers to abstain from politics. Though professedly a Single Taxer, he was apparently interested only in maintaining a great organization of labor to fight organized capital—a condition little short of civil war. His followers accepted very literally his admonition to abstain from politics. As some economic questions are already political—the tariff, for example, just as the land question must some day become—Samuel Gompers and the American Federation had no active opinions about it. It would seem a perfectly fatuous policy for men interested in raising wages to act as if economic questions had no existence. Mr. Gompers made lots of friends by his policy—friends of the kind that cared little for the welfare of the workers. President Green seems willing to depart from this policy—just how far remains to be seen.

IN an article in the *London Times*, Dr. Arthur Shadwell, speaking of unemployment in England, says: "There is no facile remedy for the present ills and no government can do much. The root cause, as the *Times* has said in its leading editorial on the debate in the House of Commons, is the destruction of wealth by war—wealth gradually accumulated during many decades by work and saving."

LET us see. Was there not very recently a school of political economists who believed that war, with its consequent destruction of wealth, made a demand for employment to repair its ravages? Were not large numbers of the unthinking on this account disposed to regard wars and rumors of wars with equanimity because of their resulting benefits (supposedly) to labor in the rebuilding of devastated cities and towns? Now we have another reverse theory. Instead of the destruction of wealth calling for increased employment for its restoration, it seems that labor has all this time been living on the "wealth accumulated during many decades by work and saving." These economic theories jostle one another curiously; in this case they are mutually destructive.

BUT let Dr. Shadwell consider. Most of the wealth used in the production of wealth, tools, machinery, factories, etc., vanishes after one or two decades. Very little wealth of any kind survives after thirty years. Nor was any element of wealth destroyed during the war that could not have been replaced in the ten years succeeding. There is every reason to believe that in 1925 there is as much wealth in Great Britain as there was in 1914. Dr. Shadwell wisely refrains from giving any figures that might serve to show how baseless is his explanation for unemployment.

LABOR no more lives on capital produced in past decades than the labor of today lives on the wealth of the Pharaohs. Labor lives on land and what it produces from it, and every hour it is replenishing what it consumes and what is laid aside for the making of more wealth—tools, machinery, etc. Employment is conditioned on the terms on which it can exercise itself on the natural material, not on the goods, capital or wealth, stored up somewhere by the labor of previous decades. If labor is denied access to the reservoir from which the products of labor are drawn, unemployment is the consequence. If too great a price is demanded for such access to the natural material, labor must remain idle. This is the simple explanation of unemployment and not the wholly fanciful theory of Dr. Shadwell and the *London Times*.

WE printed in last issue the indignant disclaimer of a Santa Barbara "realtor" to the widely circulated newspaper reports of an earthquake in that city. Some years ago it will be remembered that there was a report of an earthquake in San Francisco. This was followed by a destructive fire. A correspondent of the *London Post* tells his readers that Californians do not refer to the earthquake but always to the "fire." All cities have fires; some have earthquakes. "The reason," says the correspondent, "why Californians call it a fire is because they are all boosters out there."

A LARGE part of California rests upon what the seismologists call a "fault," which is a thin crust resting upon the more solid base. This is part of California real estate. As a basis for land speculation it possesses an all too shifting foundation. To sell a fixed portion of the earth is one thing, ridiculous enough in itself, but to sell a part of it that may disappear the next morning, is quite another. One hates to buy earthquakes at the prices asked, so we must argue them away. There are no earthquakes in California; they are hereby abolished by edict of the land speculators and land owners of the state.

THE question that will not down is the one to which LAND AND FREEDOM alone among the periodicals of the country is preeminently devoted. That question is the right of all the people to the values they create. The land boom at Rockaway, which the *New York World* of Aug. 9, says has "all the hectic thrills of a mining camp rush," is an instance in point. The *World* says that "it raises anew the question whether a city in creating facilities like the Rockaway Board Walk is not entitled to a part of the unearned increment in land values resulting." LAND AND FREEDOM says it is entitled not only to part, but all of it—to the last penny collectible of this value which the people create. How important it is in a time when timid hints of this nature are hazarded in the public prints, that the only paper devoted exclusively to

this great principle of justice should go to the editorial desk of every newspaper of circulation and influence.

THE *New York Commercial* has made a discovery. So important is it that it is worth placing prominently before our readers. It says: "The idea that all wealth comes from the ground—a theory that dilettante economists are wont to voice—is rank nonsense. The iron and cotton do come from the ground but their worth as hair-springs and beautiful fabrics comes from human toil and planting." The toil is not exercised on land, of course, and the planting—but what's the use?

THE *New York Herald-Tribune* now places the "capital" which is tied up in tax exempt securities at \$14,000,000,000. This vast sum, according to the *Tribune*, is "withdrawn from industry." A few more tax exempt bonds and we must suppose that no capital at all would exist to run the industry of the country! How this capital pays interest when it is "tied up," just what is meant by the phrase "tied up," and just how this capital is "withdrawn from industry," is not quite as clear as the *Tribune* writer imagines. Indeed it doesn't happen at all.

JUDGE ELBERT H. GARY, chairman of the recently organized Crime Commission, in an interview printed in the *New York Times*, of Sunday, Sept. 6, gives his views as to the measures to be adopted to counteract the crime wave. His explanations for the increase of crime in the United States are deserving of attention. Briefly it is due "to the war in which the consciences of men become warped, the finer human instincts subordinated to the vicious instincts of the animal; crime becomes almost a corollary to battle."

SO far, so good. But the records show only a small proportion of crimes are committed by those who saw service in the World War, so the influence of that factor may be largely disregarded. Another influence indicated is that of indifference to or intentional defiance of laws with which we are not in accord. This encourages others to think that they have a right to ignore or violate the provisions of any other law. This reflection on the class to which Judge Gary belongs will be duly appreciated.

HE then summarizes a number of other reasons for increase of crime, such as lax administration of the laws; undue leniency of the courts; too little power vested in the judges; too much in the advocates; too much maudlin sympathy with offenders; too much politics in the selection of judges; prisons more comfortable than the previous homes of many of the occupants, etc., etc. All these are "stock reasons" and throw no light on the problem.

FINALLY, Judge Gary alludes to something which he regards as "very important"—the "vicious propaganda that has been more or less exposed by government officials and others." "This propaganda seeks to mislead by misrepresentation the young people of the country and to instill into their minds a feeling of hate toward public authorities; toward men who have been successful in various departments of human activity; and in general to revolutionize society." Our readers know, of course, that this widely heralded discovery of an active propaganda turned out a veritable "mare's nest," and that there was not enough teaching of this kind to disturb the serenity of any but the most fat-witted government officials.

WHEN Judge Gary comes to specific remedies for crime conditions their inadequacy is apparent. Briefly, they are uniformity of law enforcement; paroles limited to first offenders; speedier crime prosecutions; segregation of first offenders from veteran criminals, etc. He seems to feel, too, that the schools have failed in moral instruction, which is true. And he returns again to the charge of lack of parental responsibility in setting a bad example in the breaking of unpopular laws. By this we assume that he means the prohibition law; also it may be the income tax law provisions.

IT will be noted that Judge Gary has a touching faith in the efficacy of law. He goes no further than indicated, with perhaps the addition of moral suasion, in his summary of cures for increased criminality. With a temperamental kindness and sincerity of outlook, he nevertheless ignores, or reasons as if they did not exist, the deeper and more fundamental causes that are at work. Judge Gary is like a blind man in prison who feeling along the blank walls of his cell cannot see the open door of egress, so spends his time in futile speculation as to possible underground avenues of escape. Certain obvious social phenomena he cannot or will not see; therefore he struggles painfully to escape the entanglements of his own mental perplexity. He may be perfectly honest with himself; the half-truths he sees may appear to him as vital as whole truths; but he must be conscious that he gets nowhere—that he does not advance a step beyond his mental prison house.

LET us realize, if Judge Gary will not, that this society of ours, in which he is at one end and the criminal at the other, has an unnatural economic basis. It imposes an unnatural inequality of opportunity on the natural inequality of men—handicapping at the start labor, natural talent, ambition, in the possession of which qualities men varyingly differ. Our economic institutions do not give labor, talent, ambition what these qualities earn; they give to chance, greed, cunning and cupidity in far

greater measure. The rewards of labor are necessarily and woefully inadequate for the vaster numbers of mankind. It must be so as long as the earth is owned by the few; for wealth in consequence gravitates to an insignificant proportion of mankind.

WE do not expect Judge Gary to see this. We would not see it if we were Judge Gary. He is the product of the system at one end as Gerald Chapman is the most striking product at the other. Neither in all probability will ever see what is the matter with society. Judge Gary is aggrieved at the point of view carried into practical application by Chapman; the latter is probably aggrieved at Gary—and with about the same amount of reason, or unreason, if you please. We say probably, since we have no means of knowing; we have, however, heard from Judge Gary and have his point of view. It is wholly inadequate as explaining Gerald Chapman or any other criminal of the sort.

NOW what is Society doing to arrest this tendency to crime? We are speaking now, of course, of crimes against property. Nothing. On the contrary it is doing everything to encourage it. With economic institutions that give to those who do not earn and take from labor its product without recompense, that makes the reservoir of the earth a thing to be bartered for and speculated in, what sort of society can we look for? Is it any wonder that there has grown up a moral atmosphere that stifles the noblest impulses? Do we not hear on every hand the injunction—get money? Is lawless wealth a whit beyond lawless poverty in its depredations—has it a code of ethics at all superior to lawless poverty? If so it is not audible. "If you haven't any money you needn't come around," is a popular song; it is popular morality too.

WHAT does a protective tariff do? Never mind now about its labored and often nonsensical justifications. Does it not rob you? What does landlordism do? Robs you, of course. What of all the hugamuggery of stock speculation and stock watering, and the practices of business justified by business ethics—is not a large portion of it mere robbery? How does it differ from the practices of Gerald Chapman save that the element of violence is lacking? It does not need to resort to violence since it has the law—the same law Judge Gary would invoke for the suppression of crime which goes on at the other end of the social line. Judge Gary does not see this—he is probably so near to one end of the picture that the other escapes him entirely.

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Government Aid for Dwelling Construction

THE recognized failure of private enterprise under present conditions to furnish adequate housing accommodations in many of the great American cities, has led to proposals that the state or federal governments should lend their credit to builders of homes or apartment houses. It is urged by those favoring this radical departure from prevailing policies of leaving the housing problem to be solved by individual initiative, that the chief obstacle to the construction of a sufficient number of dwellings is the lack of capital, or at least, capital that will be invested on the basis of the returns that may be accepted. They admit that the high cost of most building materials and the high wages paid to all workers in the building trades, are important factors in limiting construction, but as there seems to be no practicable method of effecting a reduction in material costs or wage scales, the only alternative appears to them to be that governmental aid should be given those desiring to erect additional buildings.

That there is in reality any scarcity of capital in the United States is not indicated by the enormous amounts deposited in banks, trust companies and savings banks, and the immense surplus funds of the great insurance companies. The fact that American loans of more than a billion dollars were made to foreign lands during the past year alone, taken with the lower interest rates that have prevailed, would seem to show conclusively that there is an abundance of capital now seeking an investment. Even if there was an actual lack of capital, it is a little difficult to see how the supply could be increased by government action. Neither the state nor federal governments have any funds except those raised by taxation, and any system of bond issues for providing building funds would subtract just so much from the deposits or accumulated resources of the various financial institutions.

A factor that has been ignored by the advocates of government aid, but one that is at least equal in importance to those already mentioned, is the high cost of building sites in the localities where dwellings are most needed. Should any of the ambitious proposals for governmental loans amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars be adopted, the direct result of increased building activities would be to create an additional demand for land on which the dwellings were to be erected. How this would operate may be seen by the one instance of the recent sale of certain lots fronting on Riverside Drive, New York City, on which a large apartment house is to be erected, for \$1,000,000.00. The building is to cost \$3,000,000.00, so that of the charges for rent that must be paid, one quarter goes to pay for interest on the cost of land, necessitating just so much higher rentals. It would seem manifest that government aid for housing would only stimulate competition for desirable

building sites, and, by increasing their cost, leave the problem of securing dwellings just where it is now.

A Wise Move by the Russian Soviet

GRATIFYING evidence that the present rulers of Russia are sincerely desirous of improving the economic condition of the people within its boundaries is afforded by the reports of official action taken to provide for the settlement upon farm lands of the Jewish population. A recent statement issued by Vice-President Smidovitch of the Federation of Soviet Republics, sets forth the comprehensive plans desired to settle on the land at least 100,000 Jews now residing in cities and towns in the Ukraine and Crimea regions. Under the old regime the severe restrictions imposed upon the movements of the Jewish people, and the limitation of their acquisition of land, forced most of them into the cities, where they became traders, or small manufacturers. When, after the revolution of 1917, all forms of business activity were made a government monopoly, the result was great hardship to many thousands who had no way to get a livelihood, and were largely supported by foreign charity. While some of the restrictions on private business have been relaxed, it is not believed that there will ever be a return to pre-revolution conditions, since the government intends to remain the chief factor in all industry and business, and will rely upon the co-operative Associations as its principal distributive agency.

Foreseeing that provision for the large and growing number of Jewish inhabitants to get employment must be made in other directions, a special department has been organized for the purpose of facilitating the settlement on the land of all those willing to engage in some field of agriculture. A careful survey has been made of all the available fertile lands, with due regard to their proximity to the centres in which the Jewish population is chiefly located, and arrangements will be made for colonization both by groups of families, and by individual settlers. The government will provide allotment of areas according to the particular kind of crops, fruits, etc., for which the land is most suitable, and will furnish needful assistance in the shape of building materials, implements and stock. It will also arrange for the sale, through the co-operatives, of the farmers' products, and for the purchase of needed merchandise.

Recognizing the necessity for security of tenure of the farms to be occupied by the new settlers, in order to encourage industry in making permanent improvements, such as buildings, drains, orchards, etc., the government will give an assurance that so long as the easy terms governing the acquisition of the land are complied with, it shall remain in the possession of the occupier, thus establishing what is practically "private possession," if not

absolutely private ownership, of the farms. For the first three years the settlers are to be exempt from all taxation, and the future tax which will be calculated on the relative productivity of each allotment, is expected to be very light. With these conditions it should seem certain that the idle Jews of Russia will soon be self-employed and self-supporting.

When is a Land Deal Not Gambling?

"FORTUNES, large and small, made in brief periods in Greater Cleveland real estate, demonstrate that right here at home there is a condition which equals that in Florida," writes James G. Monnett, Jr., real estate editor of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. To support his claim he gives details of a small transaction involving a lot 95x140 feet; and then says:

On an investment of \$15,000 Mr. Conrad will receive in rent in ten years \$28,750. Then, if Mr. Kaplan exercises his option to purchase, Mr. Conrad will receive \$75,000 more—a total of \$103,750 in a decade on an investment of \$15,000! Or suppose the fee is not purchased. Over the ninety-nine-year period Mr. Conrad and his heirs will receive \$426,750 in rents and still will own the land. And the tenant pays the tax."

Another case is given as follows:

"The property on Euclid avenue, just east of E. 13th street, now occupied by the new Woolworth building, was purchased through Mr. Laronge for less than \$100,000 and resold for \$250,000. The Woolworth company acquired it for about \$450,000—all inside four years."

Custom is so strong that Mr. Monnett sees nothing immoral or unsocial in a system which enables private citizens, through luck or astuteness, to absorb such unearned fortunes. He is a real estate reporter—not a moralist. Perhaps, if he ever thinks of that phase of the matter at all, he laughs good-naturedly, and lightly refers to the professional guardians of public morals. He asserts, however, that such transactions in Cleveland do not constitute gambling, and, somehow, are different from similar transactions in Florida. It does not seem convincing. To one not engaged in land speculation, there appears to be no essential difference. In both cases, the public suffers loss; in each, industry is handicapped.

Our Position

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 for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, state, or national, as may be.—HENRY GEORGE.

Death of Sylvester Malone

IT is with very keen regret that we have to record the death on Saturday, August 29th, of Sylvester Loyola Malone. It occurred without the slightest warning or intimation while Mr. Malone was in his bedroom.

Mr. Malone was born in New Haven, Conn., July 21st, 1861, and was sixty-four years of age when he passed away.

The funeral took place Tuesday, September 1st, service at the Church of the Holy Trinity at ten A. M. and burial at Calvary. At the grave brief addresses were made by Mrs. Margaret Moore, Commissioner Cornelius Sheehan and James R. Brown, expressive of sorrow at his passing and admiration of his fine qualities as man and idealist.

Sylvester had many most admirable qualities, and to those of us who knew him intimately and loved him much, this world won't seem just the same. He was a gentle but not a weak or spineless soul—as a friend he had a quality of loyalty that endured. He was a Single Taxer of great intelligence, sound judgment and devotion. Never a trace of blues, never faltering, just steadily going on with a firm conviction as to the outcome, from the time Sylvester marched with his father, Dr. Malone, in the great parade of 1886.

His devotion to Dr. McGlynn during that good and great man's life, and since his death to his memory, has been seldom equalled among men. It was beautiful in its unselfishness and heroic in its constancy.

He was for ten years an officer of the Manhattan Single Tax Club and a member for thirty-five years.

On September 13th at the Manhattan Single Tax Club, the Dr. McGlynn Association held a Memorial meeting, where a large number of the old members of St. Stephens Parish and friends attended. Addresses were made by Postmaster Firmin of Brooklyn, Commissioner Sheehan, James MacGregor and others. The meeting was called to order by Thomas McMahon and presided over by James R. Brown. Grief at his passing and pride in his years of faithful service was the burden of all the addresses.

All who knew him and therefore loved him must feel that the poet expresses their sentiments:

"For while the wings of fancy still are free
And we can take such mimic views of thee,
Time has but half succeeded in his theft,
Thyself removed, thy power to soothe us left."

Fare thee well, Sylvester, until some bright morning,
we meet again. —JAMES R. BROWN.

In a Nutshell

EMPLOYMENT is just the use of land. Unemployment is the non-use of land. Men are not out of work because there is no work but because they are not allowed to work.

—J. W. GRAHAM PEACE in the *Commonweal*, Lon., Eng.

Another Immoral Example

C. W. SPRAGUE in the Cleveland *Sunday News*, deprecates the speculation in land which he thinks "unhealthy." He points out that many of the booms which visit localities end in disaster.

Against the tendency to over-speculation and hectic land gambling, he urges the policy of "investment" in real estate.

It is desirable to impress upon Mr. Sprague that the economic results differ in degree but not in kind. And the danger of over-speculation is always present when some unexpected influx of population is reflected in sudden enhancement of values.

Investments in land are no less vicious than the wilder land gambling that goes on when a boom is in progress. The social effects may be less disastrous, but it amounts to the same thing in the end. Morally it must be held to be quite as abhorrent.

For, after all, whoever takes what belongs to the community is injuring the community. He takes what should go as revenue to the community, as wages to labor, or as interest to capital—for land value, where the speculative element enters, may include all three. He is taking something that does not belong to him. An economic system in which this is possible on any large scale is certain to bring in its train hard times, unemployment and widespread business depression. And it makes little difference even if clothed with the euphemistic term "investment."

Lincoln sensed it when he said: "I have no malediction or criticism of those who honestly buy, sell and speculate in land, but I do not believe in it and I feel for myself that I should not do it."

The Master Motive

SHORT-SIGHTED is the philosophy which counts on selfishness as the master motive of human action. It is blind to facts of which the world is full. It sees not the present, and reads not the past aright. If you would move men to action, to what shall you appeal? Not to their pockets, but to their patriotism; not to selfishness, but to sympathy. Self-interest is, as it were, a mechanical force—potent, it is true; capable of large and wide results. But there is in human nature what may be likened to a chemical force; which melts and fuses and overwhelms; to which nothing seems impossible. "All that a man hath will he give for his life"—that is self-interest. But in loyalty to higher impulses men will give even life.

—HENRY GEORGE.

MAN has it in his power, by his voluntary actions, to aid the intention of Providence; but to learn those intentions he must consider what tends to promote the general good.

—JOHN STUART MILL.

Dark Days in England

RECENTLY I have been in England, which I had not visited since 1911. Before that I had on various visits, reaching back over a period of thirty years, spent more or less time in the British capital. By reading and by personal contacts during many years, I have tried to keep intelligently acquainted with the trend of public affairs over there, and with the tendencies that may mean so much to the people here and elsewhere in the world. Since my return to New York I am frequently asked to answer the question, "How are things in England?" I cannot help making a gloomy answer.

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For if a man cares, and thinks; if he has any habit of concern for the serious aspects of the history that is making before his eyes, then he needs to be a constitutional optimist not to be made unhappy and a little fearful by the seeming import of social and political conditions in England today. To me at any rate, the picture is somber in its coloring, and so unrelieved by any immediate prospect of better things, as to justify those portents of national disaster which some Englishmen of respectable standing have recently recognized. A few weeks ago Sir Philip Gibbs seriously asked, "Is England Done?" in a plain spoken article in the conservative *Times*, and J. L. Garvin, editor of the *Sunday Observer* warns the government that the threat of the communist revolution made by irresponsible agitators of Tom Mann's type, took on a new significance when the Trade Union Congress recently declared, in effect, for Socialistic dominance in government affairs.

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Meanwhile the signs of great poverty and misery, and of widespread and outspoken discontent with the existing order are more numerous I believe, than ever before known in England. The number of men out of employment approaches 1,500,000. Exports of manufactured goods have greatly fallen off. Trade depression in many industries grows worse. Housing conditions continue shockingly bad, despite various paternalistic and expensive schemes of government to bring relief. Not a few wretched, homeless men, women and children may be found at night, if you look for them, sleeping in dark places along the Thames embankment, a short distance from the gay and well-lit hotels where comfortable American tourists spend their London days. These symptoms, and many more that might be cited, of the prevalence of a terrible social disease that seems to threaten the existence of an ordered human society, are not yet receiving from the leaders of thought and action in England, or here, the attention that, I believe, their great seriousness demands.

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The late premier, Ramsay MacDonald, chides his successor for having yielded in August to the implied threat that bloody revolution might result if the coal miners'

strike was not averted. Well, revolution or something like it, seemed very near. The miners, strongly unionized, were fighting off a threatened reduction in wages that they claim are already too low. The operators of the open mines (many are closed) stood pat, as we say. A strike might have involved all railway and transport labor, whose leaders were said to be strongly in sympathy with the miners. That might have brought the country face to face with starvation within a week. So, as usual, it was put up to the government to "do something," and the "temporary" subsidy to the owners followed. It may involve the expenditure of twenty-five to forty million dollars before May first next, when the subsidy is supposed to cease. Nobody expects it to stop then. Cook, the leader of the miners' union, who sometimes talks like a bolshevik, declares he is out to compel the government to take over the industry; which means, among other things, the payment of great sums to buy out the coal mine owners and operators.

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The reduction in the demand for British coal abroad, the stagnation of domestic industries and the greater use of oil as fuel are all, no doubt, factors in what is called the Coal Crisis. But it is interesting to be told by the Manchester *Guardian* that one of the chief grievances of the miners against the existing order in the mining industry is the heavy charge against both capital and labor involved in the ground rent or royalties paid by the operating owners to the owners of sub-surface rights in the coal lands, or for "wayleaves" to pass through or under the land of another owner in bringing coal to the surface. The royalties alone amount to a toll of about thirty million dollars a year upon the industry.

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The usual governmental resort in England when any problem seems too hard to deal with, is to appoint a commission to look into it. And so a commission (not the first to deal with the subject) is now looking into the coal mining business. Little or nothing may be expected from it beyond superficialities. The adjustment of the mining royalties at a figure which would permit a fair return to both capital and labor, and then the absorption of these unearned increments by the state (which might easily be effected by taxing them into the public treasury) along with an abatement of the onerous income taxes and local rates which now oppress the industry, are suggested solutions; not, however likely to occur to any commission appointed by Mr. Baldwin's government. Nor, indeed, to any other government that seems likely to come into power very soon. But thanks to the Henry Georgites in both the Liberal and Labor camps, the solution here suggested may be seriously proposed in Parliament at its next session.

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But a writer in *Land and Liberty*, mouthpiece of the parliamentary land reformers, pertinently points out

that an inquiry into what is truly the matter with the coal industry should be only the beginning of finding out what is the matter generally with trade in England. Other important industries are very sick also. The house building business is kept going, even in a most inadequate way, by immense subsidies. Iron and steel plants are closed, or running on short time; shipping is at low water; many merchant ships are idle for want of out-bound cargoes, retail trade is everywhere depressed. What is needed more than a coal inquiry is a broad and immediate inquiry into WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH ENGLAND.

Henry George, prophet and economist, honored more in England than in his own land, saw this situation coming.

More than 40 years ago, in the first chapter of his "Social Problems," he visioned it all with startling accuracy, and gave solemn warning of the dangers that would some day threaten the structure of civilized society in England. He saw that the evils resulting from the exploitation by a few of the land and natural resources of the country, would inevitably lead to the conditions we are now witnessing. He saw that the complexity of the industrial machine, and the delicate interdependence of its parts, would some day make vital and terrible the carrying out of the threat that organized labor recently delivered to Mr. Baldwin. Let Englishmen (and Americans too) read the first chapter of "Social Problems," first published in 1883, and see how true to life it is today. Just a paragraph:

"In London, dwellers in one house do not know those in the next; the tenants of adjoining rooms are utter strangers to each other. Let civil conflict break or paralyze the authority that preserves order and the vast population would become a terror-stricken mob, without point of rally or principle of cohesion, and your London would be sacked and burned by an army of thieves. * * * Strong as it may seem our civilization is evolving destructive forces. Not desert and forest, but city slums and country roadside are nursing the barbarians who may be to the new what the Hun and Vandal were to the old."

So it seems to me. Henry George declared that if disaster was to be averted there was need for the cultivation of a high degree of social intelligence—"for that consensus of individual intelligence which forms a public opinion, a public conscience, a public will; and is manifested in law institutions and administration."

Well, I am unable to perceive among the rulers of England today or her men of light and leading in other departments of life, any high degree of social intelligence directed to the correction of the obvious social and economic maladjustments which seem to be the chief cause of consigning millions of men to unemployment and bitter poverty or to being supported out of the common purse. Not to consider more sinister implications of the situation, there

would seem a likelihood that a government bankrupt in statesmanship may ultimately lead to a country bankrupt in national finances. What would this mean to the world?

If England's governmental managers know what is the real trouble with England; if they have any apprehension of the fundamental economic causes of industrial stagnation and unemployment, they make no sign. They palliate and postpone. They treat symptoms only, and these with soporifics and anodynes, which serve only to postpone the day when a desperate disease must be cured by fundamental remedies. The policy of subsidies and doles has imposed a tremendous financial burden upon a country already terribly oppressed with the cost of old wars and of preparations for new ones. The doles paid to the unemployed now reach a great sum annually—not less, I am told, than \$250,000,000. The housing subsidies have already reached hundreds of millions. Agricultural land owners are subsidized for about fifteen million dollars a year. Old age pensions take great sums, not to refer to the cost of pensions to war veterans and their dependents. One can hardly envy Mr. Churchill the job of balancing his budget.

While I was in London the newspapers for nearly a week carried extended daily reports of the annual meeting at Southampton of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at which men of great learning told interestingly of the many directions in which advances in scientific research and discovery had been made recently. British scientists are fully abreast of the times. But contemplating the disordered and unhappy state of the country industrially and politically, I was reminded that it is still painfully true, as Henry George pointed out, that the application of intelligence to social affairs has not kept pace with the concentration of thought upon individual and material ends.

That most of the leaders of British trade unionism in this exigency are, as a rule, more enlightened than the government, does not appear. While discountenancing the communist agitators, they, nevertheless, play the game of these red extremists, by keeping alive the spirit of class warfare and of antagonism to "capitalism." There has not yet come to the more powerful of the leaders of trade union movement a recognition of the fact that the legalized system that permits a monopoly of land and natural resources, is the fundamental source of England's trouble; a system that oppresses both capital and labor, employer and worker.

A well-remembered witticism of Mark Twain is to the effect that while everybody complains about the weather, nobody does anything about it. That cannot be said of the Henry George men of England, and their friends in the

political world. Day in and day out they keep the land question to the forefront of discussion. When Parliament is in session, it is discovered that scores of the members in both Liberal and Labor parties hold the opinions of Henry George, and force discussion of the land question whenever opportunity appears. When Parliament is not in session, propaganda is kept up by letter writing to the newspapers and the circulation of books and leaflets. This is the work of a devoted and highly intelligent body of men under the leadership of John Paul, who direct the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, and its subordinate organizations, one of which is the English League, of which Sir Josiah C. Wedgewood, hero of Gallipoli and member of Parliament, is President.

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A circumstance that points to the probability that the land question may soon be the storm-centre of British politics, is the recent spectacular "Back to the Soil" campaign inaugurated by Lloyd George, in which he is demanding that the monopoly of agricultural land be destroyed, and access to idle acres be secured for idle men. It is not clear that he has any definite idea of how this is to be brought about, except by involving the country in deeper socialistic commitments to be financed by the people for the ultimate benefit of the monopolists. Remembering his various and terribly expensive adventures in state paternalism in the past, one must smile at the assurance which permits him in recent speeches to attack the Baldwin government for the subsidy dole to the coal people. "If we go on" he says, "we shall be subsidizing each other right to the end of the chapter. We shall all of us be paying each other's wages."

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Which is true enough, of course. But coming from Mr. Lloyd George, this seems to justify the old taunt of Lord Cecil, that the Welsh statesman has "an opalescent mentality that protects him from embarrassment when confronted with the ghosts of his dead selves."

—CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY.

A Definition of Land

"**L**AND is the habitation of man, the storehouse upon which he must draw for all his needs, the material to which his labor must be applied for the supply of all his desires; for even the products of the sea cannot be taken, the light of the sun enjoyed, or any of the forces of nature utilized, without the use of land or its products. On the land, we are born, from it we live, and to it we return again—children of the soil as truly as the blade of grass or the flowers in the field."—HENRY GEORGE.

COLUMBUS man who has been in Florida a short time boasts he has "made more money there than in a lifetime in Ohio;" but he does not tell who lost it.

—Lorain, Ohio, *Journal*.

Memories of Henry George*

THERE is a dispute in progress among the banner-bearers of today as to who discovered the desirability of railway control, the need of interstate commerce commissions and the value of conserving forests, streams and mines. The Republican Progressives claim to be the true conservationists, while the Democrats assert that the Progressives have stolen democratic thunder, while the Socialists rejoin, "We are the only real Progressives," and the Populists, (what there are left of them) point to their platforms of twenty-six years ago, and quite justly say, "We are the people! Here are your regular ideas! Here are your notions of leasing coal lands, and your scheme for controlling transportation, and telegraph." In this they are quite right, for Jerry Simpson and I helped General Weaver insert those planks in the People's Party platform at St. Louis in 1892.

Jerry and most of his associates have gone to their last pre-emption claims, but I am still here to bear witness to their early tillage. Without being able to settle any dispute, I can, at least, tell you that Jerry Simpson took those planks from a book called "Progress and Poverty." He boldly borrowed them for his party's uses.

As a matter of fact, most of the economic reforms of today were discussed by Henry George and his little group of disciples in the early eighties. Before the publication of "Progress and Poverty," there was no statement of the question of the injustice of grants of Eminent Domain, and of the danger of railway domination. Our system of government was considered almost perfect, our resources limitless and our transportation system the best in the world. To pick Uncle Sam's pockets was a delightful exercise of ingenuity; he was rich and could stand it. Henry George was the first clear voice saying, "Thou shalt not steal public values." Under his instruction "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," meant something more than political rights; it meant that all men should stand on an equality as regards the earth and the values which come from social organization.

More than forty years have passed since I first took up the little paper-bound edition of "Progress and Poverty." I am one of the veterans of the Anti-Poverty War. I was living in Boston when I first gave an open allegiance to the cause. Although I had been converted to the theories of "the prophet of San Francisco" while living in Dakota, I had said little about it. It wasn't as easy to be a "George man" in those days as it is now, not even in Boston where radicals abounded. I had been several years in the East before my conversion from a passive disciple to an active advocate came about. My change of attitude was due to hearing the Prophet himself.

*This article from the pen of the distinguished novelist, Hamlin Garland, will form one of the chapters in a work to be published by Will Atkinson, Capon Springs, W. Va., entitled "The Henry George We Knew;" a fuller announcement of which will appear later.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

As this was one of his first appearances in Boston, and for the further reason that it took place in a most historic spot, I must describe it in detail. It was, as I remember it, a dark rainy autumn day, and the place was Fauneil Hall, cradle of liberty, and as I entered it, I recalled one by one, the splendid warriors for the rights of man, whose voices had echoed from its walls. I thought of Wendell Phillips, of Ralph Waldo Emerson, of William Lloyd Garrison, of Theodore Parker, and many an other of New England's militant liberty-loving citizens.

From my seat in the narrow gallery, I looked down on the broad central floor of the Hall (in which no seats were allowed) paved with a closely packed mosaic of derby hats and rough coats of all shades of black and tan. It was evident even to my inexperienced eyes, that this was a crowd of working men, to whom the name of Henry George was at once a challenge and a hope. Many of them were Irish, for George had already served sentence in an English prison for speaking his mind about the private ownership of the earth, and all of us know that whatever else this man might be, he was not a self-seeker, and this belief in his sincerity rendered us keenly eager to see and hear him.

My brother was beside me, and together we hung over the rail with such intensity of impatience as only Edwin Booth could call from us. I had a dim feeling that the moment was historic. At last, a bustle at the back of the platform announced the coming of the speaker. A little group of men entered from the back and took their seats on the platform. Among them was a short red-bearded man of dignified demeanor and keen glance. The noble lines of his head distinguished him. With pale face, lips tense with emotion, he waited through his introduction. He was as eager to speak as we were to hear him.

At last the presiding officer finished, and the man of the hour stepped forward and the old Cradle of Liberty rocked with the applause of men who had caught, vaguely at least, the far-reaching importance of this man's presence. As we cheered, he began walking up and down the stage, his eyes blazing with the mounting emotion of the orator, the line of his lips, the clench of his hands predicting storm.

He was in the prime of his life at this time, alert to every remotest brain-cell, with all his marvelous store of experience and reading and deduction at his tongue's end. He expected opposition. He was used to it. He confronted an audience as a trained gladiator enters the ring, knowing well that ruthless opponents awaited him.

His first words profoundly moved me. Coming after the applause, following the tense tiger-like movement of a moment before, they were surprisingly calm, cold, material and direct. Action had condensed into speech.

"This man has himself in hand after all," I thought. "His heat is transformed into light."

His words were as orderly as those of a man writing with a pen. They had precision and grace as well as power. He spoke as gifted men write, with style and arrangement.

His address could have been printed word for word as it fell from his lips. This self-mastery, this grateful lucidity of utterance combined with a personal presence distinctive and dignified, reduced even his enemies to respectful silence. As for me, I forgot everything, forgot where I stood, in my devouring interest.

His gestures were few and constrained, but his voice was resonant, penetrating, and flexible, and did not tire the ear. Its cadences were colloquial and pleasantly dramatic. He was an orator and a great orator though not as other men are orators. He had neither the legal swagger, nor clerical cadence; he was vivid, individual and above all *in deadly earnest*. He was an orator by the splendor of his aspirations, by his logical sequence and climax, by the purity and heat of his flaming zeal. I count that speech among the greatest influences of my life. I left that hall a disciple.

The following night as he stood on the platform in the Globe Theatre facing two thousand people, I heard him to still better advantage. His lecture was called "Moses and the Land Question," and again I acknowledged the far-reaching power of his logic. He was more of the scholar than the orator in this address, but when, occasionally, he put down his manuscript and addressed us directly, pacing back and forth along the footlights, I rose on a wave such as no other speaker had ever roused in me. He filled my mind with pictures of a land of peace and plenty toward which we were marching. His utterance and his manner so impressed me I said, "Here is a man who by all the laws of thought and sincerity may be called a poet."

When I saw him next, some months later, he stood on a platform of Tremont Temple facing a still larger audience. Again he was forced to wait, while the people thundered applause. Again he marshalled his facts and his figures, and drew his deductions against our feudalistic system of land-holding. Again he plead for wronged and cheated men, and on his fine forehead came the pitying lines of one who suffered as Christ suffered, for those who were hungry and oppressed. He brought a new conception into the hearts of those who listened, a disgust with things as they were, and a burning desire for the happier order which he so eloquently foretold.

He finished his main address, and before his voice had died away a dozen men were on their feet all over the hall, eager to confuse him before his converts. The chairman, powerless to manage these shrewd and disputatious opponents, shrank back appalled, but George came to the front of the stage, and in a voice clear and cutting as steel, called out "Sit down. You can't all speak at once." And then pointing to a man in the gallery he said, "Go on, Sir, what is your question?"

The question being repeated, George answered it in a sentence and levelling his finger at another opponent called out, "Now *your* question, Sir?" One by one his hecklers fell. If a questioner haggled or started to argue, George stopped him. "Your question, Sir!" If the man could

not frame his question, George did it for him and asked, "Is that your question?" "Yes, that's it." "Very well, the answer is this." He was superbly combative, but patient of genuine doubt.

Later I came to know him in his own home in New York City; a modest home even to my inexperienced eyes, but in it every Sunday afternoon and evening, some of the best known reformers of this country and the old World assembled. No "crank" visitor from any country in those days left New York without seeing Henry George. He was one of the city's celebrities.

Fearless as a lion when combatting in public, he was the gentlest of men in private life. His low voice, his cordial eyes, his smiling lips disarmed his bitterest enemies. He made little of wealth or social distinction in his callers and recognized no lines of class or creed. In the peaceful, homey atmosphere of his East Side house, it was difficult to imagine that he had been twice thrown into prison for his disturbing speeches and that he could hold an audience of five thousand people in the clutch of his small right hand. It was entirely natural that I, possessing his friendship, should become each day more profoundly committed to the great reforms which he so boldly and unselfishly embodied.

—HAMLIN GARLAND.

Henry George

AN AUSTRALIAN REMINISCENCE

MANY years ago about the time when Gladstone was denouncing the Bulgarian atrocities and Disraeli, as Lord Beaconsfield, was returning in triumph from Berlin, I was chronicling their doings, and many others, on the London press. The great fight between free trade and protection was then in everybody's thoughts, and, on behalf of the former, one significant fact was constantly being urged—that the more you took off taxes on imports the greater was the revenue obtained. The explanation, of course, was simple, since the lighter the tax the cheaper the goods, the cheaper the goods the greater the consumption, and the greater the consumption the larger the area over which taxation would be spread, so that while the tax itself might be smaller it would be paid by a larger number of persons, with the result that, within certain limits, a greater revenue would be obtained. But this evidently could not go on for ever, and the question that arose in my mind was: Where is the revenue to come from when the taxation of goods through the Custom House is done away with altogether, and trade is really free? With that question still uppermost, and still unanswered, in my mind—for nobody in those days thought of suggesting, let alone solving the problem—I left England for New Zealand shortly after Henry George's magnum opus first saw the light.

A few years afterwards, when in Adelaide, I was sent to report a lecture on "Progress and Poverty" by a very able

Presbyterian clergyman—the Rev. Mr. Gilmour—the first account ever given in Australia, so far as I am aware, of Henry George's work. Then I learned to my astonishment that there was a hitherto untaxed source of revenue which had been created by the community, and therefore belonged to the community, and which was amply sufficient to meet all the normal requirements of the community without the necessity of imposing a tax of any kind. It belonged by right of creation to the individual, and could be taken by the Government to meet the expenses incurred by the community without infringing on the right possessed by every individual to what he himself had made. That lecture led me straight to the works of Henry George, and the reading of "Progress and Poverty" shed a new and brilliant light on the mazy labyrinth and complex problems which society presented at every turn. Everything he wrote was a revelation—"Protection or Free Trade" certainly not the least—and the perusal of the *Standard* was a continually recurring treat.

At last came the eventful moment when the writer of all these remarkable books, who had completely changed my outlook on life, arrived in Sydney, in answer to the urgent appeal of the Single Tax League of New South Wales, which collected and forwarded £1,000 to meet the expenses of the trip and subsequent campaign. Everything we did in order to raise the requisite funds and ensure the visit was published in the Sydney press till the people generally became almost as enthusiastic as ourselves, and when the Prophet of San Francisco actually appeared on the scene he could not have been more heartily welcomed if he had been a king, as indeed he was, although his kingdom, like that of a still greater Prophet, was not to be measured by worldly pomp but by the way in which it met the needs of the age and by the loyalty which reigned in the hearts of his disciples. I was secretary of the Single Tax League at the time and shall never forget the wonderful welcome he received, how we met him at the very entrance of the harbor and led him in triumph to the Circular Quay, where the people thronged about him as if he were—what some of us knew him to be—a modern Messiah bringing a message of salvation to a world steeped in selfishness and crime, which was for a while at any rate to reject his gospel of brotherly love with scorn. On the evening of his arrival a banquet was held in his honor, and we heard the great message proclaimed by the Prophet himself.

On a beautiful spot in Balmoral overlooking the Sydney harbor is a stately amphitheatre recently erected by the Order of the Star in the East to provide a suitable auditorium for the expected Messiah to proclaim the gospel which is to rejuvenate the world. No such auditorium had been erected for Henry George. It was an ordinary, matter of fact, every-day kind of a hall in which the Prophet spoke, but large enough to accommodate a goodly number of admirers eager to hear what their revered Master and

Teacher had to say. The Messiah whom the Order of the Star of the East is so anxiously expecting had indeed already arrived, and with him a new era had opened, and a new chapter in the Book of Life had commenced.

He had a wonderful dome-like head, and the great thinking apparatus within could always be relied upon to give the most clear and lucid exposition of his philosophy before crowded audiences wherever he went, the orator walking up and down the while and thinking it all out as he went along. There was no hesitation, no slipshod imagery, no hunting for a word, no confusion of thought. Everything was orderly, logical, and straight to the point carrying conviction to all but those whom neither eloquence nor logic could convince, leading the bulk of his audience to the irresistible conclusion that here at any rate, was a system of economics based on justice and equity, which went to the very root of the social problem, and which only required the votes of the majority to be carried into practical effect. We Single Taxers were so convinced of the unanswerable logic of the Prophet's message that we confidently looked forward to its being accepted by the majority within a comparatively short period and made the law of the land! But, alas for our simple credulity! We reckoned without our host, represented in this case by self-styled democrats of Australia, who followed leaders even blinder than themselves, and refused to accept the teachings of the greatest democrat who ever lived. Nearly 35 years have elapsed since the visit of the great Seer, and we seem but little nearer our goal than when he came among us.

It is true that both in Queensland and New South Wales the Single Tax principle has been applied in the municipal sphere, and the other States are gradually adopting our views so far as the municipal sphere is concerned, but the bulk of the people are still ignorant of what the Single Tax really is. The Labor Party, which should be the first to adopt it, is following false gods, and by its policy of exemptions and graduations which the other parties support, has done the principle of land value taxation far more harm than good, while its persistent advocacy of protection almost to the extent of prohibition still further blocks the progress of our cause. But notwithstanding every obstacle, in spite of all opposition, that cause is bound to win.

There are already signs, and very significant signs, that the belief in the efficacy of protection is breaking down, while in its stead another and far more democratic belief is springing up—that the expenses of the community should be met out of the communal fund created by the presence and activities of the people as a whole. The city newspapers, run in the interests of capitalists, may refuse to publish our views; the Church may continue to discourage our efforts to overthrow vested interests and to bring about a reign of justice on earth; lack of funds may hinder and restrict our work; and the task of educating

the people on Georgian lines may become increasingly difficult; but the present system, based on injustice, cannot last; the Great War, by the huge indebtedness which it entailed, is straining it to breaking point; and the unremitting advocacy of the gospel of Henry George by a band of enthusiastic workers in every one of the Australian States must be ultimately rewarded by the solution of the social problem on the lines which our great Master laid down. In the meantime, while the work of education is going slowly on, we must learn to "labor and wait," believing that the time must ultimately arrive when the cause of truth will prevail, and when the great gospel taught by Henry George will come into its own.

—PERCY R. MEGGY.

Our British Letter

THE British Trade Union Congress has just concluded its 57th Annual Session. Some 800 delegates, representative of every branch of industry, have been in attendance at Scarborough for a week past, where they have varied the discussion of an agenda of 85 resolutions (with the customary "emergency" motions as extras) with the pleasant attractions of that fashionable East Coast resort.

The Congress claims to represent over 4½ million "organized" workers; but it must not be thought that all these are "class-conscious" Socialists, or even that they necessarily are adherents of the political Labor Party. Far from it, in fact. The membership of the Unions comprises men and women engaged in industry, who have joined their respective unions for the purpose of obtaining the several "benefits" held out to them in return for the contribution paid. For example, sickness, unemployment, and funeral insurances; also various "compensation" payments, such as for loss of tools and for household furniture by fire, etc. As these matters are affecting all workers quite apart from any political label, it follows that every political party has its supporters inside the Trade Union Movement, and, also, that there are many members who are quite indifferent to political issues, and who do not, therefore, take the trouble to vote at elections. Thus, in spite of the pretence of the Trade Union Bosses that they speak for the whole of organized Labor, the T. U. Movement regularly stultifies itself at each General Election, the members voting Liberal, Labor and Tory, or neglecting to go to the poll at all.

Some idea of the real strength of the "class-conscious" element within the Unions may be formed in the fact that the *Daily Herald*, "Labor's only daily," and which is the joint property of the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress, and, as such, is boosted at all their gatherings, and in every branch meeting, only has a circulation of about 400,000, which figure, of course, includes the many readers who are quite outside the Labor Party, if not, indeed, actually hostile to it. Still, the Congress is the

Parliament of the industrial section, and its agenda is an indication of the way these are thinking, or, at least of the way that smaller section of them which is sufficiently active to draft and submit resolutions for discussion—a quite small section at best—is thinking.

In view of the peculiar interest of the Trade Unionists in the question of unemployment, it would be quite natural to expect that this subject would loom large in the agenda; indeed, it would not have been at all remarkable had the whole of that document been devoted to this one subject. Ever since the close of the war, the number of those registered as being out of work has shown an alarming upward tendency. There have been fluctuations, of course; but the minimum number persists in rising steadily, in spite of all the expedients resorted to by the authorities in a vain effort to conceal the ugly truth. The last official figure, that for August 31, 1925, being 1,354,100. This was an increase of 10,362 over the previous week, and of 204,984 in the corresponding week of last year. In the last six weeks the figures have risen by 156,500, and at this moment (September 14, 1925) there are officially registered as unemployed in Britain, more than the entire population of New Zealand.

To this grave total must be added the thousands who are temporarily "out of benefit" under the Insurance scheme, and are, therefore, not counted at the Labor Exchanges; and, also, the large number of others who for various reasons are not qualified to claim "Unemployment" benefit, or who have refrained from undergoing the humiliation of registering, hoping their small reserves may last out until something turns up. It is no exaggeration to put the total of actually unemployed persons at 2,000,000. This fearful total must grow, for the reason that we are now approaching that season of the year when, in normal times, the curve of unemployment is highest, owing to winter conditions. But there is another factor operating that must be taken into account. We are paying out millions of pounds weekly in poor-relief, for, of course, the unemployed cannot be allowed to die of starvation. They must be kept alive—if only just alive, at that—and so an enormous and increasing burden of taxation is falling upon the community, reducing its purchasing power, and, consequently, adding to the numbers of the unemployed those others who are being paid off owing to the failure of effective demand for commodities, because of the reduction in real wages caused by the aforesaid taxation. Take the case of one London Borough. The Camberwell Guardians have just made their demand for Poor Law purposes. For the half-year ended 31, March, 1925, there was £97,612, but for the half-year ending 31, March, 1926, it will be £201,171. The number of persons receiving relief from the rates having grown from 3,000 to 10,000. The whole community is revolving within a vicious circle, the circumference of which is steadily shrinking toward the centre. Where will it end?

What is the contribution of official Labor to the one question which especially concerns itself? Here are some of the resolutions that were thought worthy of consideration:

"Early Closing Orders: That in view of the difficulty experienced by Local Authorities in enforcing the Early Closing Orders, this Congress calls on the Government to introduce national legislation to regulate the closing of all business premises at a fixed time."

"Payment of Holidays: That it be put forward that a fortnight's holiday with pay be granted every employee. Seeing the clerical staffs of firms and Government employees receive this as part and parcel of their employment, it is only right the men who do manual labor should also receive it."

"Payment of Wages Mid-Weekly: That the Congress press for a Government measure to make wages payable mid-weekly to all workers."

"Transference of Members: That this Congress is of the opinion that all laundry workers within the membership of other unions should be transferred by December 31st, 1925, to their own industrial union, and such members be based on the basis of immediate benefit."

The above are samples of the weighty matters brought up for attention in the midst of the present critical period. Other motions were of a purely political character, having little if any bearing upon the unemployment peril—a peril that intensifies as time passes with nothing done. But it must not be thought that the agenda was silent regarding the problem. There was a section reserved where, under the heading, "Unemployment," three motions were set forth.

The first called "upon the Government immediately to introduce an Amending Act which will provide for continuous (Insurance) benefit being paid to unemployed workers without reference to standard or extended benefit."—This is not to reduce unemployment but to increase it.

The second motion ran: "That this Congress calls upon the General Council to consult with the Labor Party to introduce a bill into Parliament to transfer the administration of Unemployment Insurance to the various Trade Unions."—No question of reduction here; merely a demand that, if conceded, would make more work for the Trade Unions, at "adequate remuneration," as the only amendment to the original motion thoughtfully demands.

The third resolution, "Views with greatest concern the serious volume of unemployment now existing." It condemns the Government for "lack of effective measures to alleviate the situation," and continues: "It further declares its emphatic opposition to the spurious remedies of lower wages and the degradation of established working conditions, and calls upon the Trade Union Movement to offer its utmost resistance to any attempt to increase the hours of work. It asserts the unquestionable right

of the unemployed worker and his dependents to adequate maintenance, and reiterates its demand for the establishment of a National Employment Development Board for the purpose of devising and co-ordinating measures whereby the extent of unemployment may be reduced."—Not a glimmering of the truth that there is no need for a single person able and willing to work to be out of a job in Britain at this moment. The situation is accepted as part of the natural order of things, and so there never is a suggestion that unemployment could be abolished immediately and for ever. In consequence of this failure to grasp this truth, Labor goes on blindly groping for a way out. Congress succeeds to Congress, without a single practical proposal emerging from all the flood of eloquence.

"The Labor Movement exists to get right down to causes, instead of tinkering with effects," said Mr. R. B. Walker, Secretary of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, the other day. His Union submitted the following example of "tinkering with effects."

"Land Cultivation: Having regard to the number of young farm workers leaving the land, and in view of the urgency of the unemployment problem, this Congress calls upon the Government to require from the County Agricultural Committees return of all uncultivated and under-cultivated land, and to give the Committee wide powers of control and compulsory acquisition of all such land. It demands that all assistance, financial or otherwise, given to farmers should be contingent on certificates being produced that the land is satisfactorily cultivated."—No recognition of the "cause" of the flight of the young farm workers from the land. Always "control!" Freedom is something the Trade Union Boss cannot understand, and for which he has no use.

The Butcher's Federation, with an eye to business, proposed "That the General Council of the Trade Union Congress be requested to bring forward a Bill for the compulsory utilization of golf links to carry not less than one sheep per acre, so that fuller provision can be made for the supply of fresh meat to the general public at a reasonable price."—As if there was ever the remotest chance of the present Tory Government paying any heed to the "calls" of the T. U. Congress. Really, the whole proceedings must appear farcical to any who understand!

Fourth, at the very end of the agenda appeared the following motion: "This Congress is of the opinion that the present system of land 'ownership' is at the root of our social and economic problems, and that as a natural gift to or inheritance of the community it is not in the interests of the nation that it should be privately owned by any individual or group of individuals, short of the whole community. The Congress, therefore, demands the restoration of the land to the people, through the collection by the Treasury, on behalf of the people, of the whole of the rent, and declines to agree to any form of compensation (whether by way of purchase or otherwise) from the pub-

lic treasury for what has already been taken and withheld from the community."

This was proposed by the "Altogether" Builders' Laborers and Constructional Workers' Society, and the General Council, by placing it under the head of "Miscellaneous," and printing it at the very end of the Order Paper, showed how little they were prepared to deal with "causes." They also secured that it should not be fully discussed. Of the 85 resolutions the above—No. 82—was the only one that touched fundamentals. It was at the final sitting of the Congress, on Saturday morning, that the motion came on with a number of others. There was no time for more than a short—very short—speech by mover and seconder. The vote being taken, the resolution was declared carried; but it must not be imagined that all the delegates who voted for it quite appreciated its implications. However, the fact of its having been passed by Congress ensured its publication widely in the newspapers for the edification of the supporters of privilege and monopoly who derive their information—and often their opinions, too—from what the *Daily Herald* is so fond of calling the "Capitalist Press."

Now, unless the supporters of the motion within the Trade Unions get busy, it will be snowed under and forgotten like thousands of other motions from former Congresses. Having once been carried by Congress, however, it is open to those who agree with the demand for the restoration of the land to undertake an intensive educational campaign inside the Trade Unions, with a view to arousing attention and securing front place for the question at the next Congress. In this work all who agree with Mr. Walker as to the purpose for which the Labor Movement exists have a part to play. When the "organized" workers get alive to the difference between getting down to "causes" and "tinkering with effects" they will speedily change the system, for they possess even now all the power necessary. Until they do, it is a sure thing that Congress will succeed Congress as long as time shall last, and the workers, both "organized" and other, will be no nearer achieving their objective, which is, though they may not realize it, the full enjoyment of the individual's equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, only to be attained through equality of opportunity to use the gifts of nature.

While Trade Union Congresses and other similar gatherings of workers ignore the Land Lords, they but waste their time in what Mr. Lloyd George—and he should know—contemptuously dismisses as "Words, words, words!"

—J. W. GRAHAM PEACE.

"THE air in Ireland is very healthy," said a lady to Dean Swift.

"Madame," said Swift, "don't say that in England for if you do they will certainly tax it."

At the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle

CONDUCTED BY E. WYR

SEVERAL eminent Single Taxers took part in the recent Symposium on different phases of the taxation question as outlined by the National Economic League. Their opinions appear to have interested the editor of *The Index*, one of the monthly reviews issued by our big banks and trust companies. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, 1913-21, is quoted by *The Index* for August, as saying: "Income taxes are in greater or less degree confiscatory; and the confiscation of private property, so long at least as public property is diverted to private use, is morally indefensible." In reply to the query, "Do you favor a tax on individual incomes from services as a source of Federal revenue?" Professor Lewis J. Johnson, of Harvard, wrote, "An income from service is proof that the individual has already served society. Why make him pay to the common fund in proportion as he has done so?" Another question in the symposium was, "If individual incomes are taxed, should those from property be taxed at a higher rate than those from personal services?" James R. Brown, President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, in explaining his affirmative vote wrote, "Yes, on the assumption that personal service is less able to bear taxation." But Joseph Dana Miller, editor of *LAND AND FREEDOM*, and Louis F. Post voted in the negative. In Mr. Miller's opinion, "Property in things produced by human labor is as sacred as income from personal services, and should not be taxed." And Mr. Post finely wrote, "All confiscation should be according to ability to bear it."

We wonder what is accomplished by these Symposiums, so far as the advancement of the Georgian doctrines is concerned? There appear to have been about twenty participants in this Symposium, of whom perhaps four or five understood the Single Tax. Is not life just a little too short to waste in company of this sort, where the getting down to the root of things is farthest from the thought of the managers? Pleasant association, of course; and a compliment to have one's opinion solicited. But not for a moment should one expect any real impression to be made or any appreciable result to be attained. The public is not listening to the proceedings of these symposia, and the distinguished participants deliver their dicta and take their cup of tea together, as gentlemen should do. To try to go farther seems like a useless waste of effort. What Professor F. W. Taussig, Professor of Political Economy at Harvard, wrote in reply to one of the questions might be extended to cover the whole situation as these savants see it—"The present arrangement is not ideal, but in its general lines it may as well be left as it is." So there you are.

Another Harvard don, Professor also of Political Economy and author of many books on economic subjects "The Distribution of Wealth," "The Conservation of Human Resources," "The Principles of Political Economy," and "Elementary Economics," Fellow of the Royal Economic Society of England and member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, has come forward at this time of stress and doubt and poured his professional oil upon the troubled waters. The *Outlook* during the current year has contained a series of articles from his favoring pen. The following extracts will give a sufficiently clear outline of Professor Thomas Nixon Carver's discoveries.

"The fact is," says he, "that the United States is one country that has a very definite and practicable, and at the same time a very beautiful ideal before it—an ideal that is vastly finer, more just, more righteous and withal more easily attainable than anything of which any Socialist ever dreamed. In the pursuit of this ideal we are actually in this country achieving an economic revolution which, in the most literal possible sense, is the exact realization of the rule, 'He that would be great among you, let him be your servant.' Not only that, but we are actually working out in this country at the present time the only economic revolution in the world—at least the only one that amounts to a hill of beans. Moreover, this revolution is being brought about without any help whatsoever from the professional reformers or the preachers of purely emotional righteousness. It is being brought about by the school-ma'ams and the business men primarily, though everybody who does really good and honest work in any field of useful endeavor and who thinks clearly and votes sanely has his part in it."

We think that this mention of our fellow citizens who "think clearly and vote sanely" is something of a damper to our expectations—but nevertheless we proceed, scarcely able to contain ourselves for curiosity. The Professor expounds: "We are approaching equality of prosperity more rapidly than most people realize. What is equally important, we are working out this diffusion of prosperity for all classes without surrendering the principle of liberty which is embodied in modern democratic institutions. * * * The amazing material prosperity that is coming to this country through the pursuit of the noble ideal of equality under liberty, and our failure to develop the arts of leisure, are deceiving many superficial observers into believing that our ideals are themselves materialistic. But this prosperity is coming to us precisely because our ideals are not materialistic. All these things are being added unto us precisely because we are seeking the King-

dom of God and his righteousness, as they are always added and must of logical necessity be added unto any nation that seeks whole-heartedly those ideals of justice that are the very essence of the Kingdom of God."

Our curiosity is on the way to be more than satisfied. The Professor seems to have about him an odor of sanctity combined with the pleasing accomplishments of a Stock Exchange "bull" writer and the hortatory insistence of a Florida or Cape Cod real estate boomer. We hope *passim* that the coming equality of prosperity will not overlook the editorial office of LAND AND FREEDOM, and be kind to all our old friends at the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle.

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So important have these papers in *The Outlook* seemed to their author that he has collected them into a book, just published, entitled "The Present Economic Revolution in the United States." The title is important, if true, but we must admit that we start by being skeptical. Great discoveries generally produce more noise than this one has done. According to the Professor, "even Bertrand Russell has overlooked it." Well, it appears to the Professor that at last we are deviating into sense. We are harking back to our early American ideals, stamping our foot and vowing we will be free—and equal. Equal in what? Does the Professor point to equality of opportunity as the ideal? Ah no, how could he? Does he mean a Socialistic equality of income? Oh no, why should he? He means "occupational equality," which being interpreted signifies that the manual trades will soon become about as prosperous as the learned professions. The much maligned workingman finds in Professor Carver not an apologist but a lyric, almost an ecstatic, admirer and boomer. In his eyes the workingman is coming, if he has not already come, into his own. He is a capitalist, a stock-holder, a bond-holder, a banker. Owing to the exclusion of the riff-raff of Europe through the present immigration laws he is rapidly becoming a genuine hundred per cent. American, and his children will soon hold their heads high like the F. F. V's. The old distinctions and the old strife between capital and labor are rapidly disappearing and a beautiful *entente cordiale* is taking its place. Behold, we are entering upon an economic Utopia, the like of which has never been even dreamt of before!

As we started out by saying, Professor Carver is a Professor of Political Economy at Harvard, and as "research" is considered the touchstone of learning and science at all our Universities we must presume that at certain stages of the Professor's "researches" he has come upon that elusively perfumed nigger in the economic woodpile known as the landowner, the franchise grabber, the monopolist of natural resources, that truly aristocratic offspring of our American progress and culture. Since the Professor, we understand, is intensely interested in the fine arts, we can hardly see how he has denied himself a more intimate

acquaintance with those who practise the fine art of getting something for nothing. What we would suggest for the Professor is an intensive review of his chosen subject, after the manner of those of his students who, having flunked in their examination, are given another chance to make up their deficiency before being awarded a diploma.

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Speaking of Florida and Cape Cod leads us to observe that "research" into the progress of the current land-booms, not only in these two localities but in countless other sections of the country, may prepare investors for "that dreadful day" when the boom shall burst and profits fade away. But Miss Bonnyclabber will find difficulty in getting up any enthusiasm for that kind of "research." The psychology of the "mob" is at present highly optimistic, and figuratively speaking, "investors" do not wish to be disturbed in their devotions to their God, Mammon. Professor Richet of Paris, who has recently written a book, might have saved himself the trouble, so far as we Americans are concerned. He says that man is not "homo sapiens" but "homo stultissimus." His savage book revealing, however, no knowledge of "homo Americanus," what good is it anyway? If Professor Richet were here at this time, say as an "exchange professor" at Harvard or Yale, we feel convinced he would order his ill-considered volume removed from the press, wishing to revise for a new edition his generalisations of the human race. In this happy land he would find that God *is* in His Heaven and all's well with the World.

Be that as it may, we should like to conduct the French Professor to Florida or to Cape Cod or to Rockaway Beach and point out to him the lacuna or vacuum that is so evident in his great argument. Also we should be pleased to get a ticket for him to the gallery of the N. Y. Stock Exchange, from whence might be pointed out to him all the stock wonders of the world as they "soar" ten points between quotations. The Professor says that in his country people are considering the advisability of getting themselves wiped off the face of the earth in order that a new race may try the experiment all over again. Did you ever hear such pessimistic nonsense? As we say, let him come over "in our midst" and we'll bet dollars to doughnuts that he'll change his tune.

We do not guarantee the length of time that our "hands all round" prosperity will continue. It may be for years, but we scarcely think that it may be forever. Our advice to the Professor is to get that University appointment without a great delay. Henry George wrote that when a pyramid is standing, so to speak, on its apex, the equilibrium is likely to be unstable. What we decidedly wish to avoid is greeting the Professor at the dock after the market has collapsed and the land boom is busted. The whole purpose we have in view would then be shattered and we should be put to so many explanations and excuses that our health would give way in the process.

We were talking the other night at the Sign of the Cat and the Fiddle about the signification of laughter. Sometimes even there we get away from the "eternal verities," as Dr. McGlynn used to call them, and drift into such sub-lunary topics as dress, the theatre or the size of the crops. Somebody asked if any one present had ever read Prof. Bergson's entertaining book on Laughter? We replied that we had enjoyed the book, but that we could not see the validity of the argument made by the distinguished philosopher to establish the origin and nature of laughter. And then all hands took a turn in the discussion and it became evident that we each knew something at least about the problem.

One man remembered that Hobbes had held the field for three centuries with his shrewd discovery that we love to think ourselves superior to our fellow men,—especially when we are gathered together in crowds we look down, as from a gallery of the gods, upon those who are attempting to do things, while we heartlessly laugh at their mistakes. The laughter of Hobbes is a cruel laughter and surely must be lacking in universal approval and acceptance. Another man spoke about Darwin's explanations and said he couldn't see much in them, possibly because he found Darwin too technical to follow. We ourselves said that it was while we were reading Prof. Bergson's amusing book a thought struck us that the application to this problem of Henry George's dictum that "all men seek the satisfaction of their desires with the least exertion" might well serve as the solvent to clear the matter up. Bergson claims that what produces laughter is a certain mechanical rigidity in objects and movements, the reaction being a shock or surprise to our natural desire for an easy flowing rythmical continuity—and he cites a jumping jack as an illustration. But, as we said above, we never could see much in this.

According to Henry George's dictum we naturally conserve our physical powers and exercise plain common sense in our ordinary activities. For example, we invariably choose a short cut rather than the long way round, and if we didn't we should be called fools, and an audience of any kind would laugh in concert at our stupidity. There appears then under George's dictum to be a natural way of doing things, which is the common sense, efficient way, without a needless loss of energy. If we use more exertion in the attainment of our desires than the normal amount familiar to the ordinary observer, the latter laughs at us for our foolish waste of time and effort. On the other hand, if we attempt to get results without expending a sufficient quantity of effort to do so we get laughed at for our inefficiency.

A workman is commonly expected to operate in a "workman-like manner." To be sure, from age to age the criterions by which we judge what is normal and efficient change in character, and hence we find that what used to cause laughter at one time may not cause it now. The

deviation from the normal in dwarfs, hump-backs or even in the insane used in Shakespere's time to stir the laughter of the groundlings. In our more sophisticated day we take our laughter more seriously (as we suppose), although we are all children at heart and we gladly pay our money to split our sides over Charley Chapman or some other equally funny comic man.

This matter of laughter is probably of vast use and importance in the make up of our sociological commonwealth. Normally, we should all be associated in equality. Nature has supplied an unfailing mechanism for the reclamation of waifs and strays into that "modus in rebus" which makes for the happiness and comfort of the human race. Laughter, ironic or good-natured, contemptuous or Rabelaisian, is the strong tonic medicine administered by society to keep the individual within the bounds of propriety. For after all, society being an organism, its machinery must not be destroyed nor its operations upset by the unfit throwing monkey-wrenches among the wheels. Laughter serves to "give the hook" to weaklings and boasters, thereby leaving the stage clear for your downright good players.

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As bearing upon the cause of twentieth century wars the following remarks by our old friend Mike Shea are quite to the point. "I see in the papers," said he, "that there's another shindy starting up in a place in the desert of Sahara called Mosool, or is it Moosol? There are very able Turks and Arabians and Drusians in the neighborhood, good fighting men, and they'll give the British the worst mandamus they have had in some time." "The English hold a mandate over a country called Irak," we observed. "Perhaps you are referring to that." "Well," continued the old man, "likely I am. But it's a crying shame that after all the punishment the British taxpayers have endured since the World's War they still give their statesmen *a la carte blanche* to soak them still more. And what is this rumpus all about? 'Tis about oil. Pretty nearly every country in the world is represented there by a favorite oil company, each company, do you mind, seeking to bring glory upon the national colors of its dear native land at home. For instance, they tell me that in friendly rivalry and a spirit of brotherly love the Standard Oil Company and the Royal Dutch Shell Company and a great French Company and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company sit round a table and parcel out among themselves the oil fields of value. England having the mandamus or mandate, it is up to her to bully the Mosoolians wid a big stick. Along comes Turkey and causes a flutter in the barnyard. For Turkey has uses for oil herself, and moreover the Mosoolian country being more or less Turkish, why should the oil be siphoned off to foreign parts? But the great companies with their paper concessions stand by England and they all together give the lie to Turkey, and pretty soon Turkish and British troops (fine young fellows under

thirty) go to slaughtering each other, while the four oil companies keep watch and tab, ready like harpies to swoop down after the war is over and sink their claws in the polluted fields. Nothing but an international game of grab! Hivens, how much longer will the taxpayers of the world stand for it?"

Henry George Corroborated

HENRY GEORGE, in *Progress and Poverty*, by a process of deductive reasoning reached the conclusion, that in a country where there is an increase in population and material advancement, there is a constant tendency for the ratio of the product that goes to the payment of rent to *increase*; while there is a constant tendency for the ratio of the product that goes to the payment of wages to decrease.

In the year 1890 Carroll D. Wright was Director of the Census Bureau, and he made an attempt to estimate the amount of wealth which on an average was produced by a day's labor in the mills and factories of the Eastern States, and the amount that was paid in wages for this production. His estimates were, that a day's labor produced from eight to ten dollars worth of wealth, and that the wages paid were from two dollars to two and one-half dollars per day, about one fourth of the product going to the payment of wages. Taking the country as a whole, no doubt somewhat more than one fourth of the value of the total product was paid in wages, for wages were generally higher in the West than in the East. On account of the use that was made of this information in certain quarters, succeeding census reports contained no statistics of this kind.

Last year a government bureau estimated the amount of wealth produced in the country during the year at sixty billions of dollars, and the amount paid in wages was estimated at ten billion dollars. A financial institution made similar estimates which agreed closely with those made by the bureau. According to these estimates, since 1890 the amount paid in wages has decreased from one fourth or more to one sixth of the total product. The same conclusion can be reached by comparing rent and wages in new and sparsely populated regions with older communities.

With this tendency working with all the constancy of the force of gravity, how can the future of the country be viewed with complacency? With the evidence from induction corroborating so well the argument from deduction, can the professors of Political Economy still deny the validity of the "Laws of Rent and Wages" as formulated by Henry George?

—W. A. WARREN.

NOTICE: We are still in need of lists of prospects for circularizing and sampling. Send them in!

Impressions of an American Journalist In England and Germany

"THERE are more ways than one to skin a cat." This phrase has been used more or less since the days of Noah, when many thought there would not be much of a shower. The Commonwealth Land Party in England is carrying on an educational campaign for the reform advocated by Henry George, which is both extensive and intensive. When I wrote my article for the July-August Number of *LAND AND FREEDOM* I had not had the pleasure of meeting J. W. Graham Peace and W. C. Owen, leaders in the Commonwealth Party movement. While those connected with the "United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values" might perhaps be appropriately called bit-by-bit reformers, inclined to the balance-of-power-reward-your-friends-and-punish-your-enemies technique, the Commonwealth Land Party might be called Direct Actionists.

The United Committee seeks to get pledges from members of parliament and candidates for members of parliament for the land reform planks of their platform, but the Commonwealth Land Party has little or no faith that members of any of the present political parties can be depended upon to do much to further the cause of land reform.

The programme of Direct Action advocated by the Commonwealth Party is so simple that the wayfaring man, no matter how thick-headed, can understand it. The party demands, "*that on an appointed date the Crown, as trustee for the people, shall collect for the people the economic rent of the land.*"

Mr. Peace says that his party carefully avoids saying anything about "the taxation of land values," or "Single Tax." When a reform calculated to give to those who are doing the world's work the full product of their labor, is presented in the guise of a Tax Reform movement, it repels many and confuses others. While the simple doctrine that all mankind have an equal right to the use of the earth, and that government as a trustee for the people should exact from those who use the earth and its resources a sum equivalent to their value, is something that can be understood by all.

The Commonwealth Land Party since its organization six years ago, has held 1500 public meetings, at which its doctrines have been set forth. At Tower Hall, near London Tower, every Tuesday at noon it holds an open-air meeting, often attended by five or six hundred persons, and at Finsbury Park every Sunday both in the morning and evening it holds meetings. Its speakers have been heard in every part of the United Kingdom. It publishes a weekly paper, edited by Mr. Peace. Copies of it go to America. In New York Miss Corinne Carpenter, George

Lloyd, and Morris van Veen are among those who have shown their appreciation of *The Commonwealth*, as the weekly is called.

Captain H. H. Druitt, J. W. Marsh and Mr. Peace held some lively meetings recently in the Salisbury district. London has a debating society, which is 264 years old. It was organized in 1757. It is called Cogers Hall, and at present it meets at Dyers Arms Restaurant on Cannon Street, every Saturday evening. It discusses the events of the current week and Mr. Peace and Mr. Owen are often hear at these meetings.

Mr. Peace says:

"No solution of the disemployment problem will be found except by way of freedom. Where men are free to work or not as they please there is never unemployment. Where land is held as private property there is always unemployment. Millions of acres of every description of land are idle in this country and this is the originating cause of unemployment. Other causes there are, but they are only consequential and secondary. For example, the loss of trade due to men being out of work leads to others being put off. Taxation to meet the cost of Poor Relief and "dole," by decreasing the purchasing power of the community, checks trade, and puts still more workers out of work. Subsidies, grants-in-aid, and all such raids upon the public purse by sectional interests have precisely the same effect, they add to the volume of unemployment; in short, all taxation acts as a check upon industry and so lessens employment. The relation between idle land and idle men is clearly and undeniably one of cause and effect. We have no patience with temporising proposals. We know that if the "cause" of an effect be removed there can no longer be that effect. So, at the risk of repeating ourselves, we say that only by way of the immediate restoration of the whole of the land will there ever be found a satisfactory and permanent solution to this simple problem that hitherto has baffled all our orthodox politicians and academic economists."

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When I visited Berlin I found the land reformers there maintaining headquarters at No. 11 Lessingstrasser with Dr. A. Damaschke in charge. Very active in the movement are Dr. Richard Schwarz, Ernst Heinrich and Prof. Karl Schewe. I met Prof Schewe at his attractive home in Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin. He is a subscriber to six or eight land reform journals, published in four or five different countries. "Deep poverty and suffering among the working classes" Prof. Schewe said, "is covered in Berlin by a veneer which keeps it out of sight. The streets where some of the poorest people live are wide, kept scrupulously clean, and often the exteriors of the buildings are attractive, with boxes of flowers under the windows, yet within, one will find families of four or five living in one room."

Dr. Schwarz was one of those who took part in the Oxford Conference of land reform advocates in 1923. I did

not have the pleasure of meeting Mr. Heinrich, who lives at Potsdam, but I found his father, a most intelligent and enthusiastic advocate of the philosophy of Henry George. Dr. Damaschke is one of the influential statesmen of Germany, and it was largely through his advocacy that the present German constitution contains a provision which would authorize the Reichstag to take economic rent for public purposes.

Dr. Damaschke gave me the addresses of a number of land reformers in both Geneva and Prague, with letters of introduction, but I am sorry to say I was unable to use them, on account of many engagements and my stay in these cities being brief.

—CHESTER C. PLATT.

Benjamin W. Burger Starts A Great Undertaking

NEARLY fifty years after the publication of *Progress and Poverty* it has occurred to a Single Taxer to gather for historical purposes, all material in relation to Henry George. The credit for this gigantic undertaking must go to Benjamin W. Burger, of this city, an attorney of New York who ran for Supreme Court Judge several years ago on the Single Tax party ticket.

Mr. Burger is bearing the entire cost of this enterprise and no one will be asked to contribute a cent. After the material is got together Mr. Burger will prepare a life of Henry George, and the entire collection will be turned over and placed in a permanent home dedicated to the memory of our great leader.

Much material has already been collected. Unfortunately a great deal of valuable data has been destroyed or lost. A case in point is that of the late James Love, of Camden, N. J., who for years had been collecting material pertaining to George.

Mr. Burger has received one valuable collection from the widow of A. R. Saylor, consisting of files of *Justice*, of which Mr. Saylor was the publisher and A. C. Pleydell editor, and numerous letters which passed between Henry George and the committee in charge of the Wilmington campaign.

From William M. Callingham has come the minute book of the Camden Single Tax Club with newspaper clippings. By the way, it is a real pleasure to have a look at Callingham's chirography, it is so closely resembles steel engraving.

James J. McNamara, of Baltimore, has contributed a copy of *Protection or Free Trade* presented to him by Henry George with his autograph. Mr. McNamara came to New York as a young man in 1886 and spoke during the campaign. George was so impressed with his talk on the tariff that he presented him with a copy of his great work.

From Charles Corkhill, of Reading, has come copies of New York papers with reports of the death and funeral of George.

From second hand book stores 27 different editions of George's works were secured.

William H. Faulhaber, organizer and first president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, gave the death mask made by Richard George.

Other material has been contributed by Morris Van-Veen, Edward S. Ross, and Anna Ross, widow of Will Ross, pioneers in the movement.

The estate of the late Sylvester Malone will give all the George McGlynn collection. Mr. Malone was president of the Anti-Poverty Society.

The galley proofs of the review of Progress and Poverty printed in the *Manchester Guardian* were found among papers and books in a second hand store.

Many of the friends in the east have been called upon to search their effects for photographs, books, pamphlets, letters, clippings and badges of the campaigns to be added to this collection. It is sad but true that many must be prodded in making the search. The writer has spent several weeks in visiting Single Taxers in several cities. So far he has been met with the kindest reception in inducing them to cooperate. Should he seem to some too insistent he begs forgiveness.

If this memorabilia is not gathered now much of it will in time disappear and future historians will find it impossible to properly appraise Henry George and his work.

There is no telling what material can be had. It is therefore important for all Single Taxers to exert themselves and search for matter of interest to the collection. It is a labor of love and those interested in the cause should give what they can to make this collection of the great historical value intended.

Mr. Burger's address is 233 Broadway, this city.

Let Organizer Robinson Tell Them

MR. JACOB PFEIFFER, of the Miller Rubber Company, of Akron, Ohio, had an article in a recent number of *The Nation's Business* entitled "Twenty-three Kinds of Taxation." Mr. Herman Hermelink, of the Buick Motor Company, of Kansas City, Mo., wrote Mr. Pfeiffer suggesting that the latter invite Mr. Robinson, now campaigning in Ohio, to speak before the Akron Chamber of Commerce.

Death of Jerome O'Neill

NEWS has reached us of the death of Jerome O'Neill, whom old Single Taxers knew better as "Jerry" O'Neill, and who was the well beloved friend of our prophet and teacher, Henry George. Details are lacking of his illness and death. We reserve fuller account of his life and work for our next issue.

Commonwealth Land Party's Nominee for Governor of New Jersey

DR. FERGUSON TELLS OF HENRY GEORGE AND
HIS FIRST PUBLISHER

DR. JOSEPH FERGUSON, candidate for governor on the Commonwealth Land party ticket in New Jersey, has long been a believer in the cause and during the last twenty years has spent much of his time in trying to make others see the big vision. He was presidential elector on the party ticket for William J. Wallace at the last national election. He is a strong believer in party action.

While practising osteopathy in Middletown, N. Y. from 1911 to 1917, he associated himself in the work for the cause with Stephen Wolf, Z. K. Green, Charles Fuller and others. Dr. S. D. Butler, of the Universalist Church in that city, joined the group, at which time the parsonage and sometimes even the church itself, were devoted to speakers telling of the great measure of industrial emancipation.

Owing to a physical breakdown Dr. Ferguson was compelled temporarily to abandon the practice of osteopathy, but found time and opportunity to explain our doctrines to any one who would listen. Since moving to New Brunswick he has united with those who believe that the party method offers a most promising form of propaganda. To neighbors who now quiz him as to our principles he is able to tell what we stand for and he will make speeches in Middlesex County where opportunity offers. He reports that a few promising converts are swinging in our direction.

Dr Ferguson in an interview with a representative of LAND AND FREEDOM related a number of incidents connected with the life of Henry George which may not be known to many of our readers.

"About my first recollection of the Single Tax movement was when my father took my mother and me to a dinner in a hall in Union Square, at which dinner, Mr. George, Tom L. Johnson, Dr. McGlynn, Louis F. Post and Thomas G. Shearman spoke. I was too young to feel more than the slight interest of childhood but later I can recall a trip of the Anti-Poverty Association on a barge up the Sound. Several incidents come to my memory of that trip.

"Still later I looked after the book stand at the old Criterion Theater in Brooklyn on Sunday afternoons, when Hugh F. Pentecost addressed large audiences. During my early school days at the Adelphi Academy in Brooklyn I was frequently in arguments on the Single Tax theory and when about seventeen years of age was a watcher at the polls in the old 7th Assembly District of Brooklyn when Mr. George ran the last time for office, the year he died in harness.

"My father read part of the proof on "Progress and Poverty" when it was going through the press of D. Appleton & Co., in 1879, and became a convert. It was then he first saw Mr. George and admired him for acts of moral courage which few men at that time possessed. One act he remembers, referred to the copyrighting of the book. Mr. Wm. Appleton asked Mr. George if the firm should do the copyrighting, as was customary. Mr. George said "No, I shall attend to that; all blame or credit for the publication will rest on me." Mr. Appleton, greatly annoyed, answered, "Oh, very well; we don't believe in your theories anyway," or words to that effect. Mr. George, (about 5 ft. 5 in.) to Mr. Appleton, (about 6 ft. 3 in.) tapping him on the shoulder: "Young man, you will live to see my theories put in practice." The few printers near by who heard and saw what passed were astounded at the temerity of a poor man touching the person of a millionaire. Those who have copies of the Appleton edition will find the copyright thus:

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year, 1879
By Henry George.

In the office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington

Mr. George paid for this copyright. The Appleton's did not push the sale of the work, and he was at last compelled to take it from them and place it in the hands of another publishing house.

"When Mr. George ran for Secretary of State on the United Labor Party ticket in 1887, my father was nominated for the Assembly in the 7th District of Kings County."

San Diego

THE Single Tax Club, of San Diego, California, celebrated Henry George's birthday on Sunday, the day before Labor Day, by a picnic at the lemon ranch of Brother Billy Edwards. The gathering was much larger than was anticipated. The general secretary of the club, Cary Richard Colburn, was fortunate in securing the services as speaker of Dr. Henry Frank, noted international psychological research worker.

Every one present listened with rapt attention to his eloquent words. He indicated that the great principle was enunciated by such men as Patrick Edward Dove, Turgot, and Herbert Spencer, but that it was reserved for Henry George to resurrect these doctrines which otherwise might have perished. Without a university training but with a wide experience and wide reading this printer and common sailor discovered the basic laws of true economics and the relation of rent, wages and interest. It is to Henry George the honor should be given. He startled the world with his proposed remedy, which is slowly but steadily advancing in the thought of the greatest minds and the greatest thinkers of the day.

Dr. Frank expressed himself as greatly pleased with the good showing made by the San Diego Georgists and offered

to assist with his lecture work the cause of Land and Freedom.

Mr. Johnson, president of the Club, called upon Brother Charles Rodd, who will be recalled by New York Single Taxers, and Mr. Rodd, his body racked with pain and a lingering malady, responded with all his old-time earnestness and wonderful eloquence. He told how he had fought with Henry George in the memorable campaign waged in New York.

So imbued with the spirit and philosophy of Henry George was he that he has devoted practically all his life to the gospel preached by the "Prophet of San Francisco," neglecting to scramble for the dollars. Often, as readers of LAND AND FREEDOM will recall, has he stood on soap box or truck holding his crowds spell-bound with his eloquence, with the result that he finds himself poor and broken in body, but with all his old-time enthusiasm. As Henry George said: "There will be those who will work for it, and even die for it. Such is the power of truth."

—BOB WHITE.

Georgia

AT the close of the sixty day session of Georgia's legislature, the following on taxation matters appear definite enough for brief comment:

A Constitutional Amendment repealing State inheritance was passed, subject to ratification at the next general election. An amendment proposing an income tax and another for classification of property for taxation were defeated, partly because of opposition per se, partly because so many members tried to put every detail in the amendments instead of a simple measure permitting the constitutional change, leaving details for a subsequent legislature to determine. Thus it is not easy to tell exactly what the sentiment for either measure was within the houses.

At the 1924 election an amendment was ratified authorizing counties to exempt from taxation new factories and enterprises for a period of five years upon application by bills in the legislature. A measure was introduced attempting to grant permission, upon local elections, to do this without the red tape of a legislative bill, but it appears to be one of many measures never reached upon the calendar.

I have done considerable work for Single Tax at the present session, talking with members and handing out literature, but the whole subject of taxation seems to be a confusion in the mind of the average man.

—DR. GRACE KIRKLAND.

NOTICE: We are still in need of lists of prospects for circularizing and sampling. Send them in!

TO SUBSCRIBERS: If your subscription has expired send in your renewal. If you do not wish to receive the paper, instruct us by postal card to discontinue.

Proposed International Conference

DENMARK, AUGUST 1926

WE are able to make the preliminary announcement that the Danish Joint Land Values Committee and the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values of London, have decided to cooperate in convening in Denmark

The Third International Conference to
promote the Taxation of Land Values and
Free Trade

the inclusive dates of the meetings to be within the last fortnight of the month of August next year (1926).

The two Committees accordingly issue, by this announcement, invitations to the Conference to all adherents of Henry George's teaching. As a guide to the nature, purpose and scope of the Conference, they direct attention to the Declaration of Principle and Policy adopted at the International Conference to Promote the Taxation of Land Values, held in Oxford, England, August, 1923; this Declaration to be taken as accompanying all intimations and invitations. The text of it will be reprinted later.

The following are some of the plans already arranged:—

The Conference will begin with a session of a couple of days in Copenhagen, and thereafter visit various towns and country districts and interesting institutions and establishments in Denmark, both on the Islands and on the mainland of Jutland;

It will continue its sessions during this tour by gathering in the evenings for Conference business at various stopping places en route;

It will visit some of the People's High Schools and Agricultural Colleges which are such a distinctive and important feature of Danish social life;

Special facilities will be given to study Danish agriculture and its methods, the Danish land system, cooperative dairies and other cooperative undertakings;

There will be excursions to some of the formerly entailed estates out of which peasant small-holdings have been created, with tenure on the principle of private ownership of all improvements, subject to payment to the community of rent for the land determined by the periodically assessed value of the land apart from improvements;

The Conference will return to Copenhagen and conclude with a meeting or a day's session there.

A Conference so arranged, combined with a tour of this kind, will not only give new strength and inspiration to the movement in the International sense, but will be of particular advantage to our progressive forces in Denmark by bringing into intimate association with the work and meetings of the Conference a number of the active centres in the provincial towns and in the counties and parishes, as well as in the Metropolis.

Notice of intention to take personal part in the Conference should be sent to the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 11, Tothill Street, London, S. W. 1, where the correspondent resides in any country other than Denmark, Norway or Sweden; and from these latter, notification should be sent to Messrs. F. Folke and Abel Brink, 15, Monradsvej, Copenhagen. For those who in any event are unable to travel to Denmark, the intention is to open a roll of honorary members, and it is hoped that many will associate themselves with the Conference in that way.

Announcement will be made later of other arrangements—membership fee, probable expense of travel, papers or addresses to be discussed, etc.

Meanwhile, the Danish Joint Committee and the United Committee ask that this announcement be reprinted by all journals, in every country, devoted to the Taxation of Land Values and International Free Trade so that intimation may be given to their readers and invitation conveyed to all with whom they are in touch.

Taxes and Land Gambling

HERE is another millstone about Cleveland's neck. Everybody knows it is there. Everybody knows who put it there. Everybody knows all about it. One of the things that everybody knows about the exorbitant taxes in Cleveland is that nothing will ever be done artificially to correct them. Nothing but the operation of natural laws can avail. Protests of business men, victims, will be fruitless, we fear.

We have very great respect for the county auditor, Mr. Zangerle. He is a competent and capable man. But Mr. Zangerle knows and we should know, that evading taxes or juggling valuations is not at all the right way, or any way, to lighten the tax burden. The only way to do that is to get at their cause. The speculation fever must be reduced. We suspect in Mr. Zangerle not only the cold efficiency of a scrupulous tax agent, but a warmer desire on his part to help us by showing us vividly the costliness of the fundamental mistakes we make.

* * * * *

Cleveland has been indulging in an orgy of land speculation for years. Land has been put on the basis of suspenders, shoe strings, coffee grinders, toy balloons and every other sort of merchandise. The usefulness of land has been made secondary to its gambling possibilities. The result is that paper profits have been pyramided into a set of land values that the land itself does not justify. The test of land values is the amount that land will legitimately earn by use, not what it may be unloaded for on to the next fellow. We have done business on a radically different and radically wrong understanding of that important fact. There can not be, to illustrate, one way of calculating valuations for rent-fixing purposes and another for tax-paying purposes, on the same land.

All this sounds much like Henry George, to be sure. But, regardless of the mechanics of a single tax on land, and of the practical, operative merits of such a system, the fact remains that land abuses are many, vital and disastrous, and that they work out into taxes in the long run.

It is an abuse of land to gamble in it and that is exactly what many men have been doing with Cleveland land, mostly, of course, business, or potentially business property. They themselves are responsible for much of the fictitiousness which now enters into the paper valuations of land. But how can a county auditor who is honest do otherwise than tax land on a basis of its owners' valuation of it? On the basis, admittedly exorbitant, of its rentals?

There can not be two systems of land valuation, one based on fact and the other on the logical but unfortunate consequences of land gambling. To tax land at a fraction, any fraction from one to ninety-nine per cent. of its face value, is very obviously to beg the question. Cincinnati does that and is in a far worse hole than Cleveland. That is just plain cheating. In addition, it does no good. It all comes out in the tax rate. The only apparent way out of the predicament that certain Cleveland land is in, is for the county auditor to allow one system of valuation for the purpose of land speculation, and keep another and confidential one for taxation purposes.

This latter, obviously, would be downright dishonest and would be to encourage the very vice of land gambling that is to blame for the whole trouble. He can not say: "Here, you go ahead and hook the next fellow at a price to include what you paid and a fair profit for yourself, and I will tax the land at what it is really worth but tell nobody what it is." That would not do. Mr. Zangerle has no alternative to his present method. But, as we said before, we suspect that he wisely knows that the effect of his policy will ultimately be to check land gambling in "fancy corners" and so forth, and stabilize land values and land dreaming.

* * * * *

The unfortunate part of it all is that a small number of men are responsible for an evil under which we all must groan, most of us entirely innocent of land gambling and properly to be classed as land users rather than land speculators. The last party to hold a piece of property that has been traded back and forth until its see-saw is stopped either by Mr. Zangerle's taxes or by the natural consequence of its breaking down in the speculation process, is the victim. There is no way of telling whether he too, was struck by accident, or was himself in the game of playing horse with land and just happened to be the last man out. A great many innocent people are going to find themselves with land, apartment houses and various segments of the interminable strings of stores now lining Cleveland streets, which moved as far as their possession and then couldn't move any farther. We feel sorry for them.

We feel sorrier for the great multitudes who have had rents and home buying costs raised beyond reason through the land speculation fever, for marked disturbances in values run through a whole city like an earthquake. But so long as land is bought and sold every few hours for the sake of a profit, and its value soars with every "deal," rents and prices must soar in accurate relation to each step. This unfair process affects all land values. Rent is based on these values, and so the vicious circle runs.

For all values related to land to fluctuate, and only taxes be excepted would be like making water run up hill—it can't be done. It has been great sport to hammer up values for speculation purposes. Paying the fiddler down at the court house is another story. There are many other parts to the story, and all equally sad. The only remedy is to stop the gambling in business property. A difficult process, for you can't prove who are the guilty few and who the innocent majority. In the meantime Cleveland must suffer and Mr. Zangerle seems bound to make its sufferings acute enough to precipitate thought of a cure.

—Cleveland Topics, Aug. 15.

Cleveland Topics is a society Journal which has been published for seventy years. Its editor Charles T. Henderson, is an old newspaper man and a vigorous writer, and *Cleveland Topics* is an extremely handsome weekly devoted to social matters of the "Upper Ten," the doings of the country clubs, golf clubs, polo, etc. We felicitate Mr. Henderson on the ability to see and the courage to attack an evil institution.

—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

Anna George de Mille Returns to America

IN the July-August issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, our correspondent, Chester C. Platt, gave an interesting account of the dinner tendered to the daughter of Henry George, Mrs. Anna George de Mille, in London. Mrs. de Mille in this issue (see Correspondence) favors us with her personal impression of the many she met in her trip abroad. We know our readers will read with interest the breezy communication in which she recounts her experience.

Sir Oliver Lodge on The Land Question

TO me it is somewhat surprising that it is quite legal and ordinary for a person to be able to sell a portion of England for his own behoof. It does not seem to be reasonable, in any high sense, that a bit of the country itself should belong absolutely to some individual, so that he has the right to cut down trees on it, to dig up the minerals in it, to sell either it or its coal, to lay it waste and desolate as a deer forest, or a cinder-heap, if it so pleases him, and to levy a heavy tax on building enterprise; to do in fact, what he likes with his own, and live elsewhere on the proceeds in idleness and luxury.

—SIR OLIVER LODGE.

Commonwealth Land Party News

IN another column will be found an article on Dr. Joseph Ferguson, Commonwealth Land party candidate for governor of New Jersey. In addition to the candidate for governor Essex County will have a full Assembly ticket of Commonwealthers to vote for. Many thousands of the Platform will be circulated. In the September issue of the *Pilot*, organ of the Federated Woman's Clubs of the state, appears a notice of Dr. Ferguson with liberal extracts from the Platform.

In Ohio, to which state Organizer Robinson has returned from his home in California, a Constitutional Amendment in the interests of the land speculators is to be voted on. It is proposed to hold a convention of the faithful in the Fall to combat this amendment. Fuller details will appear later. Mr. Mark Milliken, of Hamilton, makes the suggestion that follows in a letter to Organizer Robinson:

"My idea would be to make this affair a two or three days' session. I think that committees might be formed or appointed by say you, or Mr. Allen or Mr. Lincoln. Such appointments from either of you three men who have occupied prominent positions in the Single Tax activities of the C. L. P. would be approved, no doubt. Suppose that you had a committee on "Farmers;" another on "Forests;" one on "Homebuilders;" one on "Earned Incomes;" one on "Personal Property," etc. If members of committees were appointed by mail they could gather data before going to the convention. Then when in Columbus the various committees could go to headquarters and get more information. Committees could then draw up resolutions based on their findings. I think that an editorial committee could then make quite a good little pamphlet out of the combined researches of committees. We should then flood the state with such pamphlets.

"The standpatters will be getting out literature and make many converts to their plans because they are organized. As there is no election this year where Single Taxers could run with any good reason, we might all make our contributions towards propaganda."

The Commonwealth Land Party of New York City has nominated local candidates as follows: For Mayor, Laurence W. Tracy; for Comptroller, Edward M. Caffall; for President Board of Aldermen, Morris VanVeen; for President Borough of Manhattan, John L. Murphy; for County Clerk, George A. Hall. In Brooklyn the party has nominated for Borough President, Benjamin W. Burger; for Register, Morris W. Norwalk, and for County Clerk, Fred J. Deverall. This will enable any disciple of Henry George in New York to register his convictions at the polls if he so desires. The newspapers of the city have given generous space to the nominations.

Praises The Single Tax

AUSTRALIAN SAYS IT WOULD PREVENT A BOOM
LIKE THE ROCKAWAYS

SINCE the adoption of the Single Tax seventeen years ago the City of Sydney, New South Wales, has doubled in population and has experienced an unflagging building boom, while other large Australian cities have been left behind, according to James R. Firth, an Alderman of Sydney, who is now in New York. In his opinion the Single Tax in Sydney has operated to encourage the development of real estate and to discourage land speculation.

"Such a situation as New York is now witnessing in the Rockaway land boom would be impossible in Sydney," said Mr. Firth yesterday. "The holding of large tracts of land for a rise in value through improvements to adjacent property or better transit facilities is not profitable when land is taxed at its value, irrespective of improvements thereon. The result has been that tracts of land about the city have been opened up for homes and an amazingly large proportion of the population own homes.

"Many large companies, among them the tobacco trust, have been attracted to Sydney because the taxation is so much less than in other communities. In the seventeen years since the Single Tax was adopted more than two thousand new factories have been established at Sydney and the population has increased from 550,000 to 1,100,000, while Melbourne, Sydney's greatest rival, has lagged far behind it."

Mr. Firth arrived in this country Friday after a visit of several months in Europe. He declared that he found considerable Single Tax sentiment in Zurich, Switzerland, and in Berlin.—*N. Y. Times*.

Save Your Carfare and Give it to the Landlord

THE inexorable laws of economics assure to the landlord, rather than to the public, the ultimate advantage of cheap transportation for multitudes of people. It is considered a valuable privilege to be able at all hours of the day to travel ten or fifteen miles in a swift electric train for five cents, but the value of that privilege is quickly capitalized in the form of rent. Economic rent, equally existent whether the user of the land be the owner or tenant, inevitably exacts its tribute on the earnings of labor and capital. It is those into whose bank account flow the proceeds of economic rent, an infinitesimal fraction of the population, and not the public at large, who are the real beneficiaries of a five-cent fare that does not adequately return the cost of production.

—MCCREADY SYKES, in *Commerce and Finance*.

The Real Cause of the High Price of Anthracite Coal is Monopoly

THIS monopoly is made possible through our unjust laws which recognize as a proper subject for private ownership, natural resources created by a beneficent God for the use of all his people.

The Girard Estate (outside Philadelphia) according to its 1924 report received in royalties \$3,995,338.67 for permitting 12 mining corporations to dig 2,807,750 tons of anthracite from its holdings; an average of \$1.40 per ton. This part of the Girard Estate, assessed at \$12,340,741, shows a gross return of 31.5 per cent. on that valuation.

The Girard Estate (neither during the lifetime of its founder, Stephen Girard, nor since his death more than 90 years ago) ever mined a single ton of coal. It merely permitted others to do so.

The price of such permission at the time of Stephen Girard's death was at a rate around seven cents a ton as against \$1.40 in 1924.

It can be seen from the above it now costs 20 times as much for mere permission to dig anthracite as it did ninety years ago.

The Girard Estate virtually belongs to all the people of Philadelphia as the municipality is trustee and the income goes to support Girard College, a really remarkable institution founded under the will of Stephen Girard, which supports and educates more than 1,500 orphan boys. Therefore, so far as the Girard Estate is concerned, the whole people of Philadelphia are the beneficiaries of its income from royalties on coal. It might be noted however, that to the extent of nearly \$4,000,000 annually, the consumers of anthracite coal are co-philanthropists with Stephen Girard.

AS WITH THE GIRARD ESTATE THE PRICE CHARGED BY OTHERS FOR PERMISSION TO MINE ANTHRACITE COAL HAS GONE UP MORE THAN 2,000 PER CENT.

Anthracite deposits having been put where they are by Almighty God for the use of all his children; any law which nullifies this by permitting but a few to monopolize the benefit, is obviously unjust.

A larger population with its greater demands for fuel is alone responsible for the use or rental value of the coal fields. The royalty collector, having rendered no service, is therefore entitled to no compensation.

Collection of this rental value (created by all) by government for its maintenance would make the present dishonest system of taking (taxing) private property for the public purposes unnecessary.

Since no one has the hardihood to deny that the earth is the birthright of all mankind nor that the value of its use is created by their mere presence on it, it follows that: **THE RENT OF LAND BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE AND THAT THE FIRST DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT IS TO COLLECT IT.**—*Pennsylvania Commonwealth.*

Why Not Give Them The Larger Life?

THEY were sons of the soil. Their lives, as George Eliot says in "Daniel Deronda," were "well rooted in some spot of a native land, where it may get the love of tender kinship for the face of earth, for the labors men go forth to, for the sounds and accents that haunt it, for whatever will give that early home (of childhood) a familiar unmistakable difference amid the future widening of knowledge: a spot where the definiteness of early memories may be inwrought with affection, and kindly acquaintance with all neighbors, even to the dogs and donkeys, may spread not by sentimental effort and reflection, but as a sweet habit of the blood." If the millions of children in the slums and crowded sections of our cities could be brought up in little worlds like that, would we need to fear for the future? Think of what it would mean to these orphaned children (orphaned because they are robbed of the very kind of life they most need) could they enjoy the sunshine that streams across green fields and wooded hills and lovely streams, and "think of the nightly heavens as a little lot of stars belonging to one's homestead!" Take a child who has been brought up in a home where there is not even a yard in which to play, out into the country, and how he will enjoy the companionship of birds and poultry and sheep and cows and horses and dogs! Country life may seem constricted and uninteresting to many, but it is in a real sense the larger and the truer life—the best kind of nursery for children to grow up in.—*Lutheran, Philadelphia, Pa.*

South America

THE new Governor of the Province of Cordoba, Dr. Carcano, has issued a decree establishing a general plan of valuation of land of all the cities and towns in the Province, with the object of taxing land irrespective of improvement values. There has been a land value tax of 7 per thousand in the rural areas since 1914.

The leading paper of Buenos Aires, *La Prensa*, says that "In order to prepare the necessary data for a modification of the tax system, in so far as it affects the land tax in the urban districts, the State Executive, through the medium of the Finance Department, has issued the following decree, which reveals its intention to adopt the system of laying the heaviest burden upon the land, apart from improvements."

It then quotes from the Decree as follows:

"Whereas valuation by zones, apart from improvements, is the most equitable system for assessing property for the purpose of land taxation;

"Whereas said system has been adopted in the province since 1914, for the valuation of rural property;

"Whereas this system does not penalize labor nor burden

improvements which represent progress, and on the other hand stimulates building and attacks the vacant lot, which is a drag on society and a cause of the ever increasing area over which municipal services have to be extended, with a consequent decrease in their efficiency;

"Whereas it is therefore desirable to extend this system to urban property, not only to complete the land taxation system, but also because of its essential justice and the advantages of an economic and social character which its application represents."

The remainder of the Decree deals with the methods of preparation of tax maps by the engineering staff.

The "zoning system" referred to means that various zones of different values are to be established in the municipalities, and within each Zone the land is taxed at a uniform rate per metre frontage; a fairly accurate method where land values are not high, and enabling a quick adoption of a land value tax plan.

For example, in the City of San Francisco, Cordoba, the Mayor, Senor Serafin Trigueros de Godoy, is a convinced Georgist. Being hampered by existing laws, he succeeded in establishing a "zone system" of seven different classes, in which the annual land tax varies from 80 cents down to 5 cents per metre frontage in the cheapest zone. This tax represents approximately one-half per cent. on selling value, according to the City financial report.

San Francisco has a population of about 15,000, and while this land tax yields only \$102,000, this sum is the principal item of revenue and has allowed the city to abolish various "nuisance" taxes on labor, and also to undertake the construction of a new municipal market. In the future this revenue can easily be increased, as a new provincial law expressly authorizes municipalities to tax land apart from improvements, without limitations.

CITY REPORT ENDORSES GEORGIST DOCTRINE

It is an extraordinary Financial Report that is issued by Senor Trigueros de Godoy, Mayor of the City of San Francisco, Province of Cordoba, Argentine. After treating of fiscal details the report proceeds with an enthusiasm uncommon in official documents to denounce land monopoly and proposes an adequate remedy. As related above Mayor Godoy has already succeeded in establishing some measure of land value taxation, but he sees in these matters much more than a fiscal question. We quote from the report at page 36:

"In the year 1837, forty years before the great North American economist, Henry George, published his celebrated book, 'Progress and Poverty,' Flores Estrada, a Spanish economist, wrote the following: 'Individual property in land, or the soil, is contrary to nature and condemned by its results. On account of the appropriation of the land by certain individuals, the great majority of the human race is prevented from working, and the laborer does not receive due recompense for his labor, and the interests of the associates are in conflict.'"

Again on the same page the report says:

"Pedro de Valencia, born in Zafra, Spain, in 1554, anticipated Herbert Spencer (1875)—to whom the critics attribute the historical origin of the social theory of the common right to the land,—states in his address to the King:

"In the beginning of humanity, land that could be worked was the common property of all men; in order to make their labor easier, the lands were divided amongst them, but not in full ownership, only on lease and on condition that the respective lots should be cultivated. Otherwise, they should be forfeited."

And on page 55:

"Against this irritating injustice (private property in land), some hundreds of years ago, there rose,—loving and sweet as the parables of Jesus of Nazareth, but firm and accusing,—the voice of a priest, the Spanish Jesuit, Juan de Mariana, in the year 1536, who says in his book: 'Of the King and Royalty;' 'To Phillip III, Most Catholic King of Spain: Private Property had its origin in greed and rapine.' 'It is a duty of Humanity, he says, for us to keep at the disposition of all these things which God wished should be common; since to all men he gave the land, in order that they should sustain themselves by its fruits; and only violent greed could grab and monopolize for itself this divine heritage, and appropriate for itself the food and riches placed there for all. From that one fact have arisen in great part the evils that afflict the peoples and the dissensions and disorders that agitate them.'"

And from the same page:

"In the year 1600, Dr. Martin Gonzalez of Cevillago, an Attorney of the Royal Chancellery of Valladolid, published his book: 'Memorial of the Policy necessary and useful for the Restoration of the Republic of Spain,' in which we read the following:

"He who lives on the rent of land robs the sweat of others. He who is not a tiller of the soil has no right to be a landholder."

Sr. Godoy accepts the Georgist theory in all its amplitude and does not hesitate to declare, in support of his plan, that "natural bounties which are produced without man's intervention cannot be legitimate subject of property for anyone" and that "the laws which protect such property are an offense to morality and sound reasoning." (p. 57). He also reproduces in his report a newspaper article by our esteemed contemporary, Dr. C. Villabos Dominguez, in which may be found affirmations no less radical (p. 135).

AT the head of its editorial column, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* keeps what is called: "Platform for Cincinnati." It is a list of proposed improvements for Cincinnati, including rapid transit facilities, a barge-canal, parks, boulevard lighting, etc., all of which would cost several hundred million dollars. A conspicuous omission from the platform is a statement as to how the several hundred million dollars OUGHT to be obtained. The inclusion of such a plank in the platform would be offensive to the

local real estate board, whose members are large advertisers, who do not care to have the delicate question brought to the notice of the public. We admit that. Still, it hardly excuses the *Enquirer* editor. Under our present revenue system, land speculators would capitalize the improvements and sell them before they were paid for, leaving the public, to be taxed on their shelter, food, clothes, etc. It is an old and wicked game which no editor ought to help.

WANGANUI, New Zealand, by a popular vote of 2,280 to 1,733, has abolished all taxes save the one on land values for municipal purposes. This doubles the tax on land values. The city has a population of 25,000. The Waterside Worker's Union took a leading part on the side of taxing land values only. In Te Kuile, a smaller town, where the land value tax system had been in use for three years, enemies of the system made a strong effort to return to the old system of taxing improvements, but were defeated by a popular vote of 407 to 111.

THE sanitary inspector for Edinburgh, Scotland, reported in July: "In the course of house-to-house visitation the floors and bedding were in 323 instances found in a dirty condition. The number of cases of over-crowding which came under the notice of the department was 1,062, and of these 683 were houses of one apartment, 364 of two, 14 of three, and one of four apartments. The four-apartment house was occupied by 20 persons. In a number of the one apartment overcrowded houses as many as ten were found in residence, while in one of the two apartment houses, as many as sixteen persons were found."

We feel toward such reports much as we do about the numerous statistical bureaus at Washington, which are constantly sending out inane bulletins, at great expense to the government. These figures tell nothing we did not already know or could not surmise accurately from prevalent conditions. And so, in Edinburgh, where cruel landlordism forces up rents and depresses wages, it does not need sanitary inspectors and tables of statistics to let us know that there must be over-crowding of a most distressing kind in the poorer quarters. The statistics never lead to anything. The government employes who grind the statistical mills seem to have no expectation that anything ever will be done to remedy things. What good are the statistics?

New York Socialists See the Land Question

THE Socialist Party of New York has nominated Norman Thomas for Mayor. It is gratifying to find the following plank in the platform of the party.

"Economy is not parsimony. It is a false saving that is at the expense of service to the people. It is true economy to eliminate waste, graft, and inefficiency. To that

we pledge ourselves. In the levying of taxes we believe that the State and city as representing the people are especially entitled to claim the rental value of land—a value created by the community rather than the individual owner. Therefore we favor a plan similar to that in successful use at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, for progressively putting a higher burden of taxation on land than on buildings and improvements to the land."

CORRESPONDENCE

ANNA GEORGE WRITES ENTERTAININGLY
OF HER TRIP ABROAD.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have just returned from a trip to Europe and wish I could make a real report of the progress of the Single Tax movement over there, but as I was on a combination joy ride and college extension course with my two daughters, my S. T. contacts were merely social, with the exception of the one meeting which took the form of a dinner given by the London group. Engineered by the two standard bearers, Fred'k. Verinder and John Paul, it was a delightful affair and a red letter occasion to me—although my enjoyment of it was marred by the fact that I had to make a speech, which I seemed utterly incapable of concentrating on beforehand so that I heard myself saying a bunch of things I hadn't expected to say and I afterwards realized that I'd left unsaid many things I'd meant to say. But it was sweet beyond words to meet again friends of my early youth who had come to my father's call; sweet to meet others whom I had heard of but never seen—and others still who were new to the cause.

The "feeling" of that meeting was like that of the old days and I believe there must have been others present who experienced, as I did—a revived enthusiasm and a desire to dedicate themselves anew.

It was a personal loss to me and a disappointment to all who know Richard McGhee's power and eloquence that he was not able to be at that dinner—due to the fact that he had not fully recovered from an operation. But a few weeks later we went to visit him and although he was in a "nursing home" and was supposed to be very much of an invalid—he showed his old "pep," talked to me like a dutch uncle and made me then and there change my itinerary. As I have Irish blood in my veins, I could hardly be expected to admit to him that he proved to be entirely right,—but nevertheless I shall be eternally grateful to him for making us cut out a visit to the English lakes in favor of York. For in that wonderful little city we were met by four Disciples, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Sorenson, Fred Sherron and Ashley Mitchell, who took us in tow and showed us the fascinating town and the amazingly beautiful Fountains Abbey, while, at the same time, they gave us an idea of the splendid type the Yorkshire Single Taxer is!

In Birmingham we saw the family of the dearly beloved Thos. F. Walker.

To my deep regret we were unable to accept an invitation to visit Col. and Mrs. Josiah Wedgewood but we did go for the week-end to the delightful home of Ex-Bailie Peter Burt near Glasgow. There, on Sunday afternoon we met, over the tea-cup, a few of the enlightened from that wide awake group of Scotch Single Taxers.

I was amazed and delighted to find the wide spread recognition of Henry George as a writer and thinker in England. So much better is he known there than in his own country! Everyone there seemed to have read him or at least to have heard of him. I had a long talk with a little old cobbler in the "smallest shoe shop in London." After rather skillful manoeuvring on my part, our conversation carried us to the discussion of the Taxation of Land Values.

"That's the idea of Henry George!" said the shoemaker. "I've always wanted to read his book." (Next day he had one.)

At a luncheon at Lady Nancy Astor's, I sat beside Lord Robert Cecil.

"Henry George—of course I've read his books—but a long time ago. Rather radical, aren't they?"

"Rather conservative," I replied "if one understands the real meaning of the term 'private property.'"

While he, busy man that he is, might not feel he has time to read 568 pages of economics, he perhaps will take time for 214 pages so I shall send him a copy of the abridgement of *Progress and Poverty*. I had given my last copy to Lady Astor—who said it was a book she had long wanted to read.

But it was on the continent that I got my biggest thrill and not from already made Single Taxers but from potential ones. At Geneva there are groups of students old and young who are endeavoring to understand and bring about peaceful international relations. One of these groups is the College federation under the able guidance of A. E. Zimmermann. Here I met youngsters from America, England, Germany, France, Denmark, Poland, Sweden, Japan, India, etc., etc., while unfortunately no one that I talked to seemed to be an out and out Single Taxer—they are all groping for a solution to the war problem and hoping to find a way to bring about a proper economic adjustment. I sowed a few seeds there and am now sending across to some of these boys, copies of the *Abridgement*. I am more firmly convinced than ever that *we must get hold of the young, groping, flexible minds*. We have simply got to catch 'em while they're young—and learn 'em in the way they should go—and as soon as I get rested up from this holiday trip—I intend to roll up my sleeves and go to it!

I thought I was a free trader when I left these shores—but now that I've returned I'm a *ferocious* one. The customs business is so SILLY that I wonder when we will ever grow up and develop a sense of humor! But it took all my own sense of humor to prevent me from growing belligerent on the N. Y. dock, when, after declaring my own purchases and paying a heavy duty on the same, I saw passengers whom I knew to be Protectionists, and who had bought five times what I had, sail by the customs officials without paying one cent of fine! Golly! Los Angeles, Calif. ANNA GEORGE de MILLE

TAXATION AND THE FARMER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas had an article on taxation entitled "Overtaxing the Farmer" in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* of August 7. After discussing the findings of a taxation survey made by the United States Department of Agriculture in Tipton, Miami, and Monroe counties of Indiana he declares that "virtually every survey made anywhere shows that an unjust share of the country's burden of taxes is being carried by agriculture and that this has been increasing." He then says that taxes per acre on farm real estate have increased 159% in Kansas from 1910 to 1923 while selling value has advanced only 35%, that taxes on farm lands and farm property are 140% higher throughout the United States than in 1914 while the selling value of farm products has increased less than 60%. He makes no attempt however to show just what percent of the increase in taxes is borne by the land and what percent is borne by the buildings and other improvements.

Now a man who is vitally interested in agriculture and rural conditions of life, as we assume Senator and Editor Capper is, ought to have a pretty thorough understanding of the underlying causes of this unjust burden on the farmer. But has he? He admits that the present system of taxation is unfair. He says that the farmer can not "pass on" his taxes as the merchant does by adding them to the price of the goods but never a word about the landlord who passes his taxes on to the merchant and to the farmer as well as to the ultimate consumer, in increased rents.

He asserts that we have allowed an inefficient and destructive system of taxation to become firmly rooted in American life. What does he consider an equitable taxation system? Merely one based upon the axiom that "taxes should be levied according to ability to pay." He proposes such taxes as a tax on gasoline, a personal property tax, a

gross production tax on oils and minerals, a tax on non-essentials such as tobacco and commercialized entertainments, and a state income tax.

His remedy then is to relieve the farmer of an unjust share of taxes by levying more taxes, all of which will fall upon the farmer as much as on anyone else. Tobacco is taxed already so we may assume that the Senator means additional taxes laid by the State. If such is his idea then two items that are very much used by farmers will cost more to the farmers, that is, the weed, and gas for the tractor, Ford, and gas engine. How in the name of common sense will the farmer receive any benefit from the means proposed? The Senator admits that we must meet the question squarely because taxation is one of the great economic problems of the United States, but he shows clearly that with all his knowledge of farmers' problems he is all at sea as to the remedy for the wrong he condemns. Is it possible that he has never studied the principles of the Single Tax? Or is he just unwilling to know the truth?

He closes his article with a plea for economy in government and a demand that taxation be distributed according to ability to pay. What a howl he would set up if a tradesman used that idea in charging his customers. It is about time that we began to revise our opinions of certain Senators from the West who up to now have been posing as citadels of liberal thought.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

JOHN LUXTON.

KNOWLEDGE THAT UNFITS FOR "PUBLIC SERVICE."

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

How true it is, that knowledge of the Single Tax unfits a man for public service. More truth, as you say, than La Follette ever dreamed.

Many is the time I have thought to myself, "What would I do if I were elected to such-and-such an office on a regular ticket?" I have felt almost foolish at the thought. I would be so out of place that I wouldn't know what to do. My knowledge surely has unfitted me for that kind of public service. But how different it would be to be elected on a Single Tax ticket! Union, N. Y.

C. LEBARON GOELLER.

THE NEED OF FLYING FIELDS.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Commander John Rogers, with whom I was in constant service night and day before he left on the trans-Pacific Aviation flight to the Hawaiian Islands, told me before he left that I had done my part to make his flight a success, and I replied, "I wish you and all the officers and personnel great good luck." As I write the U. S. Navy and Army Aviation Radio Headquarters here in the Appraisal Building here have no news of the missing men. I trust the next few hours will find them located—and safe.

All cities need "flying fields" but many report that the state of their finances "will not permit them to meet the almost prohibitory cost of the land desired nor approach the required land rental of the land-owners." How this barrier is erected against every department and activity of civilized life! Los Angeles, Calif.

WALDO WERNICKE.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

MISS LILLIAN CARPENTER, sister of our own Corinne Carpenter, was present and gave an organ recital at the National Association convention of organists which met in Cleveland on August 3.

THE *Wide World* recently published as its leading story, "The Land Sharks," by Hugh Rane. It is significant that writers of fiction are turning to this topic for material.

J. W. GRAHAM PEACE, editor of the *Commonweal*, 43 Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2, England, wants a copy of LAND AND FREEDOM, Whole Number 121.

THE Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., is in need of Vols. 3, 5 and 8 of the Single Tax Review, and a complete file of LAND AND FREEDOM succeeding it. Will some one of our readers willing to dispose of these copies communicate with H. S. Parsons, Acting Chief of Periodical Division?

MR. AND MRS. E. YANCEY COHEN announce the marriage of their daughter Katharine to Mr. David Wainhouse, on August 5.

ONE THIRD of the municipalities of South Africa are slowly advancing toward the ideal of Georgism, 32 on the Pittsburg Plan, so-called, and 9 with complete exemption of improvements.

THE papers of this country have not failed to give prominence to Lloyd George's new declarations for a land policy. If there were any indications that this facile statesman was returning to his once bold and courageous principles we might well rejoice. But of this there is no sign. "The landowners must be fairly compensated," he says. So again hope fades, if indeed any one were foolish enough to place hope in the delusive little Welshman.

THE Cleveland *Times* in its series of articles on "What is Wrong with Cleveland Industrially," includes an article by J. C. Lincoln, Vice President of the Lincoln Electric Company, of that city, and candidate for Vice-President on the Commonwealth Land Party ticket at the last national election. In it Mr. Lincoln tells why Cleveland lags in the numbers and volume of her industries.

OUR old friend, Chester C. Platt, whose contribution appears elsewhere in this issue, addressed one of the open-air meetings of the Commonwealth Land Party in London, in company with J. W. Graham Peace and other speakers. Londoners liked his manner of presenting our doctrines.

THE death of Mr. W. O. Stoddard at an advanced age is announced. Mr. Stoddard was the first man to mention Lincoln for president in 1859 and was President Lincoln's secretary for four years. He was a voluminous writer of historical books and books for boys. His son, who has followed in his father's footsteps as a writer of boys' books, is a Single Taxer. With the elder Mr. Stoddard when he died was his son and Mr. H. S. Buttenheim, his son-in-law, who is known to many of our readers.

CONNECTICUT has placed a tax on films brought into the state, of ten cents for every 1000 feet of film and fifty cents for each 100 feet over that length. The law, declared unconstitutional by a special federal court, will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

COUNTY AUDITOR ZANGERLE, of Cleveland, Ohio, having declared that no new industries are locating in Cleveland, the Cleveland *Times* is running a series of articles on why it is so. An article in the *Times* of July 24 attributes it to high taxes and points out that in 1920 the aggregate of all taxes in Cuyahoga County was \$31,863,187. In 1924 this had increased to \$62,283,500, a hundred per cent. increase in four years. When we consider how taxes are levied these figures are sufficiently ominous. But it is necessary to point out that it is not whether large revenues are raised, but how they are raised, that is important.

It is announced by the Dublin correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* that the tariff imposed by the Irish Free State has signally failed and that most of the duties will be dropped. Several Dublin

firms have been unable to pay their way and prices generally have risen. It is found that the consumer, not the foreigner, pays the tax.

HON. BRAND WHITLOCK, Single Taxer and Minister to Belgium during the World War, has just published through Appleton of this city a work entitled *Forty Years of It*, which tells of his career, many of the incidents of which are familiar to our readers. William Allen White contributes the introduction.

E. M. SCOTFIELD, of the Scofield Engineering and Construction Company, of Los Angeles, is quoted in the Los Angeles *Evening Herald* as saying: "Every one wants to live in California, but many are afraid to do so because of our tax laws."

THE State Treasurer of California, Charles G. Johnson, is reported as saying: "The inheritance tax is nothing more than robbing the dead. We invite a man to invest his capital here. He does so, meets all our taxes and obeys our laws, and then when he dies we virtually confiscate what he has made."

HENRY S. FORD, of Camden, N. J., is frequently represented in the papers of that city with letters explanatory of our position, written in an unusually clear and convincing style and with evident knowledge of his subject. Dr. F. M. Padelford, of Fall River, Mass., is another of our letter writers whose contributions to clear thinking appear every now and then. In Cleveland, Howard M. Holmes is seldom absent for any long period from the newspapers of the state. A word of thanks is due to Morris VanVeen and George Lloyd, of this city, whose grape shot is aimed through the *Morning* and *Evening World* at the upholders of the present system. To these names is also to be added that of Will Atkinson whose letters in the N. Y. *Times* have been frequent of late.

MUCH publicity has been given recently to the proposition of the Manhattan Single Tax Club that the subways be paid for out of the increased land values due to their construction. The arguments put forward by the Club in advocacy of this proposal have been quite widely printed in the newspapers of the city.

A NATIONAL Liberal party has been organized in New Zealand. Its platform calls for a re-valuation of all lands by experts, a graduated land tax and a super tax on land to prevent speculative holdings, reduction of stamp duty on cheques and commercial papers, and a gradual reduction of customs duties on British goods for a period of ten years until complete free trade with Britain is attained.

HON. J. R. FIRTH, alderman of Sydney, New South Wales, recently visited this country and Canada. An interview with a *New York Times* representative appears elsewhere in this issue. A well attended dinner was given to Mr. Firth by the Manhattan Single Tax Club, of New York.

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist party candidate for Mayor of New York, advocates free subway rides and uses the analogy made familiar to us by Father McGlynn that the city should pay for subway operation as the tenant of an office building pays for operation of the elevators. The elevator service is charged in the rent; in the same way the rent of land should pay for the subways without the need of nickles from the passengers.

VIRGIL D. ALLEN, late Commonwealth Land party candidate for governor of Ohio, is working on a historical map of the state. He has definitely located, according to Cleveland papers, 175 old Indian trails, the sites of 20 old forts, and the routes of as many military expeditions.