

Roy Douglas, Land, People + Politics
London: Allison + Busby, 1976

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- 17 1. Earl of Derby, 5 returns from land.
- 17 2. 1876 Act ended enclosures.
- 18 3. Free trade in land, Jos. Chamberlain. Cobden + Bright in their waning years.
But Chamberlain added that commons shd. be
4. nationalized, then let out in small plots.
- 18 4. Land + Labour League, fd. 1869, pro natn. of land,
(+ home colonizn.)
aw also fd. 1869: Land Tenure Reform Ass., incl.
J. S. Mill, H. Fawcett, Chas. Drake, Th. Rogers.
- 19-26 5. Agric. crashed in UK in 1879. Wet summers,
+ imports. Radical mood. Irish turmoil: evictions,
"Land War", murders, etc.
- 27 6. '80, Parnell takes lead of Ir. Nat-ist Party.
Parliamentary obstructions the major ~~str~~ tactic.
- 31, 35 7. Land League used boycotts to pressure land agents
etc. were very effective.

8. "Three F's": Fixity of tenure, Fair Rents, Free Sale."

9. 181, Gladstone pushed thru 3Fs.

"Fair Rent" meant 15-yr. lease, fixed rent, judicially determined.

35-yr. loans at 5% to buyers.

a. Various msrs of gain, if ult. rate is 7%.

i. 1PF

6.11% at 5%

7.72% at 7%

Least impressive way to show it!

ii. Total interest paid.

Total amt pd. = $Pmt \times 35.$ = ~~an~~ an

$$na = P \frac{in}{1 - I^{-n}}$$

$$na - P = P \left[\frac{in}{1 - I^{-n}} - 1 \right]$$

$$\frac{na - P}{P} = \frac{ni}{1 - I^{-n}} - 1 = 1.1375$$

$$p = 100$$

$$n = 35$$

$$i = .15$$

$$a = .0611 \times 100 = 6.11$$

$$na = 213.75$$

$$na - p = 113.75$$

$$\frac{na - p}{p} = 1.1375$$

$$\frac{na}{p} = 2.1375$$

$$i = .07$$

$$a = 7.12$$

$$na = 270.2$$

$$\frac{na}{p} - 1 = 1.702$$

More impressive.

Land rent = p , (for net product)

Required savings, s , is debt service, d , - p

$$d = D \frac{i}{1 - i^{-n}} \quad (1)$$

$$D = \frac{p}{r - i} \quad (2) \quad (r = \text{low i.r. of dominant buyers})$$

$$s = d - p$$

(3)

$$= \frac{f}{r-f} \frac{i}{1-i^{-n}} - p$$

~~(4)~~ (3)

~~$$= \frac{f}{r-f} \frac{i}{1-i^{-n}} - p$$~~

$$= p \left[\frac{i}{(r-f)(1-i^{-n})} - 1 \right]$$

(3)

(3) is:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \Delta s \text{ fn. of } i, \text{ (esp. for } i \approx n) \\ -\Delta s \text{ fn. of } n \\ -\Delta s \text{ fn. of } r \\ \Delta s \text{ fn. of } f \\ \Delta s \text{ fn. of } p \end{array} \right\} \text{all leveraged}$$

Table 1: s/p as fn. of i when $r = .04$, $f = .02$, $n = 35$

i	s/p
.04	1.58
.05	2.05
.06	2.45
.07	2.96
.08	3.29
.09	3.73
.10	4.18

Table 2: s/p when $r = .04$, $g = .01$, $n = 35$

<u>i</u>	<u>s/p</u>
.03	.55
.04	.79
.05	1.04
.06	1.30
.07	
.08	1.86
.09	2.15
.10	2.46

Table 3: s/p when $r = .05$, $g = 0$, $n = 35$

<u>i</u>	<u>s/p</u>
.03	-.07
4	.07
5	.22
6	.38
7	.54
8	.72
9	.89
.10	1.07

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- 33-34 10. Gladstone carried this leg. solo. It created a conservative class of Irish props. & slowly removed the absentee
by 1901 even Davitt praised Gladstone for it, and Douglas agrees!
- 41 11. Eng. landlords were more paternalistic than Irish were.
- 42 12. '80, tithes got right to shoot hares feeding on their crops.
- 43 13. Davitt met HG before 1879.
- 46 14. Land nationalizn. was popular in Eng., rather than
parrnellism, peasant prop. (p.p.). Nation shd. condemn
land
a. as "needed" to create small holdings.
b. universally.
They always proposed compensation. (almost always).
- 46 15. Land Reform Union, '83. changed to Land
Restoration League the next yr. Georgist.
Adams soon began exploring their differences.
Wallace saw it by '83.
Land nationalizers were drawn more towards
socialism.

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- 48 16. But men who changed their faith wd. not change its name, hence much confusion.
- 48 17. '80s, land reform was paramount. Marx was little known on his death, '83.
- 49 18. Chamberlain was in the Liberal Cab., then conspicuous. He floated some vague land reform programme, which many contemporaries languidly failed to diff. from George or Wallace. One good idea: succession duties shd. fall heavier on land.
Main functional proposal was p. props.
- 50 19. Rt. wing Liberals = Whigs. They fell away when Gladstone gave things to the Irish. Lansdowne: Angell.
Whig landlords drew together with Cons. landlords as other Liberals got excited about land reform.
- 52 20. Ashbourne Act, 1885, made much better terms to Irish land buyers.
- No down
- 49 yrs.
- 4% (Govt. raised exp. w. 3% bonds).
This brought debt service down near next!

$$\frac{.05}{1 - 1.05^{-35}} = .0611$$

$$\frac{.04}{1 - 1.04^{-49}} = .0469$$

$$\frac{.0611}{.0469} = 1.30$$

Thus, the harder terms were like a 30% rise over rent.

And commercial terms were worse. Say, 8% + 20 ym:

$$\frac{.08}{1 - 1.08^{-20}} = .1019 = .0469 \times (2.17)$$

Future govt. continued in same direction.

52-53 21. Parnell brought down Libs, '85, joined Tories!
Salisbury new PM.

53 22. While losing narrowly in '85, Libs. carried the
Traditionally Cons. Eng. Cities. ~~were Libs.~~ It was
the appeal of land disto.: "3 acres + a cow".
Libs. needed "an urban cow".
~~to marry enfranchised (1884)~~

54 23. oppn. to Home Rule for Ireland was fear of xfr. of land to tats.

55 24. '86 Salisbury govt. falls immediately, over proposal ^{by Libs.} to extend principle of Irish Land Act to Eng. Irish all support Libs. (then, they let them into Parl. to abate trouble in Ireland, and they radicalize Eng!)

So, '86, Gladstone's 3d Govt. Whig-Libs. refuse to move. They became known as "Lib. Unionists" — i.e. opposed Home Rule.

56 25. Gladstone govt. falls '86, over Home Rule. Salisbury again. But Irish are now back w. Libs. Salisbury rules w. help of 78 Liberal Unionists.

There off, 20 yrs. of Cons. rule, mainly. But Cons. had to placate domestic liberalism of L.U.s, including Jos. Chamberlain & Jesse Collins, who demanded land reforms.

57 26. Losing the L.U.s, Lib. Party went more radical.

— 27. Chamberlain's emerging strategy is now clear: populist at home, imperialist abroad, broad power base. Hitlerian — no wonder Neville liked Adolf!

1906, Cons - L.U. alliance wrecked by tariff issue, Libs. returned.

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- 61 28 In Skye & W-H. Highlands, ancient system of "runrig" prevailed. Arable fields rotated periodically by lot. Pasture was common.
Sheep enclosures, commercialize, brutal.
- 65 29 Irish Land League fostered revolt in Highlands, which had no tradition of conspiracy such as in Ireland. Landless men got results in Ireland: lawfulness in Scotland was getting nowhere.
- 72 30 Rural land riots stirred up the cities. H. G. showed how to tie issues together. So in '80, land reform became major reform demand thru-out Scotland. Mainly via Lib. Party.
- 81 31 Enormous police & army expense to ~~help~~ enforce rent collection for absentees. Pmt. drafted.
- 82 32 Land Purchase Acts worked well. Pmts were made as agreed.
- 83 33 Irish peasants disliked moving. Demanded right to buy, not any farm, but their particular farm.
- 18 34 Judicial rents set in '86 were lower than prior rents.

Page

This offended those w. the higher rents.

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35.

Landlords were glad to be bailed out.

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1891, divorce - death of Perrell shattered Nationalist MP bloc for 10 yrs.

84, 85

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Ff, 1847 there had been "clearances" for pasture, leaving many minifundia in "Congested Distrs."

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Vast deer forests created for sport, by clearing out population villages. One was 80,000 acres, Isle of Lewis, Scotland.

89, 90

39.

Existed over orgd. raids on deer, sheep, grouse, etc.

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"Cottars" were squatters on crofters' holdings.

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41.

Crofters' Commn. reduced rents + cancelled arrears.

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After '80s + some paping over, crofters quieted down. But dramatized land problem for all.

(Rent-strikes + deer-park raids + invasions made it obvious that rent was collected by nat. force for priv. holders. So why not nationalize?)

- 96 43. Non-conformism spread in Wales, grass-roots, 19th. Preachers were unpaid laymen who thus got experience both in org-g. & speaking.
- 103 44. Small holdings made from labor indep.
"Allotments" were too small, kept him in position of unreliable labor.
- 125 But allotments had to be near one's home, hence condemnation.
- 106 45. Small holdings never came to much in rural Eng, as it did in Ireland.
- 111 46. '90s, urban land replaced rural as focus for reform.
- 112 47. Late '80s. Single-tax came into use. So did "LVT". These broadened the appeal, & deflected the compensation issue raised by land natn.
- 112 48. 1888 - , general system of rep. local govt. was set up throughout UK.
- 113 Since it was all new, all kinds of new ideas were entertainable. S.T.s. focused on local rates.
"S.V. Rating" was the slogan there.
- 118 more

- 115 49. 1892 Keir Hardy elected. The first Labor MP.
Favored "nationalizing the land by taxing land values."
(A few years later they were incompatible).
- 116 50. Death duties were lower on realty than personality.
1894, ~~before~~ agitation to change that, they were
equalized.
(U.S. ed. put hi death duty on land.)
- 117 51. Mining royalties a target, along w. ground rents, or
"ground values".
But urban ground became the big thing. 1890s.
- 118 52. LVT was crowding out other ^{land} reforms. 1845.
an Socialists & Wallace-ites joined in support.
- 122 53. Parish Councils were smallest unit of govt. Being so
close to home, farm workers could attend in mass.
So they limited their tax power to 3 p/£.
- 128 54. Wyndham Act; ¹⁹⁰² loans to buy land in Ireland
3.25 %
68.5 years
12% bonus grants up front.

129

aw

Wallace opposed. Wd. just create a new privileged class, disinherit the rest.

But Eng. just wanted a stable occupying force to relieve them of police costs.

v. G. R. Wallace. My Life

136

The Act also raised land prices pd. by tnts.

13 + ff. 55.

1906 Libs. return under Campbell-B. Pro loc. and "internal colonization". But d., 1908.

Asquith succeeded. Put L. George in Exchequer.

142

56.

UCLV fdd. 1907 was George orgn.

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57.

Govt. needed new revs.

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58.

Lords had to back down, 1909-11.

San Diego

Unionist leaders, notably Auston Chamberlain, knew they had to accept some land tax. So they went for local rating. Locals wd. become jealous of the rev. source & keep Pmt. away from it!

Super quote.

155

59.

L. George's land taxes were very low. Valuation was the thing.

Valuation dropped. L. George scheduled 5 yrs. for it! - 1910 - 1915. Talk about temporizing, stalling!

Dave
Abner

688-9420 (Quaid Handa) 15

- p. 158 60. L. George + Aquith were walking a politician's tightrope, having to placate their moderates, deny they were single-taxers.
162
- 158 61. So they set up a Land Enquiry Comm., 1910.
161 One member, Brian de Foux, was a land nationalizer.
aW, LN He wanted govt. to condemn all land gradually. Wrote minority rpt., 1914.
- 163 62. 1914 Land Enquiry Comm. recommends
LN - Local authorities may bank land for future lease
- ~~Local~~ ^{Local} tax of 1p on l.v.
- Future & local rates shd all be on L.V.
165 - No nat. tax.
- 164 63. Cons. tactic was to digress from land, by attacking Home Rule: "talk ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} exclusion of land."
- 166 64. 1914, end of all social progress.
169 LN 1915, rent control. This precedent then dominated postwar legislation.
- 179 65. 1920, Austin Chamberlain is Ch. Exch. under L. George, coalition govt. Abolished whole

land valuation system.
L. George had sold out.

180 66. Land nat. + land tax. dovetailed neatly, and Asquith saw it. If owners insist on low valuation, buy it; if high, tax it. The self-assess. principle!

181 67. Labor wanted jobs, fast. Land taxers weren't geared for that (they should have been!).

190 68. 1925, L. George came out for rural "cultivating tenures". State buys farm land, leases to present tenants. The "Green Book". L. George was a Conservative.

Libs. answer w. The Brown Book. More port and town planning.

196 69. 1929 Labor wins. MacDonald Premier; Snowden, Ch. Exch. Put thru land valuation.

206 ff. 1931 Cons. win. Neville Chamberlain wrecked land valuation. Comp de grace. 1934.

211 70. '43 bombed-out areas extensive. There was resentment vs. bomb-chasers who bought up right after bombings. So '43 govt. took power to acquire land in bombed

areas at its '34 value.

- 214 71. 1 July '48 was "The App'd. Day". As after that
subject to betterment tax.
'52, Gov. change repealed.

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4 1. Spencer is "our great philosopher" + "the great expounder of the principle of evolution". - Charles Darwin.

91 2. "I am not even a hard nationalizationist, ..."

93, 141 3. Social Statics, 1850, referred to Divine rule, etc. Later dropped.
143

141 4. "Evolutionary Philon" became "Synthetic Philon."
American.

Materialistic, deterministic. No role for will.
Begins w. matter + motion (energy?).
Origin of matter + motion is "unknowable."

144 5. Origin of matter + motion had to be a will or spirit, by
145 H. G.

146 6. Denying First Cause is Spirit is not essence of evolution.
GW All other evolutionists allow Spirit. Wallace, Jm.
Le Conte.

The body of man evolved from animal, but not the soul, which took incarnation in the form man + its needs, then made the body evolve.

- 162 7. Social insts. also evolve w/o free will. (Thus Spencer supports Marc!).
- 167 8. Sp. believed in heredity of acquired characteristics!?
- 175 9. If you deny nat. sel., as Huxley does, then it is ok to confiscate land whenever the poor have power.
- 315
aw 10. H Sp. seeks to extend authority of natural sci. into social & spiritual spheres.
A means for stilling conscience

1 sh. = 12 d = $\frac{1}{20}$ £ ; 1 £ = 20 sh. = 240 d.

Lawrence, Edward P. Henry George in the British Isles. E. Leeming: MSH Press, 1957

- p. 9, 1. H. G. around special ^{antagonism} ~~opposition~~ + was used as a bite noir bes. of his wish to tax to the max.
(But that is inherent in land tax. The fact that the tax is so good is what makes it so bad. There is no goose to kill, only golden eggs to take.)
- 32 2. 1883, Land Nat. Soc. merges w. Social Demos. becomes Land Reform Union. S.D.s were socialists, collectivists. (Hyndman's party - p. 118)
- 33 Helen Taylor a founder, a Socialist and Nationalizer.
- 36 ✓ 3. At only 2 H.G. speeches was there "organized disorder." Oxford was one.
- 37 ✓ 4. '84, Land Restoration League, Georgists. Began the separation from Socialists. The loss was made up in '89 when they began cooper. w. Lib. Party. Being separate let them do so.
- 51 LN 5. Land Nat. pro compensation. (But H. Taylor wasn't, making her a Georgist.)
- 52 53 LN 6. Single Tax appeared 1888. ~~came~~ [56, H.G. said was a change of vocab. only.]
George became more explicit vs. Land natu.

54 7. But he never shook the socialist image, in Eng.
He worked w. leftists.

56 8. Fuel, Reform Assoc. favored land tax of 4s/£ =
20% (Not clear if of rent or V.)
H.G. wd. begin there & ratchet up, gradually.

58 9. '86 Socialists attacked him, esp. Hyndman.
Hyndman's Soc. Dems. were only Soc. group not to support T.H.V. later.

63 10. By '88 Socialists w/ their support. H.G. was identi-
fied w. Radical wing of Lib. Party.

72 11. '84. Gwyll attacks.

73 12. '88-89 visits, H.G. had purged Marxists, etc., was
more accepted by middle-class.

Rad. Libs sponsored '89 visit.

Lib. platform included L.V. & He was part of the
system!

75 Socialists, meantime, had moved from land nat. to
collectivism.

But George had shown how to gain radical
ends thru conventional politics.

- esp. G.B.S., p. 85, 86
- p. 17 11. Fabians ^{esp. G.B.S., p. 85, 86} were more tolerant of George than other Socialists. They used him as entering wedge.
S.D.s attacked him bitterly - for actions in U.S.
They also feared he wd go w. Rad-Libs.
80. They patronized his religiosity.
83, 115 Socialists disapproved of single tax label; free Trade + Cleveland.
- 89 14. Labor Party saw tlv as form of land nat., ∴ favored it.
- 90 15. 1886, J. Ch. bolted Lib. Party over Home Rule. But remained head of Rad faction of Lib. Party (how about Unionists?)
- 91 Gladstone ~~had~~ contempt for H.G.'s views on land.
- 92 16. Scottish radicalism esp. was moved by H.G.
- 95 17. Ch. wanted land municipalizn.
- 97 18. Cobden Club, T. Rogers, favor free trade in land.
Anti-Ch. linked him w. H.G. '84.
105 But '89, came around to support H.G.
- 97 19. Franchise Bill coming '84.
- 100 20. Ch. coy about denying belief in taxing land
193 '84, G. endorses Ch.

- 107 21. '86, Ch.'s bolting Libs. blew chance - seemed a strong probability - of his Rad. program winning. I.e., he sacrificed Rad. program for imperialism. The Irish issue again!
More.
- 134 106. he "became the Rad. philosopher."
- 125 104 22. But this left a leadership vacuum for Rads. In 1889 they used H.G! Sponsored his tour. He had become a major force in a major Party in Eng. ("adviser + field gen" p. 105)
(106) 1909 campaign based on slogan "The Land for the People."
- 105 T. Rogers + Cobden Club came around to support H.G. (Symptom of their seeing the commitment w. free mkt. in hand, diff. from land nat.)
As Rad-Libs. adopted him, Socialists denounced him.
- 105 23. UCTLV fd. 1889. Purpose: "Taxation of Ground Rents + Values."
- 111 24. Rad-Lib. pals. were for "taxn. of l.v." - not the "single tax", a more extreme position. (even if less extreme than P + P.)
✓ Allies on this issue: Cobdenites ("Frad. Reform Ass.") J.S. Mill's Land Tenure Reform Ass., Land Nat. Soc., Socialists, + Unions. I.e. the ff. of Cobden, Mill, Wallace, Shaw, Webb, etc. - + Devitt.)
aw.
- 119 All Socialists but Hyndman's Soc. Dems. pro TLV.

112 25. Gladstone ret. '95. Home Rule was his main issue.

112 26. '89. Eng. + Scot. Land Restoration Leagues joined to form UCLV.

113 Their monthly paper: The Single Tax, from 1894, Glasgow. 1902 changed to Land Values. Program now

called TLV. Getting a start was the idea; ult. degree ~~was~~ next ^{goal for a time; the voice.} Their members repd. wide range of degrees, only some of whom visualized "Single tax to the max," the polar position.

166 1919, journal changed name to Land & Liberty.

119 22. Muni. or local authorities were not for permission to TLV.

119 28. Unions pro TLV: ~~and~~ Land nat., they called it.

123 29. 1906, TLV and L.N. had bc. woven into Lib. platform. Pincus effect: "Tax or Buy." (Thus Valuation really puts LH on spot! Self-assmt. principle.)

130 Nat. Hsg. Reform Ass. proposed same. 1906. S.T.ers rejected, had their majority anyway.

123 But most Libs. never mentioned H.G. They knew that G's work had popularized TLV. They wished to benefit from the enthusiasm w/o accepting the ult. extremes.

125 30. Cons. avoided attacking, while they had power, bcs. TLV pressure was coming from all directions, + they didn't want to drive so many people to Libs.

- 126 31. ~~126~~ Sing. Taxes were intolerant.
(Single tax a bad slogan but, connotes single-minded)
- 126 32. Land tax became part of Lib. program after Gladstone ret.
1895. Rads won party control.
They used implied threat of ST as "weapon" (i.e. something they cd. bargain away.) (Hence their temporizing.)
- 130 Kier Hardie now sees land tax as step to nat-n.
135 Libs. used land tax to expose Peers, who were blocking all their program.
- 131 33. Churchill & Campbell-B. were main rumormongers for TLV, 1901.
132 Churchill esp. attacked Lords. 144 -
- 135 34. 1907, Govt. needed M for Pensions, and Navy. So a new tax was a strong thing to bargain with. Rejection wd. breach coalition & discredit Lords.
Libs., Labor & Socialists were united on it.
- 149 35. Edw. VII d. 1910.
- 153 36. Local
Land tax linked w. a nat. aid to local auths., 1911.
ST-ers support.
- 149-50 37. In 1910, Lords seem to assent to land tax budget; but issue of their Veto power remained, caused a second election. Libs. win both, but narrowly.

1911, on some bill, Lords aimed to death, Commons then threatens to pack Lords by creating new Peers, Lords knuckle under.

(But there was no schedule of implementation, evidently.)

- 155 38. Stalling goes on. 158, ^{referred to} Land Enquiry Committee for years. #
- 157 39. Cons. attacks focused on HG + ST.
- 157 40. Valuation was occurring slo-o-o-ly, but ^{little} ~~the~~ tax.
- 165 Some rev. was actually collected from 1909-10 taxes.
- 160 41. Jos. Fels bankrolled Eng. STers. 1914 d.

- 171 ~~166~~ 42. 1918 election destroyed Lib. Party. Labor took over. Labor was cooler to land tax. They had always seen it as means to an end, a stepping stone. Cast out STers who saw it as end in itself. Patronizing attitude.

But GBS, Fabian Essays, pub. ed. 1950, replicates HG. GBS claimed to have sold idea to Libs.

- 175 43. 1924, first Labor govt, brief. But no land tax, only a promise, + govt. fell in 1929. Swenden made the promise, as Ch. of Exch.

1+ finally recommended for TLV, 164

- 176 44. 1929, 2nd Labn Govt, weak coalition w. Libs.
 177 1931, land tax won + lost in 4 mos.
 Lab-Lib. majority replaced by ~~Cous.~~ a "National"
 Govt, a coalition, mostly Cons. Mac Donald + Snowden
 hung in there, but w/o power.
- .85 45. Clement Attlee was one of the few ^{enthusiastic} land taxers, 1934.
 Stafford Cripps was ~~another~~ a tepid one.
- 189 46. When Cons. swept away dev. charge, 1952, Sillkin +
 Labn proponents saw only route for some socializn. of L was
 LN nationalizn.
 190 But only by purchase! Wallace!

✓ No lack of political leaders committed to land tax:
 Campbell-Bannerman, Lloyd George, H. Asquith, W.
 Churchill, Ph. Snowden, Ramsey MacDonald, Clement
 Attlee, Stafford Cripps. Larkin's was consistent
 sustained majority support.

Mill, Autobio.

1

1. Quotes: pp. 44, 46, 49, 50, 51, 104, 113, 125, 126, 128, 132, 150, 192, -93, 196, 201-02, 250, 259, 262, 276, 277, 278, 286, 287
2. 96 "deeply sympathized" w. opinions of Turgot + condorcet, "wisest + noblest" of men.
3. "Bentham's Book of Fallacies"
In Mill's Logic, Chap. on Classification of Fallacies.
- aw 4. 138 From St. Simon picked up opposition to inheritance. Comte also ff. S.S., but left them. (aw got it from Owenites.)
5. 146 Hoped that anti-property doctrines would spread among poor. "... not that I desired that they should be acted on ..." but to scare the "higher class" into educating the poor.
(This helps explain H. Spencer!)
151, again.
6. Under influence of H. Taylor became a "Socialist." 196; 210
aw How to unite ^{impinged} liberty of action with a common ownership in the new int'l. of the globe. ...
7. 199. Urged peasant + props. on the waste lands of Ireland.
8. 224 Helen Taylor gets equal billing w. Harriet

9. L26 Cairnes a friend.

10. L48 "the superstitions of landlordism" ... "backward"

11. L49 Solution for Ireland: "giving to the existing tnts a permanent tenure, at a fixed rent..."

✓ This suggests that when he proposed socializing future
Δs he meant of rent, not LV.

12. Here, as in (5), he was "cute" (insincere). L50.

He made an extreme proposal "not to impede but to facilitate
a more moderate experiment."

L50, argues vigorously for making extreme proposals.

13. L50 Mill recognizes confusion re land rent.
Solution (11) "was usually discussed as a proposal
that the State should buy up the land ... this
in fact it only offered to each individual
landlord this as an alternative..."

LN

G.B. Shaw, "Bluffing the Value Theory", orig. Today, 5-1889.
rpt. Brendan Shaw & Karl Marx: N.Y.: Random House,
1930, pp 175-200.

p. 196 ... "profit to the props. of the more favourable rent
ctrl. being ex. rent, the main source of 'surplus value'.
w/o a thorough grip of this factor it is impossible to
defend Socialism ... "

p. 198 Marx's failure to see this makes Das K.
"useless"

This is a caustic attack on Hyndman for failing to
understand rent, Jevons, & Wicksteed, & Graham Waller.

Menion Clawson & Peter Hall, Planning & Urban Growth 1973.

- Page
- 32 1. Britain was 1st to ^{mass-}urbanize. 72% by 1891.
 - 33 2. E. Howard, Garden Cities, 1898.
 - 38 3. Idea of containment became fused w. correcting regional imbalance, & agr. protection.
 - 40 4. The war fostered interventionism.
 - 42 5. 1947 - radical means to conservative ends — stop migration. [cf. B.C.!] p. 42
 - 44 6. 1947, T & C Plng. Act.
Nati-onalized dev. rts. - all land, not just under. Then xfer. rts. to local ^{plng.} authorities, giving them "absolute power" over new dev. and redv.
All A.L.V. reverts to state then dev. change, and im. domain at existg use values.
 - 43 7. Contmt. "worked" - hi density, low loss from agric. post-1947.
 - 46 8. '51 Cons.s. returned. Also a mass consumer society wanting more space.
 - 49 9. Hi-rise was much used.
"County" planners wanted containment.
City " " went hi-rise, w. fed. aid.
 - 57 10. Plng. was to replace the mkt, but has become an element in it. (as in U.S.). A plan is "a spec's guide" 58
 - 57 11. '47 nationalized dev. rts - but 2 efforts to nat.-gain have failed.

- 58 12. Spec. gains are gift of the planning.
280 No spin or holding cost after you get planning permission -
no diligence spin. No local tax on ag. land.
- 156 13. E. Howard fidd. Town & Country Plng. Inst. Assoc.,
worked for new towns; gave name to '47 Act. P. Geddes.
U.S. ^{zone} planned earlier than Britain. Nat. Res.
Plng. Bd. abolished 1942. TVA.
- 159 14. Am. system relies on police power, an Am. town not
used in Br. No comp. required.
Br. system formally nationalizes dev. rts. But after
'53 owner who gets dev. permissions also gets benefits.
But also may get compensation?
- 160 15. 3 features of '47 Act 1 + 2 survive.
1. City Councils ^{+ large cities} preempt plng + zoning, subject to
~~that~~ nat. review. No judic. review. Minister is final.
2. No dev. w/o permission
3. Nat. of dev. values. 161.
- 161-63 16. '47 idea was:
- Pay for dev. values, down scaled to allow for floating value.
- After that, take 100% of betterment.
- Let owner keep all of Δ in exist'g use.
Foolishly left no incentive to dev!

Cons. return in '51

'53, abolish New, change.

Put. ~~to~~ to return for loss of dev. rts - i.e. L.N. -
was defunct; and was only to be pd. when dev.
permission was denied.

1959, em. down on our side were also to be at risk.
value. (1953-59 cons. were at the value, while
those who developed got mkt + value.)

Not result. return were pd. for denial of dev. rts;
but those who got dev. rts. not taxed! From one
extreme to ~~the~~ the other!

Save away the store!
184, spec. runs wild.
1964, Labor returns.

'67, very wild Land Comm. Act, allowed Comm.
to buy land in small units, then sell on lease.
was also supposed to be quicken.
'70, Cons. return, abolish. Back to '59
(except a cap, gain tax got in there.)

Concept of Nat.'s dev. rts. (it was in local plans.
authorities) remains.

166

19. Plan. used to decentralize.

179

20. Br. system called "elitist". Prof. planners as guardians, who define the "general good."

180

Also, preserves country-squire living for a few in countryside. 280, they force the cities in.

Preserves sectional status quo - blocks migration.

which is often a narrow part. interest. Upper class is better at manipulating a centralized power structure.

184

21. New's dev. vts. has allowed Greenbelts to continue. Density of new dev. is Ad.

Indy. contained more than d.u. - $\therefore$ more commuting.

277

22

Effects regressive.

280

23.

Low land price the problem.

Life of H.G. by H.G. Jr. © 1900

1. George opposed Chinese immigration "to the end of his life." 202

"Root the white race in the soil, & all the millions of Asia cannot dispossess it." 203

"Nationalism" was clearly his idea - the nation as unit. "Family, nation, race." p. 203.

2. Land Tax - Andrew Bisset, Strength of Nations, influenced H.G. p. 228

3. Rejection of P+T by Appleton, p. 315.

4. p. 333 M.W. Hazeltine review, N.Y. Sun.

5. p. 381 "Dewitt is for nationalization, & our programme".
- H.G. to F.G. Shaw. 382, more.

aw
~~H.G.~~ Dewitt favored Wallace's method - buy 'em out at half price. 1882

Then collect rent. Socialists preferred this to taxn., it smacked of "ingest."

'82 Dewitt broke w. Parnell, came out for natn.

aw
382 "But method just then was a 2ndry matter w. H.G."

p. 383: "I don't care what plan anyone proposes, so that he go on the right line."

aw

The right line was land natn., as vs. peasant prop.

Davitt's "work from now on is to be rather in Eng. than in Ireland."

Thus George brought an Irish movement to Eng — Marx a Germ. one. Both being rejected at home.

6. Davitt, 1879, formed Irish Land League. "The land for the people." Parnell co-opted, made it the Irish Nat. Land League.

Superseded Home Rule League.

(But later Parnell removed the "Land".) - p. 376

It ~~is~~ was now the official org. of Parnell's bloc of MPs. p. 346.

Patrick Ford was the great org. factor in U.S. + source of money. He went for Davitt's idea, also supported Parnell. 346-47.

(Later, P.F. backslid under pressure from R.C.C.)

7. 347. H.G. + Davitt were going to export radical program from Ireland to Eng. + U.S. Ireland was the stage.

Today's stage? El Salvador, etc. Mexicans in U.S. Once again, R.C.C. stands in the way! Right to Life!

8. 347 Am. Land Leagues formed to support Ireland. H.G. urged them to reform U.S. too.
405 after Parnell folded, Am. Land Leagues went to pieces.
9. 366 Irish MPs stayed aloof from H.G.
10. 367-68 H. Taylor said J.S. Mill wd. have endorsed H.G. (as she did.)
11. Parnell coopted, ^{by Gladstone} sold out for peasant prop. etc.
Always wanted to quiet the agitation. 376-77
12. H.G. was shunted out of the Irish movement.
388-89.
13. Invaded Scotland, stirred up crofters. 389
14. H.G. ~~at~~ thought "Now we shall start the revolution!" 390; 418

aw 15. 1882 Land Nat. Society started in London.
Included disparate elements.
Georgists soon pulled out & formed
Land Reform Union. 398
Wicksteed & H. Taylor were leaders.

16. 426 widows' pensions as social dividend

17. 427 (like J.S. Mill) HG took extreme positions in order to make others seem & feel more moderate.

18. Helen Taylor. ~~428~~ 428

From Chas. II, landlords have been paying little or nothing.

She wd. collect this with comp. interest.

4 sh/£ - i.e. 20%!

Say 1685, when Chas. II d. 1685 to 1885 is 200 yrs. $\frac{I^n - 1}{i}$, $i = .05$, $n = 200$

$\approx \$346,000$,

Miss Taylor was smart, all right!

19. 1884, Scottish Land Restoration League fdd., Glasgow. 434

20. '85, p. 453-54, Royal Comm. on Htg. sang G's tune. Included Card. Manning & H.R. the Prince of Wales!

- 5
21. '87, p. 500, P. Ford abandons H.G. + E.M.G.
bes. of their quarrel w. R.C.C.
 22. '87, crushing defeat for Secy of State, N.Y.
ULP was ended.
 23. '89, triumphed ton. Eng. + Scotland. 514-19
Support there, despite set back in U.S.
 24. 1890, Australia. 522-23
 25. 526, the cause is = rights for all children -
 26. '91, p. 578, F. Verinder head of Land Restoration
League.

Engel, 1933

1

1. Dewey saw HG as one whose ideas were plans of action, solutions to problems. - Intro by Dewey.
2. Dewey saw "vested interests have depreciated his intellectual claims in order to strengthen opposition to his practical means."

5

qW 3. Davitt favored land nat. via purchase - "ff. the purchase plan of Wallace." 62.

4. "Single Tax" of Physio's was to be $\frac{1}{3}$ of NP. 175
* (Shearnan, $\frac{2}{3}$)
HG, $\frac{3}{3}$.

5. "Co-proprietorship" was idea of Physio's - also Wallra. -176

6. Numerous minor anticipators - ch. IV.

(Add my list: Weber, Hotelling, etc.)

7. Way was paved, time was ripe in Eng.

a. Marx, Webb, Hyndman -- building on Chartism.

b. Mill, Land Tenure Reform Assoc., 1870,

qW also included Cairnes, Wallace, Moly, Rogers. See 21

c. Smith, Ricardo tradition.

8. It ~~at~~ found in Fabianism.

9. U.S. human socialism was rival.

10. U.S. "opportunistic coop." ended '87.

11. Eng. socialism more focused on land than continental. See 15, 24

12. Marx saw land tax as transitional, (t so it was when Lenin expelled Cernsky.)

13. Norman Thomas incorp. much of HG - 245, 268,

14. B. Russell a "Guild Socialist", part anarchist.

In Why Men Fight, 1917, incorp. much of HG.

15. Philip Snowden was a socialist who wd. tax land.

16. "Spaceship Earth" was from HG

17. Marx saw socialism not as ideal system, but an outgrowth of capm. Not as good, but inevitable. 263.)

H. G. saw his system as universal.

Marx : went w. "evolution", + modernism, being "all consistent".

Hence its wide appeal to kitchen, office-seekers, free riders.

18. N. Thomas made socialism a positive & American party. Free taken.

19. George a "wired ec." man, ~~was~~ ~~not~~ seeking opt. balance of social & individ. claims.

20. HG was teleological - saw a divine purpose, a design, Design. World as an orderly ~~&~~ creation: "laws are harmonious".

21. ~~As~~ Wallace was inspired by Social Statics 327

aw 1881, Land Nat. Society, Wallace the 1st Presid. Sec? 11 yrs. after Mill's LTRA.

22. Jos. Le Conte sought to reconcile evolution & teleology. Friend of HG. 327

23. 1909 Land Tax:

- a. Was on cap. value, not annual. A break w. Eng. system.
- b. Was for social purpose more than revenue

after 2 gen. elections power of Lords curtailed. But land tax unescalated in process. 411.

Was a sophisticated tax - 412.

24. Land problem has captured imag. of socialism in Eng. more than elsewhere. 416.

25. '31 London tax was simpler, & heavier. 417

LN Ag. values exempt. Urban premises, tax base was value above ag. value. 418.

Neville Chamberlain & St. Baldwin promise to repeal. 419-20.

26. U.S. & Canada & Austr. & S. Afr. more local option. Dk.

By: A. turn.

Uruguay. Arg.

N.Y.C.

N.D.

Calif. state campaigns: Luke North, U. Sinclair, J. Rolston.

1. Favored $P = MC$ for city wtr. + mass transit, p. 202

2. Ec. - of - abundance idea, 202.

3. H. Spencer, popular philosopher, 1850, Social Statistics, proposed land use. - but by purchase.

4. In P+P H.G. proposed land use fine. Taxn. was just a useful means. (Land use. was popular in Eng. then.)

In Land + Land Pol, homestead policy was equally desirable. 297

Only gradually did the strands separate: peasant prop.; socialism; tax reform. As they did, movement weakened.

5. In P+P, (+ more later) single tax focus narrowed it. Cranky sectarians of limited vision.

6. Intergov. relations neglected.

7. Leader in legal analysis.

8. Wallace nearly finished Land Nat. before hearing of P+P. Endorsed it heartily. 339

9. H.G. ~~was~~ worked w. socialists + land nationalists.

10. Land use. as a movement "stood on its own feet, quite distinct from ~~any~~ any variety of socialism." Mill had favored; + A.A. Wallace was leader, 1882. 317

11. Wallace named Davitt, unlike H.G. 319.

12. " used P+P in Land Nat.

In the great awakening, of radical reform in '80s, advocates were ~~glad to~~ thrilled to find + welcome

ca. other, ~~only~~ later & o'looked their diff. Only later did they indulge in diff. & division. - M.B.

- LN 13. Wallace method was inductive, based on actual condition
a.w. of people in Brit. Isles.
14. Jos. Chamberlain was for peasant prop. 362. But LVT initiation, 400.
15. Dawitt proposed nat. w. comp. - like Wallace.
cf. 11. 367
16. F.N. Newman & Thomas Spence, had earlier proposed
LVT.
17. Wicksteed: "Land nat. to be achieved gradually by way of
taxn, & w. special ^{attr.} ~~aff.~~ to mineral lands, remains a
conviction to the end, w. Ph. Wicksteed." 381-82.
18. '83. Spencer repudiated H.G., & any radical assocns.
Began to divide reformers.
Spencer assoc. w. land nat. 389.
19. ~~Compensationism~~ began to hurt him, 1884. 399.
20. Chartistism, 1838-48, had pushed peasant prop.
21. George inspired Fabian idea of reform within the
system. 413. New gospel thru old political
methods.
22. "Org. socialists regard ff. of H.G. w. undisguised hostility
& contempt..." 416, cited from Hobson.
Use this theme. He was not conservative critic but
socialist & under cons. ones who undid H.G.
He was supply-sides & laissez-faire.

1881. Middle class went for H.G. Socialism had patrons in elegant salons.

23. Social Darwinism - Sumner. 425

aw

But Wallace-ism went the other way!
Goldman calls it "Reform Darwinism" to say govt. must evolve, too.

24. Debate w. F.H. Walker, antic. Laissez Faire.

25. 443 H.G. pictured LVT as a net & in taxes. As mun. services. Hence the sympathy of socialists, & fear of conservatives. Later, in single tax era, there was an other foot, ~~the~~ critics said wd. raise too little. (e.g. Seligman).

26. U.S. less receptive than Eng.

Spans too wide; audience too thin. (Land too widely distributed.)

27. 449 dedicated to deductive approach, P.F.T. (only the Walker case was inductive.)

28. Labor was protectionist.

29. Am. Labor for 50 yrs had one land policy: homesteads. (Am. counterpart of peasant props, smallholders.)

George brought urban land into reach.

30. 1886 campaign, machine Demos. feared & fought H.G. - he rivalled them. Republicans cd. afford to patronize - 470.

31. Seligman joined "Social Reform Club of N.Y." after '86.
cf. # 30. 479

32. N.Y. Socialists "rode the ULP's kite" 468
1881-88.

33. Catholic hierarchy was "the most determined + effective force against him." 484. Ruined his political career.

Ruined his paper, The Standard. 491.

34. '87, Socialists broke away, ^{and were expelled.} ~~Otherwise, H.G. might have run for Presid. '88.~~ Took few votes. 496-99

Gompers w/drew. '88. 497.

35. '87, wave of anti-radical passion. 503. H.G. had antic. it by purging Marxists; but ~~lost~~ his party dwindled.

36. H.G. was pressed on rt. by Cath.; left by radicals, non-Christian immigrants.

So H.G. turned to middle class. 506-07.

37. 1888, Sherman & "Single Tax". 518-19.

Then became more of a proposal to limit taxes.

By 1889, there were 131 single-tax orgs. in U.S. Labor had bowed out; Langdon et al. took over. 521

LN 38. Th. Walker pro land rent. 525. Pro everything! - 564

Sid. Webb trying to use the socialist side of H.G. 525-26.

39. Swiden & Damer also for "land rent."

40. Post & Cronrade purged M'Geehy & Sullivan, left over ULP types, from Standard. H.G. Jr. with Post et al. Quitted down evangelicals.

aw 41. Huxley, natural inequality of man. 561

"Evolution-minded elitism". ~~to~~ (Fascism?).

41. cont. Note split among biological philosophers —
Wallace vs. Huxley
Cannon vs. ~~Fry~~ & ~~Cannon~~ Ernest Haeckel

LN 42. Bellamyites "Nationalism" pushed land tax as "rockbed of socialism". George dissociated. 563.

also sought disson. from various others, deplored wobblers like T. Walker, 564.

i.e., stopped trying ^{popular} united front coalitions.

43. JB Clark b. 1847
Seligman b. 1861

aw 44. HG attacked Spencer for "materialism & fatalism so often implicit in evolutionary thinking." 529.
George was idealist & utopian.

45. 1890s, Cleveland & Free Trade was his hope.

46. 1894 inc. tax was unconst. but contained tax on land rent. 605

47. HG favored State level action. 605

48. Supporting Bryan in '96 returned him to the left, and to politics.

Jefferson on the Land Question

(From a letter by Thomas Jefferson to Rev. James Madison, father of the statesman, written from France in 1785 and reprinted in the American Land Forum Magazine, 1986.)

...The property of this country (France) is absolutely concentrated in a very few hands... These employ the flower of the country... But after all these comes the most numerous of all classes, that is, the poor who cannot find work. I asked myself what could be the reasons so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work, in a country where there is a very considerable proportion of uncultivated lands... It should seem then that it must be because of the enormous wealth of the proprietors which places them above attention to the increase of their revenues by permitting these lands to be labored. I am conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable, but the consequences of this enormous inequality producing so much misery to the bulk of mankind, legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property... Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise. Whenever there are in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for man to live and labor on. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must make sure that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed. It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land, shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every means possible that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small landholders are the most precious part of the state...

Garrison on George

(From a letter by William Lloyd Garrison, Jr. to an unnamed friend, made available by Tom Greco of the School of Living. It is dated Boston, Jan. 4, 1898.)

...Yes, Henry George's death was a severe blow to me, partially prepared as I was. The warnings had been marked and repeated and he fully understood the risk he undertook. It was a well considered sacrifice and I am not sure that prolonged life would have been half as effective for his cause as was his striking death.

To me he stood as an inspirer and prophet. I was born into the anti-slavery struggle and inherited my veneration for the old abolitionists, but after emancipation this man brought me a new heaven and a new earth. He gave me light and comfort when social conditions seemed dark and discouraging. He showed how unjustly the higher power is blamed for man's greed and injustice. He pointed out the way - a return to righteousness and, as no other writer on political economy ever did, vindicated the ways of God to man on the lines of justice and freedom.

I may be mistaken, but I place him among the great benefactors of the race. It was a privilege to know and love him and a satisfaction to feel that I cast my lot with him in this day of small things, when such tribute as the nations paid him at the last was beyond the most extravagant dream. Without the right of all men to the use of the earth, men must be in subjection to their brothers and the extremes of wealth and poverty alarm civilization.

All reforms are related and this one never could have gained attention while American slavery lasted. Single tax is the child of abolition and a necessary sequence. This Henry George recognized...

ceived for a product. Thus, the land rentals of a nation, when summated, comprise a very substantial portion of Gross National (monetary) Income.

In my view, the Georgist stance should be that there should be "land rental taxation" to channel the socially engendered portion of national income into the national revenue. This actually reflects the dynamics of the process.

An Answer By LAWRENCE D. CLARK, SR. (Medfield, Massachusetts)

In GJ No. 55, Walter Horn asks, Would the single tax make large developments uneconomic? Here is my answer.

Mr. Horn seems to think that if big developers have to make their decisions in the absence of the speculative element, they will not make wise plans. He seems to feel that a real demand for a large shopping center as opposed to a smaller one, will not be satisfied if there is no speculative motive. On the contrary, it is evident to me that the "senseless quilt" he mentions can be blamed, in large part, on the presence of the speculative element.

I understand perfectly that a developer who has made a large capital investment in land must get his money back and must make use of speculative profits to offset his inability to make money building buildings. In fact, in the absence of speculative profit, the developer might well have concluded that the project was not a good one. On the other hand, if it was a good project and if we had had the single tax, the developer would not have had to make a big capital investment in order to acquire the land. The Single Tax removes land from the capital investment field. If the developer needed to acquire title to the land ahead of time in order to insure having it all in his possession before beginning the development, he would only have to pay the rent year by year, as a tax.

I acknowledge that there are transition problems involved in changing from our present tax system to full reliance on land value taxation. These are well known and need not be discussed in order to make my point.

In Single Tax philosophy, there is an implicit faith in the natural laws of the free market in the absence of monopoly. In expressing this faith, I do not wish to indicate that there is no place for planning boards and zoning laws. The will of the majority carried out by the people's elected government should prevail.

We must stop thinking up ways that land value taxation might be bad for some one and get on with the business of implementing it.

- - - - -

"HENRY GEORGE has sent me all his books... The more I know of him, the more I esteem him, and am astonished at the indifference of the civilized world to his work. If the new Tsar were to ask me what I would advise him to do, I would say to him: 'Use your autocratic power to abolish the land property and to introduce the single tax system, and then to give your power and the people a liberal constitution.'"

-From a letter by LEO TOLSTOY to Ernest Crosby, 1894
Submitted by Edith S. Capon

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CORRECTION: Wm. Costerus wishes to make a correction in our presentation of his article, "The State and Rent" (GJ No. 54). In the last paragraph appears the following: "The re-socialization of economic rent must be accompanied by a reduction, and eventually abolition of other taxes." Mr. Costerus advises that the word "other" should be omitted as he disagrees with the idea of "land value taxation."

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jerry b
The Prairie Rambler
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dear jb:

Enclosed from J.S. Mill seems quotable, if wordy. Maybe just the bold parts.

Sorry to learn of your "periods of crisis". Mill had them, too. " ... one of those moods when what is pleasure at aother times, becomes insipid or indifferent; the state, I should think, in which converts to Methodism usually are, when smitten by their first 'conviction of sin'".

He escaped by reading Marmontel's Memoires, "... and came to the passage which relates his father's death, ... the sudden inspiration by which he ... would supply the place of all that they had lost. ... From this moment my burden grew lighter."

Make of that what you will; I'll pass.

Here is my favorite, though: "... we yet looked forward to a time when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat, will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; ..."
(p.196)

There was a dry wit in the old boy, no?

Cheers,

single tax. Single Tax is a generic label for the programme of Henry George and others to socialize land rent by substituting one heavy tax on land value for most other taxes. It is not an adequate descriptor but a slogan that caught on. 'Land Value Taxation' is more used today, especially for a limited tax by a local authority. In Scotland and England 'taxation of ground values' and 'site-value rating' are used.

Specifically, the 'Single Tax' slogan marked a shift in the movement after 1887 as George swung towards the Centre after purging the Marxists from his United Labour Party, losing Powderley and Gompers, and demurring to the quixotic demands of Fr. Edward McGlynn. He was losing Irish-American support from the hostility of Parnell and the Catholic hierarchy.

Thomas Shearman, a corporate lawyer, coined 'Single Tax' to differentiate George's free-market, pro-capitalist programme from those of others who had coalesced around him in the radical and protest awakening of 1879-87. Soon it also served to differentiate Georgism from Bellamy nationalism and Bryan inflationism. In Britain it distinguished Georgists from Wallace's land nationalizers, Hyndman's Marxists, Webb's Fabians, and Parnell's and Chamberlain's movements for peasant proprietorship.

A change of emphasis followed. George had originally striven for rent socialization, redistribution and augmented social spending. Critics on the Right saw too much taxation and levelling. The Single Tax slogan emphasized the counterpart benefits of relief from other taxes. Single Taxers would remove state and local property taxes from buildings and movable capital, and lower most transit and utility rates, often to zero, meeting deficits from the rent-fund (anticipating the marginal-cost pricing policies elaborated by Hotelling and Vickrey). Critics on the Left now saw too limited a revenue; so did machine Democrats, militarists, public contractors, and of course landholders seeking developmental public works at the general expense.

The heavy national taxes in America were tariffs. With *Protection or Free Trade?* (1886) George attacked them,

invoking Quesnay, Ricardo, Cobden and Bright. Two million copies were printed, equalling his earlier *Progress and Poverty*. He supported Grover Cleveland in 1888 and 1892, hoping that free trade would force Congress to turn to land for revenues. Single Taxers in Congress succeeded in having the Income Tax Act of 1894 include land rent and unearned increments in the base, even though that was likely to be the grounds for its being held unconstitutional, and was. Single Tax began to connote tax limitation.

In *Protection or Free Trade?* George had restated the Physiocratic doctrine of tax incidence, while broadening it to include urban land, which most Physiocrats (except Turgot) had oddly excluded. There is only so much taxable surplus to tap under any system, and most of it lodges in land rent. Single Tax was simply the way to tax this surplus without what is now called the excess burden of indirect taxation. This might refute the charge of inadequacy, but the point has not been widely understood, and some still question revenue adequacy.

Shearman invited more such questions when he went another step from the Left with his 'Single Tax Limited', the upper limit being 2/3 of economic rent. To some adherents Single Tax is a tax limitation device. George remained a 'Single Taxer, Unlimited'. He held that taxation is only a means to Justice; Justice means every infant has an equal right to the Earth, its use and its rents. He remained a populist who supported Bryan in 1896, even though cold to the free silver panacea.

In Scotland and England George was active and well received by the radical wing of the Liberal Party. But Single Tax continued to mean an extreme position which moderates shunned, even when the Liberal Party put a land tax plank in its platform after Gladstone retired in 1895. Liberals under Asquith and Lloyd George introduced a token land tax in their 1909 budget. The Single Tax bogey frightened the Conservative members of the House of Lords into an intransigent obstructionism that alienated the voters and was used to consolidate the power of the Commons, the Liberals and Lloyd George, who then temporized away the land tax. Labour re-introduced a land tax in 1931 under MacDonald and Snowden, but Neville Chamberlain scuttled it finally in 1934. Postwar Labour Governments abandoned Single Tax as being too market-oriented.

Henry George died in 1897. Single Tax remained a power for another generation. Leaders like Shearman and Louis Post sought to professionalize the movement and reconcile it with middle-class values, a timely adaptation to the ethos of progress under scientific management. Somers, Pollock and Zangerle professionalized land assessment. Lawson Purdy helped found the National Tax Association. The Progressive and New Freedom movements absorbed many Single Taxers and reflected some of their ideals.

A century earlier at the court of Louis XV, François Quesnay and his Physiocrats had advanced the '*impôt unique*', an even more limited single tax restricted to farm land, and one-third the rent. Like Shearman, Quesnay argued efficiency and laissez-faire, not redistribution: it was the age of enlightened despotism, not of populism. They (and later their disciple Walras) called it 'co-proprietorship of land by the state'.

But there is a touch of class-levelling inherent in any proposal to tax land directly, however sugar-coated with the doctrine that landholders gain from removing other taxes; however limited by the safeguard of 'co-proprietorship'. Physiocracy could beguile a despot dreaming of energizing a decadent gentry, and liberating his people from tax farmers and a jumble of enervating excises that weakened France's economy. It was the fate of Quesnay, and of France, that the privileged gentry proved more sensitive to Physiocracy's threat than others were to its benefits.

Quesnay was closer than he knew to an age of populism; he might better have addressed the new constituency. Indirectly he did through his influence on Jefferson, transmitted through his disciples Pierre Samuel Du Pont and Destutt de Tracy; and through his influence on Smith, Ricardo and Mill, whose special treatment of land rent set the stage for George's Single Tax.

MASON GAFFNEY

See also GEORGE, HENRY.

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George, Henry (1839-1897). Henry George was by turns sailor, prospector, printer, reporter, San Francisco newspaper editor and publisher, orator and political activist before closeting himself to write on political economy. His *Progress and Poverty* (1879) electrified reformers, catapulted him to fame and began a worldwide movement for land reform and taxation, opening to George an extraordinary career in radical politics. Returning from Ireland as reporter for *The Irish World* of New York he was lionized by Irish-New Yorkers for his stand on the Irish land question. With ethnic, union and socialist backing he formed the United Labour Party and ran for mayor of New York in 1886, nearly winning.

He toured Britain and won over the Radical-Liberals; then toured Australia as a folk-hero. At home he was courted by Democrat and later by Populist leaders. He died in 1897 while running again for New York mayor, but his followers rose in and helped shape the Progressive movement which dominated the next twenty years. His name has become a byword for ideas and policies he espoused.

George is best known today for *Progress and Poverty* (1879). Eloquent, timely and challenging, it soon became and remains the all-time best-seller on economic theory and policy.

George defines 'The Problem' as increase of want with increase of wealth. Refuting Malthusian fatalism as merely a device to rationalize privilege, George attributes low wages and unemployment rather to artificial scarcity of land, and barriers to free exchange. Artificial scarcity results from unequal dispensation of public lands, concentration and 'speculation'. George's speculation is pervasive market failure endemic to land, which failure he attributes to holding for the unearned increment.

George proposed to raise the *ad valorem* property tax rate on bare land (broadly defined as all natural opportunities), thus socializing rent without excess burden. He would remove other taxes, calling them barriers to commerce, employment and capital formation. The cash drain of the *ad valorem* tax, while neutral at the margin, would move and lubricate the land market as a whole, forcing land into full use. Observation persuaded him that otherwise speculation overrode the incentives to use land fully.

Release of hoarded lands would open wider opportunities for both labour and man-made capital. His overriding concern was for labour, but he saw capital mainly as a form of labour, produced by labour, complementing labour. So in an era before payroll taxes it was actually capital and commerce he sought to untax for the benefit of labour - a preview of 'business Keynesianism' in W. Heller's production of Camelot.

George did not see investment employing labour, but labour producing capital, a difference that to him was more than a nuance. While admiring Quesnay he never absorbed the Physiocratic idea of 'avances'. Instead he attacked its English derivative the wages-fund theory with its advances of subsistence, a concept he rejected as condescending to labour. He developed no concept of economic circulation, either of capital or spending. He lacked a good capital theory, belittling Austrian interest theory and botching his own. These faults narrowed the effective scope of his otherwise seminal work and ultimately limited its influence, which is still wide and sustained but mainly outside the macroeconomic field it addressed.

His programme would level barriers to exchange and specialization and production and synergy. These include spatial barriers forced by land speculation (e.g. scattered settlement and urban sprawl); fiscal barriers like excise and wage taxes; and social barriers from unequal wealth and contempt for workmanship, which he (like Veblen) traced to the influence of privilege and unearned wealth. This 'true free trade' would unleash technological, scientific, cultural and spiritual development in a more egalitarian and moral society organized around a perfected market mechanism.

George drew on earlier thinkers: Quesnay, Smith, Ricardo, Spencer, and Mill. And he contributed much to later thinking.

George was system-minded and sought to unify the laws of production and distribution in a coordinated harmonious system. His theoretical framework is an early adumbration of

the marginal productivity theory of wages, which he integrates with Ricardo's rent law. J.B. Clark was a nemesis, and P. Wicksteed a friend, but both were formalizing insights from George.

Although best known as a deductive thinker, the journalist was also an observer with statistical intuition. In debate with Francis Walker on 'The March of Concentration' in farming, George anticipated Lorenz's method of analysing size distributions and goaded the US Census into publishing farm size data in that form.

George wanted radical redistribution but without revolution. He pioneered the idea that taxation, properly crafted, can redistribute wealth without damage to the market. His influence on Fabianism was early and wide; also on American reformers like Tom L. Johnson, Upton Sinclair, John R. Commons and Norman Thomas. The modern 'mixed economy' is in the Georgist spirit of reform within traditional forms.

Continued heavy reliance on real estate taxation in Canada and the United States, with separate assessment of land value, reflects George's influence, as do the inclusion of land rents and gains in the income tax base, and the efforts of Lloyd George, Asquith and Snowden to introduce national land taxes in Britain.

Free provision of public goods, social dividends, and marginal-cost pricing for urban mass transit and utilities are vintage Henry George. H. Hotelling and W. Vickrey have acknowledged their debt.

The optimistic 'economics of abundance' idea owes much to George. The prevailing 'dismal' economics was a science of choice where all the choices were bad and leaders could only call for more sacrifices. George promised full employment at higher wages by unlocking natural opportunities now held in speculation. Needed capital would be formed in the very process of making jobs, an idea pervading Keynes. Social synergy would produce a surplus that spills over into higher land rents, a 'free lunch' that government may tap in lieu of taxes that penalize and abort useful activity.

George lives too in Urban Economics and City Planning. George's emphasis on the synergistic gains from urban linkages, and the wastes of sprawl caused by failure of the land market anticipates much of planning doctrine. Ebenezer Howard is an obvious link: his 'Garden City' presupposed Georgist taxation to move the land market.

The idea that environment is a common heritage for future generations in pure Georgism. 'Spaceship Earth', common property, and rights of the unborn are his very phrases.

As to Economic Development the economists are legion who have recommended a 'dose of Henry George' to help LDCs take off, and some like Taiwan, belatedly following the counsel of the Georgist Dr Sun Yat-sen, have taken the dose with good results.

On the conservative side, George was a pioneer of tax limitation, insisting that land rent set an upper limit on government spending. The resurgence of libertarianism and supply-side economics may set a new stage for George, whose programme was mainly oriented to increasing production in the private sector. Religion in politics should not threaten George, who unabashedly presented economic policy as an implementation of religious ideals.

George's blend of radicalism and conservatism can puzzle one until it is seen as a reconciliation of the two. The system is internally consistent but defines conventional stereotypes.

MASON GAFFNEY

See also LAND TAX.

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Also interesting are his two long articles. Starting in 1910 from a discussion introduced in 1755 by Cantillon on the demographic impact of a change in landlords' consumption behaviour, Landry finally explains why the returns to primary factors indeed vary with exogenous shifts of individual preferences. Discussing unemployment in 1935, he explains that it reveals an excess of the wage rate over the marginal productivity of labour but is mainly due to a depression of this productivity and can be cured by measures that will raise it again.

From his first writings, Landry always paid attention to population, which later became his main concern. His 1909 article introduced the distinction between three demographic regimes, population being regulated by mortality and the minimum of subsistence in the first case, by fertility behaviour and the wish to achieve some standard of living in the other two, but whereas in the 18th century the objective was a stationary standard of living, it shifted to a permanently progressive one in the late 19th century, 'social capillarity' making this progress feasible for everybody's children. His 1929 article on the optimal size of the population is interesting since it introduces an objective function that was also preferred in the theory of optimal economic growth in the 1960s: a sum of annual terms in which each term is the product of population size and a utility of average consumption per person. His main thesis, developed in his 1934 book, was that a decreasing population leads to decadence, this thesis being substantiated by a study of Ancient Greece and of the cultural centres of the Roman empire.

E. MALINVAUD

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land tax. Taxation is the form of socialization used in market economies. Choosing what to tax is choosing what to socialize. Rather than socialize labour or repel capital it is possible to tax land.

Land holds a unique place in the distributional ethic because it is (by definition) of natural origin. Man did not create Earth with its resources but rather fights over it. Land is also (with exceptions) more nearly permanent than man or his works. Thus, rent as private income neither elicits the supply nor

preserves it. Its main function is to allocate the fixed supply among uses, but it is arguable that land taxes, when based on land's capacity-to-serve, are at worst neutral to this function and at best improve on it.

The philosophical rationale for land taxes is strongest under an organic theory of the polity. It is no accident that Henry George (prominent protagonist of land taxes) crystallized his ideas after reading Andrew Bisset's *Strength of Nations* on feudal levies. Landholders have a privilege from the State and in return are liable for taxes in perpetuity.

The entire value of land, now and forever, is here regarded as a benefit received from government. This is consistent with Alfred Marshall's concept, 'the public value of land', where value is the product of three things: nature; government; and spillover values from development of adjoining and linked lands. All these values, being unearned by the individual landholder, are fit to be taxed.

The organic view distinguishes the land from its holder. Land taxes may be paid by income the land earns, not by the holder as a person unless we identify him with the land and regard him as having a prior right to own land free of liabilities to the public from which he holds title. The contractual theory, by contrast, treats government as a kind of business, extending services to specific lands whose holders need pay only for recent benefits received, construed narrowly.

The rationale for land taxes presumes a functional attitude toward distribution, regarding property not as an end in itself but a means to get things done. A land tax based on market value, not varying with actual use, is a fixed cost that sharpens marginal incentives. Critics today seldom argue otherwise, but oppose land taxes precisely because they do force landholders to respond to the market, which may have its own faults in a world of 'second-best'.

Land taxes are *in rem* and so disregard the holder's personal circumstances, a drawback in some opinions. On the other hand landholdings are much more concentrated than the receipt of income or taxable consumption or payrolls, and land taxes are not shifted, making the tax inherently progressive even though but loosely correlated with taxable income. Avoiding land taxes is next to impossible, even though collection enforcement is limited to seizing the land, not the person or any other asset.

The rationale includes a concept of landholder stewardship. A limited number of land titles were issued in order to get land under tenure to assure best use. So far so good, but those not receiving or inheriting land need a counterpoise to assure they receive their share. Land taxes do so in three ways: by supporting government; by pressing landholders to produce goods and services; and pressing them to hire workers to do so. Land taxes act as a kind of social audit and performance standard of stewardship to promote equity towards those excluded.

There is also more equity among landholders, which in turn promotes efficiency. Absent land taxes there is pressure on government to do as much for A's land as for B's. Efficiency however calls for specialization and differentiation, meaning high values for some land and low values for other, with windfalls and wipeouts. Land taxes automatically compensate the losers from the gains of the winners, thus freeing land planners to maximize the joint benefits.

The rationale of equity for the excluded says that lands with open general access like parks and roadways should be exempted in whole or in part. But such exemption can lead to overcrowding, to meet which it is clear that some user charges on such land can be construed as special kinds of land taxes. An obvious example is a charge on large trucks in downtown

streets. Lacking any such constraint the crowding might in turn lead to indefinite expansion of the exempt land use.

The rationale is only partly consonant with personal ability to pay. Landholding confers potential ability to pay, but that is only realized upon one's using the land well. And earned cash is not tapped at all. A land tax is a fixed periodic charge. It is based on qualities inherent in the land with few concessions to the landholder's personal illiquidity, weakness, setbacks or ageing. 'Use it or sell it' is the message, which many consider too harsh.

What is harsh for the distressed holder, however, is accommodating to frustrated buyers, and it boils down to which group shall be accommodated. Since liquidity is known not to increase in step with total wealth, imposing taxes on landed but illiquid holders has a strong progressive effect. The regular flow of land taxes also accommodates governments, especially small local ones needing steady revenues that are not turned on and off at the convenience of others.

It is not always a question of selling complete units. Land around homes and enterprises is subject to sharply diminishing marginal utility or productivity and a function of land taxes is to constrain horizontal extension of holdings, to the end that the nucleus of each holding may be closer to others to facilitate trade, cooperation, linkages, sharing common costs, and other synergies. The 'highest and best use' of land is usually that which most relates to and complements its neighbours and trading partners, who must not be held too far distant.

There is also a diminishing return to time as buildings age, and a function of land taxes, in conjunction with building exemption, is to advance (and/or stop retarding) renewal of sites, neighbourhoods, cities, regions and whole economies.

Locke, Quesnay, Adam Smith and others have shown a tendency to shift all taxes to land, whatever the nominal base or event, assuming elastic supplies of labour and capital. This leads some to conclude that all taxes alike just tap land rent. But one cannot tap rent where there is none. Taxes on other bases simply abort the taxed input or activity at the no-rent margins of land use, both extensive and intensive. This excess burden in turn puts an upper limit on the possible tax rate, thus sparing much rent from being taxed at all while destroying other rent completely. The only way to tap much rent is to tax land directly.

Land value and capital are not convertible into one another (excepting exhaustible minerals, not treated here). From this it follows that efficiency does not require equal tax rates on the two, but only uniformity within each class. Uniformity is impossible with capital because of differential concealability. But land is uniformly non-concealable. The case for neutrality of land taxes is stronger under uniformity, but mainly requires that the tax not be a function of use.

A land tax may be based on the current potential rent, or on value. In most countries other than Britain it is the latter. Values are not simply proportional to rents because many land values are elevated above that by expected higher future rents. In such cases taxes rise high relative to cash flow, and at a stiff rate may even be higher. This subjects the holders to a cash drain. The extra tax may be shown, however, in general to tax the unrealized increment, in the manner advocated by Haig Simons, at the time it accrues. There is some recent falling-away from Haig-Simons, and to one school now this is 'double taxation', an issue currently mooted.

The most controversial question in land taxation is the effect on appreciating land. Most hands agree the land tax advances conversion to the higher use. To Henry George this 'sovereign remedy' would correct a market failure and unlock speculative

holdings with profoundly beneficial effects. To several modern writers following Richard T. Ely the advance of conversion is unneutral and somewhat wasteful. Speculation is seen as efficiently keeping land from premature commitments. To this writer it seems mathematically obvious that an efficient adaptation to rising future incomes would result in advancing, not retarding conversion. But the issue is now moot.

Land taxation at the local level has a natural cap in local particularism as expressed in 'Don't swamp the lifeboat'. Land taxation by a central national government might go much heavier, and accordingly statesmen like Austen Chamberlain in Britain and James Madison in America have contrived to divert land taxation to local governments. Colin Clark, on the other hand, has published a plan to nationalize land through taxation without depriving the poorer localities. He would rank the local jurisdictions in order of land value per capita, and apply a central government surtax starting from zero but graduated upwards according to this ratio. The scheme basically has central government apply to local ones the same principle of direct land taxation that local governments can apply to individuals, tapping the rich rents without destroying marginal rents. Clark, like George, may have been reading Bisset's *Strength of Nations*.

MASON GAFFNEY

See also GEORGE, HENRY.

single tax

land tenure. See COMMON LAND; SHARECROPPING.

Lange, Oskar Ryszard (1904-1965). Lange was born on 27 July 1904 in Tomaszów Mazowiecki, near Łódź, into the family of a German-born textile manufacturer, and died on 2 October 1965 in a London hospital following thigh surgery. He studied law and economics in Poznań and Cracow. His main tutor was Adam Krzyżanowski, liberal and Anglophile. In 1929 Lange studied in London and in 1934-5 in the United States, mostly at Harvard and Berkeley. He lectured in statistics and economics in Cracow (1927-37), Chicago (1938-45) and Warsaw (1948-65). Politically involved since his youth, he was active at the Independent Socialist Youth Union in the interwar period. During World War II he pushed the cause of Soviet-American rapprochement and socialist-communist cooperation. He served as the first ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Washington (1945-6) and as the Polish delegate to the UN Security Council (1946-7). Later he was member of parliament and member of the State Council in Poland.

Lange's special position in economic theory rested on his profound knowledge of its main currents, both of Marxist economics and Western academic economics (above all the neoclassical) and later both of capitalist and centrally planned Eastern European socialist economies. This induced him to make several attempts at a 'major synthesis' and to undertake political actions for a rapprochement between the West and the communist world, for peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation.

CAPITALISM AND ECONOMICS. The capitalist economy was Lange's chief research concern from his early youth until the end of World War II. His primary interests included the study of business cycles and the evolution of capitalism. His PhD thesis was a study of business cycles in the Polish economy 1923-7 (1928), and won the title of docent (assistant professor)

Wallace, Alfred Russel (1823–1913). Wallace discovered independently the principle of natural selection which he and Charles Darwin co-published in 1858. Wallace's speciality was zoogeography, consonant with his early work as a surveyor and his later on land policy. 'Wallace's Line' through the Makassar Straits dividing Indo-Malayan from Austro-Malayan fauna is an enduring, if modified monument. His *Geographical Distribution of Animals* (1876) has dominated the field.

The acclaim given to natural selection gave new authority to the natural scientist, shaping ideas of social conduct based on new insights into man and nature. For Wallace it was *land*, man and nature. He was influenced by the young Herbert Spencer of *Social Statics* (1850) who wrote then of equal rights to land.

'Survival of the fittest' (Spencer's apothegm) lent itself easily to legitimize predation among humans, reinforcing the dismal doctrines of Malthus. 'Social Darwinism' as articulated by the later Spencer, T. H. Huxley, W. G. Sumner and others became a materialistic, evolution-minded elitism. But Wallace saw mental, social and spiritual factors guiding human evolution. He put his scientist's prestige on the popular side of social issues.

Land policy was aflame with strife. Wallace was outraged by the clearances of the times, and past enclosures, and Irish landlordism, and slums where evictees huddled. In *The Malay Archipelago* (1869) he digressed from natural science to laud primitives as civilized, and score Britain as barbaric. John Stuart Mill sought Wallace out to join the Land Tenure Reform Association which occupied Mill's last years, 1871–3.

Mill's object was to nationalize future increments of land value (or perhaps of rent). Wallace deferred to Mill, but later grew more radical, moved by the Irish land agitation. In 1880 he criticized Parnell's programme for Irish peasant proprietorship as not abolishing privilege, but merely reshuffling some titles.

In 1881 The Land Nationalization Society was formed on Wallace's lines, with him as president. In *Land Nationalization* (1882) he laid out his programme. The state was to assume title to all land, compensating holders with an annuity for the duration of lives in being, based on the same net income from the land derived before nationalization. All men could now lease parcels for use, consummating the natural relation of man to nature, alternating between industry and agriculture.

Land nationalization was not collectivist. Lessees were to have secure tenure and tenant-rights to improvements. Rents to the state would be based on the assessed 'inherent value', dependent only on natural conditions. As a surveyor and a biogeographer Wallace readily distinguished inherent value from man's improvements to land, which he saw as transitory.

Present holders would lose the right to sell; to bequeath; and to let land. They could only hold what they occupied and used themselves. Wallace saw land inheritance as a dysgenic factor in human evolution, giving an artificial advantage to unfit heirs both individually and in their collective power to control social evolution.

Wallace held that man's mind overrode the action of natural selection on his body. The mind understood and controlled natural forces. Without inheritance natural selection would be based on individual merit. Universal education would delay marriage; social reform would reduce male death rates, and female choice would replace Malthusian frightfulness as the engine of selection to improve the race.

Wallace's view was kindred in spirit to Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879), although Wallace had less regard for the market. Both saw man as needing land. Their mutual disapproval of Parnellism brought them together, and both submerged methodological differences to further their common concept. Wallace gave him a platform when George toured Britain. Wallace cast George as a theorist who confirmed Wallace's inductive argument, perhaps underrating George's journalistic background. For many years single tax and land nationalization were closely linked by friend and foe. To Liberal Prime Minister Herbert Asquith they were two arms of a pincers, driven together by valuation: 'Tax or Buy' was his slogan.

In later years Wallace went socialist, but continued to support single tax, which from 1895 to 1914 dominated land reform efforts in Britain. But land reform when it came in the Town and Country Planning Act (1947), although neither would have owned it, evinced more Wallace than George.

MASON GAFFNEY

See also GEORGE, HENRY.

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Brown, Harry Gunnison (1880-1975). Harry G. Brown was born in Troy, New York, the son of an accountant. He was stricken from age four with tuberculosis of the hip. He graduated from Williams (1904) and took his PhD at Yale in 1909.

Brown instructed at Yale from 1909 to 1915, working closely with Irving Fisher. Herbert J. Davenport then hired him at the University of Missouri where he succeeded Davenport as Chair, remaining there through 1947. After retirement in 1950 he taught at The New School, The University of Mississippi, and Franklin and Marshall. During the Pennsylvania residence he campaigned vigorously, although in his eighties, for adoption of the graded tax in cities of that state, under its local-option law. He returned to Columbia, Missouri to retire, and continued publishing and speaking until his death at the age of 95.

Brown was the premier exponent among orthodox theorists of taxing land values and saw rail/utilities as generating taxable rents. There is producer surplus when rates exceed average cost. There is also consumer surplus when rates fall below average benefits. Both surpluses were locational and lodged in land rents. This led to a general interest in taxing land. He used conventional tools, careful craftsmanship, and a priori methods. Brown refuted J.B. Clark's idea that 'the lure of unearned increment' was a constructive incentive for pioneering; and Frank Knight's idea that land is like all other resources because it has an opportunity cost; and Ely's doctrine that 'ripening costs' of land speculators justify urban sprawl.

He criticized most non-land taxes, but opposed Federal deficits more than any tax, seeing deficits as competing directly for capital formation. He attributed macro problems to cost-push, pointing to overpricing of land and raw materials, which land taxation would abate; to high interest rates forced by inadequate bank reserves; to associationism in industry; and to the perverse behaviour of regulated rates under average-cost pricing, where reduced demand forces rates to rise and worsen a depression. He would increase investment opportunities by abating taxes on capital.

MASON GAFFNEY

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