

taken in any way interfering with the California situation, we being left to settle our own differences our own way. Mr. Robinson asked me to put such a statement in writing; which in a very hurried and temporary form I did as an addendum to the motion before the house, which I did not have before me at the time. This statement I submitted to Mr. Robinson. He said it would satisfy him, but before entering into a full agreement I said I ought to consult Judge Ryckman and the others who had been supporting us during the conference. Mr. Robinson meanwhile had consulted Luke North, who agreed to accept this addendum, at least Mr. Robinson so reported, whereupon Mr. Robinson and myself proceeded to consult the group of 24 Single Taxers as to whether they would agree to support this addendum. This group decided that before any action could be taken they would have to see the original resolution, and Mr. Robinson proceeded to procure it for us, meanwhile agreeing to hold up the action of the conference until we could discuss the matter. As we were discussing it, word was sent that the conference had already passed the original resolution, and therefore any further action on our part was abandoned. Subsequently Mr. Robinson made a demand on me for the original copy of the proposed addendum which we informed him was no longer available."

---

## THE GREAT ADVENTURE

---

### REPORT OF ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE PREPARED FOR THE REVIEW BY THE PROVISIONAL OFFICERS OF THE GREAT ADVENTURE FOR THE SINGLE TAX

---

When the news reached us of the remarkable vote which had been obtained in California for an amendment to the constitution of that State providing for immediately devoting to public purposes the rental value of the land, we were all thrilled by the evidence that the people of that State had responded so heartily to a bold and undiluted statement of our beliefs, and we were filled with the hope that the time would soon arrive when the rights of the people to the revenues derived from the land would be recognized by the law of that State.

Such a notable event called for endorsement by all Single Taxers who cherished the living hope of seeing their past work crowned with success. Those of us in the East who were not familiar with the California work desired to meet the California leaders who carried on the campaign and to learn from them the reasons why their work had been so successful, in order that we might learn how the conditions here could be improved.

In furtherance of this plan we sent the following telegram to Mr. Luke North:

"Conference of those who want Single Tax now, to be held at Atlantic City, April 13, 14 and 15 arranged by Pennsylvania Single Tax Party and numbers of your friends in Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, etc. Expect large attendance to endorse Great Adventure and to create a political demand for a free earth here and now. Will you come? Will guarantee your expenses up to two hundred and twenty-five dollars."

We received an immediate reply that he would be glad to attend.

Our telegram reached him on a Wednesday evening while a public meeting was being held in Los Angeles to continue the interest in the work, and it was received with cheers, and his acceptance was unanimously approved.

The following call was then issued, signatures to which were fully obtained in about two weeks, beginning March 7. This was published in the *SINGLE TAX REVIEW* in its March—April issue.

It was also published by the *Single Tax Herald* and by the *Great Adventure*, and a full page advertisement appeared in the *Public*.

"We, the undersigned, deeming the "Great Adventure," endorsed by 260,000 voters of California, as marking an epoch in the history of the Single Tax Movement in America, call upon the citizens of the United States to assemble at Atlantic City on April 13, 14 and 15, 1917, to endorse the "Great Adventure," and to consider ways and means of advancing the cause throughout the country."

This call received the signatures and the hearty endorsement of practically all to whom it was presented, and 129 of those who were closely identified with the work signed the official copy and in many cases contributed to the funds needed for the conference expenses.

The committee on arrangements concluded the call as follows:

"An earnest invitation is extended to you to take part in this conference which it is hoped to make the most important gathering thus far in the history of the movement.

"Luke North, the popular leader of the Great Adventure Campaign in California, will be present. Come and meet him and give to the gathering the benefit of your presence, advice and enthusiasm.

"Signify your intention of being at the Conference by sending your name now to the Committee of Arrangements, 1515 Arch St., Philadelphia. Help us to defray the necessary expenses by drawing a check to William G. Wright, Treasurer for the Committee of Arrangements. Signed James A. Robinson, Chairman; William G. Wright, Treasurer; James H. Dix, Secretary."

Interest in the event continued to grow and a hearty approval of its aims and purposes was manifested.

About three days previous to the time the conference met, information reached the committee that some Single Taxers of California, who were connected with an association known as the "Equity Tax League," were coming

to the conference to oppose the endorsement of the "Great Adventure." Suggestions were also made to those actively engaged in conference work that the members of the "Great Adventure" could be considered a faction of the Single Taxers of California because the members of the "Equity Tax League" were not in favor of the methods and propaganda of the campaign of 1916. It was argued that an endorsement of the "Great Adventure" would be an endorsement of one of the factions of that State, and that it was therefore impolitic and inadvisable.

It became known that a few of those who signed the call had held a meeting and had decided to support the protesting delegation.

A discussion of this kind had not been anticipated by the committee when the call was issued, and the hearty reception which was given it did not suggest the thought of a contest. It seemed so plain that the political success of a frank and full declaration of our belief should receive from Single Taxers only commendation and support.

Mr. Luke North was invited to attend a meeting called to endorse the work and purpose of the organization which he represented. He expected to meet his friends in pleasant and social appreciation of his services to the cause, and his friends expected to meet him in sympathy and regard.

A large attendance was present at the opening session on Friday afternoon, April 13th.

Mr. James A. Robinson, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, called the conference to order, and introduced Mr. Wm. Riddle, former Mayor of Atlantic City, who gave an amusing address, describing his success in obtaining very considerable wealth from a foolish community, to which Mr. Bolton Hall responded in a happy mood.

Mr. William L. Ross, of Arden, Delaware, was introduced as temporary chairman, and made the key-note speech in which he reviewed the failure of the indirect and half way methods of work for the Single Tax through so many years, and declared it was time for the straightout fight for the full principle of the restoration of the land to the people as exemplified by the Great Adventure Campaign in California.

The following permanent officers of the conference were elected: William J. Wallace, of Newark, N. J., Chairman; James H. Dix, Secretary.

Committees were appointed on Rules and Resolutions. Several resolutions were introduced, one of which was referred by the conference to the Committee on Resolutions, with instruction to report it to the conference at the evening session.

At the evening session the conference adopted a rule that speeches in debate should be limited to ten minutes.

It was attempted at this time to provide special time for those who had appeared to approve the adoption of resolutions endorsing the "Great Adventure," but the conference decided not to alter the rules in their favor, but arranged that speeches could be extended by unanimous consent.

The committee reported a resolution in memory of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, and petitioning Congress to appoint the day of his birth as an annual National Holiday. The chairman announced that such a resolution was not in conformity to the purposes of the conference as described in the call, as it was evidently a resolution that was not merely commendatory in character, but one which suggested action by Congress, and which was subject to debate, requiring the time of the conference, and it was, therefore, not in order. His decision was sustained by the conference. It subsequently developed that at the time the resolution was referred to the committee, the reference was made under instructions that the resolution was to be reported to the conference at the next session. The Chairman, therefore, following the instructions of the conference given at the previous session called for a vote upon the adoption of the resolution, and the resolution was not approved.

A resolution was presented suggesting a proposed constitution for the National Single Tax League, but was ruled out of order by the chairman and the decision was sustained by the conference. The following resolution was adopted:

“Whereas, liberty of thought and action is a fundamental factor in Single Tax philosophy and it is therefore inevitable that different methods of propaganda will prevail:

Resolved: This conference welcomes to fellowship all men and women who are striving to destroy privilege and to establish equality of opportunity.”

The Saturday morning session was devoted to reading of communications and speeches by the members.

A paper was read from Mr. E. B. Swinney and letters from Mr. Frank Stephens, Mr. Daniel Kiefer, Mr. Louis F. Post and Mr. Chas. S. Prizer. An address was given by Mr. George Wallace and a paper was read by Mr. Antonio Bastida.

Resolutions were adopted on the death of Henry George, Jr., after an address by Mr. Frederick C. Lebuscher:

On Saturday afternoon the conference was addressed by the Secretary, Mr. James H. Dix, who in a short and eloquent speech introduced Mr. Luke North, chairman of the “Great Adventure,” California.

Mr. North addressed the conference with dignity and great ability. He showed how the straight out fight appealed to the mass and how they responded to the appeal to their idealism by which they could be moved in the mass.

He also stated that although he had not anticipated opposition at the conference he hoped the conference would give any opposition proper opportunity to be heard.

After his address an ovation was given to him and the convention stood and sang the Land Song.

A resolution was presented endorsing the "Great Adventure".\*

The floor was then thrown open for discussion and Mr. Charles James of California announced that representatives of the "Equity Tax League" would like to have the conference listen first to Mr. A. Lyle de Jarnette. After Mr. de Jarnette had spoken for ten minutes Mr. Frederick C. Leubuscher moved that his time be extended. The chairman notified the conference that the time could be extended by unanimous consent. Mr. Robert C. Macauley moved that unanimous consent be given to all the representatives of the "Equity Tax League" to address the conference for one-half hour each. This motion was unanimously carried and Mr. A. L. de Jarnette continued his address. He was followed by Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson of California, who made a brief address in support of the "Great Adventure."

Judge J. H. Ryckman, representing the "Equity Tax League," then spoke for nearly an hour, and Mr. Chas. James concluded the California protest with a speech lasting about one-half hour.

The conference then adjourned to the following morning.

At the Sunday morning session the conference resumed the consideration of the resolution endorsing the "Great Adventure" and an amended resolution was offered by Mr. Francis H. Warren, of Detroit, seconded by Lona Ingham Robinson. Another amending resolution was offered by Frederick C. Leubuscher, of New York. Mr. Leubuscher after a short address withdrew his amendment, and Mr. Warren then withdrew the amendment he had offered. Several speeches were made in endorsement of the "Great Adventure" and a vote was then taken. The resolution of endorsement was approved by an overwhelming majority of more than two hundred with only two or three dissenting votes.

During the session and before the vote of endorsement was taken the conference took a short recess to hear a chalk-talk by Mr. Bengough.

A committee was appointed to present a permanent form of organization at the afternoon session.

Mr. William M. Callingham, of New Jersey, presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

"Resolved: That the conference insists that the basis of political action and effort everywhere shall be the positive statement of the fundamental principles of the Single Tax—the freeing of the earth from monopoly, and its restoration by the taxation of land values only."

The following resolution was presented by Mr. James H. Dix and adopted unanimously by the conference:

"Whereas: Our country has recently experienced a serious condition of food shortage and high prices, and the deplorable food condition in Europe

---

\*For Resolutions see page 150.

warns us against a still worse condition here, on account of our present international crises, and—

“Whereas: Only a very small percentage of the land of our country is in productive use and the great balance, which is mainly held for speculative purposes, is sufficient to guarantee against any possibility of a shortage of food or other necessary supplies, and—

“Whereas: The country is called upon at this time to furnish enormous funds for public defense, which the President has suggested be borne by the present generation as far as possible, be it—

“Resolved: That we call upon the President of the United States to proclaim the idle land of the Nation thrown open for productive use by the people as an emergency measure, and that he urge Congress to provide the necessary funds by taxing the value of the land without regard to any improvements thereon.”

At the Sunday afternoon session the following plan for a permanent organization was presented: National committeemen were selected from twenty-one States, and an organization effected.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL GREAT ADVENTURE FOR THE SINGLE TAX PREAMBLE

We, supporters of the principles of Henry George, in conference assembled, believe that economic freedom is the first essential of civilization—the cornerstone of liberty.

We believe that the Single Tax doctrine taught by Henry George is primarily a moral reform; we believe that he aroused the world because he promised to break down the legal barriers which fence men from the earth, making wage slaves of the mass of mankind.

We believe that it is a mistake to temporize: we cannot consent to a postponement of the emancipation it is our mission to achieve. Repudiating the methods of compromise, we demand immediate and unconditional restoration of the equal rights of all men to the use of the earth. In confronting the beneficiaries of privilege, big and little, we shall not veil the truth nor demand less than justice.

Therefore, we welcome the California Single Tax proposal known as the “Great Adventure.” From a State measure, endorsed at the last election by 260,000 votes, we mean to make it a universal measure, uniting the duped and wronged masses in an irresistible demand for equality of opportunity in the production, exchange and enjoyment of wealth.

At this time when civilization lies in ruins, and must be rebuilt from the foundations, we deem it fitting to proclaim the Single Tax plan for abolishing industrial slavery, securing individual and social rights, and preparing for a just and lasting peace, by making it possible for the co-operative power of man

to work in harmony with the forces of nature in the stupendous task of rehabilitation that confronts the world.

Firm in these convictions, we hereby form an organization for political action to demand the restoration of the land to the people now.

#### CONSTITUTION

(1) The name of this organization shall be the National Great Adventure for the Single Tax.

(2) Its object shall be to obtain the Single Tax, either through initiative demand or separate political party action.

(3) Its membership shall include all those who subscribe to its constitution, and pay its annual dues of one (\$1.00) dollar.

(4) It shall be guided by a National Committee composed of three members from each State, to be elected by the membership of this organization residing in their respective States.

(5) The National Committee shall elect a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall also be the officers of the National Great Adventure.

(6) Officers and National Committeemen shall be elected annually and shall hold office until the election of their successors.

(7) The National Committeemen shall be elected on or about March 15th of each year by ballot. The National Secretary shall send ballots on or before February 15 to all members in good standing in their respective States, and said ballots shall contain the names of all candidates proposed by petition, signed by ten members in that State, and which must be filed with the National Secretary on or before February 1 of that year.

(8) The National Committee shall meet immediately preceding the annual assembly, which shall be held on or about May 15th and elect officers. National Committeemen not present may vote by proxy.

(9) Twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum at the annual assembly.

(10) The dues shall be payable on or before January 15 of each year.

(11) Notice of proposal amendments to the Constitution must be signed by at least twenty-five members in good standing, and shall be mailed to each member together with the official ballot. Amendments shall be adopted only by a three-fifths vote.

(12) Provisional officers and National Committeemen shall be elected by the conference who shall serve until the regular election in 1918.

The provisional officers for 1917 elected by the conference are William J. Wallace, President; Luke North, Vice-President; James H. Dix, Secretary; Charles H. Ingersoll, Treasurer.

The National Committeemen elected by the conference are:

California—Edgecomb Pinchon, Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson and Herman Kuehn.

Connecticut—Dr. Geo. H. Wright.

Delaware—William L. Ross, Biederman Du Pont and Louis Kramer.

District of Columbia—C. B. Hemingway, E. J. Dakin and John J. Lenney.

Florida—Mark M. Dintenfass.

Iowa—R. N. Douglas, T. J. Kelly and E. B. Meredith.

Kentucky—Paul G. Gregory.

Kansas—George Hughes.

Maryland—Charles Ogle.

Michigan—Francis H. Warren, Frederick F. Ingram and G. J. Johnson.

Missouri—Marion Reedy, Carl Brannin and Vernon J. Rose.

New Jersey—Charles Hecht, William M. Callingham and E. Yancy Cohen.

New York—George Wallace, Harry Weinberger and Antonio Bastida.

Ohio—Stanley Shaffer, George Edward and J. C. Lincoln.

Pennsylvania—James A. Robinson, Robert D. Towne and Robert A. Macauley.

Oregon—William S. U. Ren and Alfred S. Cridge.

Texas—Guy Le Sturgeon, Thomas Hickey and G. A. Geist.

Vermont—John T. McRoy.

Washington—Olive Austin, Walter G. Sinton and Oliver T. Erickson.

West Virginia—W. I. Boreman and Robert Simpson.

Great efforts were made outside of the conference to reconcile the differences that existed between the representatives of the "Great Adventure" and the California delegation opposed to the "Great Adventure," and a basis of agreement was found and reduced to writing which was satisfactory to Mr. Luke North, representing the "Great Adventure," and Mr. Chas. James and Judge J. H. Ryckman, representing the "Equity Tax League."\* Great satisfaction was felt by all who had been instrumental in obtaining this agreement, and Mr. James and Mr. North were about to proceed to the floor to present the agreement and to report the happy termination of their differences to the conference. At this juncture, most unfortunately, several parties—some not signers of the call—who had bolstered up the opposition from California throughout the previous sessions, learning of the agreement that had been reached, decided that it required investigation on their part before it could be presented to the conference, and in the discussion that followed, after the paper had been read by Mr. James A. Robinson, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, to thirteen of their number, and had been handed to one of their number, the agreement disappeared and subsequently could not be found. This paper was written by Mr. Charles James, and was read to Judge J. H.

---

\*See page 153 for explanation of this incident—EDITOR.



Ryckman and to thirteen others. It was also read by Mr. Luke North, Mr. James A. Robinson, Mr. Robert C. Macauley and Mr. S. W. Simpson, all of whom were familiar with its contents and knew that it formed an agreement to which both sides to the controversy had assented. The return of this paper was demanded and refused, and thus the incident ended.

The disappearance of this important document, embodying the plans of adjustment between the California representatives, is a matter greatly to be deplored, inasmuch as it prevented the settling of the differences in that State, the existence of which was the reason given by some of those who retained the paper for their opposition to the endorsement of the "Great Adventure.

The conference took very high ground. Its members were thoroughly impressed with the open expression contained in the California amendment, the third clause of which reads as follows:

"The intention of this amendment is to prevent the holding of land out of use for speculation, and to apply the land values which the community creates for community purposes."

It did not approve of the form of amendment suggested by the Equity Tax League which was that taxation be discontinued on personal property and improvements on land.

It was felt that there was a different principle involved in the two methods of expression and that they did not mean the same thing in different forms; that one was educational to the mass of mankind who needed to be informed that the land was their common property and that they were entitled as a community to its full annual rent and that, therefore, it was entirely just and proper to claim the full value of their interests boldly and at once. The political success evidenced by the vote of over one-quarter of a million of people in favor of this measure convinced the members of this conference that there was no political disadvantage in being open in the expression of their views. and that whatever the conditions might have been in former years, the time had certainly arrived when it would be improper for them, in a political sense, to confine themselves to limited measures.

It is possible and likely that the advocacy of these limited measures has prepared the people, although slowly and indirectly, for the acceptance of the full measure of our belief, but in the opinion of the conference it can no longer be claimed that it is necessary to get attention to this subject that it shall be presented in only a limited way. It will attract more support and be freer from objectionable and harmful criticism if our goal is fully explained. It is certainly an element of weakness in the propaganda to have its opponents, as they have so often in the past, point out to the public that our intentions are not limited to the small measures that we have advocated, but that the full possession of the earth by the people is what we really want. How much better it would have been to announce this fact and to appeal to the sense of right in the public to support us in this belief.

The mass of mankind quickly passes from the discussion of any economic advantage that could be obtained by certain measures of taxation to a consideration of whether those measures are essentially just, and the justice of partial measures for economic reform consisting of the releasing of certain property from taxation and increasing the taxation of land does not appear until the reasons why land should become common property are made evident to our hearers.

The conference took this view of the situation and gave its hearty endorsement to an open expression of the truth and stated the object of the organization to be to obtain the Single Tax either through initiative demand or separate political party action.

It was through the initiative and referendum that the large vote in California was polled, but it is considered by many that a party would give much needed political backing to an initiative and referendum vote. In any case an organization in party form to watch the vote in the separate districts and collect and certify the returns is needed. It has, therefore, been arranged in California to have two men in each assembly district. The legislative function is only one phase of the Government and it should be sustained by executives in sympathy with the public will.

As individuals little or no effort will be required to carry our convictions to the polls. It is one of the easiest and simplest duties that a citizen has to perform. All it requires is the disposition to vote according to conscience.

If we were all men of independent views, acting from a conscientious regard for our principles, we would gather together in the various localities, select a ticket that was representative of our principles and vote this ticket at the polls.

Earnestness and quiet enthusiasm were the dominant notes of this conference. Quietly, but attentive to every event, its members sat through all the sessions which preceded the adoption of the resolution of endorsement, waiting the time when their voice would record the judgment of their minds and the impulse of their hearts. Unavoidable delays were patiently endured. Interest in every incident of the recurring sessions was shown on the faces of all. Men of the East and West mingled as comrades and rejoiced together in the new hope that had entered their hearts.

California's 260,000 votes for fundamental democracy on a free earth, now, was the unanswerable reply to all that might be urged to divert them from their purpose.

260,000 votes for a free earth, an entirely free earth—Now! The distant goal which we have been accustomed to believe could be reached only through long vistas of time brought near at hand, with the hope that we may soon enjoy the blessings of a civilization in which the golden rule will be the natural law.

Mr. Luke North informed us that in the little active group of the Great

Adventure the organization is of the loosest form, that all their political acts have been taken by the unanimous approval of its members, and that they are held together by a common democracy of thought and purpose.

Mr. North's speech to the conference explained the psychology of the movement; how it originated in a comprehension of the motives of the people engaged in the great war who are impelled by their ideals.

It is unfortunate that a verbatim record of this speech was not secured. Without oratorical display but with clear and coherent thought, he convinced his hearers that men are moved in the mass by their ideals and that it is to them we may successfully appeal.

The conference has written its page in the history of the movement and it has given birth to an organization to carry out its wishes. Its purpose is to support the Great Adventure and for separate political party action.

The campaign for the Great Adventure of 1918 will need funds to carry it on. Only \$8000 were used in 1916, but with the bright prospect of success at the next election a much more liberal supply is surely available. It will be the purpose of the National Great Adventure for the Single Tax to solicit and collect funds for the California campaign. Contributions should be sent now so that the distribution of literature can be carried on systematically and thoroughly. Contributors should state the purpose to which their contribution is to be applied and if sent to us it must be for a purpose which is approved by the organization.

The political action demanded by the conference is to be either through initiative and referendum or a separate political party. The first method, where it is available, is so evidently suitable that the Single Taxers of such States should arrange to bring the matter promptly before the people.

In other States, political activity for the Single Tax had been discouraged or suppressed because the Single Taxers of those States have not recognized the necessity of a separate party to give their views expression at the polls.

Such political activity as exists is confined to the efforts of some Single Taxers to obtain influence in the dominant parties. Some recognition of their efforts is usually not difficult to obtain from the party managers of these States.

The dominant parties are essentially business organizations. They are principally concerned in the perpetuation of their own existence and the continuation of their own growth. They, therefore, seek to attract the representatives of all shades of political belief which have a definite following, so that the party may strengthen itself by the adhesion of such vote. It accepts the representatives of various beliefs and places them in public office on the implied understanding that they will not so actively advocate their peculiar views as to disturb the harmony of their party relations.

Having accepted offices from the party their first obligation is to the party. The party has fulfilled its obligations to them it is now their duty to fulfill their

obligation to the party. The party permits and requires them to continue their association with the group who have assisted them with their votes; to pose as their leaders and to encourage them with the hope of the ultimate success of their ideas. But in the meantime all that can be done is to wait for a more auspicious occasion as the time is not ripe for a movement of this kind.

So what do Single Taxers gain for Single Tax by voting with the Democratic or Republican parties?

They gain false or deluded leaders who endeavor to convince them that they should modify their demands almost to the point of extinction, or who direct their interest to other issues, usually of a palliative or supervisory character and give them hopeful assurance that ultimately they may succeed in obtaining a partial recognition of their belief through the conversion of a party which draws its financial support from privileged interests in return for favors granted in gross perversion of public rights.

They gain a deterioration of their own conscience by continued acquiescence in schemes of trickery and evasion.

They gain a distorted view of the relative importance of contemporary issues and events.

They drift away from association with one another, lose interest and hope, and apathetically retire from any active interest in the cause.

Their gain is a loss and so serious a loss that the truth we hold would have been relegated to the issues of the past if it were not for its inherent power.

A party is needed to prevent Single Taxers from voting for parties or candidates who are actively interested in hindering and preventing legislation such as we desire. It is needed to permit Single Taxers to give an honest political expression to their full views and to advocate them at the time when it is most important that they be considered during political campaigns.

A vote is the way in which we express our wishes in regard to legislation, and our views cannot be expressed, believing what we do, by a vote for any other party now on the ballot.

Success will most surely come along this line. Success cannot be gained by voting into office the opponents of our belief. Both political expediency and individual duty direct us to vote as we believe.

Our thanks to the Great Adventure. It has stimulated our hope, awakened our conscience and devoted us to fresh endeavor. May it succeed and carry the blessing of freedom around the world.

---

## THE PROTEST ADOPTED AT ATLANTIC CITY

TO ALL SINGLE TAXERS:

The undersigned, being a minority of the persons attending a meeting called to be a National Conference of Single Taxers of the United States, held at Atlantic City, on April 13, 14 and 15, 1917, deem it their duty to pre-